

*The Life of a Churchman*  
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# The Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs



NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN

M E M O I R S

of

H E N R Y E Y S T E R J A C O B S

Volume I

Written in 1906

Edited and annotated by

Henry Eyster Horn in 1938

These Memoirs and Notes have been placed in this mimeographed form for the use of the church. In this present form they are the result of several years' work terminated about 1940. No subsequent effort has been made to bring the Notes up to date with notices about books appearing since that time, except those immediate additions which were possible in the typing. It is expected that Volumes II and III will appear in this limited form in subsequent years. It is expected that permissions to use this material will be sought through the editor.

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August 15, 1970

# NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN

*As Edited and Annotated By*  
**HENRY E. HORN**

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1906, Dr. Henry Eyster Jacobs, then in his sixty-second year, wrote these notes on his experiences in the leadership of the Lutheran Church. As he states in his opening sentence, these notes are set down for the use of others. He had in mind particularly his own son, Dr. Charles Michael Jacobs, then pastor of Christ Church, Allentown - later to succeed him as President of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia.

The notes were handwritten in his miniscule script, and filled twenty-five of his familiar end-open note books. He reviewed the notes at least twice later and made corrections, additions and deletions. These changes are quite apparent in the manuscript by the shaky hand-writing and the occasionally added date of entry ( 1922, 1927, etc.).

It was not his wish that the notes be published in their original form since much of the material deals with personalities. While he felt that the remarks were perfectly fair, he had been brought up in a time when the fragility of human relationships was only too evident. Thus he did not propose to reveal his inner thinking to an unknowing world.

At the time of Dr. Henry Jacobs' death, the manuscript was inherited by Dr. Charles Jacobs who, because of the press of presidential duties, was unable to edit them. When the editor requested a subject in American Church History for his B.D. thesis at the Philadelphia Seminary, Dr. Charles Jacobs gave him the manuscript with instructions that it be transcribed, fully annotated and returned to him for his careful scrutiny. Though Dr. Charles Jacobs had not carefully studied these notes himself, he requested that the annotations be made as if for publication, and that the notes be full. Every churchman named was to be located, and every movement checked. While no decision was made as to publication, it was expected that the notes - if published - should be a sort of source and reference for the history of the Lutheran Church on the American scene in the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, Dr. Charles Jacobs died before he had had the first opportunity to review the transcribed manuscript, and the notes passed, as part of his estate, to his widow. In 1944, while my brother, Dr. Edward T. Horn, III, was on the faculty at the Philadelphia Seminary, Mrs. Charles Jacobs gave him the original notebooks with permission to publish or not, as might seem advisable. As time passed and the knowledge of the existence of this manuscript has spread, there have been constant requests from scholars who wished to consult all or portions of it. And, as time passed and the events described have receded into history, it has become possible to evaluate them irenically.

For a time the possibility of a condensation of the notes was under consideration, and Dr. Henry Jacobs' youngest grandson, the Rev. James G. Horn, prepared such a condensation while recuperating from a severe attack of polio. But it seemed best

that the complete manuscript, in Dr. Jacobs' own words, should be published.

For these notes throw much light on the movements within the Lutheran Church in the United States of America, and anyone who studies church history cannot escape the conclusion that movements are determined by personalities. Yet in general histories of the Lutheran Church descriptions of leaders are hard to come by. The uninhibited observations of a colleague can bring personalities to life, and throw light on otherwise inexplicable historical problems.

If there was a gift which Dr. Jacobs possessed beyond the gifts of most men, it was a rare ability to judge men. With keen eye he could size up the stature of a man and become aware of his excellencies and shortcomings without harboring any feeling of personal animosity. This gives these notes added weight. In the instances in which Dr. Jacobs' prejudices color his evaluations, the reader will be able to pick them up immediately and judge accordingly.

These notes are mentioned first as a historical commentary because that would be in keeping with Dr. Jacobs' own humility. Yet he himself has as great a place in the history of the Lutheran Church in his own right as any of the men he mentions. Whenever the story of these years is told, it includes much of his work and influence, and these notes are unequaled for tracing his influence on the church.

It is in keeping with Dr. Jacobs' nature that the writer himself is least before the gaze of the reader. Yet throughout, the reader feels that he is in the presence of a keen personality, and is seeing the church as he saw it. This is a better way to understand the man himself, than to read a biography in the words of a third person.

Except for the first few chapters, the notes are a verbatim transcription. Among the papers found after Dr. Jacobs' death were several descriptions of his childhood, together with a "revised version" of the first few chapters. These revisions have been interwoven with the notes here. Other source material, such as letters, diaries.. which have a direct bearing on the events related have been collected, but are omitted to conserve space.

The annotations will afford the reader further explanations of the text, and at least direct him towards the study of any interesting by-road. In most cases, space permits only the indication of some source from which to begin explorations. A schedule of abbreviations is appended to the Notes which follow the text. A further study has been made of articles written by Dr. Jacobs in The Lutheran, as a step towards a bibliography of his writings, and appears in the Appendix.

Those of us who knew him best wish we could describe him for you. Record, for instance, the innumerable hours spent searching for his detachable cuffs which were always missing when important visitors arrived to see him... Describe the black cloth bag with which he set out on shopping expeditions, and in which he often returned with a rare book from the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, a chicken purchased at the Reading Terminal Market, and a pound of well-melted butter. Or his monumental absent mindedness and the hundreds of odd situations it got him into ( and from which we had to extricate him). Or his host of academic friends outside the Lutheran Church, such as George Lincoln Burr, Preserved Smith and Nicholas Murray Butler.... Or his remarkable knowledge of the flora and fauna of the Pocono Mountains, transmitted to his grandchildren on wonderful summer days long gone.... Or the old Oliver typewriter on which he punched out many of his articles.... Or the way he crossed his legs and waggled his foot into the aisle on Sundays when the preacher started to get off theological base... Or the marvellous direction of his household and his schedule by Laura Downing Jacobs, his devoted and determined wife... There are a thousand such stories... all of them true! This was the man.

Here are his words.

## Henry Eyster Jacobs - An Appreciation

When a devout Christian throws himself without stint into the life of the church, it is uncanny to see how developments within the church's life coincide with his own personal history. Church and personal history become one; neither can be explained without the other.

The life of Henry Eyster Jacobs is a brilliant example of this phenomenon. When three general bodies of Lutherans met together to form the United Lutheran Church in America, having finally adopted a Constitution and Merger Agreement, Dr. Jacobs was moved to address the convention:

"I have been in the thick of the fight, almost through the entire period of separation. My student days at the seminary were during the time when the break occurred. Against my will I was forced from being an ardent and enthusiastic partisan of the General Synod, to break with men whom I highly honored, and to take a decided position against them. It was my privilege also at the Church's call, to have filled the embarrassing position of being for thirteen years a representative of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at the very focus of the theological activity of the General Synod. Notwithstanding our differences, my personal relations with my colleagues were always cordial, and a large proportion of the leaders of the General Synod have been my pupils."\*

Speaking was the man who was revered as the elder statesman of the General Council. He had spent thirteen years of ceaseless editorial activity in crystallizing and making articulate its confessional position. Yet he was also a man who, in conference and committee, and in home and foreign mission work, had been mixing cooperatively with the other side.

In this merger, he saw the meaning of his own life. Not from outside pressures of new immigrants, or from the confessional insistence of new leaders, but from the tradition of American Lutheranism had come this day; and he was a blood witness to this fact. His joy and enthusiasm is evident in all of his printed addresses during the seventh decade of his life.

In a particularly rapturous expression before the Susquehanna Synod, entitled, "The Attitude of the Lutheran Church of America in the Present World Crisis", the desperation of the modern world becomes the opportunity for his church, as he lists four autobiographical objectives for his hearers:

1. The thorough Lutheranizing of the Lutheran Church of America.
2. The thorough Americanization of the Lutheran Church of America.

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\* Remarks on Adoption of Constitution and Merger - United Lutheran Church in America - May 29, 1918.

3. The Lutheranizing of America.
4. The Lutheranizing of the World. \*

Not only do such objectives belong to a 19th century peroration—they actually speak from seventy three years' experience of Dr. Jacobs. He had his part in the first three objectives during that life-time, and could just begin to see possibilities of the fourth through his catholic eyes.

His life is wrapt around one theme, and all of his activities are simple variations:

Can Lutherans in America, speaking the English language, find precedent, and hope for a faith which centers in the historic confessions of the Lutheran Church?

After coming to a resounding "Yes" to that question, he was, in 1917, ready to move into virgin mission territory:

"Must we not regard a Church dead, which declines to give its testimony in the terms of the age and land where it is supposed to live?" \*\*

As we see this life in review, it seems to fall into three rather distinct parts:

- 1) The Student - finding his way.
- 2) The Scholar - responsible to the Church.
- 3) The Teacher - setting others on the road.

#### The Student - Finding His Way

Certainly Henry Jacobs was "American" enough. He could truly say:

"The Lutheran Church of America is no exotic, transplanted from a foreign shore, but it is native to this continent... Its position is not that of a naturalized citizen, but one that rests upon a birthright... It is a growth of three centuries, in which... it has adjusted to its environment." \*\*\*

His own ancestry gave proof. Letters from his uncles to each other reveal that Lincolnesque characteristic of self-taught men in a country of opportunity - they take their hands from the plough only to tire their eyes reading heavy books by candlelight... then further tax their patience by writing illiterate letters to each other about their literary societies! Henry grew up in a town where political news came in on the stage past his door; where fire engine demonstrations provided the excitement for young and old. A decisive battle was fought over his home town; he had a front row place to hear Lincoln's famous address. His experience in the Christian Commission

\* May 10, 1917.

\*\* The Changeless Faith and Changing Conditions, an address delivered at the Hamma Divinity School, November 1915, publ. in The Lutheran Quarterly, January 1916.

\*\*\* Introd. to A.R.Wentz, Lutheran Church in American History, 1923.

with the wounded stained his hands with the blood of men committed to a national cause. There he was forced to recognize the varied character of American Christianity, and to come to understand others with whom he disagreed. Here started an American wistfulness about other Christians, which led him to worship with others, attend their conferences and review their books.

The practical pursuits of the American pragmatic mind were not foreign to him - for he grew up in a scientist's house. Natural science became the first subject he would teach. He served as town surveyor, president of the gas company while he taught Latin and Greek, chased bugs and played the flute. He knew the laity, and felt a deep uneasiness when clerical arguments in their presence only opened up the obvious faults of the clergy. A democratic society, to him, demanded a different spirit - one where men could disagree deeply, yet never malign the other for opinions held.

Even the conflicting currents of American character he knew well: that puritanical conscience which dampens all gaiety and brings forth endless soul searching, the "anxious bench" and revurring repentance - as well as the spirited enthusiasm of college students about their pranks, or of the professor who lets down his hair - just once. And there were even those times in declining years when his grandsons would catch him at the radio, listening to the fights. Strangely contrasting colors - all of them - which make up an American!

An American he was; but could <sup>he</sup> he, as an American, be a good Lutheran? The struggle for a foothold on this continent had brought Lutherans through a period when they were almost wholly dependent upon the continent. Language difficulties and the lack of a native, trained clergy brought doubt upon the future. Many Lutherans on breaking away from their native tongue, took for granted that they had left the church of their fathers; they were easy prey for those who would absorb them in English speaking communions. Pastors, trained in non-Lutheran seminaries, were eager to extend the Lutheran Church into the American scene by changes which would leave no real reason for continuing the name Lutheran.

The most noble effort to Americanize the Lutheran Church - the "Definite Synodical Platform" authored by Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker - colored the confusion of Henry Jacobs' early years. Dr. Schmucker's answer was one of the first real efforts toward church unity in this country. It set a pattern which has frequently been repeated - of scrapping denominational differences in favor of those things which represent present agreement. To Henry Jacobs, Dr. Schmucker's answer did not ring true, for it could not convince or evoke support from his own colleagues. Surrounded as he was by his father's library, constant discussions pro and con at the family table, and by a growing group of men being challenged to champion a confessional cause, he knew that all tended toward another answer, more convincing.

But the battle had to be his; and his in isolation. Where else could you find a man who followed a like pathway to certainty? In the midst of his confusion, he combed through the Lutheran authorities of the Age of Orthodoxy, found the best statements about specific doctrines, committed them to memory, and then grew into their meaning till they actually spoke through his words. In the center of all seems to be the Lutheran dogmatician, Martin Chemnitz. Once Henry Jacobs came to this position, he maintained it staunchly throughout his life. The meteoric explosions of German idealistic thought which successively bathed New England were noticed by Dr. Jacobs, but were irrelevant to faith for him. The discoveries of higher criticism made little difference to his position. The insights of a Søren Kierkegaard are mentioned, indeed appreciated, but Dr. Jacobs' churchly stand provided an impenetrable shelter.

A Lutheran he had decided to be when he presented himself, after long delay, for confirmation. Only the obstinacy of his "Pennsylvania Dutch" background can explain the determination with which he uncovered his heritage, only to dwell within it. The first publications spell out this search:

- 1869 - Translation of Hutter's Compend
- 1870 - Articles on Martin Chemnitz
- 1871 - Translations from Chemnitz' Examen
- 1874 - Doctrine of the Ministry as Taught by the Dogmaticians of the Lutheran Church
- 1876 - Translation of Schmid's Dogmatik
- 1877 - Translations from Plitt's Einleitung in die Augustana
- 1882 - Translation of the Book of Concord

Something exciting was necessary to give the enthusiasm for such effort. It was provided in his first real theological study, required for admission to the Pittsburgh Synod, "The Lutheran Doctrine of the Lord's Day." As a pious young man in mid-century Gettysburg, he entered into the study to buttress the concept of a closed Sunday. After intense study, the young conservative changed to a young upstart by attacking the puritanical fog which engulfed his native town, and arguing for a new appreciation of the freedom of the Lord's Day - thus separating the Lutheran from the prevailing American point of view. Modern man can but shout "three cheers" for such a daring effort, even though it cut the young theologian off from his friends.

The second stand would not so delight us. His short pastorate came to an abrupt end when he refused to issue a general invitation to the communion, and even made this just cause for resigning as pastor in a document entitled, "The Springdale Protest." Again he goes against the grain, and cuts through an accepted practice to find his answer - this time, seemingly, in the opposite direction. Actually, however, he is climbing toward some objective stance from whence he can shake off the provincialisms of his time and place and can judge all from a higher perspective. The student was finding his position in the confessional stands of the past.

Because of his complete concentration upon this task, he soon caught up to like studies that leaders of the church were now carrying on, and thus, from an early time was called into the life-stream of decisions within the new General Council in its infancy. Every step was challenged by the opposing General Synod in the hottest editorial battle of Lutheran annals in this country; echoes thundered back from new Lutheran immigrants in this country, especially from the mid-West. Stimulated by these, Henry Jacobs addressed himself to the answer of questions which floated on the surface of this swift current.

### The Scholar - Responsible to His Church

From the time when Dr. Jacobs moved to the Philadelphia Seminary, a new period commences. Now he must enter the vacant chair of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth. His two chief voices became the weekly Lutheran and the quarterly Lutheran Church Review; he was editor of both from 1882-1895. The articles which he poured weekly into The Lutheran form an impressive pile today. Dr. Jacobs brought all the breadth of his scholarship to bear upon the daily policies of the church. Here was no closeted scholar working out his answers in a vacuum; here was a student who saw in the everyday struggles of his church the working out of great principles of the past. To every situation he applied the results of his study, bringing common men out of the heat of conflict to look upon the deeper issues involved. He saw no objection in bringing forth before the sight of all - the studies which he was making in all parts of the church's life. For example in 1886 there are nine articles defending the Fundamental Principles of the General Council; in 1890 seventeen articles on Whence, Where, Whither for the Lutheran Church in this country; in 1891 thirty articles on the Common Service; in 1894 sixteen articles on theological education among Lutherans in America, etc...

An examination of his papers after his death shows that in almost every case, his studies were placed in printed form. Unlike his gifted son, Charles, practically every study lies before us - most of them starting out as articles in the Lutheran, Lutheran Church Review, or the Workman. They were then developed into his books. The church had granted him freedom from parish responsibilities and his conscience would not allow him rest until the fruits of his study were in printed form - a type of conscience not too common among scholars, alas!

One can almost detect in this activity a conscious aim to pour confessional content into the General Council until it might react as an organism for Lutherizing the church. He looked upon the confessions of the 16th century, not as "a collection of fossilized material, a cemetery of dead dogmas," but rather as "a granary of living seed, ready, wherever placed, to produce abundant harvests, and to assume a variety of forms. So far is it from being a barrier to progress, that it shows the manner in which true progress is attainable."

Against the efforts of New England theology to conform the Christian message to the philosophies of the day, he was constantly wary. Christianity, for him, was "not a chameleon", changing its color to agree with its temporary background. He was fond of the words of the early 19th century preacher, Klaus Harms:

"When our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'Repent', He meant not that His doctrine should be conformed to men, but that men should conform to His doctrine." \*

The theology that became his, then, was a borrowed one, historically attained. It is as historian that Dr. Jacobs now stands before us, and as historian that he will be known. His own discoveries in historical research only confirmed his confidence. Perhaps his Lutheran Movement in England is his best work in this field - a work which has stood the passage of time admirably, and is still an authority, limited only by discoveries of new documents which were not available to him. This work lays bare factual material concerning the Lutheran background of the English Reformation and especially of the First Prayer Book, together with Catechisms and other materials. Despite sharp attacks by indignant Anglican dignitaries, his replies were irrefutable, and his contentions still hold. He had found a hidden corner which Anglicans refused to see, and which German historians took for granted ( but in German, of course ).

One of his critics called him an "enthusiast", and though his scholarship would stand most of the tests of the modern scientific school, the title is probably properly conferred. Dr. Jacobs found in his English studies a precedent for Lutherans to use the English language inasmuch as the first reformed material in English was Lutheran. The "enthusiast" had uncovered a foundation for a new structure for the Lutheran Church in this language; to him, America was to be the scene of a new mission in the English tongue. One cannot ascribe this discovery to Dr. Jacobs alone; he was encouraged in his studies by Dr. Beale M. Schmucker, Dr. Joseph Seiss and others who had uncovered much in scratchings for a Common Service. Yet one cannot emphasize too much the right that these men felt they had in appropriating for the Lutheran Church in this country, a mass of material, usually regarded the sole possession of the Anglican Church. It would be hard to understand the Common Service Book, or the Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran churches in this country without such a fundamental discovery.

Lest the title of "enthusiast" do injury to Dr. Jacobs' reputation as an historian, we present the tribute of an acknowledged scientific historian of the Reformation period, Preserved Smith, on the occasion of Dr. Jacobs' eightieth birthday:

"Long before you ever heard my name, I was one of your disciples. To you I owe my first introduction to the field of Reformation history, and much of my first inspiration to glean that field after you." \*\*

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\* See The Lutheran Quarterly, January, 1916.

\*\* See The Philadelphia Seminary Bulletin, December, 1924.

Dr. Jacobs was eager to create this same historical sense among all Lutherans, and he used every opportunity in addressing groups, speaking at anniversaries, etc. He was extremely disappointed, therefore, when the temper of the church changed as the 20th century drew near.

### The Teacher - Setting Others on the Road

In the Lutheran for Jan. 2, 1896, a letter of resignation from the editor, Henry E. Jacobs, appears with the following words:

"We have been protesting for years against the diversion of time and strength of our Professors to outside engagements, and we can conceive of nothing more distracting to study and more inconsistent with the spirit and work of the Seminary, than the manifold annoyances and close attention to varied details of a conscientious editor of a weekly paper that aims not at scientific - but at popular ends. We have also serious difficulties about accepting any situation in which we are expected to speak as the organ of any Synod or any General Body. Our personal convictions we are ever ready to declare, but we cannot do more."

In the January, 1895 issue of the Lutheran Church Review, a simple announcement of his resignation as editor appears in a pink insert. We must consider this to be more than a surface disturbance. From 1882-1895, articles had flowed from his pen, and books were reviewed; suddenly in both publications the articles cease. Portentous signs of the 20th century church in its organizational structure, its full time officials, and official "organs" were appearing. Men were moulding the work of the church beyond a point where Dr. Jacobs believed planning should go; they were even planning the positions to which they would later manufacture personal calls; and the printed word itself was to become propagandized, in his judgment.

Fear of disagreement or argument was never his. "It is the Church's perpetual lot on earth to be militant" he often said. He had complete confidence that the Church of Jesus Christ is one, and that the Holy Spirit would care for unity if men would be completely conscientious in their faith.

True, the unity which he had hoped for - the dream of one Lutheran Church in this country - was receding into emptiness. Immigrations from Northern Europe brought waves of Lutherans to these shores, filling the mid-West and pushing to the Pacific. The overtaxed mission endeavors of both General Council and General Synod were not even able to keep up with the need for English-speaking missions in the East; linguistic and national characteristics separated the immigrants from native Americans and from each other. Each group could only talk about "our college" or "our seminary", and Lutherans finally created a veritable patchwork of European colors in this country.

In the last pages of the Memoirs, we can feel Dr. Jacobs' quiet temper rising. Building one Lutheran Church in this country must have appeared as useless as constructing sand castles before advancing tides. Every battle had to be refought; every obvious lesson from experience had to be argued again with those whose premises were foreign to this air. Hear his own words in 1917:

"What has been accomplished by the portion of the Lutheran Church that has been thoroughly Americanized - that portion organically connected with the labors of Muhlenberg and the earliest attempts for the establishment of an organized Church - has often been overlooked, because it has seemed submerged, beneath the floods of fresh immigration, which have poured in wave after wave from Lutheran lands upon our shores, bringing us constantly most valuable accessions and stimulating Church consciousness, but delaying the period when the Church thus formed could move as a unit." \*

Thus the growth of church organization in his own church family, and the waning hope of any foreseeable unity among Lutherans, turned Dr. Jacobs toward concentration on his Seminary duties. For years he had been the only professor in residence on campus, giving all his attention to his teaching. Now the classroom, daily conferences with students, and an amazing correspondence intertwined his life with his students'. He became Dean in 1894, and President in 1920.

In 1915, looking back over fifty years of Seminary history, he could say:

"It is no longer a mere school, but a laboratory of the Church where each professor, beside his instruction to his classes, is expected to cultivate his department for the Church both near and far, and to reach thousands through the press, where with his voice he is heard here by only a few score; and where diligent outside scholars are to be found in the library, absorbed in investigation, and busy pastors of high standing in the ministry are attracted to graduate courses. It is a power house sending forth its currents to awaken activity along numberless channels, to the remotest parts of the earth and to distant ages." \*\*

Even the shrubs, trees, and lawn of the Seminary received Dr. Jacobs' loving care.

There on the campus of the Seminary one could catch a glance of that familiar figure - massive head engrossed in thought - bending his fragile legs with its weight - hands clasped behind his back; it was enough to bring reverence from the youngest child, and respect from those who knew him simply as a fellow

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\* See

\*\* The Philadelphia Seminary - an address at the 50th anniversary commencement.

citizen of the Mount Airy community.

A life of eighty eight years gathers up enthusiastic devotion with each advancing year. On his eightieth birthday, and thereafter till the year after his death, there were eloquent tributes by those who knew him as scholar, teacher, theologian, historian and churchman. Clear and reserved is this description of Dr. Jacobs as a theologian from a colleague who was not a stranger in modern thought, Dr. Offermann:

"To those who were associated with Dr. Jacobs, it must have become more and more evident especially during the last decades of his life, that he has found his home in a world of transcendent realities to which by the grace of God his faith in Jesus Christ had given him access. So vivid was his sense of the presence of this world in his life and thinking that it never occurred to him to construct his own system of Christian theology with the aid of human speculation and contemporaneous philosophic thought as many theologians of the Lutheran faith in the second half of the 19th century attempted to do. Nor on the other hand, could he ever be attracted by the popular glamor of a theology that sought to exclude from its system all metaphysical truth and interpreted all objective statements of the Christian faith as mere value-judgments. Neither Hegel nor Kant, neither Schleiermacher nor Ritschl, had any influence upon his theological thinking... he became one of the few theologians who were able to give a satisfying answer to the question that was uppermost in the hearts and minds of students, pastors and people: What is Lutheranism undefiled and uncontaminated by foreign influence? What is genuine Lutheran faith and doctrine? What is Lutheran theology in its purity and fulness as it was once understood, interpreted and expounded by the confessors of the 17th and 18th century?" \*

As we of the 20th century read the Memoirs, it is Dr. Jacobs as churchman who speaks to us. Our self-conscious examination of the nature of the church in our time finds illumination in his complete devotion to the church. Indeed, among Lutheran leaders of his time, his consciousness of the reality of the church is somewhat unique.

As a child of Article VIII of the Augsburg Confession, Dr. Jacobs believed that "the precise line separating the true children of God from all others cannot be traced by man's sight". There are true children of God in every communion; this he knew to be so from his many friendships. Yet he found the source of this true church to be around the preaching of the Word of God and the right administration of the sacraments in a believing community - a confessional view of the church which has pervaded all Protestantism. Thus the Augsburg Confession,

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\* See The Lutheran Church Review

for him, became the road to catholicity. With such certainty of the existence of the one church, Dr. Jacobs could banish his worries about the future. Anxious efforts to hurry into visible organizations of unity only brought forth his reply: "You can't force into visibility the mystical body of Christ!"

To cut the cord with the past would have been suicidal to his conception of the church, "the communion of saints". To ignore history was to ignore the testimony of the Holy Spirit in men of flesh and blood which brought forth confessions from the depths of human life. The ever present tendency of American Christianity to seize the present and dwell in it was to fashion something which could not belong to the people of God. Confronted with his stubborn tenacity against unionistic tendencies, he replied:

"Those who denounce us for what they are pleased to call our contracted vision, in not at once acquiescing in proposals to surrender what is our own, we should, with all courtesy, ask to respect our preference, as we do theirs, and as we pray for God's blessing on every effort to advance his kingdom, not to forget us in like petitions." \*

Despite such an idealistic conception of the people of God, Dr. Jacobs never underestimated the reality of the church of flesh and blood. The visible church that he knew, which had called him to a specific labor, in which he worshipped - was the only channel of the Word and sacraments to him. The Holy Spirit's influence was to be found in the very decisions and problems which wracked his brain and tore his heart. Unsought appointments to boards or committees were His work, and he could not refuse them. Even the presence of venomous debate or scandal within the church was to him not at all surprising with flesh and blood people.

Most eloquent is his address to the Synod of Virginia in 1917:

"I infer ( the Synod of Virginia has stood) for two great principles: first that the Lutheran faith is a trust which cannot be surrendered, but must be confessed and maintained against all hazards; and, secondly, that for such a purpose, the language of the land must become the language of the Church, educational institutions must be established on solid foundations, and a new literature arise as a witness of our faith.

"For to the end of time, the Church, if it is to fulfill its mission on earth, must be a nursery, in which to rear the feeble and train them for vigorous manhood. It must be a hospital, which is not meant to exclude those unable to meet the test of a rigid medical examination, but which is

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\* See The Changeless Faith... The Lutheran Quarterly, January, 1916.

established for the purpose of gathering within itself the sick and injured and restoring them to health. It is a reformatory, whose inmates have all of them weaknesses, that must be borne and dealt with, as each case with its peculiar experience, requires. The Church is no aristocracy of historical antecedents or culture, or of intellectual or spiritual attainments, but the people of God of every rank and condition in life, and every degree of convalescence from the dire disease with which all are born, ready to share every advantage possessed and every benefit enjoyed with every man, woman and child for whom Christ died. It reaches its divine ideal only when, like Christ, it gives to others all that it has; and yet, in giving is itself enriched." \*

These words, so full of meaning in the experience of a churchman, speak sharply to our hearts today. We may have changed our theological ways, our systems of thought; our propositions of factual material, logical arguments no longer bring faith and trust. The reality of the Christian message must come to us through the discoveries of men who are immersed in things human. Only human experiences which touch us can bring meaning. Not the learned theologian, but the involved churchman brings the message.

And as churchman, Dr. Jacobs leaves his hopes for that particular place in the church which he recognized as his home:

"The United Lutheran Church should be historical in its temper, cherishing every truth confessed in the past as a precious possession, and at the same time progressive; observant of precedents and yet not mechanically bound by them; full of the freedom of the Reformation period, because its foundations are sure and its truth many sided, and its capabilities of development are exhaustless. Its sympathies will be wide, and its aspirations high as the heavens are raised above the earth." \*\*

The full story of his efforts toward this end is yet to be told - perhaps much of it in the life of his son, Charles Michael Jacobs.

As these Memoirs see the light, the Lutheran Church in North America is still divided. There are still tendencies to fight battles which have been won, or to insist upon facing problems which do not pertain to the American scene. Not yet are some allowed to turn toward man's desperate plight in the 20th century; or to greet the "coming great Church". It is our hope that the publication of these Memoirs can turn our eyes from excessive self-examination to the task which lies before us in this year of Grace.

Henry E. Horn  
Cambridge, Mass. 1953

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\*See Laying the Foundations and Building Thereon - 200th Anniversary of Hebron Church, Madison, Va.

\*\* See - the same.

## Chapter One - Whence?

My purpose in these notes is not autobiographical, but to record for the use and benefit of others, matters that have fallen under my observation.

Gettysburg was my birthplace, and for thirty-six years, with a short interruption of three years (1867-1870), my home. As I first remember it, it was a compactly built town of something over 2000 inhabitants. While already regarded as old-fashioned, and having a number of conspicuous buildings that were falling to pieces with age, the town could by no means claim antiquity. Persons were still living who in their youth had seen the earliest settlers, and remembered them as aged men. Traditions, not very remote, were current concerning the days when the Indians roamed the forests and fields; and stone arrowheads, hatchets and adzes unearthed by the ploughman, or found by boys on their holiday rambles along the neighboring creek confirmed the story.

The town rose from what was a frontier outpost a century and a half ago. The crossing of two turnpikes, one running north and south from Carlisle to Baltimore, the other, east and west, from Lancaster to Chambersburg, made it the site of an old style country tavern in the days of stage coaches, and the Conestoga wagon. From the crossroads the way rises for ten miles or more to the West through a succession of wooded hills with deep valleys and streams between them, until at last the mountain-ridge is reached. Its dark blue wall bounds fully one third of the horizon, forming a background for the lower and greener eminences that intervene, exhaustless in its variety of brilliant effects beneath the glories of the setting sun. Time was when the beauty of the landscape was forgotten by the traveller as he journeyed this road from the East, not only because of the treacherous Indians, but also of outlawed whitemen, who always hung on the outskirts of civilization. As civilization advanced and the country developed, roads passed through this center from numerous directions, until they radiated on all sides like the ribs of a fan or the spokes of a wheel. Several of these roads were the arteries of the life of the young nation, before the construction of railroads and canals. Through them the traffic passed from the seaboard cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia, into the interior, and the North and South interchanged products and manufactures. It was no wonder that Gettysburg was for a considerable period before the introduction of railroads, a center of travel by stages and private conveyances, and that <sup>when</sup> the great war came and its waves rolled northward, it was a place of highly strategic importance.

A crossroads could not long remain merely the site of one tavern. Houses were built around the taverns. Shops and stores were needed with the growth of trade. Churches which at first had been located miles away in the forests were gradually transferred to the new town and found here their permanent homes. In former days it was not uncommon for churches to be situated on the edge, rather than in the center of towns. The chief motive for this singular custom must have been the necessity of providing every church with its own graveyard for which ample room was required. Even where the church is now more centrally located investigation will probably show that the town has grown around the graveyard, which years before had been located on the border.

About 1800, a separate county was founded, and the fortune of the growing hamlet was assured when it was made the capital. A borough was incorporated, a survey made, and right in the center of the projected town, within "the square", or "diamond" as it was called in Gettysburg, a court-house was erected. As I remember it, the temple of justice was an old fashioned, shabby brick building, that had been outgrown by the demands of the county. The four massive white door-ways boldly faced the four cardinal points of the compass, fit symbols of the impartiality of justice, and the lack of favoritism between the streets down which they gazed. Right in its center rose the towering white frame tower, surmounted by a vane, and adorned on each side with the dial of the town clock. One of the chief uses of this tower was to serve as the target of "Blue Dick", the principal fire engine of the borough. On Saturday afternoons, the volunteer firemen sought by vigorous effort to send a stream of water above the vane. "Blue Dick"'s associates, "general Taylor" and "Captain May" were not admitted to competition. Under favorable circumstances, "Blue Dick" actually threw its stream of water to the very pinnacle of the court house steeple to the rejoicing cries of the onlookers. This building was doomed to be demolished a year or two before the Civil War. Alongside of the Court House was a small squalid-looking and poorly kept brick market-house, whose disappearance no one particularly regretted when it was torn down one night by some boys.

The founders could not well control the growth of the town. The "diamond" did not long remain its center. Enterprise expanded along a long thin line, twice or thrice the distance southward along the road to Baltimore above its growth to the north. After undulating up and down hill for about a mile, Baltimore Street ended abruptly on an eminence with an extended prospect that charms the eye, a spot which was to become one of the most famous points in military history. From the summit of Cemetery Hill, overlooking the road through the valley, and up the steeper ascent beyond, the eye had a clear sweep. It was an ideal spot whence to see a military parade. We remember an impressive scene of a military funeral one Sunday afternoon, when the whole way seemed bristling with bayonets. It was also on this stretch of road that I saw President Lincoln riding on a horse entirely too small for his gigantic proportions, on his way to the Cemetery, where he made his immortal oration of Nov. 19th, 1863.

The houses of the better classes were commodious brick buildings; those of the humbler people were of frame or logs. The greatest economy in the use of ground seems to have been in the minds of the original settlers. For while there were long, deep gardens in the rear, terminated as a rule by stables, pigpens, chicken-coops and an alley, at the center of each intersecting block, each dwelling faced directly on the street. Front porches and side yards before the middle of the Nineteenth Century were rarities. House joined house, as though it were a great calamity to admit of any space between them. Some have suggested that each proprietor built upon the assumption that in the course of time, the village would soon become the nucleus of a crowded city, and every inch of street frontage would command a high price. Others have thought that the settlers had as their models the towns of the Old World, from which they were not too distinctly removed, that were built compactly in the Middle Ages so as to

be surrounded by a wall, furnished with sturdy and well-defended gates against all invaders. The great problem accordingly was, not as today - to afford each home the utmost of pure air and invigorating sunlight and grateful shade and the refining influence of a lawn, and shrubs and flowers - but to condense the inhabitants without sacrificing the privacy of the family life. Where the long line of brick walls was broken, a high frame fence generally filled the gap in order to completely secure the sacred precincts of yard and garden from the eyes of those without. If a stealthy glance were taken through some crevice, or when the gate was criminally left open by some child or servant, the part secluded would as a rule, be found in every way worthy of the sight and admiration of others than the owners and their closest friends. The open lawns and gardens that are found today in the newer portions of the town are not as carefully tended as those more retired spots were formerly, where a profusion of roses, honeysuckles, lilacs, snow-balls, cannas and hydrangeas with their humbler companions, the violets, the pansies, the daisies, the lilies of the valley, showed the constant care and taste of the diligent wife and mother; while beyond the pear and apple, plum and cherry trees fringed the beds where as an evidence of the industry of the head of the family in wielding spade and rake and hoe, a goodly supply of garden vegetables was growing. The amber Catawba and the dark Concord grapes hung from vines trained over white-washed arbors. Tan filled the spaces between the strawberry plants, which, in later times, gave way to a croquet ground for the younger generation.

The center of the family life during the summer months, was in the open air within this enclosure. Here in the sight of this wealth of floral display, amidst the songs of the birds, upon the back porch, sheltered from the sun by lattice and vines, the mothers and daughters sewed and the children romped all day; and when his working hours were over, the father brought hither his book or news-paper, or joined in the games and conversation of the family. Not infrequently, the meals were taken in this favored resort. Unless visitors were entire strangers, during the heated term, the back porch was also the favorite place of amusement.

The region was anything but fertile. There was a proverb sometimes used to test the temper of the people that "the kildees<sup>2</sup> have to carry knapsacks on their backs when they cross Adams County", or the provocation was varied by designating it as "the buckwheat county", since buckwheat had the reputation of a peculiar affinity for poor soil. Thucydides, in the opening chapter of his "History" designates as one of the causes that contributed to the glory of Athens, its "thin soil". If this were a prerequisite for prosperity, the country around my native town could claim it. The red shale lay close to the surface, absorbing the rays of the sun on the long summer days, or in the fall or spring holding the moisture so that heat and mud were excessive.

The surroundings were picturesque. From north to south-west, the summits of the Blue Ridge describe the arc of a circle, at a distance of from ten to fifteen miles. So familiar became the blue line in summer, and the white line in winter, that I never felt altogether at home out of sight of the mountains. Along these ridges in summer, storms were nursed, which we often watched as they gathered, and then approached with all the fury of a charging army,

often, however, to be diverted by an ascending current of hot air from the hill three miles to the west, dividing the rain into two sections, one watering the country to the north, and the other to the south, while we were left in the burning drought.

From our western windows, the mountains were always in sight. Not infrequently, in Spring, they were veiled in heavy smoke by day, and illuminated at night by larger or smaller areas of flame. Behind the mountains, the sun set in all its glory. For variety and richness of color, we have never seen those sunsets surpassed. Where the mountain line was broken, the wooded heights of Culp's Hill and Wolf Hill and the Round Tops, offered another type of scenery scarcely less attractive.

To the west ran the unfinished railroad, "the Tapeworm". It had been abandoned after the State of Pennsylvania had expended large appropriations on it at the instance of Thaddeus Stevens, who owned a furnace in the very heart of the mountains. Through the deep cut on Seminary Ridge, the mountains and summit of the hill beyond could be seen. The wreck of battle was clearly visible with a glass after those momentous days that had not yet arrived when I was a child. Inseparable from our remembrance of this view, is the bold and graceful flight of the buzzards, scarcely ever absent from the horizon in summer time.

The family home, in which all of my father's children, and three of my own were born, was at the north-western corner of Middle and Washington Streets, 810 steps south of the college. Unlike most Gettysburg homes, ours was isolated. Where the house did not occupy the street line, fences eight feet high protected our privacy. There was a flower garden on which my mother devoted much care, rich particularly in its varieties of roses. There were fruit trees in abundance, peaches, plums, apples, pears, apricots, cherries, besides raspberries, currants and gooseberries. The vegetable garden, as long as my father cultivated it, largely supplied the table. The asparagus bed was particularly prolific. There was ample room for the children to play. They were kept off the street, and even from association with the children of neighbors. The house was a massive two-storey building, bought by my father ten years before my birth, and, in my memory, twice enlarged - once in 1848, and again, in 1859. It had fourteen rooms, most of them large, and a capacious garret - a store house (into whose mysteries I delighted to penetrate, for there were many curious things there, saddle-bags, powder horns, calabashes, Dutch ovens, and many boxes of minerals, with some Indian relics), and an observatory, from which the view of the mountains was less obstructed than elsewhere, and whence we could look directly up the Chambersburg pike, as it rose before us. It was a fine point from which to practice with the glass in my father's care for astronomical work.

It was not until 1859 that Gettysburg was brought into connection with the outside world by railway. This event made many changes. Those living later can scarcely appreciate how much these changes affected an isolated community such as ours was. Before then, the town and surrounding community depended upon home products chiefly. The local cabinet maker made most of the furniture, and that too entirely by hand. The carpets came largely from the looms of the local weaver. The pumps were cumbersome and

costly machines, laboriously made from a huge tree by boring an opening with an augur many feet long. The lumber was brought from neighboring forests and mountains. Wood was the universal fuel, delivered at the door or in the cellar by the cord, and sawed and split often by the householder himself. The stoves came from foundries in the county. Meats were to a great extent of home-raising. Butchering seasons were more carefully observed than those of the Church Year. It was almost the custom for a well-to-do family to purchase several slaughtered hogs, and to convert them into a winter's supply of meat. It was regarded no hardship to carve the animal, to prepare the pickle for its preservation, to render the lard, and to manufacture sausages. Butchering and apple-butter boiling belonged to the fine arts of those days. Every thrifty house-wife molded her own candles. Fruits and vegetables, not raised in the gardens, were bought from the wagons of neighboring farmers. If a wagon that had carried produce to Baltimore returned with oysters among its other freight, the purchasers, without distinction of class, had to shuck them. The news for the community was furnished by the county papers published weekly. Commerce with the outside world was chiefly through the biennial visits of local merchants to the cities, or the freight brought in Conestoga wagons from Baltimore, fifty-two miles distant.

The railroad compelled some of the citizens to transform their avocations. Manufacturers of home products had to become retailers of goods henceforth imported from the cities. Hand-made goods could no longer compete with those furnished by distant factories. Coal supplanted wood, and with the change, new stoves were needed which Adams County enterprise could not supply. Coal oil and gas took the place of tallow candles, lard lamps, and camphine, a dangerous compound of alcohol and turpentine, which sometimes cause fatal accidents. The country farmer had to vie with the green grocer, who brought vegetables from the city markets. Old industries were destroyed; new means of livelihood were created. The pulsations of the life of the land were more distinctly felt, the horizon widened, the common interests were greater. The life lost its intensity, but it was less contracted and provincial.

Before this, the chief communication with the outside world had been by stage coach. The old fashioned stage, with its "boot" appendage for the storage of trunks and freight, and the driver's seat in front on a level with the top of the coach, was very capacious. Within its stuffy leather lined interior, and on seats facing both ways, at least a dozen persons could be packed. There was room for others alongside of the driver. As the horses gained speed over the rough road beneath the leather whip of the not seldom half-intoxicated driver, the vehicle would rock like a vessel in a storm, and the symptoms and necessary inconveniences of sea-sickness would be experienced by those suffering from the close atmosphere within. With night travelling, irregular meals, and the sight of suffering humanity around them, the sympathy of those ordinarily immune from such attacks was apt to be demonstrably evident. Accidents were common, as the coaches missed the road by night, and were thrown over precipices. My father took my mother with him to a meeting of the West Pennsylvania synod at Pittsburgh in 1840.<sup>3</sup> They reached the synod on Sunday morning wearing bandages, and one lady in their care had a broken arm. My uncle David, going from

Gettysburg to South Carolina in 1830, met with a similar accident, on two successive nights. The second time, the stage ran over an abutment of a bridge and was broken to pieces. His knee was painfully injured, and the sick student he was taking to his home in the South, suffered a fracture of the wrist.<sup>4</sup> Stage traveling was also expensive. From Gettysburg to Baltimore, the fare was 4 1/2 dollars ( 52 miles); to Harrisburg, 2 1/2 (36 miles).

Once Gettysburg had been lively with stage travel. The Eagle Hotel and McClellan House were the chief centers, where the passengers stopped for meals, while the mail was changing and the relays of horses were cared for. At the Eagle, Daniel Webster had once tarried for the night on his way to Washington. Up to the time of the Civil War, carriage making had been the chief industry. Every part of the vehicle was manufactured on the spot. Many of these operations I used to watch. The tires were heated until they were red hot over a fire in the gutter of the street and then were forced on to the wheels with iron pincers and heavy hammers, amid the hissing of the steam as cold water was poured over them by buckets full to contract the iron. The pots of varnish in various stages of manufacture filled the atmosphere for a long distance with their nauseous odors. The painters worked industriously in the open air on platforms on a level with the second storey, the shuttles of the weavers were busy making lace for the inside trimmings. Then when all was completed, there were long lines of carriages bound together, and wrapped in coarse muslin, sent southward for sale with a solitary salesman in front as the driver. The war came, and this industry ceased. The southern patronage was thenceforth gone. The workmen enlisted. When the war was over, the old factories were demolished or devoted to some other purpose.

Alongside of the old railroad, stood an iron foundry, which never seems to have been a success. Several flourishing tanneries were also affected by the changed conditions incident first to the coming of the railroad, and then to the war. Gettysburg in the very nature of the case, could never be an agricultural or manufacturing center. The educational institutions there and the battle-field, both of which were determined by the old roads, have made it all that it has become. As is usual in country towns, a large proportion of the population consists of retired farmers, who have moved to the place, because of the greater comforts than the country itself afforded, and the accessibility to churches, schools and physicians.

My father contributed much to the welfare of the town. Under his supervision as surveyor, the streets were greatly improved, and many of the side-walks paved. By his enterprise, gas was introduced shortly before the War. Previously, the streets were unlighted, and, on moonless nights, one had to grope his way with difficulty through the dense darkness. But even when the gas came, economy was consulted, and it was only used on nights when the almanac showed there would be no moonlight. But as the almanac took no account of weather conditions, the moonlight was often what was known as "corporation moonlight". Between ten and eleven, even on the darkest nights, the lights were extinguished, and the borough consigned to the shades of Erebus. If its slumber was broken by an alarm of fire, every able bodied citizen was expected to rush to the rescue with the three hand-

engines, "Blue Dick", "General Taylor" and "Captain May". But sometimes the plugs were out of order and water had to be drawn in buckets and poured into the engine. Sometimes the lines were formed and the buckets passed hand to hand. When conflagrations came, rumour had it that for fear of exhausting the reservoir, "Blue Dick" alone had access to the street mains while the lesser were filled from the surrounding pumps by bucket brigades of industrious citizens.

Adams County had been settled by the Scotch Irish, and had separated from the German York County in 1800 because of the constant conflicts with the Germans. Their history was rooted in the emigration of Scotchmen to Ireland during the Seventeenth century, partly to escape persecution, and partly to settle large tracts of confiscated lands of Romish antagonists of English rule in the province of Ulster, at the extreme end of the Emerald Isle. Their experiences there for one or two generations had not justified their expectations. Not only were they in constant conflict with their Roman Catholic neighbors, but the ecclesiastical authorities of England made exactions against which they protested as oppressive. Their hostility to every form of prelacy was intensified. They were as bitter towards the English, as the first German immigrants to New York were, when they believed themselves to have been deceived by the colonial government. This antipathy made the Scotch-Irish in America, in after years, among the most uncompromising advocates of American independence. They sought refuge, therefore, not in New England, with its religious prescriptions, but in Pennsylvania and other colonies that guaranteed religious liberty. In the seventeenth century, their settlements were along the western frontier, from Pennsylvania southward, alongside of, but not mingling with, the Germans. Down through the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys, to the very borders of South Carolina, Scotch-Irish and German settlements almost alternated. Mingled with them were relatives coming directly from Scotland. They were Lowlanders, in whom Teutonic prevailed over Celtic blood - a mixed race before they left Scotland for Ireland.

Among the families of Scotch-Irish and Scotch descent in Adams county, were the Agnews, Bighams, Baileys, Cassats, Cobbeans, Crawfords, Dunwoodies, Duncans, Hamiltons, Harpers, Horners, Lotts, McAllisters, McCleans, McClearies, McClellans, McConaughys, McCrearies, McCulloughs, McCurdys, McIlhennies, McLaughlins, McPhersons, Maginleys, Paxtons, Russels, Scotts, Stevensons, Stewarts, Thompsons, and Wilsons. They were a sturdy and vigorous class, intelligent, shrewd, inflexible of purpose, fond of argument, in fair circumstances, clannish and aristocratic. They had a fondness for political activity, and were more given to agitation than to the industrious working out of details. Restless and ambitious, they were migratory. Their course was from the farm to the town, whence the next generation contributed a considerable contingent to the city or to the growing west where they had hoped to find undisputed supremacy. In Adams County, the Germans gradually and silently supplanted them, buying up the farms that the Scotch-Irish had impoverished by their indifferent farming, and by deeper ploughing and the judicious use of fertilizers rendering them productive. The better education of the Scotch Irish, fostered by their pastors who were men of culture, made them leaders in the community. The two streams could not flow side

by side with entire independence. Intermarriages resulted in a mixed race, uniting the better qualities of both races.

A Dutch colony had been among the first settlers, a few miles east of the town. Its descendants represented by such names as Brinkerhoof, were almost lost in the Scotch-Irish with whom they intermarried and coalesced religiously. In the northeastern part of the county, there was a Quaker settlement, about Bendersville and York Springs, that furnished stations for the "Underground Railway", to promote the escape of slaves from their masters, as they crossed the Mason and Dixon's line, and were hastened forward towards Canada, their land of refuge.

The intellectual standard of Gettysburg was high even before the founding of the college. The Rev, Dr. David McConaughy, the Prebbyterian pastor, himself a native of the neighborhood, had conducted an academy with considerable success. An old stone house at the intersection of the Taneytown road and Baltimore pike, stood for many years after the battle. Here, candidates for the ministry of the Seceders, one of the minor Presbyterian sects, had received their preliminary training, under the Rev. James Dobbin, antedating Princeton seminary many years. The bar of Adams county of the first half of the Nineteenth century had a distinguished reputation. Thaddeus Stevens practised in Gettysburg for about thirty years before his removal to Lancaster. Among his students were James Cooper, afterwards U.S.senator from Pennsylvania, and Daniel M. Smyser, afterward President judge of Montgomery, my mother's second cousin. Three county papers, the Adams Sentinel, edited by Robert G. Harper, the Star and Banner, edited by David A. Buehler and the Republican Compiler, edited by Henry J. Stahle, kept the political agitation active, and gave most of the people all their news concerning the rest of the world.

The community had not been indifferent to the education of its daughters as well as its sons. On Seminary Ridge overlooking the town, there was a commodious building in which the late Gen. Herman Haupt had conducted a young ladies school of a high grade,<sup>5</sup> and although the experiment did not succeed, in a modest building near High Street, uncomfortably close to the jail, a succession of cultivated ladies did good work, until the school fell finally into the hands of my relative, Mrs. R.M.Eyster, who, after some years removed it to the old academy building. Mrs. Eyster (Miss Rebecca Reynolds) was a woman of wide and profound reading, and a stimulating teacher, who inspired her pupils with high ideals. She left her impress on two generations of pupils, and educated the wives of many Lutheran ministers.<sup>6</sup>

Gettysburg was, during her childhood, my mother's home. She had been born Sept. 29th.1811, near Hunterstown, five miles from Gettysburg in the home of her paternal grandfather, and removed to Gettysburg, when only a few weeks old. A brick house on the north-east corner of the Diamond, opposite what is now termed the "Hotel Gettysburg", was the home of my grandfather Eyster from 1811 to 1822 or 3. Of his relation to the county of Adams, I will speak more fully as this narrative proceeds. David Middlecoff, my grand-uncle, brother of my grandmother, succeeded my grandfather as senator from York and Adams, not immediately but after several terms, and was Clerk of the Pennsylvania Senate, at the time of

the Buckshot War, when he and the Speaker, Charles B. Penrose, found safety by escaping from a window. My grandmother often entertained me with reminiscences of her childhood and the traditions of her family concerning the time when the Indians were close neighbors. Our family were, therefore, not strangers to the community in which I was reared.

On the eastern edge of the town, overlooking a steep declivity - a spot now marked by a deserted graveyard, and opposite the Reformed church - stood the Union church with its high spire after the general style of the then existing court-house, and the churches of that period. It was demolished when I was four years old, but my recollection of its general appearance is still very distinct. In this building, Lutherans and Reformed worshipped alternately. As most of the services at the time were in the German language, and only one half of them Lutheran, it was inevitable that, with the founding of the college and seminary, other arrangements would be necessary. What was called "Christ Church" but was commonly known as the "College Church", accordingly originated in the weekly services held in the college chapel. Christ church, on Chambersburg street, was built in 1835. Its membership was composed mainly of the professors and students of the two institutions. The preaching was gratuitous, - the contribution of the Professors until after I removed to Philadelphia in 1883. One of the Professors received a small salary as pastor, although he ordinarily did no more preaching than his colleagues, but performed pastoral acts. The Presbyterian was not the strongest church numerically, but it was influential. As Dr. Krauth, Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Stoeber married members of this congregation, and Dr. Baugher found his wife in the Presbyterian church of Carlisle, it was natural that the relations between the two congregations should be very close. There were frequent conflicts in this congregation that agitated the town and required the earnest attention of the presbytery. Lutherans are not the only people among whom there are church dissensions. Whatever may have been the faults of these people, both as a congregation, and as individuals, I must always cherish for them the highest esteem. In later years, during my first efforts as a preacher, and when a professor in the college, I often preached for them, and had abundant proofs of their confidence and regard.

There was a small congregation of "Seceders" worshipping in the oldest church in town. It was absorbed into the United Presbyterian church, but, after a long struggle, it finally succumbed to the inevitable. It lost its members slowly but surely to the Presbyterians. The Methodist church was a small unsightly building on Middle Street. I remember being taken by my father, when a child, to a revival meeting, and to have realized that there was much in the service that could not be approved. At the extreme southern end of town, on Washington street, a Catholic church stood, in demolishing which two men were killed. I saw one of the bodies brought past our home.

Rev. Benjamin Keller was pastor of the congregation worshipping in the Union church, afterwards known as St. James'. The Kellers were evidently admirers of the bishop of Jerusalem. Mr. Keller himself afterwards founded St. James', Philadelphia, and his son, the Rev. F.A.M. Keller founded St. James', Reading. Mr. Keller had come to Gettysburg from St. Michael's, Germantown, and remained seventeen years. Although he seemed to me then an old man,

he was destined to do some important work after leaving Gettysburg. He died in 1864.

Mr. Keller administered St. James with truly patriarchal dignity. His people were devoted to him as to a father. His strength lay in his pastoral work. A Lutheran of the old school, having studied under Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, he had no sympathy with the innovations then gaining strength in the General Synod, or with the influence entering the Gettysburg institutions from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian elements in the community. Amiable and peace-loving, he kept the even tenor of his way, with inflexible purpose, energetically devoting himself to the service of his people and bearing his share of the burdens demanded by the general interests of the Church. He was a successful collector of funds, first for the Parent Education Society,<sup>7</sup> then, for the German Professorship in Pennsylvania College, and afterwards for the Lutheran Publication Society.<sup>8</sup> He had much to do with the founding of our seminary. Charles F. Norton, who endowed the first Professorship, was his son-in-law, and it is generally understood that his advice was a very important factor in determining Mr. Norton's course. As I write, I see him clad in the calico gown ordinarily worn by students at that time, pacing up and down the side of his house on Washington street, or preaching with great earnestness, although I recall little of the sermon. He had the habit of calling me "Michael" - an offense which, I am afraid, was not readily forgiven.<sup>9</sup>

The College church was my spiritual nursery. The building was one of Puritanic simplicity and plainness. It was as bare and cold as any Quaker meeting-house, distinguished only by a Moorish belfry which sheltered a deep toned bell that had once done duty for Roman Catholics in Spain, and seems to have been part of the spoil from the convents, when Napoleon conquered the country and broke up the Inquisition. A suitable Latin inscription tells of its origin. Within, the white walls, the Venetian blinds at the windows, often out of repair, the parapet of a pulpit suggesting a possible defense the preacher might have to make against an attack of musketry, and the massive chandelier of brass lard lamps in the center, at once proclaimed that those who built the building sympathized with the divorce between religion and art, that extremists who were not Lutheran advocated at the time of the Reformation. As soon as I could walk, I was taken to church regularly. I learned to read the numerals by opening the hymn-book, as the hymns were announced and by carefully watching how my father found them in his book, and supplementing what I saw by some few inquiries at home. The hymn-book<sup>10</sup> was an interesting object of study, particularly when I found other collections of hymns among my father's books, and made a comparison. The tunes sung were not always to my taste. I classified them as "bright" or "pale" much to the amusement of the family circle.

Apart from the subjects of the sermons, it is interesting to look back and note how the personality of the preachers affected me, and the impressions of them formed. One of them particularly seemed the personification of everything unfeeling and terrible. He was cold, logical, abstract, often closing his eyes as he developed his theme. Sometimes as I wakened at night, I imagined him under the bed. I picked up far more sermons than I supposed. My mind soon ran on theological problems, such as Omnipresence and the Trinity, and I still remember some of my childish solutions.

From the time I was six years old, I was taken just as regularly to evening service "at early candle-light". I had the alternative of going to church, or to bed, and preferred the former. One Sunday evening a month was given to what was then known as "the monthly concert of missions". At this service, the officiating minister either gave an account of the progress in some particular mission, or a sketch of the life of some eminent missionary. This service was always attended with pleasure, and nothing that was said or read was lost. I am inclined to think that my father made a mistake in enforcing my attendance as a child at the Preparatory Service and at the Wednesday evening prayer-meeting. His principle was that whenever the church was open, the entire family should attend. But the Preparatory Service, I realized, was not intended for those not yet confirmed, and I felt out of place. It is a service for mature Christians, and not for the children of the Church. The Wednesday evening service was held in the basement, a damp, sometimes overheated, ill-ventilated room, with most uncomfortable seats, where the closeness of the atmosphere and the often tedious remarks of the imperfectly prepared speaker had a very depressing effect upon a sleepy child, particularly when after a while, he had lessons to prepare for the next morning. What seemed always remarkably strange was that attendance upon this service was insisted upon as a test of the sincerity of one's religious profession - possibly a sort of ascetic exercise.

My Sunday-school experience was limited. Miss Carrie Fahnestock's instructions in the Infant School are still gratefully remembered. "There is a Happy Land" and "Oh, Where, Tell Me Where, Are the Little Children Gone", and "If At First You Don't Succeed" and "I Want To Be an Angel" etc. ring in my ears as reminiscences of her tuition. But when promoted to the advanced school, my father did not want me associated with boys, who, he thought, might do me more injury than the Sunday-school could do me good. I was in the school long enough to commit many passages of Scripture, and hymns, for which we received paste-board tickets, exchangeable for religious books, and to appreciate the value of the "Union Sunday-school Question Books", then in use. During a part of this time, my present colleague in the Seminary faculty, Rev. Dr. J. Fry, was the youthful and stimulating superintendent. When, at the age of nine years, I entered the Preparatory Department of the college, my father withdrew me from Sunday-school, and sent me to the Bible Class conducted on Sunday afternoons by the Principal of the Department, Prof. M.L. Stoeber.

My family life, however, did more for me than either church or school. This is not to be interpreted as meaning that anything of solid benefit could come from the family unless it were for the influences communicated and maintained by the Church. In the winter, without heating facilities now in use, we were confined to two or three rooms warmed by air-tight sheet iron stoves with wood split in our cellar. The recitations in College began at eight o'clock. Breakfast, therefore, was over by 7.15, morning family worship generally preceding it. Shortly after nine at night, the family again gathered for evening worship, after which all occupations ceased, and even general conversation was restricted. The preparation for sleep was to remind us of our preparation for death, and all trivialities and laughter were to be suppressed as we went to our beds. My mother was very methodical in her distribution of time. After her routine work was over every morning, she

devoted about twenty minutes to reading her Bible, going through it regularly every year. In my early childhood, I was often on her lap or at her side, while she was thus engaged. I learned, in this way, to read, by picking out the words on which she placed her finger while reading aloud. The first chapter of John was my first reading lesson that I can remember. When reading was once mastered, I began to print with a pencil, and thus wrote in my own way.

As more children came, and my mother was occupied with them, I clung to my father, accompanying him to college, as a visitor to his classes. The physical and chemical experiments enlisted my interest. In the class-room, I picked up much information that became an abiding possession, and was also able occasionally to be of some assistance in his preparation of his experiments. While he studied, I read. When he had field work with classes in Botany, Mineralogy, Geology or Surveying, I was always with him. When he was grading streets, I would hold the target or help with the tape line. If he went from home on an errand or took a walk, he had an incessant questioner by his side. Ever recurring among these questions was: "Who will bury the last man?" I did some desultory study of spelling, Geography and Arithmetic; but my earlier years were largely occupied by attention to that in which my father was engaged. I had not gone to any school until Nov. 14, 1853, at the age of nine, I entered the Preparatory Department of Pennsylvania College. Occasionally I heard my lot lamented as one who had never been and would never be a boy, and the prediction that I would scarcely survive childhood made, because I did not join in the ordinary games of children.

My father was one of the quickest <sup>of</sup> observers. His mental processes were extraordinarily rapid. His judgment was deliberate and well balanced. It used to be said that he could tell by the sound of the chalk on the blackboard if the student had made a mistake. However this may have been, it only required a glance upon the board on his part, to detect where an error lay. His eye was trained by habits of close observation of objects of nature. He seemed to know the botanical name of every flower and shrub that he met. An exclamation of pleasure would be occasioned perhaps by the appearance of some almost microscopic flower that others passed unnoticed. The stones and formations of rocks occupied his attention while travelling. The clouds and winds gave him data for his monthly meteorological reports to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington and the Franklin Institute at Philadelphia. At night his attention was equally occupied by the stars. Their names were just as readily recalled as those of the flowers by day. For many years he made the astronomical calculations for the Lutheran Almanac. I learned to assist him in the verification of columns of figures as he diligently worked on the Nautical Almanac and Bowditch's Navigator. Every phase of an eclipse of the sun or moon were diligently observed, and occasionally an unusually brilliant Aurora Borealis would keep him from his bed a large portion of the night. The heavier the storm, and the louder the thunder, the more constantly was he at the window or on the porch. From near and far, people came to him for all sorts of information, which he gave without the thought of the compensation due him as an expert. No weather bureau to-day predicts the changes as accurately as he did nearly a half century ago. He had studied his tables of

observations so carefully, that he deduced from them "laws", which he applied to the conditions before him. No physician ever diagnosed the condition of a patient more accurately than he did the atmosphere. Men would bring stones to him, hoping to find some trace of valuable ore, only to return home crest-fallen and disappointed. So far was he from any commercial motive, that when, early in the forties, he discovered the process of canning tomatoes, carrying with it the immense canning industry of the present time, instead of applying for a patent, he made it at once public property. When early in the morning of July 1st. 1863, he accompanied a staff officer of the Army to the cupola of the college, it was only a natural thing for him to direct attention to Cemetery Hill as the key of the situation if a battle were to be fought at Gettysburg. He had the gifts of a military genius, and as the Civil War progressed traced the progress of the campaigns as reported in the daily papers on a large map of the Southern States that covered almost the entire of our dining room above the chair board.

It could not be said that he was without ambition. In all his investigations, he was persistent, until he found a solution of the problem that he was working, and was impelled by the constant desire of progress in all his undertakings. But he was modest and retiring to a fault, and without a proper estimate of his own attainments. The many subjects which he taught prevented him from that concentration that is necessary for putting the results of his scholarship in proper form. He labored on an insufficient salary to enable him to accumulate the proper apparatus and to live in touch with the leaders of the departments in which he was competent to be one of the highest authorities in the country. Hence he published little. His main interest, strange to say, was not in the sciences, but it was religious and theological, and hence he treated his department more in the spirit of an amateur than of one who made it his life-work. He was a scientist because he believed that he had a calling as a Christian to teach science in a Church college.

For a third of a century, he preached and lectured regularly in the College church. The service was frequent and without compensation. It was however, a great tax upon one overworked otherwise, and naturally diffident. The strain was very noticeable to the audience. He was a clear and accurate writer; but his gifts were not those of a public speaker, either from the pulpit or in the deliberative assembly. I never knew him to participate in a public debate. Even when his opinions would be called for, he preferred to maintain absolute silence. The sight of an expectant audience unnerved him.

But in the class room, all diffidence was gone. He commanded attention by his personality. His piercing black eyes made students feel that any inattention or transgression would be known at once, while his dignified bearing and gentle treatment attracted them, and the freshness and vivacity of his instruction inspired enthusiasm for the topic treated. A pleasantry was not suppressed when it served to illumine a subject or relieve monotony.

Lest I may be thought extravagant in my estimate, the opinion of others who knew him may well be cited. Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, one of his favorite pupils, writes of him in Johnson's

Cyclopedia: "His qualities as a man and an instructor were of a high order. His character was of transparent Christian purity, his mind clear and his modesty great, almost to a fault"!<sup>2</sup> In an introduction to my father's little book on the Battle of Gettysburg, Dr. Krauth says that he "is distinguished as an acute observer, as a man of clear judgment and of great conscientiousness, who is not only scrupulous as to the substance of his statements, but cautious in their tone and coloring."<sup>3</sup>

Dr. C.W. Schaeffer, in announcing his death in "The Lutheran", says: "Connected with the college, as he was, from its very beginning and continuing on through nearly forty years of faithful and successful labor, his name will ever be embodied in its history, as that of one of its most able and illustrious teachers. It will be the pleasant, though mournful, part of the Trustees, to express, in fitting terms, their high appreciation of his rich and varied endowments, the purity and dignity of his character, his fidelity and promptitude in filling up, and when occasion required, even exceeding the full measure of the duties of his Chair. The Alumni, now scattered throughout the land, as they recall what they so often observed, the wealth of his gifts, the gentle attractiveness of his manner, and his aptness to teach, will hear with a sigh, the news of his departure, and ever associate grateful and pleasant memories with the mention of his name...

"... The life of a student and a scholar is not apt to be, in the ordinary sense, a very eventful one; but the character of Professor Jacobs, in the variety of its many excellencies, was so marked and decided, that those who had the privilege of knowing him will long associate with him many events of importance in the Church, of which he was a minister, and with many scenes of loveliness in Nature, where also he bore the honors of the priesthood."

"It is recorded of one who had an extraordinary measure of wisdom and understanding, that he spake of trees, and of beasts and of fowls and of creeping things; and so it is, by wisdom of the naturalist, that man is honored and God may be glorified. The natural capacities of Prof. Jacobs, his early training, and the special duties devolving upon him as a Professor in Pennsylvania College, all combined to secure for him an extent and accuracy of wisdom and understanding, that gave him a high rank among the naturalists of his age. The sight of a passing cloud, the presence of a humble flower or spear of grass, or lichen, the occurrence of some specimen of the mineral kingdom, whether ordinary or extraordinary, seldom failed to brighten his countenance with the smile almost of friendly recognition, and to draw from his lips such utterances as indicated at once, the thoroughness of the philosopher, and the fervor of the enthusiast. It was our privilege, in former years, to be associated with him in frequent rambles, and in more extended excursions through the field, the forest, and the mine; and we remembered his cheerful and intelligent presence in every scene, we sigh under a sense of loneliness which his final departure has occasioned. We revert with deep appreciation to the touching lament of Moschus over "Bion dead":

"Be sad, ye plants; ye wide old forests, groan;  
 Breathe out your scents, O flowers from drooping clusters;  
 Blush sorrowfully, ye roses; bow thy head  
 In beauteous woe, thou starred anemone;  
 Sweet hyacinth, make now thy letters speak,  
 And let those characters, so fraught with grief,  
 More thickly fall on every shining petal."

"...Adopting with his whole heart, the doctrines of the Divine Word as confessed by the Church, he lived, until the end, in the conscious possession of a pure and holy faith... The fine qualities of mind and heart, that had shed such a steady lustre over his active life, shone until the end, like a morning without clouds; and, like the bow of Joseph, abode in strength, being made strong by the hands of Almighty God...

"He will be long and pleasantly remembered for his public spirit as a citizen, for the gentleness and energy of his disposition, for his sincerity and faithfulness as a friend, for his cultivated manners and refined humor as a companion. His devotion to his direct official duties was so hearty, as to prevent him from doing, what he was otherwise so well qualified to do, in the completion of some great scientific work that might remain as a lasting memorial of his attainments..." 14

My father's library had many books of interest, chiefly scientific, together with the classical books of my deceased uncle, David Jacobs, bearing the marks of his modes of study. But more popular books were accessible to me in the "Ladies' Library of Christ Church", of which my mother was librarian, and which filled a book case in our house - the works of Hannah More and Charlotte Elizabeth, the biographies of Chalmers and Judson, the various histories of Missions, particularly the narrative of John Williams concerning missionary enterprise in the South Sea Islands were read eagerly, the latter several times. Well do I remember the first number of Harper's Magazine and those following, of which my father was long a subscriber, and the interesting biography of Napoleon by John S.C. Abbot, which appeared consecutively on its pages. When Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote her momentous "Uncle Tom's Cabin", it was read aloud in the family. I have never read it, but readily recall some of the incidents then heard. Beside two county papers, the New York Observer, furnished us with news of the world in its secular department so printed that it could be separated from its 'religious' department, some of our good Gettysburg friends reading the former on week-days, and reserving the latter for Sunday, although they could scarcely have regarded it a sin to read the religious pages on other days. The daily paper only came with the railroad.

During my childhood, our household contained some who were not members of our immediate family. Relatives both of my father and my mother, sent to college or to the school for young ladies, were taken into our home. Four brothers of my mother had attended college and lived with my parents, all except my uncle Alfred before my birth. Four nephews and two nieces of my father were at various times under the roof, beside several remote relatives from Chambersburg. Two of my father's nephews, (Henry and Luther David Jacobs), after graduating at college, studied medicine in Gettysburg and continued for several years to live with us. The latter

roomed with me for a number of years.

My sister Julia, two years my junior, was for a long time my only playmate. We were closely guarded from other children. Once we found an opportunity, and surprised my mother on a Saturday afternoon by bringing down upon her a large portion of the Sunday-school, whom we had undertaken, on our own authority, to invite to a party, and, then childlike had forgotten that we had given the invitation. Another time, we were sent to church on a Sunday, when my father was at synod and my mother was sick. A young minister preached on Eph. 2:1: "Dead in trespasses and sins." "Many generally regarded alive", he said, "are dead. They walk the streets, but are dead; are active in business, but are dead; even come to church and sit in the pews, but are dead!" With every repetition of the phrase my indignation grew. At least, I reached for my hat, and left the church (our pew was near the front), followed by my sister and the nurse. Reaching home, my mother exclaimed: "Why, children, what is the matter?" "Why, Ma," I answered, "there is a man preaching at our church, who doesn't know anything. He says that we are all dead." Children think on theological subjects as well as adults.

Commencement seasons, when the Boards of both College and Seminary met, were great occasions. Our home was regularly full of guests. One night, I remember that seventeen persons slept under our roof. The first place among the guests belonged to Dr. Augustus H. Lochman of York. As my mother's pastor at Harrisburg, he had confirmed her, had married my parents, and had baptized me. It was on a visit to Dr. Lochman's house at Harrisburg that my father met my mother. He was an amiable, genial, fatherly man, cheerful and full of incidents of pastoral life and reminiscences of departed pastors. During his stay, my father's study was blue with smoke. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, a theological pupil of his own father, he was conservative ecclesiastically, and a decided opponent of "New Measures". He was pastor of the historic congregation at York, where he succeeded his uncle by marriage, Dr. J.G.Schmucker (great-grandfather of my son-in-law, Luther R. Shearer). He preached with equal facility in both German and English languages. At a meeting of the West Pennsylvania Synod at Newville, Dr. Benjamin Kurtz preached the communion sermon, and was so bitter in his denunciation of Confessions of Faith and Liturgies, that Dr. Lochman who was seated in back of him, and was to conduct the rest of the service, rose and left the church. His family was immediate with ours. His wife was an accomplished, handsome motherly woman. His large family of sons and daughters, all of them my seniors, were of striking personal appearance. Although an avowed Old Lutheran, when the break in the Church came, his connections with the General Synod were too strong to be separated, and he became a partisan of those against whom he had long protested. His friendship for me, he assured me, never wavered. He would put his hands on my shoulder, and say: "Henry, I think as much of you as ever; only I am sorry that you are not with us." A visit I paid him in 1875 for two days at York, will never be forgotten. His memory I cherish as that of my father's most intimate friend in the ministry. <sup>16</sup>

Among others who gathered in my father's study at Commencement time were Dr. Jonathan Oswald of York, noted for his dry wit and short sermons. Rev. John Ulrich, for many years at York Springs, a dignified and courteous country pastor reputed to have been a man of means, Rev. D.P. Rosenmiller of Hanover, a cousin on his father's side, of the Schaeffers, and on his mother's, of Admiral Porter, and a nephew of the old Commodore of the War of 1812., and with them, sometimes younger men, C.W. Schaeffer, C.A. Hay, W.M. Baum, C.P. Krauth, Jr., W.A. Passavant, A.C. Wedekind. Dr. Seiss I first saw in Gettysburg in '52; Dr. Passavant in '53 and Dr. Krotel in '53 or '54, when they came thither to make addresses or preach special sermons. Dr. J.G. Morris was always a prominent figure there, and is associated with my earliest recollections.

Every Spring my father hired a conveyance for a week and took his entire family to visit his relatives in the neighborhood of 'Waynesboro'. Our route was westward by the Hagerstown road, through the Marsh Creek ravine, and then, ascending a succession of hills until the mountains were reached, which were gradually ascended either by the Fountaindale defile, or by a more abrupt slope over what was known as the Furnace road. The latter route was more wild and picturesque, but the road was rough, and not altogether without danger, except with horses that were completely under control. In places where a precipice yawned at one side and a steep cliff rose like a wall on the other, the road was so narrow that two vehicles could not pass each other. It was at a time, when the trees were just beginning to put on their foliage; the dog-wood and sassafras were in bloom; wild flowers of great variety clothed the meadows and road sides, and the birds were making the forests merry with their notes. The many changes of scenery, varying from sequestered nooks of idyllic simplicity in the lowlands, to the sublime peaks of the mountains, around which our way wound, with constant diversities in the coloring of rocks and leaves and flowers, made every mile of the way exhilarating. Near the summit, where the road was cut out of the rock, beautiful specimens of porphyry rewarded us as we relieved the burden of the horse by walking up the ascent. On the summit were Monterey and Buena Vista hotels, in the Pen Mar region. A widely extended view of rich country was stretched out before us. We looked across the few miles of Pennsylvania, through the narrow belt of Maryland, and beyond the Potomac, to the mountain summits of Virginia. In the plain below, some six or eight miles distant, my father was born and raised.

The famous Mason and Dixon's line, which was surveyed in 1765, and finally, after many disputes, determined the boundary of Pennsylvania and Maryland, ran directly over the spot where my great-grandfather, Martin Jacob, had made his home. He was there in fact before the determination of the line, and had made his first purchases of land from the Maryland authorities. The subsequent straightening of the line by the English surveyors, carried it southward at this point, and left most of his farm in Pennsylvania. One of the milestones stood in the midst of the farm, where it was shown me by my father. My great grandfather and grandfather were industrious and enterprising farmers, and made successive purchases expanding the farm. There were about six hundred acres within its limits at the time of my grandfather's death. According to the custom of the times, the lowest part of the premises was selected as the site for the farm-house. They had no wind-mills to pump the water to the top of the hills, and sought the spot where it was most accessible. The house built by Martin Jacob stood in a marshy meadow, within two or three hundred feet of the Maryland line. Here my father was born. But while he was a child, the large stone family house was erected by my grandfather on higher ground, and considerably farther north. It was a well-built double house. The dining room occupied the entire side of the front building and was constructed with a view to providing for the large force of hands employed in the busiest seasons of the year. At other seasons, it was the living room of the family. From its front windows, the small brick church, just across the Maryland line, with its graveyard was in full view. The church was known by the name of the

family as Jacob's church. The old log building that had stood when my father was a child had been long displaced by a very plain brick building, with a capacity of about 200. The enormous contract for constructing this edifice had been awarded to a local builder, names Leiter, who was destined to be the grandfather of Lady Curzon, wife of the Governor General of India. A densely wooded hill formed the background, Here were the graves of the family.'

The congregation was composed of plain farmers. But they were people who thought deeply on religious subjects, and were judges of good preaching. For more than the average life-time, Parson Ruthrauf had served this congregation from Greencastle with seven or eight other congregations in his parish. He was<sup>an</sup> old-fashioned, hard working pastor, during most of his career a member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Although his ministry there had begun as early as 1795, I often heard the contents of his catechetical instruction referred to, and his sayings quoted by those who still cherished his memory.<sup>2</sup> Dr. F.W.Conrad had served this congregation from Hagerstown, about the time of my birth. Rev. John Heck, a graduate of the college at Gettysburg of 1839, had been with the people for a number of years, a very highly esteemed and warmly loved man, noted for his rapidity of delivery.<sup>3</sup> Rev. J.F.Campbell, once a lawyer, and afterwards a prominent conservative leader in the southern church, was pastor shortly before the War.<sup>4</sup> The responsibility for the church lay largely on the shoulders of my uncle Henry, my father's eldest brother, and, by general acquiescence of the family, it's head. He was a man of few words, but meant every word he spoke. He was thoughtful, deliberate, persistent, serious almost to sternness, nevertheless, not without an appreciation of humour. His religion was not on his tongue, but it controlled his life. The whole community looked up to him as a man of sterling worth, whose promise could be implicitly trusted, and whose judgment was rarely if ever deceived. Born in 1795, he fell heir to the old homestead, and lived there until his death in the Spring of 1863. He raised a large family, three of whom fell victims to consumption. After it had taken two married daughters, each shortly after the birth of a child, and a son, Dr. Henry Jacobs, my uncle himself succumbed to it in his declining years. His widow, Elizabeth Kreider, a peculiarly handsome woman in her time, long survived him, dying from the effects of a fall in 1886. The relations of my father to his oldest brother were most intimate. They were in frequent correspondence, consulted each other in regard to all important matters, and exchanged visits yearly. My uncle was for a time a member of the Seminary Board at Gettysburg. His sons lived in our family while at college, but apart from these circumstances a deep sympathy and community of interest, brought the eldest and youngest brother more frequently together than the rest of the family. He was an interested observer of all that was occurring in Church and State, staunch in his Lutheranism, and in politics a Republican, but incapable of bitterness towards those with whom he knew himself to differ.

Back from the old homestead, a mile farther into Pennsylvania, through a forest in my childhood extending almost over the entire route, was the home of my father's oldest sister, Barbara, the wife of Michael Eyler. They lived in a commodious brick house, without display, but in very comfortable circumstances. My aunt was the oldest member of my father's family, and her husband was considerably

older than his wife, and was decrepit from my earliest recollection. He had been a stone mason and builder, and had erected my grandfather's house in 1816. He had been prosperous and had accumulated property and was a faithful member of Jacob's church. When my grandmother died, my aunt was but fifteen years old. My father was an infant. The care of the entire domestic affairs of the household rested upon my aunt. She had raised my father. In later years, she showed the effects of the strain to which she had been put. She had a piercing eye, sharp clearly cut features and a prominent nose, indicating decided character, not without severity. At the foot of the small ascent on which the house was built was an old brick spring-house through which a run flowed, while on the second storey was a room in which my father had his first schooling.<sup>5</sup>

Still nearer Waynesboro, right on the edge of the town, was the home of another of my father's brothers, George. He was the least reserved of the brothers, and had moved more among men. While he lived on his farm, he had a tenant, and was in easy circumstances. He had gone into various business enterprises, and was a bank director. For one term he was a member of the lower house of the State Legislature. There was an extra session of the Legislature, during one of the college vacations, while we were visiting at my grandfather's, in Harrisburg. I saw him almost every day then. He was a man of irreproachable character and decided convictions, but was less self restrained in his utterances than the rest of the family. He could be blunt and abrupt. His wife was a sister of my uncle Bell, a brother and sister of the Jacobs family having married a sister and brother of the Bell family. They had a large family of daughters. He was occasionally a lay delegate to synod, and also served as director of the Gettysburg seminary.

Still another brother, John, died when I was ten years old. He had divided the farm with my uncle Henry, living on a hill in a new brick house, always kept in the best of repair and freshly painted, about a half mile from the old home. He was a man of extraordinary size, who, like so many others of the family, fell a victim to consumption at the age of 56. He had lost a son from yellow fever in the Mexican War. His descendants are the only representatives of the Jacobs name in the community.

About three miles across the Maryland line, was the village of Leitersburg - a straggling town of a couple hundred people, living mostly in frame houses. Some distance beyond, was the farm of Jacob E. Bell, the husband of my father's youngest sister. The family lived in a large and comfortable brick house, while at the foot of the hill, was the home of the tenant who tilled the place. For many years, it was an ideal country home, with every comfort a productive and intelligently conducted farm could supply, and with books and papers and other indications of refined and cultivated tastes. They were intelligent people, not extravagant, but not restricted in the proper use of what they had. Mr. Bell, one of the kindest hearted of men, in an evil hour, became security for a friend who failed. In their old age, father and the mother, and two maiden daughters were reduced to poverty, while to add to the affliction, my aunt had a fall making her a helpless cripple for the rest of her life. They left the old home, moving to the house at the foot of the hill, while the tenant took the homestead. Hard as it was, they bore the affliction with Christian resignation.

My aunt died a few weeks after my mother, early in 1892. She was a very amiable woman, deeply attached to her family and to the memory of her brothers. She survived the entire family.

In all these families, there was a higher degree of intelligence and more natural refinement, than is common with the farming class. They had in fact been raised by the industry and enterprise of my grandfather and his father to the position, on a small scale, of landed proprietors. In none of these homes, was there anything boisterous, rough or coarse. I never heard among them violent laughter, an angry word or an indelicate expression. In their judgments of other people, they were always moderate and qualified. There was a delicate sensibility running throughout the entire family, that respected the rights and tenderest feelings of other people. Their diffidence among strangers was very marked. They were calm, self-restrained, not without deep emotion, but keeping it under complete control. A vein of melancholy was tempered with quiet humor. All were devoutly religious, not only regular attendants at church, but men and women of a godliness that was all the more sincere because it shrank from publicity.

Their speech was pure English. There was no accent of the German traceable, although all could speak the Pennsylvania dialect, and my aunts preferred to read their Bibles in German. How this purity of English speech came about is to me a mystery. Their neighbors were not Scotch-Irish or English Quakers, but German Reformed and Dunkards.

They were isolated. There was little intimacy outside the family connection. Others met at church, in social groups about the church-yard before and after service, or at the table where they entertained members of the congregation living at a long distance, but, except in sickness, there was little visiting. The families of the connection moved among each other in their carriages, as opportunity offered.

In the graveyard of the church stand the tombstones of my grandparents. My grandfather, I infer, was a man very similar to his eldest son and namesake, my uncle Henry. Mr. Herbert C. Bell, in his "History of the Leitersburg District",<sup>6</sup> has brought together all accessible information concerning the family. Henry Jacobs Sr., was born where he lived and died (unless we count a small fraction of a mile as another locality), December 16th. 1764, and succeeded to his father's estate on the latter's death in 1802. Tradition tells us that he was a quiet man, who said little, but was very decided. He never spoke English in his family, and expected his children always to address him in German. He used well the hymn-book published by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania,<sup>1</sup> and greatly admired Paul Gerhard's evening hymn, "Nun ruhen alle Waelder". My father used to call it "My father's favorite hymn". A study of that hymn shows reasons why it especially appealed to him. Left a widower in the prime of life (at 45) with a large family of children, and so faithful to the memory of his wife, that he never remarried, we can form some idea of his sense of desolation, during the twelve years that he survived her. During the week, there were absorbing duties every day, from before sunrise, until he went to his bed worn out with fatigue, that occupied his attention. But on some quiet Sunday night, amidst the oppressive

silence of the thinly innabited country, we can see him watch the sun go down, from the summit of the hill at the back of his house, where the landscape spread out for miles before him, until it lost itself in the darkness of the solemn mountains; and, as he would turn, in the opposite direction we can see him gazing at the churchyard where his wife and parents were sleeping. At length, when the last trace of day had vanished, and he was alone in the darkness, with the bright stars snining above him through the clear and unobstructed sky, and the dim outline of the forests fringing the horizon, was it strange, that in his solitariness, those verses were recalled which possibly he may have learned in his childhood from his mother? Or, at such hours, he may have taken with him his two motherless boys, David and Michael, both of them destined for important service in the Church, and as he held them in his arms, and silently prayed for them, he sang these lines so appropriate to time and circumstance:

"Now rest the woods again,  
Man, cattle, town and plain,  
The world all sleeping lies.  
But sleep not yet my soul,  
For He who made this Whole,  
Loves that thy prayers to Him arise.

The long bright day is past  
The golden stars at last  
Bestud the dark-blue heaven;  
And like a star shall I  
Forever shine on high  
When my release from earth is given.

My heavy eyes must close,  
Sealed up in deep repose,  
Where is thy safety then?  
Do Thou Thy mercy send,  
My helpless hours defend,  
Thou Sleepless Eye, that watches over men!

Jesus, my joy, now spread  
Thy wings above my head  
To shield Thy little one.  
Would Satan work me wrong  
Oh! be the angel's song,  
'To him no evil shall be done.'

My loved ones all, good night!  
No grief or danger light  
On your defenceless heads!  
God send you happy sleep,  
And let the angels keep  
Watch, golden armed, around your beds!"

Probably it was not because there were not other hymns in that well-worn hymn-book, that I own, which he prized equally, but because this hymn, handed down in the family, was not only the most appropriate to time and circumstances, but he also taught it to his children so diligently, that it was ever associated with his memory.

The farm under him, attained its greatest extent and highest prosperity. Twenty-four horses were usually kept. At the sale at his death, 19 were sold. The barn as well as the house, which he built, was on a large scale. Between his farm and Baltimore, he kept a line of the large wagons of those days running.

"The establishment," says Mr. Bell in his "History", "was almost patriarchal in its proportions. In addition to his own family of eight, Henry Jacobs reared the children of his deceased brothers, and there was always a full complement of servants, both men and women. German was the language of the house, the church and the community generally. The old stone mansion was also the scene of a generous hospitality. People came to church from long distances, and were eagerly prevailed upon to stay for dinner before returning home. This was the invariable custom of the preacher as long as the farm remained in the family." "He was a methodical business man and his private papers possess a real degree of curious interest." He died Oct. 21st. 1821, nearly 57 years old, leaving his children, of whom my father was the youngest, entire orphans.

My grandfather was the second of three sons of Martin, or more fully given, John Martin Jacob, the founder of the family in America. Following a clue I found in an old letter in the old homestead, my son, the Rev. Charles M. Jacobs, made a pilgrimage to Germany in 1903 to the home of the family in Alsace, now in Germany, but, for many years in France. He reached it from Woerth where the great battle between the Germans and the French in the Franco-Prussian War was fought in 1870. The walk, first along a military road, and then across the country to Preussdorf, was one of about three miles. He found a quaint, old-fashioned village, and a jargon, that but for some knowledge of Pennsylvania German, he would scarcely have understood. The surroundings were picturesque, with the Vosges mountains in the distance. He at once inquired for the parsonage, and spent the day examining the Church records. His efforts were very successful. The line was traced as far as there were records. It was as follows:

Hans Jacob, der Altere, born 1623; died Feb. 20th. 1708.

Hans Jacob, der Jungere, born 1651; died Sept. 22nd. 1719.  
(married Katherine Motz, GAOI)

Hans Martin Jacob, born 1696; married Barbara Vogler, 1726.

Hans Martin Jacob, born October 2nd. 1731.

The last of the above list, my great-grandfather, left his native village, on reaching man's estate, in the summer of 1753, and arrived in Philadelphia in the ship "Richard and Mary", Sept. 17th. His first home was on Carroll's Tract between Fairfield and Emmitsburg where he found a wife, Barbara Musselman. In 1761, he removed to what became his permanent home for the rest of his life. His successive purchases of ground have been traced by Mr. Bell in his "History of the Leitersburg District". He gave the site for Jacob's church in 1799, although the church had been erected some years before. He died in 1803, leaving as a widow a second wife, who survived until 1814, and whom my aunt Bell well remembered. The tradition of my great-grandfather, as it came down through the older members of my father's family was that he was

" a little quiet old man, who sat behind a stove."

When Martin Jacobs provided for the erection of a church on his farm, he could not have foreseen the blessing it would bring to his descendants. His house, and afterwards that of his son, became the stopping-place of the pastor on his appointments. The result was that after the death of their father, Henry, two of the orphan children of the family, David and Michael, were sent to college, and the beginning was made of a ministerial succession. This has grown as follows:

Sons: Rev. David Jacobs (1805-1830) Founder of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg.  
 Rev. Michael Jacobs (1808-1871) Professor in Gettysburg Gymnasium and Pennsylvania College 1829-1871.

Grandsons: Rev. David J. Eyler (d.1850)  
 Rev. Lewis J. Bell (d. 1907)  
 Rev. Henry E. Jacobs

Great-grandsons: Rev. Clarence Eyler  
 Rev. Charles K. Bell  
 Rev. Charles M. Jacobs

Ministers' wives:

Grand-daughters: Mrs. John H. Harpster

Great-grand-daughters:

Mrs. Charles W. Heisler

Mrs. William M. Horn 8

## Chapter Three \_ Something About My Mother's Family

During my childhood, two visits a year were made to my mother's parents in Harrisburg. As they were in declining years, the plan was to spend as much of the vacation as possible with them, while they in turn spent a considerable portion of the summer with us.

Harrisburg had then a population of from 6 to 8000, three times that of Gettysburg. At four in the morning, the stage left Gettysburg. For days in advance, the house was in confusion with the preparation necessary for the long journey. Not only were the trunks to be packed necessary for a month's stay, but luncheon had to be prepared to take with us, and arrangements to be made to insure breakfast by 3:30 A.M. The trip of 36 miles required all day. It was a great relief when the sick and tired travellers at last reached the Susquehanna, and the hoofs of the horses resounded on the long bridge, over which they were forbidden to pursue their course more rapidly than a leisurely walk. The wide sweep of the river and the mountain gorge above, through which it forced its way, never failed to interest me. The walk along the river-front, the water-works, the grave of the pioneer John Harris, the Pennsylvania Railroad with its large traffic, the canal with its locks and numerous boats, the State capitol with its spacious grounds, afforded much for a child to study. When the Legislature was in session, I was a very attentive visitor. I learned much of parliamentary procedure from what I saw and heard, my grandfather's house being within a few minutes walk of the buildings. The State librarian, the Rev. William R. DeWitt, D.D., father of Prof. John DeWitt of Princeton Seminary, knew my father, and had him preach for him occasionally in the Presbyterian church. The privileges of the library, were, therefore, easily gained. Otherwise the vacation would have become intolerable. But I exchanged the books so often, that the old Doctor asked suspiciously whether I did not do a great deal of my reading on Sundays.

Zion's church, as I first remember it, had the Rev. Dr. C.W. Schaeffer as its pastor.<sup>2</sup> I remember trying to catch a glimpse of him in the pulpit, when the tops of the pews were in the way, and my feet did not touch the floor. Dr. C.A. Hay succeeded him - one of the most sociable of men, fond of long strolls and fishing excursions with my father, in which, of course, I was included.<sup>3</sup>

There were flag raisings and parades and public meetings with speakers of national reputation, when the Fall election approached. At that time the Fall election occurred in October, and the result in Pennsylvania had the greatest influence upon the States voting in November, so that it was most hotly contested, especially in the years when a President of the United States was chosen. There was rivalry between the volunteer fire companies, and the drills of the military company of which my uncle, Jacob, was the captain, that enlisted interest. There was a trip to the market twice a week, at a most unseasonable hour of the morning, when I could be roused regularly at four o'clock, to carry the basket for my uncle, as he made the purchases. The red glow of sunrise generally began to appear, as we would be on our way home.

My grandfather, Jacob Eyster, had moved to Harrisburg in 1822. He had been born in what is now the eastern edge of Adams county in 1781 (June 8th). His childhood was spent within about five miles from Gettysburg, where he obtained a fairly good education in

Presbyterian schools, at or near Hunterstown. As a boy, he had sat on the railing of a neighboring porch, intently watching every movement of George Washington, as he paced up and down the porch, while waiting the preparation of his dinner. The ambition of my grandfather's childhood had been to become a minister. The family of which he was the eldest was large, and it was his lot, instead of completing his studies, to labor in the tannery and on the farm, supplementing this, however, by the more agreeable work of a surveyor. Service in the militia was, in those days, compulsory. He rose from the ranks rapidly, being successively First Sergeant, Captain, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 93rd. Pennsylvania regiment, winning distinction for rare ability as a drill master, until, in 1814, he became a Brigadier General. The War. of 1812 with Great Britain was in progress. The patriotic feeling of the citizens of Adams County was intensified by the natural repugnance of the two elements of the community, the Scotch-Irish and the Germans, to the English. He had scarcely become a brigadier, when he was called into active service. In August of that year, the British under Admirals Cochrane and Cockburn and Gen. Ross, captured the city of Washington and burned the capitol. Proceeding to the attack on Baltimore in the conflict, whose chief distinction is that it called forth the national song: "The Star Spangled Banner", they were defeated in the Battle of North Point, in which their commander fell. The Pennsylvania militia had been hurried up to the defense of Baltimore. Gen. Eyster was ordered to make Westminster, Md., exactly half way between Gettysburg and Baltimore, his headquarters, and to take charge of the arming of the Pennsylvania troops, as they were sent to the front. An interesting letter from Governor Snyder to my grandfather is printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. XII: p. 717. Among those who went to the front was a company from Gettysburg, where the news of the peril of Baltimore had arrived on a Sunday, and a public meeting, similar to those that were to mark the history of that place fifty years later during the Civil War, was held, at which measures were taken for the relief of the threatened city. In that company, was my granduncle, David Middlecoff, then living with my grandparents. In after years, he often spoke to me of his experience, particularly of the fire which the troops opened upon the British ships, and of the groans of the wounded that they distinctly heard. As soon as the troops were armed, and he could get the necessary accoutrements, he rode to Baltimore, to assume whatever command would be allotted to him, but too late to be of service. The occasion that had called for the presence of the militia had happily passed.

In 1811, he had moved from the farm in Strabane township, to Gettysburg, where he had a store on the Diamond. While residing in the town, he was a member of the town council, and a bank director. When only twenty-seven years old, in 1809, he had been a candidate for sheriff. The two parties at that time were Federal and Republican, the Republicans of those days having the Democrats of a later period as their lineal successors. My grandfather was originally a Republican, soon to become, with the rest, a democrat. In 1840, however, a controversy concerning the U.S. Bank led him to change to the Whig party. When towards the close of his life, the Whig party vanished, he transferred his allegiance to the American party, although not a member of the "Knownothing order". His sympathies at

the very last were with the rising new Republicans, although in the campaign of 1856 he voted for Fillmore, instead of Fremont. In was as a "Republican", of the old type, that he ran for Sheriff, and although running at the head of the ticket, failed to overcome the large Federal majority in the county. The campaign, however, took him to Franklin township, in the Western part of the county, to enlist, if possible, the interest of Mr. Jacob Middlecoff, an influential man of that region. Here he met the eldest daughter of the family, who the next year became his wife, and afterwards, my grandmother. During the next ten years, his name was almost constantly on the ticket of the minority party, now Democratic, for Auditor, County Commissioner and House of Representatives. The majority was so strong, that he was habitually nominated, with no expectations of success, but to keep up the struggle. At last, in 1818, the nomination for State Senator of York and Adams counties, was almost forced upon him, with the result that, after an exciting campaign, he was triumphantly elected, and on the expiration of his term was re-elected. In the Senate, he soon came to the front, having been made Chairman of the standing committee on Accounts, and keeping a close watch on the expenditures of the Commonwealth. The youngest of his colleagues in the senate was James Buchanan, afterwards President of the United States. On the floor of the senate, he made two vigorous battles, in which he was in the minority. One was in behalf of a bill for the establishment of a "Loan Office", a State Bank, for the relief of the citizens of Pennsylvania. It was defeated by a tie vote, after a vigorous speech, which he has transcribed into his "Memoirs". In another struggle, he championed the cause of the Roman Catholics, in regard to an amendment to the charter of St. Mary's church, Philadelphia. A priest, it seems, who had become a subject of discipline, because of heretical opinions, had a number of adherents among the pew-holders. They sought for an amendment to the charter, giving them the rights which, they maintained belonged to them as those contributing to the support of the congregation. Although Gen. Eyster's advocacy of the claims of the majority finds its explanation largely in the influence exerted upon him by his Roman Catholic constituents in the eastern part of Adams county in the settlement around Conewago chapel, and by his family physician, a Romanist, nevertheless there were very solid reasons for his course. The courts today would decide that the question of property rights in a church is dependent upon the fidelity of those claiming it to the confessional principles of the church. Notwithstanding this, when the final vote came, he found himself in the minority. The Governor, however, took the same position as Gen. Eyster. The bill amending the charter was vetoed, and there was not a sufficient majority to pass it over the veto. As the gubernatorial election of 1823 approached, he was mentioned as a possible candidate of the Democratic party. But he threw all his influence in favor of his friend and colleague in the senate, John Andrew Schultz, a former Lutheran minister, and grandson of the patriarch Muhlenberg. Politics was too expensive a luxury for him to engage in longer. It brought him no revenue, (it would have been to his discredit if it had), and, while he was occupied with the affairs of the State, his personal and family interests were suffering. His business at Gettysburg, as administered in his absence by others, declined. He therefore, very gratefully accepted the position of Deputy Surveyor General, offered him by Governor Schultz, and resigned his seat in the senate before the expiration of his office.

In this office, he continued for fifteen years, subsiding into a life of quiet routine, disturbed by constant apprehensions that, with a change of the political tide, it would be swept from him. His children grew up about him, and he gave them opportunities of the best educational advantages that his means would allow. The records of the Surveyor General's office gave him opportunity for investigations of an historical nature. He traced the history of his family, made maps of their purchases of lands and of the successive purchases of lands by the colony from the Indians, and found interesting data concerning the titles of property. A striking incident showed his strict integrity was, that, while in his searches he found evidence of the existence of lands, which, by some oversight in the surveys, were not purchased from the State, and could, therefore, on the production of proof, be taken up by a claimant, at a large profit, that fact that he had gained this information while an official of the State deterred him from either purchasing it himself or from giving it to any one who would use the needed information. In my possession, there is now a manuscript of 475 pages, containing an account of the history of his family, and the chief events of his life, and illustrated by a number of valuable maps. Hon. Edward McPherson, formerly clerk of the National House of Representatives, Hon. John Scott, formerly U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. William L. Stone, former Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, examined it at different times, and found in it matters that interested them. The hand-writing is difficult, and the style of diffuse, sometimes even rambling.

Ever faithful to the church, he was a member of the building committee of Bender's church, north of Gettysburg, about a hundred years ago, and a member of the Lutheran churches of Gettysburg and Harrisburg, during his residence there. His attendance was not only regular, but he insisted that his family should be in the pew long before the service began. He was generally among the very first persons in church, waiting in silence, for sometimes fully a quarter of an hour before the pastor entered. His Ms. book ends with a long fervent prayer, especially commending his family to God's mercy. We quote a few sentences:

"Forbid it, God of Mercy, Creator and Sustainer of the Universe, and of all created beings, forbid it!  
 Blessed Saviour and Redeemer of the World, who didst lay down Thine own life, to save it, and them;  
 Holy Spirit of all Grace, forbid, oh forbid it, that any or all these should ever be lost, or be found to have missed the right and only way, or neglected in time to enter it, until too late!  
 But God of Mercy, for Thine own mercies' sake, and for Thy Son's - their and our Redeemer's sake - grant that all and each, with all their's also, may be found to have been safely brought into the Redeemer's fold!  
 And thus, after all the cares and turmoils here, may the subject of these sketches, and all for whom the ardent aspirations of his heart must continue to ascend to that God, who gave them, have a safe and happy entrance into the Heaven of Everlasting peace and rest!"

His wife (Mary Middlecoff), ten years his junior, was very

manifestly superior in practical ability and force of purpose. Her fidelity as a wife and mother of a large family did not prevent her from taking the deepest interest in everything that pertained to the life of the congregation of which she was a member. For a large portion of her period of activity, she was a teacher in the Sunday-school and, for a part of that time, the Superintendent of the Female Department. She read diligently the Church papers, particularly "The Missionary" and "The Lutheran", and was well posted concerning their contents. Beside her Bible, she used constantly her German Hymn-book - her copy of the Pennsylvania Synod's book with the favorite hymns still marked by numerous slips of paper, stands on the same shelf among my books with the German hymn-book of my grandfather Jacobs. It was not unusual for her and my father on a Sunday evening to sing together some of these hymns to the old German chorals. Her disposition was predominantly cheerful and hopeful. She probably saved my life at one time. When about a year old, I was almost at the point of death. The physician had regarded the case as extremely doubtful. Distressed with his treatment, which allowed me no food, she disobeyed strict orders, and gave me what I cried for, with the result that I at once began to mend. She was born and raised in the German Reformed church, but delighted to declare that she was a Lutheran from conviction, and not like the rest of us, because we were born of Lutheran parents.

Although born in the Eighteenth Century, my grandfather was the fifth in a regular descending line in this country. John Jacob Eyster (Aister) had emigrated with his son, Christian, from Wuerttemberg, in the early years of the Century, probably between 1717 and 1727. They settled first near Oley, Berks county. Christian Eyster married Margaret Smyser, whose family history is a matter of published record, and after the birth of the eldest son, Elias, moved beyond the Susquehanna, to within about three miles of York. George, the eldest son of Elias, born June 6th. 1757, was my great-grandfather. At the age of nineteen, he enlisted in the "Flying Camp" of the Revolutionary Army, in Captian Michael Smyser's ( his father's cousin's) company of Col. Michael Swope's regiment. The entire command was captured by the British at Fort Washington, N.Y., Nov. 16th. 1776, and, for nearly two years were prisoners of war. From the horrors of the prison ship, New Jersey, in New York Harbor, very few of the York soldiers survived. George Eyster was one of the survivors. Near the close of his life, his name was entered on the pension list of soldiers of the Revolution...

... Jacob Middlecoff, my great-grandfather, was the son of Leonard, whose father Peter "Middlecalf", as it was written in the Colonial Records, arrived in America from the Palatinate in 1728. The wife of Leonard was Catherine Castle of Pipe Creek, Md., who distinguished herself by running a flour mill during the Revolutionary War, when all her brothers were in the army, and "was powerful enough to shoulder a bag of grain and carry it from the horse to the hopper"...

... The various branches of my mother's family, Eysters, Middlecoffs, Schlegels, Thomases, Steiners, Smysers, Cassels, although more intimately associated with the growing life of the country and having more public spirit, were more typical representatives of the

best classes of the Pennsylvania Germans than were my father's family. Among the Eysters, there was no such center of influence, as was found at Jacob's church and the family homestead. The experience of the Eysters was more varied. They were more restless. That of the Jacobs family was more intense, and its influence as a family has been more abiding in results. The former family disintegrated, as with new marriages - generally from another locality - new families were formed. The latter kept up the family feeling more permanently, and transmitted it to their descendants.

Of my mother I have published a sketch, written the day after her death in "The Lutheran", in January 1892, which was afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form. She was eleven years old when her father moved from Gettysburg to Harrisburg. She had attended an excellent private school at Gettysburg, and on her removal to Harrisburg, enjoyed the best advantages the place afforded. Her most intimate friend was the daughter of Governor Schultz, and she was often in his family. She had private lessons in drawing and painting. Her scholarship, so far as it went, was exact. Her habits were methodical. She was a model of neatness and propriety in dress. Her conversation was in the purest English, tempered with the Latinisms in the literature then most read. Among her school exercises had been the practice of writing out every Monday an outline of the sermons heard on Sunday. I remember seeing a number of the sermons of Dr. Lochman which she had thus reproduced. She sang in the choir at both English and the German services. Married in 1833, no child disturbed the repose of my parents, until I came. These earlier years of her married life were marked by an amount of travelling that she had to afterwards forego. One long trip to Niagara and Erie and Pittsburgh formed a frequent subject of conversation with her children. She made a yearly trip to Philadelphia, for a long time, the friends whom she visited in the city in the spring or fall, returning the visit in the summer. The entire distance at first was covered in stage, until the vicinity of Philadelphia was reached. She was "Female Superintendent" of the Sunday-school, and for forty years secretary of the "Gettysburg Female Bible Society". Her chief recreation was the cultivation of flowers.

Of her brothers who survived childhood, the eldest was Jacob, who began his career as a tinsmith, then studied at Gettysburg for a year, and became a teacher at Harrisburg. While teaching, he organized among his pupils the Harrisburg Cadets, a company in which the town took pride, and which received marked attention on a visit to Philadelphia; Gen. Horace Porter, Grant's Chief of Staff, and late Ambassador to France, was one of the cadets. Most of his life was spent in the Sheriff's office, part of the time as Sheriff, and part as Deputy. During the Civil War, he was Captain in the Eighteenth U.S. Infantry (regulars), and commanded his regiment in the battle of Lookout Mountain where he was wounded. He had inherited his father's gifts, as a drill master.

The second brother was David, a graduate of the college at Gettysburg. He was gifted, but lacked ambition, and is best remembered as the husband of Mrs. Nellie Blessing Eyster, the novelist. Rev. Dr. Paxton of Princeton Seminary told me that he felt indignant whenever he recalled my uncle, with whom he was intimate at college, because he had accomplished so little. He

studied law but never practiced. For many years, he was a clerk in the School Department at Harrisburg, and afterwards had a book-store at San Jose, Calif.

The third brother, William Franklin, studied theology, and was pastor at Jefferson, Md., Trinity church, Germantown, Chambersburg, Smithsburg, Md., and Greencastle. He still lives as I write, at the age of 86 at Crete, Neb. He has been a wide reader and a constant student. His cultivated manners and gentle disposition have made him a general favorite. As a preacher for cultivated people, he has attained a high rank. His defective hearing has interfered much with his success. There has been also, a lack of concentration and aggressive force. Beside his pastoral work, he was twice Principal of the young ladies' seminary at Hagerstown, Md., and Professor in Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.<sup>6</sup>

The fourth brother Alfred, also studied at Gettysburg, was a successful teacher in the High School of Harrisburg, agent for a publisher of school-books (E.H. Butler, Phila.), druggist, and optician. He studied medicine, but never took a degree. He was a man of decided ability, and made many friends by his cheerfulness. He married rather late in life, having devoted himself with great fidelity to the care of his mother. At the close of his life, he was President of the School Board of Harrisburg, and an elder in Zion's Lutheran Church.

The only sister was Louisa, seven years my senior, the child of my grandparents' old age, and during my childhood, more of a playmate than an aunt. She married in 1869 Charles F. Kuhnle, a Wuertemberger who had studied at Gettysburg, been a Lieutenant in the Civil War, clerk in the War and Treasury Department at Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia, and for 15 years Superintendent of the Germantown Orphan's Home. She was left a widow in 1892, and died in 1904...

The family of William, the minister, has fared the best in the struggle for existence. Fannie, the eldest married a Mr. Snively, and moved to Nebraska, where both her children, Dr. William Snively and Mrs. Reasoner are doing well. Dr. George Langhead Eyster, the second child, is the leading physician of Rock Island, Ill., Two other children, William, in active business and Alice, are with their father, or near him in his declining years.

We are inclined to lay down the rule, or at any rate to propose it as a thesis to be tested: The nearer to the Church, and the more faithful to its duties, the greater the persistence of family life, and the more productive of abiding results.<sup>7</sup>

A never to be forgotten event of my childhood was a trip to Washington, D.C., when I was nearly eight years old. My cousin, Dr. Henry Jacobs, of Waynesboro', had married a Miss Bittenger of Georgetown, D.C., and at the invitation of the Bittenger family, my father and mother took me and my sister with them on a trip of two or three days from Harrisburg. All the incidents, from the early hour of starting at Harrisburg, before it was yet day, are vividly remembered. One of the wings of the capitol was then in process of construction. The marble was piled in large masses on the ground, and a large force of masons was at work. In the Senate Chamber, we lingered for a time, and stood at the desks formerly occupied by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. Clay died several months before; Webster was to follow that very month. The White House, and its various rooms were visited. President Fillmore we did not see. President Pierce I heard make an address at Harrisburg the next fall, after an introduction by Mr. James Gowen of Mt. Airy, to the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society. I remember, from this visit, the Smithsonian Institute, and its extensive collections of objects of Natural History, and the large astronomical glass at the National Observatory. We also took a look into the Catholic college at Georgetown, where the priests in charge were very courteous. One was particularly kind and entertaining to me, and planned a surprise by some experiments with a large plate electrical machine, but was himself surprised when he noted the "nil admirari" expression on my face, until my father told him that I often assisted him in similar experiments, at home. At the War Office, my father unexpectedly met in the corridor the Rev. Dr. S.D. Finkel, pastor of the German Lutheran church of Washington, D.C., who was supplementing his meager salary by a clerkship. As he was an old friend of both my father and my mother, before her marriage, he insisted in taking us to his house, to which we drove in a heavy rain. Mr. Michael Bittenger, then a student of theology or young minister of the Presbyterian church, took me on a long walk. We crossed the long bridge, and I congratulated myself that I had had an introduction to "old Virginia". Nine years later, when the Civil War came, my memory of the trip enabled me to locate many of the historical events that were occurring about the National Capitol. Passing through Baltimore, we stopped for several hours at the United States Hotel on Pratt Street, directly opposite the bookstore of T. Newton Kurtz, then the headquarters for English Lutheran publications. We ascended Washington's Monument, admired the Battle Monument, walked around the extensive grounds of the Winans' estate, and noted the elaborate and expensive works of art, as well as shrubbery and flowers with which it was adorned, the long, high walls leaving a distinct impression. How little did I think that within a few squares, there would appear a few weeks later a young lady of the greatest importance to my subsequent history!

About the same time, my mother's uncle, General David Middlecoff (d.1876), moved <sup>from</sup> Gettysburg, to a farm ... very close to where the Normal School now stands within a mile of Shippensburg. The line between Cumberland and Franklin counties ran through the hall-way of his house. It was a double house. The parlor was in Franklin, and the dining-room and kitchen in Cumberland county. My uncle's only child, Mary, (Daughter of his first wife, married successively to Mr. John Radebaugh of Chambersburg and Dr. Robert Horner of

Gettysburg,) had long left home. While a child at Gettysburg a great deal of my time was spent in their home. At Shippensburg I was always a welcome guest, and was kept there up to the very limit of my father's willingness to have me away from home. Gen. Middlecoff had his title from having been Major-General of Pennsylvania militia. He had also been state senator, and clerk of the senate. He always had several horses for driving and riding, and, much to his wife's terror, preferred those that had considerable spirit. He had serious accidents with them even when an aged man; but this did not deter him. It pleased him that I was not afraid of his driving, and, as we would drive daily, he would go into long details concerning the political history of the State, in which he continued deeply interested, even although long since renouncing all political ambitions. My curiosity was easily aroused, and I plied him with all sorts of questions, which he delighted to answer. My grandaunt tried to study my tastes and to bring to the table dishes she had learned I particularly liked. As I went with her husband on drives, so she took me on rambles on the farm, and in the neighborhood, where she spent nearly all her life. Mrs. Middlecoff was a devout Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. My uncle had been a German Reformed; but it was not difficult for him to be converted by his wife. They were very regular attendants at the Middle-spring church, some three miles distant, in Franklin county. Rouse's marvelous translation of the Psalms was retained here for many years! It was an art to know how to sing those Psalms. One line you would have to lengthen by stretching the translation to the dimensions of the tune; and, then, perhaps the very next had to be shortened by compressing two or three syllables into one! The curiosities of rhyme were as surprising as those of meter.<sup>2</sup>

The farm was prolific in all kinds of choice fruits. My uncle was running it chiefly as a recreation, and was fond of experiments. There was an old mill near by, in a romantic situation. He put it in charge of a younger and less prosperous brother, with whom, although he was my grandmother's brother, my acquaintance was very limited. Near the house ran a swift, narrow stream, and, in the meadow, with willows secluding it, was a bath house, within which one could plunge into the flowing water, or, if he wanted a shower bath, go beneath a miniature Niagara, which thundered at the gate. The library had many volumes of interest, particularly on the history of the State, some of them public documents from the time of my uncle's career as senator. Plunging into them, I found many subjects for new questions, with which to delight him on our drives. The mails kept the house well supplied with papers, daily and weekly, and the current magazines. My last visit to my granduncle was in the summer of 1873. He had been a widower for years. A housekeeper was looking after the home. He was lonely and desolate. Ambitious, at that time, to increase my philological attainments, I took a Sanskrit Grammar with me, much to his amusement, but never got much farther than the alphabet. We took the same old drives. On Sunday evening, we knelt together, and he led in a very earnest prayer. It was a new phase of his life that was thus revealed. A man of irreproachable character, and always particular about his attention to Church duties, his religion was not on his tongue. Our deepest interests are often those concerning which there is more or less reserve in expression. Three years later, on a bleak day, in the Fall of 1876, I was again there; but it was to attend his funeral.

At one of my visits to Shippensburg, I attended my first meeting of synod. The West Pennsylvania Synod met in the Lutheran church of the town in 1855. Both my father and my uncle (W.F. Eyster) were guests of my grand-uncle. "The Definite Synodical Platform" had just appeared, and the controversy concerning it had begun.<sup>3</sup> There was an outbreak at the first session. The President had just read his report. According to the order, the next item would have been the election of officers. But before the President was able to announce this, a venerable German pastor from Hanover (Rev. P. Scheurer) representing the strictly conservative Pennsylvania German element, took the floor, and, without regard to any Rules of Order, or the admonition of the President, proceeded to express what was actually the prevalent feeling of the Synod, concerning the wrong done to the Church by its publication. The man was too much in earnest to hear or heed the repeated calls to order, until Dr. Lochman, the son of his old theological preceptor, rose, and in a gruff voice, said, "Philip, take your seat", at which he very meekly subsided. A few evenings later, a number of pastors had been invited to my grand-uncle's to tea. The time appointed had long passed. Housekeepers generally become nervous when guests delay their appearance. I stood as a sentinel to announce to Mrs. Middlecoff when they should appear, at a turn of the road, and, finally after long watching, determined to make a reconnaissance, as far towards town as would be necessary. Night was falling, when I met my father and uncle, and with them Drs. S.S.Schmucker, H.L.Baughner, C.A.Hay, and I think, Dr. C.P.Krauth, Sr. I had just reached them when Dr. Baughner turned to Dr. Schmucker, and said: "You are the author of the Platform." The answer came promptly: "I will not deny it. I believe that the best interests of the Church demand its publication." The storm had broken. All were too much of gentlemen to renew the discussion in the house of a Presbyterian host.

At that time my uncle was pastor at Chambersburg. On my visits to Shippensburg, I would make a brief visit there also. I had other relatives at Chambersburg. In fact, as a boy, I was astonished to find the number of Eysters in the place, cousins and second cousins of my grandfather and their descendants. With only one family, however, were we intimate, viz. that of George S. Eyster, who has already been mentioned. Beside the dry-goods store that he was running, he was interested in paper mills in the neighboring mountains. We recall a visit to one of these mills, and the various processes employed in the manufacture. As we drove home, as the shades were falling, we encountered an enormous black snake, with which there was a vigorous battle until it was dispatched.

To this period belong also the drives with my father, to a Young Ladies' Seminary, kept by the Friends, and under the superintendence of a Miss Wierman. For several summers, my father delivered a course of lectures there on Chemistry and Physics. The seminary was near York Springs, about fourteen miles from Gettysburg. It could be reached only by private conveyance. They were a cultivated family, a later generation identifying itself or some of its more prominent members with the Presbyterian Church.

Another recreation was to attend my father in his occupation as Borough Surveyor. Strange to say, against my protests, I was

forced into the same position for a time, when my father's health was failing, but abandoned it soon as there was someone in the place who was able to discharge its duties. Because of my association with my father, I obtained a reputation in some directions for which I could lay no just claim. All those incidents contributed to my education.

However devoted to my birth-place, identified historically with its people, and deeply interested in all that concerned them, my absences of from ten to twelve weeks every year, made me realize that the sun did not rise and set at Gettysburg only, but that there was a wider world beyond. Even as a child, my attitude was critical. The standards set there, I was unable to accept as absolute, or to consider the policy there determined, as necessarily the very best.

## Chapter Five - College Life

When the Theological Seminary was opened in Gettysburg in 1826, it was attended by a number of young men without the scholastic preparation needed for a theological course. There had formerly been a classical academy of very reputable standing conducted in Gettysburg under Presbyterian auspices, but it had been closed. With commendable foresight, Dr. S.S.Schmucker gained control of the property, and engaged my uncle, David Jacobs, one of the students distinguished above the others as a classical scholar, to become the teacher. On June 25th, 1827, the Gettysburg Gymnasium opened with two pupils. The number soon grew, so as to justify the employment of a second teacher, who was found in 1829 in the person of my father.

David, the fourth son of my grandfather, was born in 1805. All accounts represent him as distinguished for depth and sincerity of character, modestly of bearing, and untiring diligence as a student. Distinguished in the Hagerstown Academy, where he prepared for college, he took such high rank at Jefferson College, Canonsburg, where he entered the Junior class, as to have been called upon to substitute for the Professor of Ancient Languages. His books, some of which I have, show by their marginal annotations the habits of a careful investigator, and of a scholar striving for a wide outlook. He was a popular teacher, and, when he had undertaken the work, he threw all his energy into it. His body was not equal to the strain, and he soon began to show the signs of a physical collapse. In the autumn of 1830, he undertook a trip to the South, partly for the sake of his health, and partly to accompany home a theological student who was failing from pulmonary trouble. He never reached home. There were unexpected delays and interruptions and hardships encountered, so that his short stay at Lexington, S.C. gave him little rest. Purchasing a horse there, he undertook to ride to Gettysburg, at the rate of about forty miles a day, over all sorts of roads, and in the midst of much rain. He kept a very full journal, which I have carried twice with me to the South when I went to places he had visited. Worn out, he took to his bed, when within less than a day's ride from his old home, and died at Shepherdstown, Va., Nov. 1830.

His place in the Gymnasium was filled by Rev. H.L.Baughner, a graduate of Dickinson. In 1832, the Gymnasium became Pennsylvania College, and shortly afterwards Rev. Charles Philip Krauth, D.D., who had shortly before come to Gettysburg as Professor in the Seminary, became its first President.

The College, as I first remember it, had but two buildings, the College proper, and the Linnean Hall. The former was a white brick building, of the Doric style of architecture, containing recitation rooms, chapel, library room, President's room, and capacity for nearly 100 students. Part of the space, however, was consumed by the presence at the western end of the second storey of the family of President Krauth; while the attempt was also made to furnish boarding for students in the basement, with rooms for the family of the steward and the servants.

Dr. Krauth seemed to me a venerable man even before he left the Presidency, although seventeen years of a Seminary Professorship awaited him. He was a cultivated gentleman, whose very presence created an atmosphere of dignity and refinement. His manner was the gentlest, unless aroused to great indignation by one who would endeavor to take advantage of his mildness. He had a piercing black eye that seemed to look right into the heart of the person to whom he spoke. He was an omnivorous and many-sided reader rather than a profound scholar, or an accurate and laborious investigator; a man who avoided strife, and who, unlike his son, was not born to be a leader or a pioneer. His Presidency was just ending, as I began to know the campus and the College. His study had more the appearance of a literary workshop than that of an efficient executive.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Baugher was in many respects the very opposite of his predecessor. Bold, brusque, aggressive, impetuous, eloquent, students yielded to his will through fear, where they followed Dr. Krauth from love. He was an inflexible preacher of righteousness, with many of the characteristics of the Puritanism, against which he theoretically protested. He was a strict disciplinarian, and a good teacher, altho' his discipline was weakened by its lack of uniformity. Beneath his severity, there was a tender heart, which occasionally manifested itself in tears, and in inability, from overpowering emotion, to command himself. I learned to know him well during my three years tutorship, of which I will speak later.<sup>3</sup>

Of my father, I have spoken...

Dr. W.M.Reynolds, the Professor of Latin, left Gettysburg in 1850; but I remember when he was still at the College. He was a man of wide culture and industrious scholarship, and long served the Lutheran Church with unselfish devotion. He contributed much towards the conservative reaction within the General Synod. But he lost influence, partly because he descended from the dignity of a scholarly exponent of principles, and became involved in Church politics. An instance of this was the founding of the East Pennsylvania Synod through his efforts, creating a break which rendered him particularly obnoxious within the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. This stood in his way when, some years later, he needed the cooperation and moral support of its members, in bringing the General Synod up to a higher doctrinal standard. When he came forward as the opponent of Drs. Schmucker and Kurtz, he was not trusted within the Mother Synod. Another trouble that embarrasses him was that debts accumulated, and his friends who came to his relief suffered wherever he went. His salary was always small, his family large, and his demand for books to complete certain lines of his study incessant. At Columbus, O., at Easton, at Allentown, at Springfield, Ill., he made successive attempts to regain his position. Finally after he had canvassed for stock for "The Lutheran and Missionary" of Philadelphia, and failed to be elected Editor, because it was feared that the enterprise would be financially wrecked under his management, he became discouraged. Every door in our Church seemed closed. His old pupil, Bishop Clarkson of Nebraska, came to his relief, and offered to secure him a livelihood if he entered the Episcopal Church. He accepted the offer. Near the close of his life he

visited Gettysburg, and I was with him a number of times. He said the subject was too painful to discuss, but that he had never left the Lutheran Church from choice.<sup>4</sup>

Prof. M.L.Stoever, then Professor of History and Principal of the Preparatory Department, was a bachelor. I remember well the scrupulous neatness of his apartments in the college. More than any other Professor, he cultivated the society of the students, visited them during vacations at their homes, and kept in touch with them after their graduation. After his marriage, and his succession to the Latin chair upon Dr. Reynold's resignation, his home in the very center of town, became an abode of most generous hospitality, and his wide acquaintance among prominent men in Church and literary circles, added to the reputation of the college.<sup>5</sup>

When Dr. Baugher succeeded Dr. Krauth in the Presidency, Dr. F.A.Muhlenberg succeeded to the Greek Chair. Of his characteristics as a Professor, I have written at length in the Muhlenberg College Book. It was a high honor that he himself selected me as the one among his pupils to whom the task could be entrusted. Not long before his death, he sent me three volumes of the Tauchnitz edition of Plutarch, recently and handsomely bound, with the inscription:

"Hos libellos do meo amico caro, Henrico E. Jacobs.  
Feb. An. 1896. F.A.M." ←

Altogether it was a strong faculty, able to afford all the mental stimulation needed, and to keep the students busy; and its ability was attested by the number of distinguished men included in the Alumni.

When I severed my connection as Professor in 1883, I was able to recall the place in the College Church, from which I had listened to every Commencement from 1848.

My connection with the College began on November 14th, 1853, when a trembling little boy, who had just completed his ninth year was admitted into the Preparatory Department. At that time, the Department numbered 80 students, all older than the little boy. A large portion of the Preparatories were mature men, who had decided to prepare for the ministry, and were using every effort to abridge their years of study by doing extra work. While the course had been arranged for three years, it was not unusual for it to be shortened into one. There were also a considerable number of school teachers, who were availing themselves of a provision introduced into the rules of the College through Thaddeus Stevens, in return for State appropriations. There were also some trifling boys of well-to-do families, who were in the school largely because their parents had been at a loss as to how to dispose of them. I was sent at nine with the understanding that I was to work leisurely, and should not leave the Preparatory Department for some years. My father always held up Charles Krauth as my model. If he entered the Preparatory at eight, and tarried there for years, deepening his scholarship, why should not I? So after I entered College, because Charles Krauth repeated the Freshman year, I had to do the same, although I had been admitted without conditions with the Sophomore Class.

I am not satisfied that the curriculum prescribed for Dr. Krauth and myself was the best. It would have been better if we had been put with a larger number of those nearer our age, and been required to do all our work under exacting conditions.

Taken as a whole, the teaching was not thorough. The teachers were overburdened and underpaid; and the rush of the men near and over twenty to get into college in a short time set the pace, and encouraged cramming. I was not idle, but found it difficult to adjust myself to my conditions. My father went over many of my lessons with me at night. But while I always passed, I suffered throughout my whole college course from an insufficient grounding, and finally, returned, after my graduation, to take charge of the Preparatory Department, in order, by teaching, to lay the foundations more deeply for my theological studies. The Bible Class taught by Prof. Stoever on Sunday afternoon, and the general talks of the Tutor ( Rev. Dr. afterwards) T.T. Titus, in which, however, he wandered far from the lesson,<sup>7</sup> were most beneficial. I was a diligent reader of history, biography and Natural Science, and used the College and Phrenakosmian Libraries very freely, notwithstanding the admonitions of one of my tutors against such scattering of energy, and the scoldings received for choosing historical themes for my essays.

At last in the fall of 1857, before I was thirteen, I entered the Freshman Class, younger by four years than any of its 24 members. I felt myself isolated - a sort of curiosity - and understood that my connection with the class could not be permanent, as I was to be kept back, like Charles Krauth, lest I graduate too soon. I was excused from German, and, being too young to be matriculated, could not join either of the Literary Societies. Among my classmates were Drs. Horine, Remensnyder, and Holloway; Revs. Leonard Groh, J.P. Hentz and I.C. Burke. I was most closely associated with J. Harvey White, who afterwards went to Yale, and for years has been a successful Pittsburgh attorney, and Rufus B. Weaver, a near neighbor, who has spent most of his life as a Demonstrator of Anatomy and Professor in the Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia.<sup>8</sup> My hours were very regular, and opportunities for study vastly better than in the Preparatory Department. In most of the branches I was interested, and, if I slighted work in one department, it was to devote time to another. During my Freshman year, Drs. Muhlenberg and Stoever were my only instructors, except in the Bible Class, held by Dr. Baugher on Sunday afternoon. My hours of recreation were spent largely with my father. He refitted his flute which he had used in his college days, and got me another, and, with a piano in the house, on which my sister was learning to play, we tried to be musical. A very cultivated German theological student from Stuttgart, Otto Schnurrer,<sup>9</sup> was a weekly visitor, and entertained us with his music. For exercise, the walks about Gettysburg were not particularly inviting for a great part of the year, so we obtained it by sawing and splitting wood in the cellar.

When the year closed, my standing satisfied the Faculty, and I was advanced into the Sophomore Class. My father gave me my choice, and although one of the Professors earnestly advised me to go on, my father's decided preference determined my course. In the

next class, I found a boy, born the same year, although ten months' older. We soon were closely united by a mutual sympathy; and, as he was unusually gifted and fond of study, we soon taught our classmates to respect their younger associates. Charles Von Sweringen Levy of Middletown, Md., was, on his father's side, of Hebrew origin. His father was a merchant, and his parents were members of the Lutheran Church of his native place. He was of light weight, rather under size, and of not very vigorous health; but, with little effort, mastered every subject to which he applied his mind. There was never any competition when he decided to lead the class. He was correct in his morals, and held religious matters in high esteem, although not confirmed until he was a tutor. He was regarded generally as arbitrary and obstinate, was intensely fond of argument, delighted in espousing an unpopular cause, in politics an uncompromising Breckenridge Democrat and a defender of the South, and in the theological controversy which was then claiming attention, an intelligent old Lutheran, an especial admirer of Dr. Muhlenberg, and of Dr. C.F. Schaeffer, in whose family he was no stranger. His ambition led him to study law. He became the leader of the bar of Frederick, Md., and was, for a long time, Superintendent of the Sunday School of the Lutheran Church. He married the daughter of the Rev. Dr. W.D. Strobel. It became in later years my sad duty to bury both him and his wife. Our relations, in our college days, and, during the year he was tutor, were close. Among the students he was liked, although his self-assertion would sometimes be resented, and result in a storm of opposition. <sup>10</sup>

Among other classmates were Hon. Frank E. Beltzhoover, afterwards member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and Hon. Mason Weidman, Judge of the Schuylkill Co. Courts, Henry H. Keedy, Esq., District Attorney of Washington Co., Md., Revs. M.L. Culler, S.A.K. Francis, Frederick Klinefelter, D.M. Kemerer, J.B. Keller and Jonathan Sarver, Dr. C.G. Treichler of Chester Co., and Dr. R.B. Weaver, who had remained over with me from the preceding class. <sup>11</sup>

When I entered the Phrenakosmian Society at the beginning of my Sophomore year, I found abundant opportunity for my superfluous energy. At sixteen, I was President while yet a Junior. With the cooperation of Levy, the library of the society was revolutionized, catalogued, classified, and enlarged, both of us devoting much of our time to the work as committeemen, under the general advice of Legh R. Baugher, the President's son, who had had considerable experience as a librarian. The Constitution and Rules of Order of the Society were thoroughly revised, both of us being on the committee, and the attention of the society, at its meetings for weeks, was devoted to discussions on the subject. <sup>12</sup>

In my studies, Greek fascinated me, and kept me down to longer efforts than usual. The use of translations was forbidden, and I could not practice what not only could not be openly acknowledged, but what would have grieved my father. I had no hesitation in writing metrical versions and paraphrases. It often took me three hours to prepare a recitation. I was always handicapped by the miserable instruction in Greek in the Preparatory Department. As the course advanced, Dr. Muhlenberg increased the length of the recitations until I almost despaired. Intimate as I was with Levy, I always wished to reach my results independent

of his assistance. During my Senior Year, the servant who rose on Monday mornings to begin the family washing, would waken me at four o'clock, and it required all my time until breakfast, to do the work.

Latin I cared less for, particularly because it was not so difficult. It was not until I began to study theology that I devoted to it much attention. Cicero's egotism and Horace's shallow trifling, were repulsive. The best of the Latin classics, Virgil, had, I felt, been read in the Preparatory Department at a time when I was not qualified to appreciate them.

Higher Mathematics the best efforts of my career could not make attractive. Whatever English Literature we had was absorbed with great zeal, but it was very meager.

But History and Natural Science were branches in which my chief distinction lay. Philosophy and Logic were also favorites. In History, it was almost the usual order for the Professor to ask me to give a synopsis of the recitations, and the other members of the class to watch for any omissions or errors. In Physics and Chemistry, the field was familiar. I had listened to class after class drilled on these very subjects, and the apparatus was accessible to me, as to no other member of the class, for any experiments desired. The same might be said of Astronomy and Geology. My father's library afforded needed books of reference, to do further than the text-book asked.

In Botany, I relied too much on my father. He could solve at a glance every difficulty and name at once every tree and shrub and flower, and determine the scientific name for every form and shape, that I found it easier to ask him for what I wanted, than to laboriously acquire it myself. But a kindred field opened in which he was almost a total stranger. He had done nothing in Entomology. My uncle Alfred had collected some butterflies and beetles, and Jardine's "Naturalist's Library", an extensive and beautifully illustrated work of almost forty volumes had many colored engravings, which would help in identifying specimens. I had my mother make me a net, and had it mounted on a pole, and began my work as a collector.

The report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1858 contained an excellent article with many valuable suggestions by a Dr. Clemens (I think) of Easton. My father procured Jaeger's "Life of North American Insects", the College Library furnished the standard theoretical work of Kirby and Spence, and Harris' "Insects Injurious to Vegetation". The volume of New York State Agricultural Reports, on Insects, altho' ultimately found to be inaccurate, served a good purpose, and Dr. Muhlenberg loaned me Say's "American Entomology." Shortly afterwards Dr. Morris' monograph on the Lepidoptera was published by the Smithsonian Institute, which with the corresponding volumes on Coleoptera, Neuroptera, Diptera, etc. were gladly obtained.

In the winter the ferns and bushes were searched for cocoons, and, as spring advanced the stones upturned for Coleoptera. "The Third Swamp", Culp's Hill, the Spangler Spring region, Round Top, the Seminary Ridge, ground soon to be immortalized by the Battle -

were explored for butterflies and moths. Street Gas Lights were watched. Boxes were covered with juice as the feeding places for larvae, and cocoons and chrysalids raised. From such authorities as could be found, a book was compiled in manuscript with descriptions and accounts of our Lepidoptera. My father caught the fever, and would not have me overtop him. He organized a class of students for voluntary work in the long summer evenings. The race after butterflies became a not unusual sight in the neighborhood, for a large number of students were interested. Dr. Morris was delighted to find his specialty cultivated, and undertook to label my collection. My greatest triumph came when I discovered the larva of the Arctia rubicundia, which all the authorities I had, declared to be unknown.

To those who questioned the practical value of such studies, I answered in a quotation from one of our books: "Whatever it is worth God's while to create, it is worth man's while to study". Our experience in this direction cultivated habits of close observation, drilled us in the processes of classification and arrangement, took us out of the study and house into the open air, gave us steady exercise with minds not intent on exercise for its own sake, and afforded us interesting subjects for thought in after years. I may be far from home, and be lost in the crowds on the street, but when a Tunus or Asterias or Colias or Vanessa flies past me I meet an old friend, to whom I give a cordial greeting. A physician of high standing in another state, who was one of my first pupils, told me some years ago: "Doctor, I never see a butterfly without thinking of you and our expeditions at Gettysburg." Mr. Herman Streiker of Reading, Pa., had a collection of Lepidoptera of more than national reputation. Dr. B.M.Schmucker took Drs. Schaeffer, Spaeth and me to see it one evening while our Synod was at session at Reading. An exclamation of surprise at a specimen and a remark to one of my friends betrayed the fact that I had once been interested in the study. The result was that whenever afterwards the Synod met at Reading, Mr. Streiker called to invite me to see the progress he had made since my former visit. The Rev. F.V.Melsheimer of Hanover, a member of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, contests with Thomas Say the honor of being the "father of American Entomology". My grandfather (Gen. Eyster) when a boy, attended one of the country churches in which Melsheimer preached. He was following on foot the parson who was mounted. Suddenly Mr. M. stopped his horse, leaped over a fence, rushed through a meadow, until he caught an insect, which when secured he carried away in his hat to the service.<sup>13</sup>

The butterfly ( the "psyche" of the Greeks) is not without its lessons that may be homiletically applied. On the title-page of one of the volumes of Jardine's Naturalist's Library are the lines which I have not seen for many years, composed probably by Rogers:

"Child of the sun, pursue thy flight,  
Mingling with her, thou lovest in clouds of light!  
Yet thou was once a worm, a thing that crept  
On this cold earth, then, wove a grave, then slept!  
And such is man, soon from his bed of clay,  
To burst a seraph in the realms of day."

At the Junior Exhibition in 1861, my theme was "The Music of Nature", opening with a somewhat poetical description of the gathering and approach and break of a thunder storm, such as we often saw coming down from the mountains to the west of Gettysburg.

A year later, when the appointments for Commencement were made, it was with surprise that I found that I had been rated by the Faculty among the honor men. I had never studied with this end in view. I had tried to get all the benefit I could out of the College course, and was ambitious only of such notations as might satisfy the requirements on graduation. Levy overtopped all the rest of the class. His nearest approach, Sahm, was ten units beneath him, while the three honor men, Keedy, Jacobs, and Beltzhoover, in their order, pressed much nearer Sahm, and very closely to each other. For once, I had taken a prize without competing. My oration was on "American Literature."

## Chapter Six - Politics and War

During our Junior year, the great Civil War which convulsed the country, and gave Gettysburg a world-wide reputation, began. Those idyllic scenes were succeeded by others that forever changed the character of the place. An hour comes for communities as well as individuals, after which they never are as they were before.

The Civil War was preceded by political agitations, whose influence extended even into our midst. I was born just as the contest closed which forever destroyed the political hopes of Henry Clay for the Presidency. My grandmother sang as she rocked me, or walked up and down the room with me in her arms:

"And, oh, poor Harry Clay, and oh poor Harry Clay!  
He wanted to be President, but Polk was in his way."

Whenever she would stop, the story goes, the sick child, whose life had been hanging in the balance, would cry out: "Sing, Harry Clay", until the devoted nurse was almost completely exhausted.

My first political remembrance is that of the campaign in which Gen. Winfield Scott was defeated by Franklin Pierce, and the great disappointment of my father and others. The Whigs at Gettysburg determined to make the best of their misfortunes, and had a large parade in which they "went up Salt River", forestalling the Democratic procession of the succeeding night.

In 1853, Daniel M. Smyser, until shortly before then a resident of Gettysburg, a member of the College Church, and a second cousin of my mother, was the Whig candidate for Supreme Judge, but was defeated. He was for a number of years Judge of Montgomery Co., but, on his retirement, removed to Gettysburg, where his daughter, Mrs. Judge Wills, resided.

The overwhelming victory of James Pollack for Governor in 1854 was a matter of great rejoicing as the returns came in. There was no telegraph line to Gettysburg in those days, and sometimes a week elapsed before the politicians were secure of the election of their candidate. At Harrisburg, where I was sometimes directly after an election, the news came more rapidly, and, yet, I remember one election, over which the Democrats were exultant for a week, and their opponents were resigned to their fate, when we heard cheering late one evening. My grandfather Eyster hurried down town, and returning, threw up his hat and hurrahed before announcing what he had heard. A congressional district in Northern Pennsylvania, heretofore Democratic, had gone Republican by a large majority, Bradford alone rolling up over 4000, and the result in the State was reversed. I note this incident in the life of the old General, then considerably over seventy, not only to show his interest, but to indicate the temperature of the political atmosphere in which I was raised.

In the Presidential campaign of 1856, my grandfather and uncles were for Fillmore and Donelson, the American (Know Nothing) candidates. My father was for Fremont and Dayton (Republicans); and there was some feeling between them, until a union ticket was arranged. My grandfather had been a State Senator with James

Buchanan, then "the infant" of the Senate. They represented adjoining districts - my grandfather, York and Adams; and Buchanan, Lancaster - and belonged to the same party. (My grandfather changed his party because of Gen. Jackson's attitude to the U.S. Bank.) He thoroughly distrusted his former colleague. "Henry", he said, "as sure as Buchanan is elected there will be trouble. He cannot be relied upon. He is a weak and vacillating man." Right at the foot of the Capitol grounds, and almost opposite my grandfather's house, a large pole was erected, bearing the motto: "Buck, Breck and the Union."

My grandfather and father took me to a State Political Convention in the Hall of the House of Representatives. It had become manifest that the Republicans alone could not carry the National election in Pennsylvania. The leaders of the Republican and American parties held a convention to nominate a joint electoral ticket. The two parties voted for the same electors, with one exception, each party voting for a different man at the head of the ticket. The agreement was, that, if the State would be carried, the electoral vote would be distributed according to the ratio of the vote at the head of the ticket. I was present during the entire proceedings. I was taken to hear some distinguished campaign speakers, such as General N.L. Banks, Hon. Anson Burlingame, Hon. Charles B. Penrose, etc.. Once I was present at the polls with my grandfather at Harrisburg while the election officials counted the vote, and watched the tally over their shoulders. A few years later when Edward McPherson ran for Congress, and Col. Alexander McClure for Senator in Adams County, the campaign was very exciting. Each political party had its own brass band, and owned its own elaborately decorated bandwagon. Every night a different town in the county was visited by the band and speakers of each party. The daily papers were not so widely circulated as today, and it was largely through such means that influence was exerted.

The crisis rapidly approached. In the Phrenakosmian Society, the favorite subjects for debate were such as: "Has a state the right to secede?" "Do the signs of the times indicate the dissolution of the American Union?" On the latter subject I spoke with great feeling, and concluded with this terrible specimen of bombast, which was commended for its eloquence, and which Levy copied into his Common Place Book:

"And not until the fiat of Omnipotence has gone forth that time was, but time shall be no more, will it totter (the American Union), only to fall, amidst the crash of systems and the wreck of the Universe."

Patriot as I am, I do not believe anything like this today.

When the conflict came, it found me in favor of States' Rights as a principle, but entirely clear as to the impossibility of maintaining two or more separate national governments on this continent. There were contingencies which the framers of the Constitution of the U.S. had never thought of, that had as yet to be settled. My father, while deprecating the existence of slavery in the United States, and wanting to see every effort for

its extension into the territories and new states more stubbornly resisted, had no sympathy with the violent agitation and radical methods of the Abolitionists, Gettysburg had been for many years the home of Thaddeus Stevens, and there had been a circle who sympathized with his extreme measures. Even the influence of Stevens had not prevented President Blanchard of Wheaton College from being almost mobbed when he addressed a meeting in the Court House, with his usual intemperate language. This occurred several years before my birth. But Stevens' influence as a moral reformer in Gettysburg was broken by the general impression there, that he himself was in need of as radical a reformation as he insisted should be introduced at the South.

Drs. Schmucker and Reynolds, pitted against each other, in other respects, were united in their thorough-going Abolitionism. My father hoped that the South might be gradually prepared for the change, as the North had been before, and was a great advocate of the Colonization Society,<sup>2</sup> whose journal he took, and of which he was the official representative at Gettysburg. When Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" appeared, he read it with interest out loud to my mother, but promptly exchanged it for another book that he deemed more worthy of standing on the shelves of his library. But he was no less indignant at the encroachments of the extremists in the South, and was in entire sympathy with the policy of President Lincoln.

Just before Christmas, 1860, the news came that South Carolina had seceded, and that my father's friend, Rev. Dr. John Bachman, like my father a scientist and a Lutheran minister, had opened the convention of secession with prayer.<sup>3</sup> The very morning in April, 1861, that Fort Sumter was fired upon, I had a strange dream. I never have had any superstitions in that respect, but narrate it for what it is worth. I dreamed that the war had begun, and that a battle was being fought around Gettysburg. The artillery, under the direction of Dr. Muhlenberg, had made a stand at Willoughby's Run, where the old railroad crosses it, but after a stubborn resistance had been repulsed, and, retreating through the College campus, the field was strewn with dead and wounded, one of my classmates being among the former. When the tidings came the next day that the war had begun with Beauregard's bombardment of Sumter, I was startled, and thought the coincidence at an end. But strange to say, over two years later, the Battle of Gettysburg began at the point where that scene in the dream began, with the ultimate repulse and retreat of the Federal troops through the College Campus. While Dr. Muhlenberg did not enter the army, his brother Maj. Edward Muhlenberg commanded the battery on the South-eastern slope of Cemetery Hill. The man whom I dreamed had been killed, is living today, forty-five years later.

The dream indicates at any rate what was uppermost in our minds. Living only about ten miles from the Mason and Dixon Line, and the position of Maryland being a matter of uncertainty, there was naturally much alarm. Then came the President's call for troops, and the immediate response of the Independent Blues of Gettysburg, a company of a number of years standing, under Capt. (afterwards Col.) C.H. Buehler. The day before they started was Sunday. All the churches (except the Roman-Catholic) participated in a Union meeting in the afternoon, in which the

deepest feeling prevailed. The Baltimore Riot on April 19th had intervened. The company had only left a day or two for Harrisburg, when a great panic occurred. A meeting was in progress in the Court House. In the midst of the patriotic addresses, a man rushed up the aisle in his shirt-sleeves, and announced that he had just ridden from New Oxford on a hand-car, and that Southern troops were advancing towards the Pennsylvania line rapidly, and there was the utmost need of men, arms and ammunition. The audience reasoned that as the Maryland line was not far from Gettysburg, and Harpers Ferry only forty miles away had surrendered to the enemy, our town was also in danger. A force was at once called from citizens and students, and distributed to guard the several approaches to the town. The church bells rang out a wild alarm. My father met a widow on the street with a horse pistol. "What are you going to do, Madam," he asked. "Oh, Mr. Jacobs, my husband is in heaven and I only wish all my children were there too."

The western approach to the town, from Hagerstown, was put in charge of two students, one, afterwards, a leader in the Missouri Synod, the other a General Council Doctor of Divinity. Their powder supply was limited; but they had sufficient lead which they had chopped up with a hatchet into slugs, to do execution if properly propelled. Nothing disturbed them until towards morning when a countryman was frightened by their challenge. He was bringing supplies from Fairfield. He thought he had a keg of powder. But when opened carefully, it proved to be soap!

This is only a picture of the prevalent confusion. There were often months when the town was as undisturbed as in peace, but there was every now and then an alarm that disquieted people of weak nerves. As the Confederates made a raid into Maryland or threatened it, flocks of horses would be sent northward, followed by refugees in wagons with household goods, reminding one of gipsy nomads.

Back of the pulpit in the College Church, at a regular Sunday service, hung a large American flag, while the choir, instead of anthems, sang "The Star-Spangled Banner". Some half-balanced man or woman would prepare some wild project to demonstrate patriotism, and one would be apt to awake suspicion as a traitor, or even a spy, if he opposed it. Ministers throughout the country suffered, if they hesitated to yield to the popular demand in regard to their prayer for the President. To include him in the prayer without specifically mentioning "the President of the United States" opened one to suspicion. Sermons were largely on patriotic themes.

The week after the Baltimore Riot, I went to Harrisburg where the Pennsylvania troops were gathering and organizing at Camp Curtin, and whence they were being sent as fast as armed, uniformed and officered, to the front. Day after day, Market Street was as crowded as Broadway, New York. The roll of the drum, the shrill tunes of the fife, the heavy tread of the men in citizens clothes marching into camp, was almost constant.

It would be varied by the dull, heavy tap of the drum, as company pressed onward. My grandmother lived on the street through which these processions moved; and she interpreted the sounds as death taps. Her oldest son, my uncle, had already led the first Harrisburg company towards the front. He commanded the color company ( Co. E.) of the First Pennsylvania.

At another time, a brass band would be heard and a regiment would pass by in fresh uniforms, and accoutrements and arms reflected the glare of the sun; or a brigade would form on State Street for review.

Baltimore was still in the hands of those who obstructed the passage of our troops. Our forces were sent from Harrisburg to Havre de Grace and Perryville and around Baltimore to Washington. The popular demand was that a way should be made through Baltimore, and the pressure was at last too strong to be resisted.

The death of Ellsworth at the capture of Alexandria came in those first few days, and cast a gloom over the nation. (A few years later I stood on the very stairway in the hotel where Ellsworth was killed.) 4

The first troops called out were for only three months' service; but it soon became evident that the struggle would last longer. The Gettysburg Company returned without a loss, but with bronzed faces. The Battle of Bull Run caused no little consternation in our midst. When Washington was in imminent danger, we could not forget that we were only sixty miles away.

Through all this excitement, the college work continued satisfactorily. The war was a general stimulus. It wakened the people up, and taught them to do all that they did with all their heart. A small-pox stampede took a number of students home, but otherwise there was no change.

In the late fall of '61, a cavalry regiment ( the 9th. N.Y.Cavalry, or Porter Guards) recruited in Western New York, was sent to Gettysburg, and spent the winter there in drill. Their coming was unexpected, and until barracks were erected to the east of the town beyond Rock Creek, they were quartered in town, one company in a former carriage factory right alongside of our house on Washington Street, and another in a similar building a few squares below on Middle Street. They were not yet mounted. Their drills and parades made the town lively. They were, as a rule, a very respectable group of men, and their officers gentlemen. They remained until spring opened.

On April 7th. or 8th., a heavy snow fell, succeeded by a bright warm day. While I was shoveling snow in the glare of the sun, all the bells of the town were ringing over Grant's victory at Pittsburgh Landing, on the Tennessee. A few days afterwards, Dr. Baugher was summoned to the bedside of his second son, Nesbitt, a Lieutenant, who had located in Gen. Grant's town as a lawyer, and had gone from Galena, Ill. into the army. The Doctor hastened to the hospital at Quincy, Ill., spent some days, perhaps a week or two with him, and left him comfortable with the promise of recovery. But shortly afterwards a relapse

came. His death and funeral brought the war much nearer to us.<sup>5</sup> A few weeks later, the eldest son of Dr. Huber, our physician and an elder in our church, was killed at Fair Oaks. Frederick Huber was still a boy. He had been with me both in Preparatory Department, and in my first Freshman Year, but had not proved a successful student. He was Sergeant-Major of the 28th. Pennsylvania, a Philadelphia regiment.<sup>6</sup>

During the fall vacation, early in September, three of us (Levy, Samuel Schmucker - now Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals? - and I) made an all day's excursion to Round Top. On our return home we found that the town had been excited by the sudden onset of a flood of refugees from Maryland, including a number of convalescent patients from the hospitals, and some were quartered for the night in the empty college. The Confederates had crossed into Maryland. Their invasion was soon followed by the battles of South Mountain and Antietam. The wave of battle had swept to within thirty miles. The sound of the artillery could occasionally be heard with distinctness. The companies from Gettysburg had their losses in killed and wounded. There were military funerals, and, on the streets would be seen uniformed men incapacitated by wounds.

One Saturday we learned to our surprise that Adama County had been invaded. A brigade of cavalry had crossed the Potomac at an unguarded point, had gotten into the rear of the Army of the Potomac, had pressed northward, and, crossing the mountains on the Chambersburg Road, had skirted their eastern slope by the side road from Cashtown to Fairfield (Millerstown), and then had retired towards Hagerstown, carrying off whatever horses and supplies they could find, and slipping across the Potomac again before the U.S. authorities could recover from their astonishment. Their scouts came within five miles of Gettysburg, where a squad of countrymen, organized as Home Guard cavalry, intercepted them, and in a slight skirmish captured a prisoner. I had gone as far as Seminary Ridge on my route to the scene of the conflict, when he was brought in on horseback - a great curiosity.

The next afternoon (Sunday) a brigade of U.S. Infantry reached Gettysburg by train from Washington, and encamped about town for a day; but Gen. Stuart was in Virginia again by that time. At nightfall on the preceding evening, Rush's Lancers of Philadelphia had come into town suddenly by the Emmitsburg Road, without having known how close they had been to the enemy.

## Chapter Seven - The Battle of Gettysburg

If the impression among our townsmen was general, as it seemed to be, that, however near the Confederates might approach Gettysburg, they would never reach it, there was a complete dispelling of the illusion in the Summer of 1863.

The resistance of the Army of the Potomac had been broken by a series of disasters. Gen. Lee, with consummate skill, had interposed the Blue Ridge between himself and his enemy, and had moved his army up the Shenandoah Valley before Gen. Hooker could divine his intentions or actually know of the direction of his march. When the facts were learned, Gen. Hooker could only move to the north also, in order to cover Baltimore and Washington from attack. While Lee moved on the western, Hooker moved on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge. After almost passing through Maryland, the range of mountains, whose general trend is north and south, bends sharply towards the east. This gave to Lee's line of march the direction of an arc of a circle, which if prolonged, would have brought him through Carlisle and Harrisburg to Reading and Easton. Hooker's line was due north, and the bend, to continue the parallel, would have occurred at or near Gettysburg.

When the advance guard of Lee's infantry, under Gen. Gordon, reached Chambersburg, it did not follow the mountains, but turned eastward, crossing the mountains where Gen. Stuart had crossed about eight months before, through Fountain Dale and Cashtown, to Gettysburg, where, finding no signs of Hooker's approach, he pressed eastward through York to Carlisle. His course towards Philadelphia was checked by the Susquehanna, and the burning of the bridge over a mile wide, at Columbia. The rest of Early's Division, following Gordon from Chambersburg, continued up the valley through Shippensburg, Newville and Carlisle, and very seriously threatened Harrisburg, where the hastily constructed earth-works, and the presence of militia under Gen. Couch presented obstacles that military prudence taught should not be disregarded, as long as Hooker was still in his rear.

Both commanders were seriously embarrassed by the separation of their cavalry, which, while occupied with each other, became cut off from the armies to which they belonged. The two armies were moving steadily towards a center without knowing it. It was the peculiar arrangement of the roads that brought them together, to the surprise of each other, at Gettysburg.

When Lee's designs on Pennsylvania became apparent, Gov. Curtin called out a militia force to repel the invasion. The first company to respond was largely composed of students of Pennsylvania College. Frederick Klinefelter, my classmate, who had enlisted in the three months' service, was chosen Captain; William F. Hinkel, who had been a cadet at West Point, First Lieutenant; and a Mr. Slater, who had also seen service, Second lieutenant. In that company among others were George W. Frederick (afterwards a Colonel), and Drs. M.H.Richards, E.J.Wolf, T.C.Billheimer and J.C.Koller. My cousin, and roommate, Luther Jacobs, was also in the number. Dr. McKnight became Adjutant

of the Regiment, as soon as it was organized. Governor Pennypacker was a private in another company of the same regiment, and has written its history.

Harrisburg being my second home, I went there on the same train with the college boys. I was then a graduate. At my grandmother's, my old classmate, Capt. Klinefelter, roomed with me. I became an expert in casting bullets for his revolver - so primitive were the weapons. I walked over the heights on the Cumberland County side where the earth-works were in process of erection. My object in this trip to Harrisburg, was not merely to accompany the students, but chiefly to take my grandmother home. She had been spending some weeks with us, but, as the crisis approached, insisted on returning to Harrisburg, as she thought it the point of attack, and she must look after her children and property. My mother suggested that she did not seem to care as to what became of us. With a look of scorn, she answered: "Why, Julia Ann, what would the rebels ever want to come to Gettysburg for!" We secretly agreed with her.

But I was not long at Harrisburg, before the reports by letters from my father, even more than by the published dispatches, showed that Gettysburg was on the edge of the Confederate advance. The City Troop of Philadelphia, under Capt. Samuel J. Randall ( afterwards Speaker of U.S. House of Representatives) and the Home Guards, a Cavalry company, under Capt. Bell, referred to previously as having held the enemy at bay on their approach towards Gettysburg in November, were making the town their center, and from it were scouring the mountain roads, felling trees and preparing for their approach.

I returned with the now organized regiment. It proceeded by a special train, which was derailed about five miles from Gettysburg. The passenger train which followed could not be moved, and I walked home.

The next night, a hundred sharpshooters under Maj. Haller, with Lieut. Hinkel of the College, and Gov. Pennypacker, among them, were sent up towards the mountains.

The next day, Friday, is never to be forgotten. Early in the morning, the road having been repaired, the 26th. Pennsylvania reached town with their baggage, and an hour or so afterwards, marched out the Chambersburg Road, in excellent spirit, altho' it was raining lightly. We anticipated nothing else than that their presence would divert the Confederate advance from the west, which it was not thought would be attempted in any force. The story of that day and those which immediately followed has been published by Gov. Pennypacker, and by Dr. E.W. Meisenhelder, one of the students, in the Pennsylvania College Book. They had scarcely reached the place selected for their camp on the banks of Marsh Creek, before General Gordon's entire division came down the very road on which they had been marching, and captured their pickets, among them some of the College boys. Col. Jennings, an officer of experience, retired northward through the fields and across the roads, under the guidance

of men familiar with the country, while the enemy, uncertain as to the number of the force on which they had stumbled, not knowing the country, and checked by a show of resistance, did not follow for many miles. There were many stragglers but the Colonel saved his regiment; and it entered the fortifications on the Susquehanna, considerably reduced in numbers and worn out with fatigue and anxiety.

Down the road the Confederate advance came, with Capt. Bell's cavalry dashing in front of them, and announcing their approach. From a western window in our garret, I had a complete view of the Chambersburg Road as far as Seminary Ridge, and then the hill beyond overlooking Willoughby's Run. The College telescope, a very good Vienna glass with a lens of about four inches, was at hand. I swept the road with it. Across the field of vision rushed one of Capt. Bell's cavalymen with another trooper in swift pursuit. As one was reported as having been killed, I have thought that I witnessed the beginning of the tragedy. Then a pause, for a few moments. There they are, looming up over the hill, pickets thrown out in advance; back of them, moving cautiously, a squadron, with the red and blue; there rides their chivalrous General (Gordon, to be seen again in a triumphal procession as Governor of Georgia, in Philadelphia - and in his seat as United States Senator). They have reached the edge of the town, where the buildings conceal their line of march. There are some shots, into the air of course, for there are none to oppose them. A wild Southern shout goes up. They are dashing into Chambersburg Street.

Our house had been securely closed. The shutters were as tight as night. But the chief danger over, curiosity cannot be repressed. The town is in the enemy's hands, but after all, it is the same town. Guards are moving in the street; but they do not deem us worthy of attention. Chambersburg Street we find full of soldiers resting and awaiting orders. We ask an officer about the fate of the 26th. Pennsylvania. Had they met it? "Yes," he answered, "You will find some of the prisoners over there on the Church steps." "May I see them?" "There will be no objection." Going to the steps of the College Church as far as the lines would allow, I called to some whom I recognized. An officer came up and asked: "Wouldn't you like to pass the guard and converse with your friends?" "If it be permitted, certainly." The guard was ordered to pass me in. The courteous treatment was certainly very different from anything I expected to receive.

That night the sky was red with the reflection of the fires. The railroad bridge over Rock Creek, the train of cars which had brought the 26th. Regiment to town, the Engine House, etc. were burned. I heard of no violent act or wanton destruction of property.

Next morning, they left for York, as suddenly as they had come. The town was as quiet as it could well be. All business was paralyzed. Everything was in a state of expectancy. It was the calm that preceded the storm. A courier with dispatches

was captured in the Diamond. The next day (Sunday) about noon - a brigade of Union cavalry visited the town, and after resting for awhile, disappeared.

The Blue Ridge to the west was well timbered; but, here and there, were large clearings, distinctly visible, from which smoke could be seen by day, and fire by night. These were the camp-fires of Southern troops gathering for another descent on our town.

Tuesday morning ( June 30th.), about eleven A.M., I was at my observatory in the garret ( a word which originally meant "watch-tower"), where I spent considerable time, with the College glass again turned up the Chambersburg Road. A glance showed that something interesting was happening. On the further hill, horsemen were seen moving, but the field of vision was too short to enable me to determine anything more. But a brief pause, and they have descended the ravine, and mounted the hill nearest me. There they are on the crest of Seminary Ridge. I distinguish two officers examining the country, and then lingering, with their field glasses turned towards the south-east. Back of them, I can indistinctly see a considerable force with a piece of artillery in front. Sudeenly they all turn, and have retraced their way into the ravine. A minute or two more, and I hear a great cheering in the street. Running downstairs, I am too late to see the head of the procession. Buford's division of Federal troops has come in the Emmitsburg Road, and halts with the first ranks resting at Chambersburg Street.

Years afterwards I learned that the Confederate force I had seen was Pettigrew's brigade, which had been sent to get shoes and other supplies in Gettysburg, but had noticed the approach of Buford. General Buford, then thirty-seven years old, and a graduate of West Point, had a pleasant face and an affable bearing. He was in fatigue uniform, with a handkerchief around his neck, and was overheated from rapid riding. In a few minutes he had learned from the citizens all they knew concerning the movements of the enemy, secured two of the best horsemen among our townsmen as guides, and determined upon the disposition of his forces. Coffee was made by the people and given to the cavalry, with bread, pies, cakes, and whatever else was at hand. Newport's bakery was soon exhausted of all its supplies, a circumstance which gave no little embarrassment to families who were regular customers. One brigade was sent northward to about a mile beyond the College. Another went westward about three miles, encamping between the Chambersburg and Hagerstown Roads, with the McPherson farm near Marsh Creek, as its center. There they rested all afternoon.

With the college glass under my arm, I ascended the cupola of the Theological Seminary that afternoon. The next day, it was to be the watch-tower whence Generals Reynolds and Buford were to make their plans after the battle had opened. Beyond, on the meadows, were the camps of Buford's men, and their horses at pasture. But it was not to observe them that I had made the trip, but to search the mountains. As I turned the glass on the

"clearings", I could watch the Confederates at their camp-fires, and count them as they moved about. Every clearing examined seemed occupied. Undoubtedly the force that was gathering there could not be small. And yet our optimistic temper persuaded us that Gen. Buford could readily repulse, if not capture them all, in case they would advance on our side of the mountain. The sun was bright all day, and the heat moderate. The brilliant sun-set of that evening, was the last for thousands who were near us.

Lee had now decided that his forces had advanced as far north as was prudent until he had uncovered his opponent. His forces he aimed to concentrate for the conflict that was soon to come, he knew not where. The advance troops that had passed through Gettysburg the preceding Friday, and those threatening Harrisburg, were ordered to move towards the rest of his army that was turning towards Gettysburg across the Chambersburg and Hagerstown Roads. Meanwhile, Meade, who had succeeded Hooker, unintentionally moved the bend of his army right across Lee's line of march, and between his columns.

Firing, we are told, began along Marsh Creek at four o'clock that morning. Col. Bean of Norristown claims to have opened it. But it made no impression on the people of the town until the middle of the morning. We had become accustomed to the muffled sound of distant cannonading, and the wind may have been in a different direction. My father went to college as usual, and heard the recitations of the remnant of the class left after the enlistment of the more heroic element. Then he accompanied a staff officer to the College cupola, and pointed out the strategic importance of Cemetery Hill. Whether his opinion ever reached Gen. Howard or Gen. Reynolds, we cannot tell. The strength of the position is such that it must have attracted any trained military eye. But when a battle begins where a general has not the opportunity to choose a field, in a country as yet entirely unknown, he is not in a position to exercise his judgment to the best advantage. We do not claim therefore, that my father's conversation with the staff officer had anything to do with the result. But there is such a possibility. His botanical and geological excursions had familiarized him with every acre of what became the battle-field, and his experience as an engineer gave him some of the advantages belonging to the military training.

As the morning advanced, an order was said to have been promulgated by Gen. Reynolds, that, as our end of the town was liable to be shelled, the women and children should be removed. But, on reflection, this was not deemed necessary. We saw Gen. Reynolds ride up to the Eagle Hotel, and, after pausing a moment, ride out Chambersburg Street. It was only about an hour later that he was killed.

The sounds of artillery mingled with those of musketry were now clear. Buford was not only contesting every inch with his cavalry dismounted, but he was making headway against the superior numbers of infantry precipitated upon him from

the west. The white spheres of exploding shells could be seen high in the air on the other side of the Seminary.

Word comes that the First Corps is at the edge of town to the south. They leave the Emmitsburg Road, and as their pioneers clear the way before them by demolishing fences; we see them from our garret, forming near Macmillan's Orchard, under cover of Seminary Hill, and then marching diagonally to the crest. A stray shell, every now and then, passes the crest, and bursts near them. The firing becomes terrific. The air is full of smoke and stifling odors. Looking out Middle Street, the slope of hill in front of the house erected by Gen. Haupt (then the Schultz residence) is seen to be crowded with reserve cavalry. Soon word comes that Gen. Reynolds has fallen. The wounded begin to pass our open door. Some are not seriously hurt. One has his thumb lacerated; another has a ball in his ankle, a Captain of the 14th. N.Y. Regiment, wounded in the foot, asks to sit in our hallway. Others are supported by their comrades. Here is a poor fellow whose chin is almost entirely gone. The worst we do not see; for they have been carried to the hospitals in ambulances. Every Church has become a hospital. The College and Seminary will soon be full. Even private houses are taking the sufferers in.

Our men are gaining. Right past us comes ~~under strong~~ guard an entire Confederate brigade (Archer's) with its commander - swarthy, bearded and down-cast, riding in front.

Now the Union gain is checked. The Confederates have reinforcements. While the battle has been won on the left, we are losing on the right. If Howard, who succeeded Reynolds, had to provide only against the forces coming from the west, his victory would have been overwhelming. But Early and Ewell are coming from Carlisle and the neighborhood of Harrisburg. Gordon, and his men are returning.

Oh for the Eleventh Corps! What delays it? When will it come? Gen. Howard and his staff ride by. As Reynolds has fallen, he is in command. Doubleday has the First Corps, and Carl Schurz the Eleventh. Howard views the field from the observatory of the Fahnestock House.

The Eleventh Corps at last appears. One of its divisions (Steinwehr's) is left on the right hand side of Cemetery Hill. It sometimes requires as much courage to hold in reserve, as to face a battery. The placing of that reserve on the key to the battle-field saved the day. The other divisions press on by way of Washington Street on a quick step, almost double quick. They are long in passing; nearly all Germans. As they run past us, a shout begins far in the rear and is carried towards the front. A German officer, a blonde, with flaxen beard rides by, and wherever he goes he is greeted with enthusiastic cheering. For years we tried to learn who he could have been, and only lately have learned that he was a Colonel, who had been under arrest, and had just been liberated to join the fray.

But alas! the Eleventh Corps is soon outflanked. The forces that have come in from the north and the east have decided the day against us. The retreat becomes a rout. The sound of musketry comes nearer and nearer. The artillery fire is closer. The cellar becomes the only place of safety. There is heavy pounding at the back entry door. My father brings down to us two Union soldiers ( Pa. Buck-tails) who have brought with them a wounded comerade. The street is choked with fleeing men. Some pieces of artillery cover the rout, halting every now and then to discharge a volley of shot into the pursuing enemy. Here they are. The van of one army touches the rear of the other. "Shoot him," "Shoot him", we hear and within a few feet of us there falls a Union soldier, who had not been resisting, or been ordered to surrender. A large portion of the loss of the Union forces that day was from prisoners who had been entangled in the streets of Gettysburg.

All is over long before dark. The Confederate advance finds Cemetery Hill looming before it, with Steinwehr's Division ready to pour a deadly fire upon any enemy who would approach. Around our house a Georgia Brigade (Dole's ) was stationed. The men get their water at our pump. The officers are very eager to converse with us at the front door. They were very courteous and affable, and, while exultant at the result, had too much consideration for us to be defiant.

As night fell, the cries of the wounded were borne us from the battle-field. To this day, we remember a frantic call, with its unmistakable Southern mark: "Watah, of, Watah! Watah."

That night was a busy one for both armies. There was little sleep in our home. Who knew what was yet to come, or whether we would sleep again in that house?

Our family had been increased by another household that had abandoned their home, and had come to my father as their protector. My mother's uncle, the Rev. David Eyster, pastor first at Dansville, N.Y., and then for twenty years at Johnstown, in the same state, had removed to Gettysburg some years before his death. His wife, a sister of the Rev. Dr. W.M. Reynolds, a woman of remarkable gifts and wide reading, had been a governess and a successful teacher prior to her marriage. She had resumed her occupation on their removal to Gettysburg, and numbered among her pupils the wives and daughters of our most prominent Lutheran ministers. Her husband had died just on the eve of the outbreak of the war, and my father was the executor of his estate. Her sister, Miss Catherine Reynolds, lived with her. Her younger son, George, was living at home. With them was residing an old friend, Miss Nancy Miller, a woman of strong character, a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church, and aunt of the late Rev. Dr. Paxton, Professor in the Princeton Theological Seminary.

Just before we retreated to the cellar on Wednesday afternoon, they had come to us for refuge. One of them had left all she had in the world behind her, except what she carried

up and down the cellar in a carpet-bag, determined not to let it go out of her grasp. Judge of her astonishment, when, after the battle, she found that the carpet bag she so zealously guarded contained nothing but rags, while the mate to it with all her valuables had been left in the room she had abandoned. The house had been entered and searched, but her possessions had been overlooked.

It became a problem as to how we were to be fed. For bread we had depended on the baker; but his establishment had been cleaned out. There was some flour on hand, but no yeast or baking powder. The ladies managed to make some biscuit, and to make a batter of flour and water as a substitute for bread, which, with raspberries which I picked when there was no firing, formed a good part of our subsistence.

On Thursday morning, our Georgia neighbors were astir bright and early. Our interest in them grew when we saw how many were reading their New Testaments. The lines now were formed for the main battle - as that of the first day was a preliminary engagement on what in reality was a different field. They have often been compared to horse-shoes, the Union line having the inner horse-shoe, covering the roads to Baltimore and Washington, and the Confederate line being generally parallel, at a distance of a mile or something over, and since it was the outer, it was of necessity much larger and thinner. The Union left would be reinforced from the right across the diameter, while to reinforce the Confederate left from the right required a march along its entire circumference. Both lines were on elevated ridges, but that of the Union troops was much higher than that of their enemy, and was throughout its whole extent, while parts of the Confederate line were depressed.

The Confederate center ran through Middle Street, and was in the valley within which most of the town lay. As our house was on the corner of Middle and Washington Streets, we were directly on this line. A stone wall, erected by the neighbor, opposite us, was demolished, and used by the Confederates to close up Washington Street. There was fighting along this Confederate center, but the bullets flew over from the south, one piercing a shutter in our house and falling on the floor, and another killing a Southern soldier on our cellar door.

The pickets were constantly exchanging shots during the day; but otherwise, there was relative quiet until 4:20 P.M., according to my father's watch. Then the storm broke out, and the air grew heavy. The musketry fire first on our left and then on our right was terrific. We kept closely to the cellar, and knew nothing of the details of the engagements of that evening, until afterwards.

Friday morning we had comparative peace. The terrible struggle, by which the Confederates were driven out of the fortifications about Spangler's Spring, which they had occupied the preceding evening, was not forced upon our attention. We of course heard frequent firing, but it was insignificant, contrasted with what startled us the preceding evening. There was for several hours almost total silence. Something evidently was brewing. At last, a signal gun was heard. My father drew

out his watch. It was just 1:07 P.M. Then, came another. Then a terrific crash. It was time again to seek the cellar. Such a symphony had never been heard before. From all our Confederate lines, W., S.W., N.W., N., N.E., their guns were turned on the western slope of Cemetery Hill. The Union guns replied, although without the advantage of such concentration. They had to be trained on such Confederate batteries as were doing the most damage. One hundred and fifty guns were thundering at once. The earth rocked. The air vibrated with the scream of the shells, and the discords of their explosions. Above the tumult, one gun on Cemetery Hill was heard like an instrument carrying the air, while the rest accompanied it. The earth shook very violently when it sounded. Mrs. Eyster kept count: "Our guns"; "theirs"; "ours" "theirs". The shells were flying not only directly over us, but a badly aimed shot would occasionally fall in the town. A house near us was struck. My father remarked: "This illustrates the passage in the Book of Revelation: 'Seven thunders uttered their voices'." The Union guns began to slacken. We feared they were being silenced. But no. They had a respite only to be cooled. They are at it once more. The monster gun again leads the chorus. All the rest join in. Slowly, more slowly, more slowly still! The intervals between the discharges of the great gun are becoming longer; the chorus is fading out like the pianissimo finale of some strain with its overwhelming Wagnerian din.

This silence again is portentous. There is too much art in it to have been forced. My father cannot be induced to remain with us. He felt by intuition what was coming. He has the glass with him in the garret. There he saw the line of Picket forming on Seminary Ridge in magnificent array. He watched it as it moved steadily forward. At last it is lost to sight behind projecting buildings. Then comes the roar of artillery and the crash of smaller arms. The din is resumed, only the tone is not so loud. It is not long. He sees them going back, no longer in serried ranks, but as individuals, broken, creeping through the wrecked corn-field, a handful compared to those who had sallied forth. It is too much for him to remain longer alone. He calls: "Henry, Henry. Come, come at once. Here is a scene you will never have the opportunity again to see in your life. It is worth all the risk. Do not miss it." I went, and there I could see clearly the stragglers working their way back to the Confederate line.

This was the charge against which Gen. Longstreet had protested, and for which he was unable, by word of mouth, to give the command, and in view of which, he tells us, that he prayed that one of those cruel shells might strike him, rather than that he be permitted to see what seemed to him to be the inevitable result.

A few days later I was in Buehler's Drug-Store. Dr. Krauth and Legh Baugher were there. A tall dignified officer, walking with a limp, entered, and made some purchases. Then turning to Dr. Krauth, he said: "I was once your pupil". He proved to be a man whose rank as a student had been the very highest, and of whom the College was proud. He was a Virginian, and had been

wounded in the charge. When stricken, few seemed to have fallen, but when he regained consciousness, the devastation was like that made by a tornado. None were left but the dead and wounded. Dr. Repass was a Captain, and was taken prisoner at the very focus of the battle, where the fighting was severest.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Robert Holland, then a Lieutenant, fell wounded and unconscious.<sup>2</sup> A Mr. Wagner of North Carolina, who entertained me at his home, was a stretcher-bearer, to carry back the wounded; and from him I had much interesting information. On the other side, my brother-in-law Dr. Harpster, a Captain and staff officer, lay that night, and long afterwards, nigh death from injuries inflicted by a shell in that terrific cannonade.<sup>3</sup>

Near sunset, there was a storm with considerable thunder. It suffered greatly by comparison with that which had filled our ears a few hours before.

Shortly after midnight we learned that the Confederates were moving. At first, we thought that they might be only shifting their forces, as they had been doing all Thursday night. But my father who, with entire absence of fear, was now leaning out the window, and now on the pavement outside while the troops passed by, joyfully announced: "They are retreating". It was not full daylight, when we were all on the street. A few belated, and, as I remember, half-drunken stragglers, who had been left behind were hurrying out Middle Street. At the edge of town, in a ravine, through which a small run courses, Confederate sharpshooters soon established themselves. Union pickets soon appeared. Every man that appeared on the street was made a target by those who were covering the Confederate retreat. A young cavalryman was pierced in the arm, and uttered a cry of terror. My sister took her place at the front door, and warned everyone passing of the presence of the sharpshooters. This soon attracted their attention. Their rifles were turned on the door, and the balls flew thickly around it; but she was completely out of their range.

A barricade of barrels filled with stones was thrown across Middle Street, and a fire kept all afternoon between the Union soldiers at our corner, and the Confederates in the hollow. A light rain was falling. The Captain in command, a Philadelphian, spent a part of his time at the back parlor window on Washington Street conversing with us. An old hat would be mounted on a broom stick, and exposed; and as a volley from the Confederates would follow, there would be a shout of laughter. We were still practically prisoners. This was the fourth day of our confinement to the premises. My father had my sister try the piano again. Her notes were accentuated by the crack of rifles a few feet away.

From the garret, I had seen through the glass the preparations the Confederates were making to defend Seminary Ridge. The earth-works on that part of the line were constructed after the battle was over. I uncovered a group of sharpshooters at a barn door, and as the glass brought me within a few feet of them, their countenances in the attitude of attention were a study.

Strange as it may seem, it was only gradually that the magnitude of the battle dawned upon us. That the entire army was engaged was only a surmise, until we learned some of the facts from the pickets.

Early the next morning, Gen. Howard rode by with his staff, using our pavement, as the street was barricaded. Not long after he returned. One of his staff, Capt. Griffith, had his head reclining on the shoulder of another officer. He had been mortally wounded. The Confederate lines had retired towards the mountain; but those too eager to pursue ran the risk of an ambuscade.

A "Baltimore Sun" of Saturday gave us the first connected account of the battle, and information of those who had fallen.

There seemed to be little movement of troops on Sunday. The troops had been exhausted by forced marches, and the toil and anxieties of the preceding days and nights. But, on Monday, they were fast disappearing.

On Sunday afternoon, I had called to see one of the students who had been severely, but not seriously wounded during the firing. While with him at his boarding-house, Maj. Gen. Carl Schurz called, with his staff, for dinner. He was extremely affable and courteous, and, introducing the members of his staff, at once began a conversation, which lasted until the meal was announced.

## Chapter Eight - After the Battle

For days after the battle we could scarcely do anything but sleep. We would fall asleep in our chair when we were conversing with others, altho' our rest at night was unbroken. It was the middle of the next week before we took any interest in the field. But, for the rest of the summer we made it a study.

The town was one vast hospital. Dead men lay in the streets from Wednesday till Saturday. We stepped over them in Washington Street. Gen. Haupt had the railroad in operation almost as soon as the enemy retired, and there was no lack of supplies. All available space was occupied by visitors. The United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission, had a large force of delegates. Volunteer surgeons and nurses immediately appeared. Relatives came in large numbers to claim the bodies of their dead, or to attend to their dying and wounded. A reasonable curiosity brought thousands to the place that summer, and motives of gain attracted others. Friends filled our house a great portion of the season. This was only typical of what every citizen experienced.

Altho' most of the dead had been buried, by the time we had energy enough to go over the field, there were many sights too horrible for description. Hundreds of dead horses were scattered about. Around Gen. Meade's headquarters on the Taneytown Road which I frequently passed, I counted seventeen horses that had been killed by the storm of shells on Friday afternoon. They lay for weeks exposed to the July sun. When the wind blew from the south and west in the evenings, the stench was so overpowering that for a number of evenings all windows had to be closed. During the day it was imperceptible. Large quantities of provisions lay decomposing.

The Union dead on the field of the first day's battle, were covered with only a few inches of soil. Portions of the body protruded, as the rain washed away the soil. The Confederate dead on the fields of the second and third days' fight were mostly buried in long trenches, made in haste and also very superficially covered. A prominent Presbyterian minister whom I piloted over the field on a Saturday, returned on Monday with a shovel, and covered one of these trenches that was most repulsive. For months the dead could be seen among the rocks at the foot of Round Top, in places where it was difficult to reach them. Piles of limbs that had been amputated sometimes met the eye. The people of the town became gradually acclimated; there was little sickness among them. But many visitors were stricken with fever upon their return home, and died. I walked over part of the field one hot day with Dr. Baum and Rev. Charles A. Baer of Norristown,<sup>2</sup> a Yale graduate, and one of our most promising young pastors. In a few weeks, he was dead. His death was ascribed to that trip. Some of the books in the College Library were soaked with blood, as the wounded had used them to support their heads. Medical students I found on the field preparing skeletons, and in a cauldron boiling the remains of heroes.

Laboring men were few. The delayed farm work had demanded their care. The wants of the living were after all more important than attention to the dead. It was a noble thought of Judge Wills, then a young lawyer,<sup>3</sup> to have the Union dead transferred to one burial spot. This was promptly done. Years afterwards, the Confederate dead received similar treatment. It was some weeks before the College and Seminary and the churches were vacated as hospitals. I heard Dr. Baugher remark afterwards in a sermon that for one entire month, no note of a bird was heard in the campus where they were otherwise in abundance. The cannonade had frightened them away.

Enough of these horrors. We turned from them to a study of the field itself. The ground was strewn with marks enabling us to distinguish with general accuracy, the positions of corps, divisions, brigades and even regiments. A sphere indicated the First; a trefoil, the Second; a diamond, the Third; a Maltese cross, the Fifth; a simple cross, the Sixth; a crescent, the Eleventh; and a star, the Twelfth Corps. If red, it indicated, the First; if white, the Second; if blue, the Third Division of the Corps. Hats and caps were strewn around with these marks upon them. The regimental marks were found also upon clothing and baggage. Rude wooden headboards marked graves where Union soldiers had fallen, and the company and regiment were generally indicated. It was not difficult to outline the distribution of the Union forces.

I began, therefore, to prepare a rude sketch of the field, stepping off distances, and roughly indicating on paper the general directions of the lines, and space occupied by each command. The incidents of the battle I learned partly from reports of correspondents which were gathered, partly from wounded soldiers and participants in the battle, and from those who had received information from such sources. I soon found Col. Buchelder, the historian of the field, at work making sketches, and learned to know him well. My father was deeply interested in all the information collected, and soon applied himself to it. A considerable portion of the lines was traced by him with his surveying instrument, and a map made. At first friends and old acquaintances, and afterwards many others came to us for information. I served as a guide, without any other compensation than the enlarging of my acquaintance. We walked more frequently than we drove.

My father finally reduced the information collected into a connected form. He did not write for publication. But when he had shown what had been written to a few friends, he was urged to publish. The little book, "The Rebel Invasion of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the Battle of Gettysburg" appeared in November, first in an edition of 2000 which disappeared like snow flakes, followed by one of 10,000, which was exhausted within a year or two.<sup>4</sup> There were other issues from the plates, but how many I do not know. My brother, Edward, afterwards published a cheap reprint in paper, which had probably a much larger sale than the original.

A few months afterwards at the request of Prof. Coppee,<sup>5</sup> my father published in the United States Service Magazine, an article entitled, "Later Ra bles Over the Battle-field of Gettysburg", and for the "Evangelical Review" he wrote an article, "The Battle of Gettysburg", which is more valuable than the "Notes", as it is the result of much additional information.<sup>6</sup>

My father's "Notes" attracted wide attention, and led to much correspondence with Gens. Howard, Crawford, A.S. Williams, Chamberlain and other participants in the battle, as well as with the Hon. Edward Everett and other civilians. Mr. Everett referred to it in commendatory terms in his Gettysburg oration.<sup>7</sup>

About the beginning of October, I took my sister as far as New York, on her way to school at Pittsfield, Mass. Leaving her with a teacher from Pittsfield at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, I tarried to obtain some idea of the city. By mere accident, I stumbled on my classmate, Francis, then a student at Union Theological Seminary, who took me with him to his room, and devoted a day and a half to my entertainment. We spent an evening at a monster Republican demonstration at Cooper Institute, at which Vice-President Hamlin, Gen. John Cochrane, Hon. E.B. Washburn, Admiral Farragut, and others spoke. A few weeks afterwards the Vice-President repeated his speech to a very different audience in the Court House at Gettysburg. I went out to Coney Island, and first saw the ocean.

On my way home, I stopped in Philadelphia, an entire stranger in a city that was to be for so many years my home. Shortly afterwards I made a trip through the Cumberland and Lebanon Valleys on a business interest of my father, in which I was successful.

Then came the greatest day Gettysburg has ever seen, Nov. 19th. 1863. The President of the United States and his Cabinet, and a large proportion of the Governors, with other prominent statesmen and civilians were present. On the preceding day, my father dined with Mr. Everett at Judge Wills', and accompanied him over the field. I remember well the appearance of President Lincoln, astride a small horse - almost a pony - with his feet nearly touching the ground. There were thousands of soldiers, and numerous bands in the procession. I paid no attention to guards, and stood right in front of the platform. Everett had a great oration, elaborately prepared, faithfully committed, gracefully and forcefully delivered. His eyes were piercing black, contrasting greatly with his snow white hair. His voice was clear, distinct, soft; every gesture told. His whole appearance indicated the cultivated scholar. The weakness of the oration was a long disquisition on the principles of representative government, in which he lost the attention of his audience, most of whom were standing. The digression, however, would have been pardoned, and the speech have been commended as being what its author intended, viz. the crowning effort of his life, if President Lincoln had not been there.

The President became nervous as Everett was drawing to a close. His mind was not on what Mr. Everett was saying, but on his own speech. It is probable that he had intended speaking without notes. He produced an old fashioned spectacle-case, and took from it his glasses. He reached in his side pocket for a crumpled sheet of paper. After reading it over, he replaced it in his pocket. When introduced, he rose and faced his audience with his glasses on, but with his hands entirely free. As he stood for a moment before the crowd, he thrilled them by his very presence. There was in his personality, the living monument of all that for which the war was being fought, and for which the heroes buried around them had fallen. He could not have uttered a word that they would not have applauded, and, with such a sympathetic audience, he could not have said anything that would not have been eloquent. The first few lines were spoken from memory. As he spoke, he again brought his manuscript out of his pocket. He held it in both hands. The strain was intense to hear every word he said, and catch every intonation of his voice. The majority of the people, it is likely, did not notice his manuscript, or the strange way in which he held it, or the awkward gestures he made with his body. He had caught the spirit of the occasion. He had spoken to every heart.

In his speech there was nothing new. If its inspiring thought was that it is not for us to consecrate these graves, but to be consecrated here to the great cause for which these heroes fell, this is only what Luther had declared concerning church consecrations in his Babylonian Captivity. But men recognized his sincerity and earnestness, and heard all condensed into the fewest words. It was perhaps the greatest moment of Lincoln's life. Unconsciously and without effort or ambition, he had made the greatest dedication speech of modern times. 8

Many distinguished statesmen have spoken on public occasions in that Cemetery since then. Judged by rhetorical standards, some have reached a higher standard. But they have been forgotten, like the brilliant foliage of the trees above those graves, while Lincoln's oration stands like a granite shaft above and over them all.

Among those whom I learned to know on the battle-field, I remember with especial interest the Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, D.D., L.L.D., D.C.L., the Protestant Episcopal bishop of Ohio during the war. Bishop McIlvaine had been over the field one spring with my father; and returning to Gettysburg with his sons, called at our house. My father being unable to see him, I accompanied them in a delightful stroll on an ideal autumn day. The bishop was a Princeton graduate, the leader of the Lowchurchmen in America, and the author of a book, "The Evidences of Christianity", which I greatly admired. For a number of years, he was Chaplain at West Point. He was a man of courtly manners, but of great simplicity of character. While attempting to pass between the bars of the fence separating the Evergreen Cemetery from the National Cemetery, he caught his pants, to his great amusement. He entertained his

sons and me by endeavoring to describe the field at Waterloo upon that of Gettysburg as a background. He also had some interesting reminiscences of Dr. Schmucker's career as a student at Princeton.<sup>9</sup>

One evening a strange minister preached a sermon of remarkable elegance at Wednesday evening service. I had no idea as to who he was; but said to myself, "That man reminds me of what I think Rev. Dr. J.P. Thompson of New York must be". After service, I found that it was none other than Dr. Thompson.<sup>10</sup> On another Wednesday evening, Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania preached in the College Church.<sup>11</sup>

A party of distinguished men came on an excursion to Gettysburg some years later. At a reception, I had a few moments conversation with Chief Justice Chase, who asked concerning the condition of Lutheranism in the Prussian Union. Gen. Meade, Governor Geary, Simon Cameron, George H. Baker and others were present. Gen. Meade was entertained by Prof. Wilken, the German Professor. During the conversation, a graphic account was given of a battle in East Tennessee he had witnessed, in which women loaded the guns, while the men fired.

Grant came to study the field, and is said to have remarked to the gentleman attending him, that Lee should not have fought the battle, but should have pressed onward toward Philadelphia. It would have been more like Sherman to have done so. I saw both Grant and Sherman at Gettysburg, and among others, President Hayes, James G. Blaine, Benjamin F. Butler, Gen. Howley, Senator Burroughs, Vice-Presidents Colfax and Wilson, "Tom Hughes" (English statesman and author of "Tom Brown at Rugby") etc...

## Chapter Nine - In the Theological Seminary

When the excitement over the battle had passed the acute stage, and the town had quieted after the cemetery exercises, I turned to the study of Theology. This has been my father's wish from my childhood. I had heard the prediction made repeatedly that I would become a minister; but for a long time, I had no inclination in that direction. I turned towards Law, not because of any great enthusiasm for it, or any particular ambition for success or distinction, but because it seemed the only alternative. I had been reading Blackstone and Wheaton and Vattell, Story of the Constitution, Curtis' History of the Constitution, etc., and accompanied them with the reading of Hume and Macaulay on English History, and Bancroft's United States. The year after my graduation from College was occupied with these studies, and was as profitable as any I had previously spent. But I was not comfortable. Interested as I had become in the scientific and historical side of law, the thought of its practice was not attractive. My father's warning that lawyers had special temptations to espouse a bad cause, had its weight, although I knew some to whom it could not apply. I did not, therefore, enter my name in a lawyer's office as a registered student.

But the farther I went in my studies, and the wider my field of observation became, the deeper grew the religious impressions of my childhood. My college associations had been largely broken when I graduated; and I was left more to my own reflections. A number of my classmates were in the Seminary, and nearly all of my other associates in Gettysburg that year were either theological students, or preparing to become such. The religious crisis of my life came. I attempted to reduce to writing what, on sober reflection, I was sure of. The overwhelming truth of Christianity was appreciated as never before. I discussed the questions agitating my mind with no one, not even my father. But I read the Bible more carefully than I had done before, with such commentaries as I found in my father's library. I put myself down particularly to the study of the Epistle to the Romans. This was probably suggested by the story of Luther's life, as I read in D'Aubigne. Two books of Jacob Abbott, "The Corner Stone", and "Young Christian" deeply impressed me. Dwight's Theology also served a good purpose. 2

It was in the midst of such reflections, that the Confederate invasion came. My face was already turned toward the course I afterwards took, when the battle occurred. I would have preferred teaching for a year to mature my plans, and get a still better knowledge of the world outside of Gettysburg before committing myself. But in the confusion at home and in the country, this opportunity did not come. The experiences of that week of danger, the sorrowful scenes before me, the closer contact with death and the eternal world: the great need realized of consolation from a source higher than this world, and an intimate association on the battle-field with members of various churches and delegates of the Christian Commission, all deepened my conviction, and inspired me with a desire to devote myself to the ministry.

But there was still an obstacle to be removed. I could not think of applying for admission into the Seminary until I was confirmed. The church had been closed for about two months after the battle, and was being renovated. It was late in November before a Communion Service was announced. To my father, my announcement that I would apply for Confirmation, and then enter the Seminary, if I could be admitted, came as a great surprise. He had expected, if I would ever reach such a decision, that it would be preceded by long arguments. I had fought over the questions alone, and without any human adviser.<sup>3</sup>

Determined to apply for admission into the Junior Class of the Seminary directly after Christmas, I put myself down without any instructor to the study of Hebrew, Kurtz's Sacred History<sup>4</sup> and Horne's Introduction.<sup>5</sup> My father had several Hebrew grammars that once belonged to my uncle David and a Hebrew Christomathy; and by concentrating on the Hebrew, I made rapid progress. This progress I soon realized was seriously interrupted when I entered the class, where to all except one or two members, the study of Hebrew was a task for which there was no love.

The Seminary, to the west of Gettysburg, was reached by a leisurely twenty minutes' walk from my father's home. The third storey was unfinished except in the center where, on the front, was the Missionary Hall, and in the rear, the Library. The lower storey was devoted to the steward, as the resident students boarded in the building. The view from all parts of the building is one of rare beauty - of the mountains in the back, and of the town on a low plain before it, with Culp's and Wolf's Hills thickly wooded in the background. A long straight walk covered with tan,<sup>6</sup> led down to the Chambersburg Road. The two Professors' homes - one occupied by Dr. Schmucker and the other by Dr. Krauth - were at a considerable distance east and west. At my first visit to Princeton, I at once recognized the house there, once occupied by Dr. Charles Hodge, as the model of these Gettysburg houses.

In the Seminary, there were about twenty four students, the larger number in the Junior Class. Among my classmates were Drs. Wolf, Remensnyder, Spieker and J. Lawson Smith. Dr. M.H. Richards and a number of my College classmates were Seniors. Each class had two hours instruction each day. We were warned about becoming too much absorbed in our studies, and urged to devote abundant time to quiet reflection. The course was arranged with this end in view. Every Thursday morning the classes were united for rhetorical exercises or a debate. The first Wednesday of every month was Missionary Day. The exercises were suspended. In the morning Professors and students united in a missionary meeting, at which Standing Committees made reports concerning topics that had been assigned them; in the afternoon a missionary prayer-meeting was held. Students were urged to arrange for using the same day for devotional purposes, when they later became pastors, and to review their lives and studies during the year.

On Sunday morning at 9 A.M., there was a Conference presided over by one of the Professors, Dr. Schmucker taking two of such conferences, and each of the others one per month. A question was assigned, a student was appointed to open the discussion, and each student in turn was asked for his opinion on the subject. The presiding Professor closed the discussion. The students residing in the building had worship early in the morning. Each lecture or recitation was opened with prayer, Dr. Schmucker usually asking one of the students to lead extemporaneously. At the close of the last hour of the day the bell was rung, and when all the students had appeared, the roll was called, Scripture read, and prayer made by the Professor having that hour. There was little intercourse between the Professors and the students. Dr. Schmucker had one hour a day at which students might see him. Even if important errands seemed to justify a call at another hour, they ran the risk of being reminded of their infringement of the rule. So strictly were study hours enforced, that a man absorbed in his book under the trees would be reprimanded for breaking the rule requiring students to be in their rooms at that time.

Dr. Schmucker had our Class in Theological Encyclopaedia,<sup>7</sup> Apologetics and Dogmatics; Dr. Krauth in Exegesis of Romans, and Church History. Dr. C.F.Schaeffer lectured exclusively in German, and I missed his course.

Dr. Schmucker had many qualities of a good teacher. He was clear, methodical, precise, decided, exacting, acute to a fault. He was never disconcerted, or excited; but cold and stern, keeping all students while in the class room at a distance, and dealing severely with even pardonable requests that did not meet the very letter of the rules. He was Puritanical more than Pietistic, American more than Calvinistic, altho' containing elements of each. The oldest of nineteen children in the family of his father, the Rev. Dr. J.G. Schmucker,<sup>8</sup> while a child he was placed in Philadelphia with Dr. Helmuth,<sup>9</sup> and afterwards attended the University of Pennsylvania, only through the Sophomore Year, altho' graduated with the class, to the dissatisfaction of his classmates, as one of them, Rev. Dr. VanPelt of the Episcopal Church told me. His theological course was at Princeton, where he and Bishop McIlvaine, as the latter told me, had to row against the stream. His first pastorate at New Market, Va., was soon attended by controversies with the Henkels who represented a more conservative Lutheranism than he did, but also were not without serious grounds for criticism.<sup>10</sup> With his wider contact with American life, and his superior educational advantages, and his command of idiomatic English, and a moderate competence available, he attained influence at an unusually early age, becoming Professor at Gettysburg when only twenty seven years old. He had been a successful organizer and industrious leader in almost every sphere of the Church activity of those days. In his prime he had much reputation as a preacher; but as I remember him, he was without animation, didactic and tedious, preaching on a few favorite themes, "War", "The Abolition of Slavery", "Christian Union", "The Evils of Liturgical Services", etc. We remember a regular course of Systematic Theology which he began, and preached for a time in regular dogmatical order. As he preached

only once every six weeks, it was difficult to maintain the connection. As a child it amused me to notice that while preaching he often closed his eyes.

He was now at the very close of his Professorial career. He had already resigned, and the resignation was to take effect at the close of the year, a large part of which had already passed. He was smarting under severe criticisms. Ever since the close of the forties his dominant influence had been breaking. A conservative reaction had come under men, some of whom (Drs. Reynolds, C.W.Schaeffer, Krauth, Jr.) had been his pupils; with them also were his brother-in-law, C.F.Schaeffer, and his own son, Beale. The man who was to be his successor, Dr. J.A. Brown, had moved several years before, that he be impeached. He constantly rambled from his lectures to answer his opponents. He gave us his controversial tracts and sermons to study and recite. This caused a general reaction. The trend of the feeling of the students was against him. Nevertheless, I am conscious of having been influenced in many directions by his teaching and suggestions. During the last years of his life, I met him almost daily, and enjoyed his confidence. As I preached frequently in his presence, he was always ready to offer his criticisms, which, as they were made in the kindest manner, I greatly appreciated."

Dr. Krauth was one year older than his colleague, and was not at his best. But even though he seemed to understand the capacity of his pupils, and failed to impart as much instruction as we should have received, he kept us on the track, outlined the subjects to us, referred us to numerous authorities, and impressed us with the weight of his character and the cultivation of his manners. He had no sympathy with the ecclesiastical position of his colleague. His Evangelical Review was the organ of the opposition, and the position of his still more scholarly son was only the development of his father's principles.

Dr. C.F.Schaeffer was then fifty seven years old. Altho' he was not my teacher, yet his influence in the Seminary demands notice. His deafness greatly hindered his efficiency, as well as his knowledge of what was occurring. He lived apart. His world was in his study, where he labored industriously - and smoked. He was a man of great simplicity of character, and sometimes of very impractical ideas. His scholarship was microscopic, and his teaching exact. He dictated even the punctuation marks in his lectures. Like most men hard of hearing, he was sensitive, and it was not unusual for his colleagues to find him passing them without speaking. Years after he left Gettysburg, a straight-path-way in the College Campus showed where he used to assert his independence by ignoring the serpentine walk the College authorities had constructed, even though it was not unusual for him to go through the mud instead of on the dry road. His green umbrella was his constant companion. Tradition says that the farmers at Rhinebeck, N.Y. where he was pastor called it "Parson Schaeffer's horse". There was rarely a day so cloudless that he deemed it safe to walk two or three squares to the Post Office without its protection. His Commentary on

Matthew, his translation with large additions of Lange on Acts, his translation of Kurtz's Sacred History, the many articles he has left in the Evangelical Review and Lutheran Intelligencer, his System of Dogmatics dictated to his students, show him to have been a strong man. As a preacher he was most instructive. The sermon was based on a most minute analysis of the text, was intelligible to the humblest hearer, and the argument would be long remembered.

Dr. Schaeffer was a Democrat of the most extreme school. In 1860 he was an ardent advocate of Breckenridge. When the great body of Breckenridge Democrats joined the followers of Douglas in a fusion ticket, Dr. Schaeffer stood his ground, and with one other voter, represented the unterrified element in Gettysburg.

Dr. Muhlenberg, after I came to Philadelphia, gave it to me as his opinion, that if Dr. Schaeffer had not been the representative of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in the Faculty of the Seminary, the break in 1864 might have been avoided.

For years he was the German preacher in St. James church. One Sunday he appeared in a robe presented to him by Dr. Stohlman's church in New York.<sup>2</sup> As this was a novelty in Gettysburg the Church Council requested him to desist. The result was that he founded a German congregation which worshipped regularly in McConaughy's Hall, until he moved to Philadelphia when it again united with St. James.

He was appointed to take his place on Sunday evenings as preacher in the College Church. Without announcement he began with a liturgical service none of the congregation had seen, and, when asked to conform to the order used when the other Professors preached, he withdrew entirely.

Dr. Schaeffer had been lecturing in Theology for awhile in English, translating his German lectures as they were delivered. When a large portion of the students attended and Dr. Schmucker felt that his province was invaded, Dr. Schaeffer was ordered to confine his lectures to German. He was also informed that his department was Catechetics. He acquiesced, but began his course with the title: "Catechetics: Part I. Dogmatics".

Mrs. Schaeffer was the daughter of Rev. Dr. J.G. Schmucker, and sister to Dr. S.S. Schmucker. But the relationship only added to the intensity of the antagonism. He once stopped me on the street while I was a seminarian, and said: "And so Dr. Schmucker has run away again. That man is my thermometer. His flights show that danger is at hand, and tell me when I must stay to protect my family!" (Dr. Schmucker feared that he would be carried away as prisoner because of his writings against Slavery, and his intimacy with Northern Abolitionists.)

There was generally a nucleus of a half dozen foreign German students in the Seminary. They gathered around the Doctor. The number was increased by those who longed for a

Lutheran antidote to Dr. Schmucker's teachings. Once there was a revolt which carried a half dozen men away in a body, protesting that they could no longer listen to Dr. Schmucker. Many of the entirely English students obtained suggestions from their fellow students under Dr. Schaeffer. Dr. Hiester H. Muhlenberg put a number of copies of the New Market Edition of the Symbolical Books into the Seminary Library to be used under Dr. Schaeffer's care. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania gave him an annual appropriation for other books for the library.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore there was considerable confusion among the students, and when I entered the Seminary, there was speculation as to the side upon which I would be ranged. The man in our class most outspoken as "an old Lutheran" was Edmund J. Wolf, afterwards for over thirty years a Professor at Gettysburg Seminary, after the old element was supposed to be exhausted.

The College influence was at that time on the conservative side. While Dr. Schaeffer belonged to both Faculties, he never attended the meetings of that of the College, and was not regarded by its members as their representative in his conflicts with his brother-in-law. But there was no Professor who did not resent Dr. Schmucker's policy and repudiate his assumptions to be the oracle of the General Synod. Dr. Baugher would carry his protests into the pulpit. I remember a College debate on the theme: "Are Dr. Schmucker's views on Church Music correct?", and the indignation of Dr. Schmucker when a half-witted College student, in his simplicity, called upon him and interviewed him as to what his views were, in order to correctly decide as to how far they were to be condemned.

My father was my chief adviser. The questions discussed in class were discussed at home. Starke's Synopsis, his favorite Commentary - would often be called in to explain a passage of Scripture. Müller's "Symbolical Books" were also called into service.

I felt I must fight out the battle for myself. I would acknowledge neither Dr. Schmucker, nor Dr. Schaeffer, nor even my own dear father as my master. The Gospels must first be studied. I selected strange guides in Wolf's Curae Philologicae and Rosenmuller's Scholia.<sup>15</sup> I began a translation of the Formula of Concord from the Latin. Dr. Krauth Sr. repeatedly insisted that I must learn to read German; and I made my beginning on the German Bible. Whatever side reading I did was in Church History.

Once more I was at sea. The Seminary was not giving me certainty, but only multiplying questions. A retreat must be found in which, apart from the bent of the controversy, these questions could be dispassionately considered. How important if I would only master thoroughly the Greek Testament.

While these questions were being agitated, my course was interrupted by a most important episode that proved as valuable

for my future career as all I gained that year at the Seminary.

The Easter Recess was at hand. The Christian Commission needed delegates in the Western Army. One of the students had already entered its service, and was at Knoxville, Tenn.. Two of us ( a Senior, Culler, a former classmate and I) decided to ask permission of Dr. Schmucker, and apply for appointment. The permission was not only granted, but with it came a strong commendation. Dr. Stoever's influence with George H. Stuart, the President, completed the work. We started during the first week of April. Stopping for several hours at Harrisburg, to bid good-bye to my grandmother, we were off to Pittsburgh, which we reached the next morning. Here we reported to Mr. Weyman,<sup>6</sup> and found there were difficulties about being allowed within General Sherman's lines. The day was spent about the place, and was closed at the Passavant Hospital, where my former college friend, now Rev. Dr. H.W.Roth, was then living.

Returning to Mr. Weyman's we learned of Gen. Sherman's famous order that "gunpowder and oats are the best religious and moral agents the army can have, and all others are forbidden". We were advised to report at the office in Philadelphia. The night ride was all the more trying from the presence on our car of a maniac who was being taken by his father and physician to an asylum. He several times got beyond their control and pulled the conductor's signal rope. An accident delayed us hours near the mountains. Having reported to Mr. Stuart, we were sent at once to Washington.

At Washington, we slept several nights in the home of Mr. Ballantyne, a bookseller, active in Christian work. The family was cultivated and the house spacious, and well furnished. The quarters of the Commission where we lived the rest of the time were full of delegates, pastors, theological students and some young and active laymen. New Englanders prevailed. Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, United Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, Methodists, and United Brethren were represented. The theological students besides ourselves were from Andover. A bright man with black eyes and coal black beard and hair wrote his name on a page of my journal as "Theodore L. Cuyler, Brooklyn, N.Y.". He afterwards became one of the most eminent Presbyterian preachers in this country, and, altho' very aged, still writes for the religious press. The oldest minister was a grandson of the Revolutionary General, Gage. They were a friendly class of men, whose sincerity impressed me favorably.

We went to work early the next morning. Our duties were to visit hospitals, camps and battlefields; to distribute stores, to circulate religious literature; to conduct religious meetings where possible; to relieve anxieties of friends concerning soldiers, and to aid soldiers in communicating with friends. My very first duty was to go to the Surgeon General's office to learn whether a soldier, whose friends had not heard of him for a long time, could be traced. With an associate, I was sent to various hospitals and prisons, distributing religious papers, and conversing with the men. A few verses of Scripture, a few sentences of prayer, a talk of about five minutes, and sometimes

a hymn very frequently accompanied our visit. I also did what I could around the office.

I slipped into the Capitol one afternoon, when my day's work was done and before I went out in the evening, and heard Fessenden of Maine and Reverdy Johnston of Maryland in the U.S. Senate.

It was decided that we should accompany the 9th. Army Corps, which under Gen. Burnside, was rendezvousing at Camp Parole, Annapolis, and was to consist largely of colored troops. The general impression was that our destination was to be Galveston, Texas. We went to Camp Parole, but I took a very severe cold which developed into Quinsy. Being invalided I did not see Annapolis, although I was within a mile or two of the city. One night every one thought that the transports would take us southward the next day. But when the orders to move came, it was to Washington and not to Texas that the Corps was sent. Going thither by rail, while the Corps marched over land, we were sent for awhile to Alexandria on errands similar to those done in Washington. We had several interesting experiences. One afternoon a staid Quaker woman entered the office which I was attending and asked, "Young man, will you kindly write a letter while I dictate?" When the letter was finished she signed it: "Dorothea L. Dix". She was the widely-known philanthropist. At another time a venerable and benevolent, but roughly clad and rather ill-kempt old gentleman found me alone. He asked numerous questions and learned a great deal about me in a very few minutes. Then he knelt, and in a few words uttered a fervent prayer in which he mentioned me by name and dwelt on what he had just heard of me. It proved to be "Uncle John Vassar", as he was called, who was acting then as an army missionary, and later became one of the founders of Vassar College. In a company of about a half dozen gathered one evening for a prayer-meeting, we had a Brigadier-General, Gen. H.H. Briggs, son of a Governor of Massachusetts. He made one of the prayers and tarried after the meeting for a pleasant conversation.

One Saturday evening I was sent with a Rev. Mr. Holbrook of Massachusetts, a Baptist minister, on an errand some miles beyond Alexandria into Virginia. When we reached the Theological Seminary, distinguished as the school at which Phillips Brooks studied theology, it had become dark. The country around was occasionally invaded by guerillas. The Seminary was then a hospital; the library was the dispensary; and the Chaplain, Rev. J.A. Jerome, an Episcopal clergyman, was son-in-law of Bishop Sparrow, who had been a prominent professor there. Chaplain Jerome would not allow us to proceed a step further. We spent the evening most pleasantly with him and his wife; and when the time had come, a bed was made for me on the sofa in his study. We rose early the next morning and as we left the house, a beautiful view of an old Virginia home attracted our attention, and has often been recalled since. A few weeks ago (1906) in coming up the Southern Road from Georgia, I was delighted to recognize the picture I had so long cherished.

While at Alexandria I attended a service at an Episcopal Church, where Washington used to worship, and afterwards sat in his pew. One Sunday I heard Dr. Baugher in Dr. Butler's church in Washington, and also Dr. Sunderland preach a commemorative sermon on the brilliant officer, Col. Ulric Dahlgreen, who had made a sortie almost to the very limits of Richmond.

Military movements were now indicating much life. Gen. Grant had come from the west, and was making his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, still commanded by Gen. Meade. Every sign foretokened immediate advance, and we anticipated soon again to witness sanguinary scenes. My journal has this record:

"May 2. Monday. Rose at 2 A.M. At 4, went to the depot, from which we started at 7. Arrived at Warrenton Junction, at almost 1. Considerable time spent in unloading cars, and pitching tent. Dinner at 3. Shortly after getting under cover for rest, a violent storm broke upon us."

I still remember how we had to hang on to the fastenings, to prevent it from being blown away, and how cord after cord broke from the pegs. The thunder and lightning were continuous, and it became very dark. The storm continued throughout the night. Our horses broke loose, and one could not be found until the next day. I had been initiated into camp life.

Early the next day we started for the front. The party was divided into squads. Two of the party were sent by rail to Brandy Station where Grant and Meade had their headquarters; three went to Bealeton by wagon with our supplies; while a Rev. Mr. Gardner, a Dutch Reformed minister, Rev. Mr. Forsythe, a U.P. minister - both from the State of N.Y. - and I were to go by rail. But as there were no coaches and we had to mount the supply trains, and as these trains stopped at the station for but a moment, and as I had no practice in jumping rapidly on to the freight cars, I was left while the rest went on. With a new pass from the Provost Marshall, I watched my opportunity, and at last sprung on a hay train and found a seat on a bale alongside of a soldier who was one of the guards. I was afraid I would be ordered off. Instead the guard made an exclamation: "Why, you must be Henry Jacobs of Gettysburg. What brought you down here?" He was a young man who had been at College and in the same literary society.

Reaching Bealeton, I found Mr. Gardner waiting for me at the depot. Without tents or blankets, or any place of shelter, but provided with crackers, sardines and condensed coffee in our bags, we found a fireplace with a chimney where a house had once stood where we made a fire and had lunch. Night came on. Where were we to sleep? The Provost Marshall give us permission to use the floor of his office, in a small hut of two rooms that had been roughly built by the army. I threw myself on such covering for the floor as he gave me, and hard as it was, was soon asleep. But I was awakened by voices in the adjoining room. The telegrapher was busy. Gen. Stevenson, one of the

Division Commanders of the 9th. Corps, and who was to be killed a few days later, was receiving and sending information. I heard where the various corps and divisions were located, and something of the plans. What if I should be mistaken for a spy? I did not listen long, but fell asleep. The day had broken when there was a crash outside, and someone was shortly afterwards beating at the door as though he would knock it down. A train had been thrown from the track right at the station. I helped to take some seriously injured soldiers out of the broken cars. My natural horror of blood, to my surprise, was gone. I thought only how to bring them relief, and was as self possessed as though a veteran. Another train was at hand, and they were hurried off to Alexandria.

That morning, we moved forward with the army wagon trains. The country was a level plain, like the western prairies, and had been desolated by the movements of both armies, for they had alternately occupied it. The timber was gone. There were no fences, and only a few houses. Chimneys rose on the plain where houses had been. The long parallel lines of wagons could be seen for a distance of some miles. Here and there the road had been made more solid by laying the trunks of trees as a foundation. As we drove over them we had abundant exercise from the jolts. We reached Brandy Station at last. The army was in motion. It was changing its base from the Rapidan to the Rappahannock. Brandy was almost deserted. We were in the rear on ground soon to be abandoned. Trains were rushing by at terrific speed, and at short intervals, carrying with them what was to be saved. We were ordered back to Alexandria. The rest had passed, but, owing to my missing the train at Warrenton, I was as yet without one, and had expected to get it at Brandy Station. This was impossible, as headquarters had been abandoned. We left at 5:45 P.M., and were all night getting into Alexandria. A broken-down train obstructed us. Afterwards at Manassas our engine stalled. Guerillas were around. A train had been fired into the day before. A company of soldiers guarded us. But at one place the orders were to lie flat on the bottom of the car. My being without a pass was not detected. The passes of my comrades were accepted for us all. It was as tight a squeeze as I have ever experienced.

Some days afterwards, (May 10th) I was awakened at day-break, and told that I was to join a detail of fifteen delegates who were just about going down the Potomac on the Steamer "Connecticut" to the rear of the army, at the request of the Medical Director, in order to nurse the wounded. By 5:30, I was on the boat, and ten minutes later it was under way. With us, there was also a number of surgeons. When we reached Acquia Creek we heard distant cannonading. Belle Plain was our destination, where the wounded soldiers from the Wilderness were being brought over the road leading to Fredericksburg. On landing, we found the bank of the river, the plain above it, the hillside and road, full of the wounded. Those then at hand were the less seriously wounded who had walked from the field, fourteen miles or more distant (this is a guess). They had been without food for two days and were thoroughly exhausted. Our first task was to open

our stores and distribute bread and soft crackers, and then help the men on the boats that were waiting for them. The place was soon refilled with crowds that came pouring in from the road. Our supplies were gone, but the Government Quartermaster gave us plenty of "hard tack", and coffee was made and distributed. It was two o'clock in the morning before we could lie down to rest. We were up again at five. Early in the morning, we were reenforced by another detachment of delegates - among them R.G.McCreary, Esq., the leading lawyer of Gettysburg, and the mainstay of the Presbyterian Church. Rev. Drs. T.H.Robinson and Herrick Johnston, both very prominent Presbyterian pastors and Professors also arrived, and worked energetically. The whole work of the Christian Commission was placed under the direction of the Rev. James Cruikshanks of Spencer, Mass., a graduate of Yale, and a Presbyterian minister - one of the tallest men I have ever seen and correspondingly heavy. He chose me as his "chum" - probably because I was so small. We slept under the same blankets, and he consulted me freely as to whatever was done. He was full of humor, and while working with all his might, never became discouraged. What would irritate most men, gave him amusement.

Ambulances now began to come down the road bringing the more seriously wounded. The rain poured in torrents. The Virginia mud deepened, and was tenacious. The drivers threw the men down in storm and mud, and hurried back for others. The boats could not accomodate them, so rapidly did they come. There were thousands around us with little provision made for their food. I was taught by a surgeon how to dress and bandage flesh wounds. I learned to make coffee in a large cauldron holding nearly a barrel full, and afterwards, gruel under the instruction of a lady nurse, who asked for my services. The delegates carried the coffee in tin buckets and gave it to the wounded in tin cups. One night it poured and poured, and wounded crowded everywhere for shelter, so that I slept with a cracker-box a foot high for a pillow, under a wet blanket, with wind and rain sweeping over me. A drenched soldier lying in the mud called me by name. It was Duncan, the former Gettysburg student whom I had met as a guard some days before. A wounded soldier I aided was from Carlisle, Pa., and a cousin of Dr. Robert Homer of Gettysburg. Another was a brother of Mrs. John Winebrenner ( grandmother of Rev. J.W.Horine).

At times the cannonading in the distance was terrific. The Battle of Spotsylvania Court House was being fought. The wounded who were arriving were exultant over Hancock's brilliant exploits. Then prisoners began to come in, and we looked also to their wants. Eight thousand came at one time, among them two Generals. A splendid looking Louisiana officer gave me a letter to mail to Rev. Dr. R.S.Storrs of Brooklyn, N.Y. of whom he claimed to be a near relative.

But I could not stand the strain. I took a violent cold. It was impossible to nurse it. I grew steadily worse. Dr. Reud, of Washington, Pa., a Presbyterian elder and a volunteer surgeon who was with us, advised me to go home; and with great reluctance

I left. I had engaged to go into the service of the Christian Commission for only six weeks. I had served within a few days of that period. I reached home May 17th. A week's rest completely restored me.

## Chapter Ten - Church Events and Hospital Work

The summer session in the Seminary was very brief. The irregularities caused by the Confederate invasions added to the usual diminution of students as the close of the year approached.

The eventful meeting of the General Synod had occurred at York, and a break had been made by the withdrawal of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, that led to most important results. My father had been a delegate, and I had an account from his lips of what occurred.

The Frankean Synod of New York had not only never adopted the Augsburg Confession, but had prepared instead a confession of its own. In this Confession, the acknowledgement of the doctrine of the Trinity was studiously avoided. The Court of Appeals of the State of New York had decided that the Synod could not hold property under the Lutheran name. The application of the Synod for admission into the General Synod was rejected by a large majority; but a Sunday intervening, the vote was reconsidered, and, under the leadership of Dr. Baugher who had previously opposed the action, the delegates were admitted upon their personal pledge that, at the next meeting, the Synod would formally approve the Augsburg Confession. On the call of Ayes and Noes, my father and Drs. Lochman, Baum and others of the West Pennsylvania Synod had voted with the delegates of the Mother Synod. In accordance with a provision made when the Ministerium had entered the General Synod in 1853, its delegates withdrew to report to the next meeting of that body, Dr. C.W.Schaeffer, who had just retired from the Presidency of the General Synod, acting as spokesman. Dr. Passavant proposed a revised doctrinal basis, which had been proposed some years before by Dr. Krauth, Jr., for the Pittsburgh Synod. It had passed the General Synod with great unanimity, but according to the Constitution, had to be submitted to the District Synods. It was generally believed that this concession to the Mother Synod would assure the return of its delegates, and the peace of the Church.

Great interest was taken not only by the student body, but throughout the Church, in the pending election of a successor to Dr. Schmucker. No one, I think, questioned the fact that Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth was by gifts, scholarship and character most admirably suited to the place. But his decided conservative Lutheranism was against him, and his severe and often sarcastic articles in "The Lutheran" had made him enemies,<sup>2</sup> and rendered even some who would otherwise have favored his election, disposed to conciliate the opposition by a compromise candidate. The feeble objection was urged that it would be an indignity to Dr. Krauth's father to elect the son to a Professorship which carried with it the Chairmanship of the Faculty, as long as the father would still be a member. The doubt was expressed, too, as to whether the position as editor of "The Lutheran" were not really more influential than a Professorship of Theology.

But my mind was soon diverted to another channel. The Confederates again crossed the Potomac, and came as near Gettysburg as Frederick, Md., throwing out foraging parties some ten miles north. A severe battle was fought at Monocacy Junction near Frederick, after which they recrossed the Potomac. Directly afterwards, R.G. McCreary, Esq., representing the United States Christian Commission at Gettysburg, told me he had received word that a company of delegates would pass through Gettysburg the next day for Frederick, and asked me to accompany them. As Dr. Schmucker had left home at an early alarm of the Southern approach, the Seminary was demoralized, and there was no objection to my leaving. Messrs. Francis and Keller of the Senior Class accompanied us. We left Gettysburg early in the afternoon of July 13th., a party of twenty strong, and reached Frederick that night. The most immediately returned leaving the hospital work to nine of us. We secured an old unoccupied one storey and a half house, opposite the Baltimore and Ohio Depot, on the main street, as our lodging place, and our supplies were stored in the yard of the home of Mr. Gideon Bautz ( guardian of Mrs. Nellie Eyster and former owner of Maria Craig). My work here was very different from that of the preceding spring. The wards were divided among the delegates. An elderly gentleman from Medina, N.Y. was first associated with me: but soon I had entire charge of the work of the Commission in the following wards as my note-book shows.

	<u>Federal P.</u>	<u>Confederate</u>	<u>Total</u>
Barrack F.	2	44	46
G	0	40	40
M	56	40	96
N	63	0	63
Tent C' 3	0	15	15
6	0	15	15
9	0	11	11
12	14	0	14
15	15	0	15
17	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>16</u>
	166	125	291

We made no difference between enemies and friends. I labored among these men every day, conversed with them on religious matters, read the Scriptures and prayed with individuals as occasion offered, beside writing letters to friends and procuring needed clothing or some little delicacies for which a man in his weakness longed. A number of my patients died, some very suddenly whom I scarcely regarded in danger. The saddest experiences were those of very young boys among the Southern troops, from 15 to 18 years old. There were very few who did not welcome my presence and conversation. I found a deeper religious life among the Georgians than among any other troops, North or South. The most of my Southern patients were from the 12th., 13th., 26th., 31st., and 60th., Georgia. There were also a number of North Carolinians, with a few from Virginia, Alabama and Louisiana. Among the Federal soldiers, the men visited were chiefly from Ohio, New York and New Jersey. I learned that there can be

no higher gratification on earth than to feel the pressure of the hand of one too weak to speak, when the consolations of the Gospel are administered. Once I was with a Maryland soldier, when he told me his wound had broken. How I hastened for nurses and surgeons to have the artery checked, and how great their distress - experienced as they were - at his condition! How that poor man as he came out of his extreme weakness after days of suspense, greeted me with a gratitude his lips could not express, and wept when I bid him farewell! Every day had its incidents for which I was thankful.

But the crisis which called for my presence passed. Many died; still more grew strong enough to be moved. The number lessened day by day. On Saturday, July 30th., we started home. Just as we were starting, word came that a Confederate force had crossed the Potomac, and were at Chambersburg. Poor Chambersburg, where I had been repeatedly and many of my mother's relatives lived and where I had spent some days the preceding autumn, was doomed. It was burning as we went in the stage from Frederick to Emmitsburg. We tried to get a carriage to take us to Gettysburg that night. No one had the courage to provide for us, or to accompany us. The people of Emmitsburg feared that we would meet Confederates on the way. Their cavalry might have crossed the mountain as they had done before, and Gettysburg be now in their possession! Mr. McCreary and I determined to walk home that night and face the danger. We had an important companion, a young man by the name of Wilson, a telegrapher in the employ of Governor Curtin, who did important work during the war as a scout. He attached his telegraphic transmitter to the wires wherever he thought best, and sent word as to the presence and movements of the enemy. We started from Emmitsburg at nightfall, and traversed the ten miles slowly and cautiously. We scarcely met a vehicle or a horse. As we came near Gettysburg, we anticipated that we would be challenged by citizen guards, if no other. Mr. McCreary was the Burgess. But the town was as unconcerned, as though Chambersburg were not burning, or no enemy were in the State, or no war had broken out. I roused my mother up, probably at about one o'clock, and was once more home.

Meanwhile a special meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had been held at Pottstown, Pa., at which it was resolved to establish the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia. The establishment of such an institution was first suggested by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, as one of his first projects in connection with his organization of the Lutheran Church in America. He had purchased ground for this purpose. A copy of the deed is in the Archives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. A beginning had actually been made in the gathering of bands of theological students around the pastors of Zion's and St. Michael's. Dr. Demme had gathered a number of volumes as the nucleus of the Seminary Library.<sup>4</sup> But the attention of the Church had been diverted from it. In later years, the Seminary at Gettysburg had grown in the esteem of the old Synod. She endeavored in all sincerity to cooperate with the General Synod, and as a testimony of her interest, founded a Professorship, with Dr. C.F.Schaeffer as Professor. But it was now deemed best to forestall the election of any new Professor at Gettysburg, by undertaking this long delayed work. Drs. C.F.Schaeffer,

W.J.Mann and C.P.Krauth, Jr. were elected Professors Ordinarii and Drs. C.W.Schaeffer and G.F.Krotel, Professors Extraordinarii. The plans, however, were not thoroughly matured. Dr. Krauth, be it remembered, was a member not of the Mother Synod, but of the East Pennsylvania Synod,<sup>5</sup> and had always been a most outspoken champion of the General Synod. It is probable that if the Board of the Seminary at Gettysburg, which met some weeks later, had elected Dr. Krauth with any degree of cordiality and unanimity, the new Seminary would not have been started. It is very possible, however, judging from our knowledge of human nature, that if the Ministerium had not made this move, Dr. Krauth's chances of election at Gettysburg would have been improved.

When the Gettysburg Board met, various plans were proposed. One was that of Dr. Passavant, who moved that the election be postponed, and Dr. C.F.Schaeffer be appointed to assume Dr. Schmucker's duties temporarily. This called forth a vigorous reply, expressing great astonishment and attacking Dr. Schaeffer as a Symbolist,<sup>6</sup> from Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, then very feeble, and almost on the edge of the grave. Finally a man was agreed upon who seems to be a compromise in the person of the Rev. Dr. James Allen Brown of York, Pa.. The choice was, in some respects, a very remarkable one, and yet, in others, as good a selection as could have been made, if Dr. Krauth and those associated with him most closely in the maintainance of conservative Lutheran principles were to be ruled out. The choice was remarkable: for Dr. Brown had scarcely begun to rise thus far to the position of a recognized leader, and was not a representative in any way of the General Synod people, or rooted in the historical development of the Lutheran Church in this country. Since the outbreak of the Civil War, or even since 1859, he had not been prominent in the discussions which were agitating the Church, and when he was, it was almost entirely as a critic of Dr. Schmucker. Born and raised a Lancaster County Quaker, and, as he once told me, without a drop of German blood in his veins, it became very difficult for him to enter into the spirit or adjust himself to the peculiarities of our Lutheran people. He had reached the years of manhood before he came into close contact with Lutherans. He had spent a year at Gettysburg, where he entered the Senior Class. But he was not attracted then by the Lutheran Church, as his baptism in the Presbyterian Church of Gettysburg during his Senior Year, shows. He taught after leaving College, and, reading theology privately, had been licensed without a Seminary course by the Maryland Synod. He had begun his ministry in Baltimore, and afterwards had been associated with Dr. Lochman at York, and had married a niece of Dr. Morris and a cousin of Dr. Hay. Energetic, incessantly active, restless in body and mind, a laborious worker, he had been a close student; and, with a very unanalytical mind, and acute judgment, sought to sift what he read, rather than to accumulate information. Through a remarkable memory, he had at his command for instant use the full fruit of his studies. Facts, dates, incidents were accurately recalled, and his mind was a minute index of his library. His information was thoroughly arranged and classified. His favorite book was his Greek New Testament. For thorough and exhaustive discussion of critical

points with a large accumulation of learned apparatus, he had no taste. He had the practical gifts of the American mind, and particularly those qualities which England has contributed to America. He had the plain, matter-of-fact characteristics of the Quakers, but had lost their mysticism. The contrast between him and Dr. Krauth was marked. Krauth was a genius, Brown a close and exact thinker. Krauth was born among books, was raised among books, slept among books, ate among books, lived and died among books, and even on the cars or street was rarely seen without a book in his hand; books from the very oldest editions of the classics to the latest novel; books, in a great variety of languages, and the greatest range of subjects. As a reader he was omnivorous and insatiable. Brown, raised on a farm and educated chiefly by his own exertions, used his reading and books only as tools for some practical end on which he was concentrating. Krauth was brilliant in the society of cultivated people. Brown was usually reserved, distant, taciturn in company, though genial, entertaining and cordial within the small circle of those nearest him. Krauth's writings dazzled one by their brilliant and many-sided literary form. He was a poet, even when not attempting verse. Brown's read like a lawyer's brief. Krauth's mind belonged to the Platonic caste; Brown's was more like that of Aristotle. The imaginative element and the warm feeling that gave Dr. Krauth's best public efforts their charm, were lacking in Brown, although as a preacher he was highly gifted. Brown's sermons were rarely written, but were carefully thought out, and were thoroughly logical, fresh, suggestive, edifying, and fixed some important points deeply in the mind of the plainest hearer. Krauth's were generally written for an audience that did not hear them. They were the expressions of a scholarly mind addressed to those whom he assumed to have had the same degree of preparation as himself. Krauth's sermons were strongest when printed; Brown's lost most of their force in type.

Brown had attacked Dr. Schmucker some years before in a pamphlet entitled "The New Theology",<sup>7</sup> particularly because of Dr. Schmucker's unsound views concerning Original Sin. The pamphlet showed most of Dr. Brown's gifts, and brought him for a time into prominence. It is a question as to whether he was not right in insisting that a Professor repudiating the faith taught in the Augsburg Confession as Dr. Schmucker had done, should not have been impeached. Dr. Krauth came to Dr. Schmucker's defence, not because he had any sympathy with his old Professor's views, but from motives of policy. The Church was not ready, in his judgment, for the break which Dr. Brown's action would occasion. It was Dr. Krauth's nature to shrink back from the rigid enforcement of what his principles seemed to demand. On the other hand, it was the habit of Dr. Krauth to rely more on evangelical, while Dr. Brown insisted more on legalistic, methods. The break between these two men was never healed.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Brown had been called from St. Matthew's Church, Reading, to the Theological Seminary at Newberry, S.C.. In 1896, when at Newberry, I dined in the house in which Dr. Brown lived, and saw the large tree he had carried from the woods and planted with his own hands before the door. The war came shortly after he had arrived at Newberry. At Chapel services, when South Carolina

seceded, he announced to the students that he would immediately resign and return North, and should the call come, would be found in the Union Army. Some prominent citizens called to advise him to leave that night, as they feared they could not protect him from violence. He declined, and reported the interview to the students in bidding them farewell. He said his answer was: "I came to South Carolina openly, and openly I shall depart." He left by the regular train in the morning. He came to Gettysburg shortly after his return North, preached a very excellent sermon on: "What shall the end of these things be?", and addressed a town meeting on the condition of South Carolina.

His lack of popular gifts, at least at that time, prevented his call to vacant congregations. He finally accepted a commission as Chaplain of the 87th. Pa., and afterwards was Post Chaplain at the Hospital at York. These were not places for which his gifts and training were adapted. He was much discouraged. Sympathy for him, and the desire to give a worthy man who had been a theological professor a place, undoubtedly influenced some of the votes in his favor.<sup>9</sup>

It was generally thought that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania could not open the Seminary at Philadelphia for some time, and meanwhile opportunity would be given to Dr. Brown to satisfy the demands of the conservative element.

But events moved more rapidly than even the leaders of the Ministerium had intended. Dr. C.F. Schaeffer, I knew at the time, fully expected to remain at Gettysburg the next winter. A seminary, he declared, could not be started in a hurry. But something occurred to change his mind. We do not know if he had any adviser, but we have it from those present that, at a committee meeting in Philadelphia called to consider the Seminary plans, there was actual consternation when a letter from Dr. Schaeffer was read announcing that he was packing up his furniture, and would remove with his family to Philadelphia the next week. Where his salary was to come from, and how within six weeks the Seminary was to begin, was a problem.

The person most embarrassed by the situation was undoubtedly Dr. Krauth, Sr. He had to contend between his loyalty to his own Seminary and his affection for his son. As long as there would be no open controversy, the situation would be endurable; but if a public discussion between his son and the executive of Gettysburg Seminary should occur, he would feel it.

Personally, I was not greatly agitated by the result. It seemed certain that Dr. Schmucker's theology was no longer to be taught. It was well enough to await results, and give the new Professor a fair trial. At any rate, other plans for my own study of theology intervened. In disgust and despair at the confusion in the teaching at the Seminary the preceding winter, I had made a decision, and accompanied it with a vigorous stamp of my foot. "I will try to get a

situation to teach, and will accumulate some money, so that, without being dependent on my father, I may pursue my studies elsewhere. This uncertainty must be ended. If the Lutheran Church is right, then I will say so, and act accordingly. If it be wrong, there is no reason whatever why I should want to appear to be a Lutheran. I will go then to Union Seminary, New York, where I spent a day last fall, or to Andover where my friend, Henry Baugher has been." The general system of the Lutheran Church was clearly in my mind; but I was in doubt as to its Scriptural foundations.

This purpose had been strengthened by my intercourse with some New England clergymen in the Christian Commission, and the insight I had gained into the courses at other seminaries. I preferred to be a consistent Congregationalist rather than an inconsistent Lutheran; but hoped that it would be possible to be a consistent Lutheran. Dr. Krauth, I feared somewhat as too zealous a partisan. I wanted time for reflection, and as far as possible, discriminative judgment. I was determined to go over the whole theological system for myself, examine the Scripture proofs, and write out my decisions.

My experiences in the Christian Commission had so occupied my attention as to interfere with any efforts to carry out my plans. But, without my application, the Faculty of the College offered me a tutorship. Here it was probable I could remain until my mind was matured, and my course in Theology well completed. Besides this, there had been deficiencies in my preparatory training which might be remedied by teaching. I never thought of preparing myself for a Professorship. My heart was intent on the ministry, and that too, on the most practical part of it.

While, therefore, I did not expect to receive much instruction from Dr. Brown, I hoped to attend upon his lectures a few hours a week. I had no sympathy with the proposed Seminary in Philadelphia, and wrote a sharp letter to one of my classmates who announced his purpose to become one of the first students there.

## Chapter Eleven - College Tutorship

In 1864 Pennsylvania College opened at the unusual time of the close of August. With it I began my career as a teacher. I had sole charge of the Preparatory Department, in which I taught thirty-three hours a week. My private room was in the building occupied for study and dormitory purposes for all students resident on the grounds. The study of the President, Dr. Baugher, was in this building; and he was usually there throughout the day and for several hours every night. I had the care of all the students. One winter I remember that there were 102 lodged there. I paid a visit to each room every evening, and reported absences to the President. Every morning at 7:40 A.M. I called the roll at Prayers.

I had about thirty pupils. Their average age, I found, was in advance of mine ( I still lacked several months of being twenty) I began the work with considerable trepidation, not knowing how I would succeed in maintaining discipline; but I had no trouble. A number of my pupils were experienced school teachers who had entered the Preparatory Department to prepare for the ministry. Among them were Rev. Drs. G.H.Trabert, J.A.Clutz and A.G.Fastnacht of the Lutheran Church, and Rev. Dr. D.B.Lady of the Reformed Church. I put them down to a very exacting drill in both Latin and Greek Grammar. Nothing was taken for granted. Every man had to come up to the standard. I gave him no rest. When men had difficulties, I found extra time when I would go over the recitation with them. The instruction was individualized.

With my pupils I was on the most intimate terms. I lived among them. When the next summer came I introduced them to my entomological tastes, and made occasional expeditions with some of them into the woods.

I was particularly interested in the Bible Class on Sunday afternoons where we went through the Gospel of Luke during my first year, and also studied the Krotel and Mann Exposition of Luther's Catechism.<sup>2</sup>

In my duties as guardian of about a hundred wild college boys, I had by no means a light task. They were full of pranks. The legalistic policy of Dr. Baugher, and his excitability which increased with the years, provoked their fondness for acts which would bring him running through the hall-ways. The long hall-ways, the entire length of the building, formed good alleys for rolling solid shot taken from the battlefield. It was a favorite trick to heat them over the hot coals, and then send them spinning, with the expectation that the officer in charge would pick them up in his naked hand. Great firecrackers would be set off in barrels, and tin horns blown in various parts of the building. The belfry was once entered, and the rope carried up a ladder and thrown over the cupola, so that the bell could be rung from outside the building. Streams of water would be thrown upon persons coming up the steps. Effigies were made and dignified Professors found dangling by their necks along the banks of the Tiber.<sup>3</sup> Verdant youths just entering College were subjected to all sorts of impositions.

These irregularities stung Dr. Baugher to the very heart. He could not regard them as effervescences of youthful spirits that

could be pardoned. They were, in his estimation, bold acts of defiance of authority for which the most summary discipline must be exacted. He was pleased to find me alert, and usually successful as a detective. On one occasion I drew him out of the corner where he was hiding for the culprit. I shook him before I discovered my mistake. He was pleased, not so much by the experience, as at learning that his movements were not needed to insure vigilance.

Personally, however, I had no difficulty with a single student. I always assumed that they were gentlemen; and they treated me with respect. I was too near their own age not to enjoy some of their tricks. Even the stern President once relented when I reported an occurrence, and said: "Well, as that had to be done, I am glad that it was done so well." I once accompanied him to a room where there was no response to his knock. It required only a moment for him to break open the door. There were a number of men sent away from College because of such irregularities, with whose dismissal I was dissatisfied, as I felt they could have been brought to terms without such severity.

My nightly visits to Dr. Baugher's study, and his frequent calls on me for over three years, brought me into very intimate relations with him. I learned to know and appreciate him, and derived much profit from his conversations. Beneath his severity there was the deepest personal interest in the welfare of each student. A sense of responsibility for each soul rested on his heart, and often sickened him with anxiety.

Dr. Brown began his career at the Seminary under very discouraging circumstances. The first morning of the session opened with but one student - and he a Junior. Our entire class had vanished. Dr. Wolf had gone to Germany. Dr. Spieker and I had become Tutors. One had been ordained. Of the rest of us a large proportion had gone to Philadelphia. Afterwards, Remensnyder, Colver and Steck appeared. All told, there were six students that year, to which Dr. Spieker and I were added as irregulars. I attended for awhile on Wednesday afternoons, and some days at 11 A.M. But as I had to be habitually late at the latter hour, and 33 hours of teaching, with the necessary preparation for my classes, were in themselves more than enough to absorb my time, my continuance was not long. From Dr. Brown I derived some very valuable hints in Homiletics. Robert Hall was the model whom he had most studied, and upon whose sermons he commented with great familiarity. We prepared skeletons which were criticized first by the class, and then by the Professor. He was always as affable as though he were entertaining guests in his parlor. The hour of instruction seemed short. In Dogmatics, I had scarcely more than a taste of his methods. He seemed to aim at presenting the various opposing theories with as exhaustive a statement of the argument on both sides as could be formed, and then leaving the student to balance the authorities, and decide the question for himself.

During my tutorship, Dr. F.W. Conrad conducted a series of "Protracted Meetings" in the College Church, continuing for over two weeks. He preached an elaborate sermon every night. There was a Prayer Meeting every day at one o'clock, with a brief address

and inquiry meetings at other times. It was the first time I had been brought into close touch with Methodistic practices. Dr. Conrad was a strange mixture of inconsistencies. He was a man of great force of character and distinguished gifts, but of very imperfect education and unbalanced judgment. He prided himself on his adherence to Confessional Lutheranism, and at the same time threw himself into the current forms of religious life, entirely irreconcilable with his theology. Egotistical, rhetorical, bombastic, fond of attempting metaphysical discussions, eccentric and even violent in his gesticulations and preaching at great length, he had an interesting personality and held the attention of the audience by his enthusiasm. His sermons had been thoroughly prepared, committed to memory, and preached many times. Dr. Brown was a constant fountain, giving fresh water. New sermons seemed to be pressing for utterance all the time. Dr. Conrad was an arsenal, full of old guns cast years before, but ready for discharge at a moment's notice. He was a Gramophone with an extensive stock of records. I cannot say that no good was accomplished by those meetings. There was much truth earnestly taught. Both Law and Gospel were preached; and where this is done, there is always something accomplished. But the question is as to whether the same ends would not have been reached by the faithful use of the methods that our Church prefers to practice. To me the meetings were a study. I faithfully wrote out the outline of each sermon that I heard. They gave me many suggestions, and were readily recognized when, after the lapse of years, some were again preached at Gettysburg. More than a quarter of a century afterwards, when I spent a Sunday with Dr. Paxton at Princeton, he criticized a sermon Dr. Conrad had preached there as showing a lack of clearness on Justification by Faith. I remembered it distinctly. The argument, on the basis of Rom. 4:5, was that while faith had no justifying value per se, under the Gospel God regarded it as though it had. The work of Christ was by his sacrifice to provide this new mode of Justification. It was Justification per Christum propter fidem, instead of the reverse. Faith, too, was emphasized as an act, not as an attitude or state of mind. This of course harmonized with the entire revival system which aims to bring into man's consciousness an act of faith because of which he has assurance of salvation.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Baugher continued to be a diligent writer of new sermons until the last week of his life. He was in the habit of reading his text, closing the Bible, and, turning it half round so that the width was before him, laid his manuscript on the cover. He read with all the fluency of spoken discourse, and paused here and there to enlarge. Here his impulsiveness would often lead him to make applications that were so clearly intended for particular individuals in the audience, as to be personal; but he often was carried along in a stream of eloquence of rare power, and sometimes would be so overcome by emotion as to weep, and to pause for some moments to command himself. Once I heard him rebuke several students in the gallery: "If the young men sitting in the front seat on the right hand of the gallery will not desist from talking, it will be my painful duty to expose them to the congregation." On Sunday evenings he often preached without

having written, with great effectiveness. He was not so apt to be as personal in an entirely extemporaneous sermon as in his extemporaneous additions to his read sermons. He had a long, but very interesting series of extemporaneous expository discourses on I Peter. More than once the appointed preacher failed to appear. This was always Dr. Baugher's opportunity. He never preached better.

Dr. Muhlenberg for many years read very closely, scarcely lifting his eyes from the page, and with painful embarrassment. A few years before leaving Gettysburg, he suddenly discarded his notes entirely, addressed his audience just as he did his students in the Class Room, and preached informally on the Gospels for the Day. He was always interesting and instructive. On Wednesday evenings he lectured on the Catechism.

My Seminary class-mate, Mr. George Spieker, of Baltimore, Md., one week younger than I, was rooming with me.<sup>7</sup> My room was spacious, and even with two large bedsteads, our furniture was not crowded. He was acting as supply of the German Department for two years. Raised in an entirely German congregation, he found a great deal that was very strange to him at Gettysburg, and gave me much information in regard to what was usual among the Germans, and particularly among the Missourians who had gained possession of the congregation to which he belonged. We had many earnest conversations. My hope was to see the General Synod and the Gettysburg Seminary brought up to a higher standard. He was more friendly to Missouri than to the General Synod, and was by no means satisfied with the Mother Synod. He was a very systematic student, dividing his time every day into a number of periods allotted to different branches of theology and other studies. We differed diametrically in our habits. I never could accomplish anything without concentrating. A subject would have to have my whole mind and heart if I was to accomplish anything. At the Seminary, no one of the class was more interested in Hebrew or had made equal progress. We undertook to study Hebrew together rising early in the morning at 4 or 4:30, and working at Isaiah and Job. But we found it more profitable to separate, and I worked hard on the Psalms. I found a Jewish shopkeeper who drilled me in reading the first Psalm, and after I had acquired his pronunciation, I committed the Psalm in the original. It was a happy occurrence; for when I was examined by the Committee of the Pittsburgh Synod, the examiner said: "Mr. Jacobs, please turn to the first Psalm, and read the Hebrew." When I candidly explained the reason of my proficiency and told the Committee that I was not equally fluent in my reading of the other parts of the Hebrew Bible, they were considerate enough not to question me further.

Among the changes which came with the Second Year of my tutorship, was the election of Rev. C.J.Ehrehart as Principal of the Preparatory Department.<sup>8</sup> The number of students had been steadily increasing under my care; and as something was to be done, the Board decided to organize it. I was somewhat dissatisfied that I was not only not consulted about the plans, but was left to find out the result by mere accident a week after the Board had adjourned. But, as my salary was increased, and one

hour a day taken off my work, and the new Principal asked me to make out the schedule of studies and classes and to take such as I preferred, and give him the rest, and conferred with me on every important question that arose and invariably took my advice, I was greatly delighted. He carried every responsibility, while I was relieved of all care except that of teaching my favorite branches, Greek, History, Algebra and Geography.

I now began in earnest my study of Dogmatics. I had been endeavoring to read the Latin notes of Schmid, when Dr. Baugher, coming over, peered over my shoulder, and said: "Good! But why not read the old Dogmaticians in their own books?" He encouraged me by telling chiefly of the work done at Princeton when he was a student, and how the massive system of Turretine in the original Latin, was the text-book from which the students prepared their recitations which the Professor gave them in English. Going into the College Library, I picked up the Examen Theologicum Acroamaticum of Hollazius and at once put myself down to its study. I went through the coarse type of the book, and wherever any point seemed to require special elucidation, read also the notes. Then I was ready to make my system. I read Gerhard's Loci, Baier's Compend, Hunnius Epitome Credendorum, and Hutter's Compend alongside of Hollazius; studied each topic separately; made a rough outline; compiled and wrote out results, seeking not only to give what the old teachers gave, but also to state my own convictions; and illustrated the text with proofs cut out of old copies of the English Bible. I completed the system in two good sized manuscript volumes, and committed it with the proof-texts to memory. I also diligently read the Symbolical Books. But they did not then impress me so much as did the Dogmaticians. Among English Puritan Books, Flavel's "Method of Grace" was of much service. Guthrie's "Sermons" with their wealth of illustrations were favorites. At Dr. Baugher's suggestion, I also got Ellicott's "Commentaries on the Lesser Epistles of Paul", and learned through them to appreciate the closely critical study of the New Testament. I was constantly made to feel, however, what I had lost by not having studied German.

Among the College students who most frequently called at our room were Samuel Sadtler, Charles Albert, Charles Cooper, James Richard, Samuel Henry (afterwards a Missourian). 9

George W. Frederick had graduated at College the year after we did, and had become the Principal of the Public Schools of Gettysburg. As the demand for troops became more urgent, and men of proper age were liable to the draft, he determined to volunteer. He became the Captain of the company in which he enlisted, and going with to Harrisburg, was to his own surprise and that of every one else, elected Lieutenant-Colonel. When he went with the regiment to the front, the Colonel was captured in the first skirmish, and in the months that followed, Frederick had a brilliant career, and was brevetted Colonel. When most of the army was mustered out, he was retained as aide to Maj.-Gen. Hartranft, in charge of the conspirators against the life of President Lincoln, and had led Mrs. Surratt to the scaffold at her execution. When discharged from the army, he

entered the Seminary at Gettysburg. As he had been married, he rode daily from his father-in-law's home on the eastern edge of the town to the Seminary, on a spirited war horse he had retained, with his Hebrew Bible under his arm. He was dissatisfied at the Seminary, and often came to our room for advice in his studies, and information on questions about which he was confused. His wife was in a rapid decline from consumption.<sup>10</sup>

We had an occasional visitor also from Philadelphia, our former classmates, J. Lawson Smith and Cornman; and one who, while not a classmate, had been on intimate terms with us, Frank Richards.<sup>11</sup> Matthias Richards, then a pastor in New Jersey, and Mahlon C. Horine would sometimes appear on their trips to visit their future wives. They were married within a month of each other. My sister was bridesmaid to Mrs. Horine. I was one of the groomsmen of Prof. Richards. With the exception of the festivities connected with these two events, I was not interrupted those years by social entanglements. I made no calls except at his urgent invitation to Prof. Stoeber; but met Professors daily at the few minutes spent at Buehler's Drug Store - a center of attraction for both institutions.<sup>12</sup>

Towards the close of my tutorship, the students who were communicant members of the Church, were assembled to organize a society for mutual benefit. At Dr. Baugher's suggestion, I was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Constitution. I drew up a Constitution, and submitted it to the other members of the Committee, J.S. Blyholder, C.J. Cooper, F.R. Feithans and J.W. Richards. I selected and proposed the name: "Young Mens Christian Association of Pennsylvania College". Robert Weidensall thinks this was the beginning of College Christian Associations.<sup>13</sup> We had no idea of any confederation of associations. Our society was chiefly an organization for inquiry concerning Missions. We asked for and received letters from missionaries in the field, and had papers prepared on missionary topics.

There were changes in the Faculties during those three years. Three new College Professors, Mayer, Ferrier, and Wilken did not take root. The first was an Episcopalian, the second a Presbyterian clergyman, the third a German Lutheran pastor sent to fill the German chair. The first made the College only a stepping-stone to advancement as a scientist; the second, after a brave struggle, found himself unable to overcome personal antagonisms; the third was unable to maintain discipline.<sup>14</sup> Prof. Croll, an alumnus of the College, spent the rest of his life in its service. Drs. Hay and Valentine were added to the Seminary Faculty.

On Ascension Day 1867, Dr. C.P. Krauth died. His son was with him in his last moments. Drs. Baugher, Lochman and Hay officiated at the public funeral in the College Church.

My father was failing. From the time of the battle he steadily declined. First his finger, then his hand, then his arm gradually stiffened. At last he walked with difficulty, and could not turn in bed without assistance. He had temporary re-

liefs after visits to the seashore where the breezes revived him, and once in the ocean his expertness as a swimmer returned. He gradually withdrew from teaching and was made Professor Emeritus. He needed constant attention. At night he suffered much from rheumatic pains, and rarely rested more than a half hour at a time. The attention at night had soon to be divided between my brother, Will, and me. He was spared for yet some years, and had more comfort after the disease had passed the acute stage.

In the Spring of 1867 I lost my grandmother who died at Harrisburg at the age of 75. She had been failing for several years and the end came peacefully as she sat in her chair, my mother being with her.

The severity of the ecclesiastical struggle had constantly increased. As apprehended, Dr. Brown soon became involved in a bitter controversy with Dr. Krauth, the Lutheran Observer and Lutheran being the organs through which they reached the public. It was largely personal.

Some men delight in controversy because they are absolutely empty and they can only find fault. This was not the case with Dr. Brown. He had positive convictions and could have left permanent memorials of his work if he had not wasted his time and energy wrangling, and that, too, often over the merest trifles. In criticizing his opponents he often created the impression that he favored positions and measures with which, in reality, he had no sympathy. He felt that he had responsibilities as a leader, and must rush to the defence of the General Synod wherever it was open to attack. In his eagerness to overcome an opponent he would devote much attention to matters that had little bearing on the issue itself, but were entirely incidental. Sometimes he ventured beyond his own depth and suffered for it.

Dr. Krauth's sarcasm was crushing. He did not seek to win his opponents and enlist them as allies, but he irritated and alienated them.

The passions aroused by the Civil War and pervading the daily press ruled the hour. The expedients of politicians in the State were imitated in the Church.

When the Board of Directors of the Gettysburg Seminary met in the Fall of 1865, Dr. Lochman, the President, ruled that the delegation from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had no right to be present. The ground was two-fold: first, the withdrawal of the delegates from the Convention of the General Synod at York; and secondly, the establishment of a Seminary, independent of the General Synod at Philadelphia. It seems to me that it would have been better for the Ministerium to have instituted an amicable suit at law, to test its rights. But the representatives of the Pennsylvania Synod were willing to go, when the friends of Gettysburg undertook to push them out. As Drs. Kohler, Sadtler, Fry, Grahn and others passed down the long walk towards the Chambersburg Road, a student passing them removed his hat and exclaimed: "All honor to the venerable Mother Synod!" It was J.B. Remensnyder, who expressed a wide-spread

feeling of indignation among the students.

As the time for the meeting of the General Synod at Fort Wayne, Ind. in 1866 approached, the question of the admission of the delegates of the Mother Synod began to be earnestly discussed. Among the men of the Ministerium the impression seemed general that no difficulty would be raised. But I heard many words that indicated otherwise. "The old Synod is domineering. It must be taught a lesson. It shall not dictate the policy of the General Synod."

On the way to Fort Wayne a caucus was held one night at the Logan House, Altoona, at which the mode of procedure was finally fixed. Dr. B.M.Schmucker attended it with his father, and reported the result of it to his associates on the delegation of the Ministerium. The program was to prevent the admission of the delegates when the roll was called and the organization effected, but to admit the Synod as a new member and at the foot of the list if application would be made after the President was elected and organization completed. And so Dr. Sprecher ruled them out.<sup>15</sup> The history of that memorable struggle is recorded in full in the Appendix to the Minutes of the Ministerium for 1866. Every man on the delegation thus excluded I knew personally, viz. Drs. Seiss, Krauth, Krotel, C.W.Schaeffer, B.M. Schmucker, Laird, Rev. S.K.Brobst, and Messrs. C. Pretz (Allentown), H.Lehman (Norristown), Lewis L. Haupt (Philadelphia), Charles F. Norton (Philadelphia) and C.A.Heinitsch (Lancaster). In spite of the fact that Dr. Brown was disposed to be conciliatory they were finally prevented from having any further hearing by a vote of 76 to 32 passed without debate, on the motion of Joel Swartz, and with a motion to reconsider laid on the table so as to cut off any further action. Two of the three ministers on the Committee that answered the Protest against this action offered by Dr. Passavant, left the Lutheran Church afterwards, one Dr. Swartz (Chairman) going to the Congregationalists and the other, Dr. Sternberg to the Presbyterians.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Hay was the third.

But Dr. Baugher and Dr. Stoever brought me papers, and Dr. B. read me a portion of a letter he had received from Dr. Brown, when it seemed as if a break would be avoided, and were much gratified. Dr. Stoever said: "What a strong Seminary we will have when Gettysburg and Philadelphia are united, and Drs. Krauth and Brown are in the same Faculty."

Events had been sweeping me irresistably from my old moorings. The time had come when my period of preparatory theological study was over, and I must apply somewhere for licensure. I could not think of entering a synod where the action at Fort Wayne would be endorsed as right. What hope could I have of success or peace in a body where a political machine had swept all opposition before it, and silenced the moderate element which had no sympathy with the extremes! My friend Col. Frederick wrote to our common friend, H.W.Roth,<sup>17</sup> who was laboring at Pittsburgh under Dr. Passavant, concerning our dissatisfaction. Frederick's wife was trembling on the edge of the grave. Dr.

Passavant came to Gettysburg, being a member of the College Board. He called on Frederick, and not finding him home, asked whether he could see Mrs. Frederick in her home. She was greatly comforted and encouraged by his visit and prayer. A few weeks - perhaps only days - later she died. Frederick's mind was made up. He would go to Pittsburgh instead of the West Pennsylvania Synod.

Dr. Passavant had always been a favorite in our family. My uncle (W.F.E.) had been intimate with him while they were together in the Seminary. They had canvassed Adams County for the Bible Society. His paper "The Missionary" was welcomed in our home. When it was enlarged my father preferred it to any other Church paper, and every now and then contributed an article. His deaconess and hospital and orphan work had our sympathy. The Ladies' Society of Christ Church collected clothing and other supplies, and forwarded them to him for distribution among Home Missionaries in the West. He stood at that time for the most aggressive missionary work, and the most earnest and devout Christianity within our Church in America.

I had visited the Hospital at Pittsburgh when in the service of the Christian Commission. The work which he was attempting to do was precisely like that on which the Christian Commission had employed and trained me. Every indication seemed to point me towards Pittsburgh. I was prejudiced against the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. I had heard how dead it was, and how irregular had been the lives of some of its pastors, and how rationalistic its teachings, and how completely the Germans outnumbered the English speaking ministers, and how little respect was shown to young men. I had not yet been greatly drawn to Dr. Krauth. His polemics had been too violent. It was not his arguments in "The Lutheran", but my study of the old theologians and the extravagances of the radicals against which I reacted, that was making me conservative. The Pittsburgh Synod I selected as a compromise between the General Synod on the one hand, and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, on the other. My father's condition did not allow me to entertain the thought of permanently leaving him; but I could be licensed and get some experience in preaching, even if I would retain my tutorship. It was, therefore, arranged that I should apply for examination to the Pittsburgh Synod at its meeting at Rochester, Pa. about the middle of October, 1866. I obtained leave of absence, and securing Mr., afterwards President, Harvey W. McKnight, as my substitute for ten days, left westward with Col. G.W. Frederick as my companion.

We spent a day in Pittsburgh with Mr. Roth, and left early one morning, while the Ohio was stranded in the fogs - so familiar in after days - that continued throughout the entire way to Rochester, 26 miles distant. Here Rev. Henry Reck, then pastor, assigned us to a home on the bluff where we overlooked the river. The burning of bituminous coal in open grates was a novelty, and seemed very attractive with its bright flame in incessant motion like the spray on the beach. Rochester was irregularly built, part of it on the bank, but most of it on the slope beyond. The houses as a rule were rough and unattractive, as the constant smoke soon dulls the paint in that region

so as to discourage neatness. Even whitewash so freely used in Eastern Pennsylvania was absent. It was not in an agricultural but a manufacturing and mining region - the bituminous coal lying almost on the surface of the ground. It had probably 1800 inhabitants. The summit of the hill beyond the town was crowned with the Girls' Orphans' Home - one of Dr. Passavant's institutions - where he was trying the plan of separating them into families of a dozen or more girls, each under a matron or deaconess, in newly erected brick houses. From the porch of Rev. H. Reck, the Superintendent, the winding course of the Ohio could be followed for many miles.

The sessions of the Synod were begun with the singing of a hymn: "And are we yet alive?" ( a favorite Synodical hymns in those days),<sup>1</sup> and prayer, after which the President read his report, and the organization proceeded with the election of officers. The Synodical Sermon was preached in the evening, at the request of the President, by my old college friend, H.W. Roth, who had been only four years a minister, an indication as to how rapidly in that Synod young men who had an interest in Synodical activities rise to the front. The Synodical Communion was not administered until Sunday morning. I am not sure that our present arrangement is a real improvement. Ideally the communion at the very threshold of the meeting of Synod is very impressive. But when we find many men travelling many miles in the morning before the service, and rushing into the church, at all stages of the Confession, and even dropping in while the Synodical Sermon is being preached, there is much that grates on our devotional feeling.

Rev. Gottlieb Bassler, the President, a man of about 50 years of age, was the Principal of the Boys' Orphans' School at Zelienople. He was a graduate of both the institutions at Gettysburg, and had been a successful tutor there for several years. His earnestness seemed to amount almost to severity. He had the appearance of an ascetic, altho' socially he was cheerful. His health was feeble. In the chair, he was as able a parliamentarian as I have ever known, keeping the business strictly to the point, never confused but always prompt in his decisions, a model of courtesy, probably more rigid in the rulings against the side with which he was in sympathy than their opponents. He combined a very intelligent adherence to the faith of our Confessions, which he had studied so thoroughly as to have them always at command, with such a spirit of devoutness, unattended by the least cant, that he had the respect and confidence of the entire Synod. No one else had such universal esteem. He was no trimmer or ecclesiastical politician. He was uncompromising when he took a position, and the other side knew he would be satisfied with no half-way measures, but honored him for his candor and direct methods. All his ministerial career had been devoted to hard work in obscure places and with a very limited income. Throughout his life, soon to close, he had been Dr. Passavant's most intimate friend and most trusted and sympathetic coworker, and with him, had been one of the founders of the Pittsburgh Synod, and an opponent in 1852 of its union with the General Synod.<sup>2</sup>

In the Synod I felt myself no stranger. Many of the older pastors ( A.H.Waters, Reck, Ulery, Plitt, Earnest) I had remembered as students at Gettysburg in my earliest childhood. Others were my contemporaries at College, some of them classmates (Goettman, Barnitz, J.Q.Waters, H.W.Roth, Sarver, Kemerer, H.J.H. Lemcke, Hentz, J.L.Smith, V.Miller, Benze).

Dr. Krauth was present as the delegate of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

One morning I had a surprise. Walking up-street a little old man with long white hair falling over his shoulders, and dressed in dark gray, suddenly came upon me, and arousing me from a reverie, and extending his hand, said: "This is Mr. Jacobs from Gettysburg. I know his father and mother, and have a right to know him. My name is Heyer. I am very glad to see you here."

It came like a flash of lightning. No one had told me that I would likely meet Father Heyer on this trip. And here he was - the man concerning whom I had heard before I could even read, and whose name was even treasured at Gettysburg for what he had accomplished. How unlike he was to the idea that I had formed of him! How strange, too, that he should seek my acquaintance, instead of my seeking him! <sup>22</sup>

It was decided to postpone the consideration of the report concerning the action of the General Synod with reference to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania until Monday. The matter was referred to a special Committee constructed by President Bassler with characteristic fairness, so that both sides would be represented.

Meanwhile the evenings after the first day were devoted to the examinations. Frederick and I were examined for licensure, and Mr. S.F.Breckenridge ( now Dr. Breckenridge of Wittenberg Theological Seminary) for Ordination.<sup>23</sup> We had no difficulty in passing; although the examiner in Church History brought Mosheim with him, and kept his eye on the page, while he framed questions, and the examiner in Pastoral Theology had a manuscript of questions and answers which he had written, and from which he would read the questions, and then watch to see how our answers corresponded. There was a discussion as to who was to be our examiner in Apologetics. The committee exemplified the Apostolic injunction: "In honor preferring one another"; for every one tried to pass the duty over to his neighbor. At last, one man said: "Well, what are the evidences of Christianity?", and when I gave a brief outline based chiefly upon Bishop McIlvaine's book, they not only asked me no more, but if I remember aright, did not trouble my associates.<sup>24</sup>

It would be incorrect to infer that such examinations were useless. They served at all events in introducing the candidates to the committee, and enabling some sort of judgment to be formed not only by the committee concerning the candidates, but also by the candidates concerning the examiners. In the unconstrained and formal way in which this examination was conducted, the candidates hereafter could regard the members of the committee as personal friends.

The last task assigned by the committee was the preparation of skeletons of sermons on given texts. The text assigned me was Heb. 4:1.

On Sunday morning Dr. Krauth preached and the communion was administered. In the afternoon the Synod crossed the Ohio in the ferry-boat to Phillipsburg, and Thiel Hall and its grounds were dedicated, after a service had been held in the old German church there. Dr. Wenzel read a German address, and Dr. Krauth made some capital remarks impromptu, beginning: "If a boy wants to make a whistle, he needs two things: a willow stick out of which to cut it, and a jack knife with which to do the work." Then he treated of the material upon which the school was to work; and the instruments needed for its success. I sat on a rough bench alongside of Father Heyer. The church and its music and the people were a study. The impression made was repeated years afterwards when I visited Nantucket. As I was destined to make my home there for two years, I defer further details at this place.

In the evening Dr. Passavant preached with much eloquence on Acts 8:4, after which Mr. Breckenridge was ordained, and Mr. Frederick and I formally licensed to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments until the next meeting of the Synod, President Bassler making a brief address.

The thought never crossed my mind that I might escape much trouble by asking to be excused at this point, and hurrying back to Getysburg to resume work without waiting for action on the burning question that was to come on Monday. I doubt whether if it had occurred, I would have been willing to have given it much consideration.

All were in expectancy for the important hour. There had been a calm before the storm. All the business of the Synod before Sunday had proceeded without a ripple of excitement. The men on the two sides were cordial not only on the floor, but in social intercourse. And yet it was scarcely thought that a storm could be avoided.

On Monday morning the committee presented two reports. The majority report offered by H.W. Roth recommended four resolutions: The first was to the effect that the action of the General Synod in excluding the delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was unconstitutional, unjustifiable and un-Christian. Then came a general debate led by Roth, then only twenty-eight years old, with his fiery, impulsive oratory, and supported by Dr. Passavant, then at his prime, and having voice and gesture and arguments completely at his command, smooth, graceful, tender, sympathetic, now rising to a high strain of eloquence, and then resorting to the interrogatory form of discourse, leading the hearer step by step to reach the conclusions the speaker had formed before him. Dr. Wenzel spoke in English with the deep seriousness and earnestness of a German preacher, addressing a congregation.<sup>25</sup> Revs. Berkemeier and Gilbert led in German, which then, I could not understand.<sup>26</sup> Rev. Michael

Schweigert, the pioneer missionary, did not try to create a laugh - he was much too excited - but he could not speak without being witty, and this, with his eccentric appearance, and his evident warm heart, put all sides in good humor, and made them forget for the moment the warmth of the contention, as both sides joined in bursts of laughter unusual in a church, and the President called for order.<sup>27</sup> The defenders of the action at Fort Wayne made a decided and spirited, but not able, resistance. A superannuated minister of very moderate attainments, G.F.Ehrenfeld, a faithful reader of The Observer, is most frequently on the floor aided by his brother (A.C.) delegate from the Allegheny Synod.<sup>28</sup> Rev. John Welfley, whom I remembered as an old Gettysburg student, got off a speech he had written and committed before coming to Synod; but after the battle was over, joined the General Council side.<sup>29</sup> Prof. J.R.Titzel, a layman from Allegheny, Principal of one of the public schools, had presented the Minority Report, and vigorously fought against that of the majority; he afterwards studied theology at the Philadelphia Seminary, and for many years was Professor in Thiel College.<sup>30</sup> Revs. Goettman and Barnitz conceded the wrong done by the majority at Fort Wayne, and confessed their disapproval of the radical measures that had triumphed, but pleaded with much feeling for fighting the battle within, instead of outside, the General Synod.<sup>31</sup> Dr. Passavant is surprised when Prof. Giese, who has just been made Director of Thiel Hall, turns in as a spirited defender of the General Synod. Giese has had no acquaintance with the General Synod whatever, and has been for a short time with the Wisconsin Synod, having gone there directly from Germany. But, with a German's love of debate, he has taken the weaker side. He speaks quickly and in jerks and in rather low tones. They are after him from all sides of the church. It is now a regular German battle which many do not understand. Giese holds his own, but his opportunity for speech is limited, and he is overwhelmed by his German brethren.<sup>32</sup>

There sits in the church a little old man who loses no word of the discussion in either language. He is suffering from neuralgia, and holds a red handkerchief against his cheek as he listens. It is Father Heyer. He had been in the ministry some years before the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had called the General Synod into being. He had been among the most zealous advocates of the movement, and of all the activities connected with it. He had laid the cornerstone of the Gettysburg Seminary. He had been President of one of its leading Synods, and repeatedly had done mission work under its appointment. His sympathies are with those whom the General Synod has cast out.

At last Dr. Krauth rises. There is profound attention when the delegate of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania is announced as entitled to the floor. He speaks with the greatest feeling, and is manifestly deeply impressed by a sense of responsibility for what he is doing. To him it is a solemn hour, and every tone of his voice shows it. He begins by referring to the Pittsburgh Synod as his former spiritual home, and the bonds of sympathy that unite him to it, and then

reviews the entire situation. H.W.Roth succeeded in taking down most of this great speech. It will be found in "The Lutheran", published a week or so after. I know something of the great interest with which his father read, as he told my father, "every word".

Such is the general outline of the discussion on the entire series of resolutions. Without the papers or any notes taken before me, I cannot, after the lapse of forty years, accurately report every detail of the discussion or keep the discussion on each subject, separate.

When the ayes and noes were called on the first resolution, they stood: Ayes 54; Nays 11; Not voting 11. If the resolution had not been quite so strong in its terms, but had been content to be an expression of disapprobation, it would have been almost unanimous.

The second resolution expressed approval of the course of the delegates of the Ministerium. On this resolution, I did not vote; for I was not then convinced that much had been accomplished by the parliamentary fencing that had lasted for days at Fort Wayne.

But when the call reached the last man when the vote on the first resolution was taken, I could vote only one way, and that was with a very decided Aye. This was my first vote in a Synod.

Then came the resolutions, withdrawing from the General Synod, and deciding to unite with the Ministerium in founding a new General Body. On this the vote stood 50 to 23. <sup>3</sup>

## Chapter Twelve - An Embarrassing Position

My ministerial life had begun. I was, it must be granted, in a rather peculiar position; outside of the General Synod as a minister, and within it, as a member of a congregation and tutor in its chief college.

The only person I shrank from meeting after my return was Dr. Krauth, Sr. I reported resolutions, discussions, impressions, etc., freely to all who I thought might be interested. I remember Dr. Muhlenberg's emphatic: "I am glad of it." No one seemed to be hurt by my course. My father was somewhat stunned. His sympathies were divided. He disapproved of the Fort Wayne action; but thought the Ministerium of Pennsylvania should have borne the indignity, and awaited for a repair of the wrong; and that the Pittsburgh Synod should have remained, and stood up for its principles, in the General Synod. But, at the same time, he contended that I must be guided by my own sense of duty; and believing that I had done so, he was indignant when he heard my right called into question.

Even Dr. Lochman, ardent partisan though he was, in his patriarchal way, repeatedly said to me: "Henry, I think no less of you for the course you have taken; only I regard you wrong."

My life ran on as usual, except that I had begun to write sermons, most of which I never preached. I became almost a weekly contributor to The Lutheran, publishing first a series of articles on "The Sacraments" from Gerhard. I wrote for The Lutheran Watchman - a small, but very able semi-monthly, published at Decorah, Iowa, by Prof. Schmidt.<sup>2</sup> At Dr. Stoever's request, I translated for the Gettysburg Review a Chapter of Gerhard on "How God cooperates in the wicked deeds of men",<sup>3</sup> and another from Chemnitz on "Conversion". My chief reading was in Chemnitz and Gerhard. I became interested in the study of Augustine, and particularly in his "Confessions".

My first sermon was preached on a Wednesday evening in the lecture room of the College Church. Drs. Baugher, Muhlenberg and Stoever were present. The text was from Gal. 5:22: "But the fruit of the Spirit is love". Dr. Baugher expressed the hope that he might hear me often, but criticized me for seeming to make sin a state as well as an act, and referred me to I John 3:4: "Sin is the transgression of the law", as showing that sin must be an act! The Greek original settles that. My next sermon was in the church at an evening service on I John 2:2: "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the world". To the Presbyterians I preached on Romans 6:23: "For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life". I was asked to supply the Bendersville charge one Sunday. A member of the charge called on me. I put two sermons in my side pocket as I left the door, where he was waiting for me in a buggy. We had no sooner driven away before he said: "I noticed that you put several sermons in your pocket. It is just as well for you to know that our people will not listen to a man who reads. They object to a man taking any notes with him into the pulpit." I assured him that they would have no cause for complaint. So I managed through the night,

and early the next morning, and for a brief period after dinner, to memorize the two sermons. The first I preached at Bendersville. The entire second division dropped out because I was distracted by a crazy woman who left her seat and stood for awhile in front of the pulpit looking at me, and withdrawing the attention of the people.

Visting Atlantic City, I stayed at "The Light House Cottage", in view of one-half rates to clergymen. The result was that the Morning Prayers were put in my hands, Dr. Bomberger (founder of Ursinus) and Dr. VanPelt of the Philadelphia Divinity School claiming exemption on account of decrepitude. On my way home, I stopped in Philadelphia and preached Sunday morning and evening for Rev. H.M. Bickel<sup>4</sup> in St. Luke's church, then at Fourth and Thompson. Before that I had never seen a clerical robe worn. There was no one at the church to help me put it on. It was some time before I was properly arranged.

A new trouble arose at Gettysburg. A project was now being agitated at Allentown to convert "The Collegiate Institute" there into a college for the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.<sup>5</sup> For many years an academy had been conducted there. Dr. Reynolds was once in charge of it, and my grand-aunt, Mrs. Eyster, his sister, had been an instructor during his principalship, and gave us occasional reminiscences of her old pupils. Prof. Croll had also taught there. Pastor Brobst, Editor of the "Zeitschrift" had long been insisting upon enlarging it into a college.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Beale Schmucker, whose father-in-law, Mr. Christian Pretz, owned the building, seconded his efforts.<sup>7</sup> Local interest began to be excited. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was persuaded that the interests of the Seminary required that it have a college of its own. A Board was chosen, and the first move was to elect Dr. Muhlenberg as President, with a view to organize the College. Dr. Muhlenberg paid a visit to Allentown and, on his return, invited Constantine Erdman, then an additional tutor, and me to dinner, and told us the situation. He had not favored the project from the beginning. He recognized great possibilities for such an institution in Eastern Pennsylvania if the people could be induced to sustain it, but he found no such grasp of the needs of a college, or disposition on the part of the people to give their money, as to justify his resigning at Gettysburg. He had determined to dismiss the entire matter from thought and devote the remainder of years to the work he was then doing.

Some weeks later, a second call came, and he was finally induced to consent.

With this move I had at the time no sympathy. And yet, it was only what the intense partisans who were prominent in the College Board might have foreseen. As the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had two Professorships in the College, it would have been the part of wisdom for Dr. Baugher and the members of the Board from the General Synod, to have kept the College entirely out of the conflict. Its very Charter forbade denominational tests from being made in the election of Professors; much less would it encourage tests of divisions within a denomination. On the other hand, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was losing nothing by the union. The students did not remain at Gettysburg after

graduation, and with them other students were constantly going from General Synod churches to Philadelphia. But the Ministerium was irritated by frequent controversies about the Professorships, that were largely its own fault. Absolute impossibilities were nominated such as Revs. Hinterleitner and Riis, who had indeed some book knowledge but could never have been successful teachers of American boys.<sup>8</sup> When Gettysburg tried another nominee, Prof. Wilken, as an experiment, perfect gentleman as he was, he was in constant misery. It was a simple outrage to sacrifice a good man in that way; and it was not Gettysburg, but incompetent judges in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania who were to blame. They seemed to think that any reputable minister could at one bound be converted into a Professor; and when the experiment failed, it was the lack of sympathy with pure doctrine that was to blame. So therefore, between the narrow partisans in the College Board, and the impracticable schemers in the old Synod, such friction resulted that, instead of one strong institution, we soon had four feeble ones in Pennsylvania. After the break was made I long hoped that the Seminaries might be united in Philadelphia, and the Colleges at Gettysburg.

While the discussion concerning the establishment of Muhlenberg College was in progress, Rev. S.K. Brobst came to Gettysburg, and, appearing before the College Board, made an earnest appeal for the removal of the College to Allentown. But when he was politely told the reasons for a decline, his natural generosity was touched to such an extent that he made a contribution of two hundred dollars to the College.

The break came with the close of the scholastic year, 1866-67. Dr. Muhlenberg resigned and moved to Allentown, taking with him probably thirty students as a nucleus for the classes at the new College. Quite a number of young men from the territory of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania could not be induced to go to Allentown, among them Charles J. Cooper, and Edward T. Horn, and the Erdmans. They remained at Gettysburg and graduated there. Dr. Krauth kept his son, Charles, at Gettysburg, with his father, and finally transferred him to the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>9</sup>

Dr. Muhlenberg did not start with a strong corps of Professors. A very determined effort was made to secure Dr. Stoever as Professor of Latin. Dr. Seiss came to Gettysburg to endeavor to persuade him to accept. Dr. Stoever, while loyal to the General Synod at this time, did not conceal his dissatisfaction with the extreme partisan feeling of some around him, and was made to feel that he was not in favor. But he would not go to Allentown.

The institution was handicapped with Rev. Edward J. Koons,<sup>10</sup> a Gettysburg graduate of '58, as Vice-President. He did not amount to much at College, failed as a missionary in Brooklyn, and becoming probably the chief agitator for starting a new College in the community of Allentown, was at once associated with Dr. Muhlenberg in its government. He soon proved himself incompetent, became the editor of a political paper for awhile,

and then entered the Episcopal ministry where he was no more successful than elsewhere.

Dr. Muhlenberg selected two of his Gettysburg pupils for the College. Davis Garber, of '63, was universally liked as a student, but was a recluse who studied so hard that all of the life was taken out of him. A member of the same literary society with him, I never knew him to open his lips, except to discharge some duty imposed upon him by the society, or to answer a question.<sup>11</sup> Theodore L. Seip, '64, even as a Preparatory, was a gentleman. He was also in the same literary society with me.<sup>12</sup> Matthias H. Richards, '61, was pastor at Phillipsburg, N.J., and being near Allentown, was able to serve the College at first while still retaining his charge. In him the College had a positive acquisition. But his habits were never those of a laborious scholar. His imagination ran wild in the rings of smoke which rose up around him whenever he sat down in his study. There was no subject, however, that had ever claimed his attention, on which he was not an interesting and entertaining talker.<sup>13</sup>

Because the Gettysburg Board had rejected Rev. H.N. Riis, a German pastor of Frankford, Muhlenberg College gave him a place; but soon discovered that Gettysburg had acted wisely.

The Rev. J.F. Fahs, pastor of St. John's church, a man without any college education lectured on History in the first years of Muhlenberg.<sup>14</sup>

In the fall of 1867, my brother, M.W. Jacobs, graduated. I proposed to Prof. Ehrehart, the Principal of the Preparatory Department, that I be allowed to transfer to him some of my classes and duties. The proposition was favorably received, and I understood that the arrangements were satisfactory. Just before the session opened, the assent was reconsidered, and I was informed that I could not be released. I forthwith resigned, consenting, however, to remain until a successor could be procured, provided this would not be delayed longer than the time at which I would have to leave for the Pittsburgh Synod. The authorities held me till the very last moment. Dr. Baugher tried to dissuade me from attending Synod, and intimated, if I remember aright, that, if determined to become a pastor, I could still find a place in the West Pennsylvania or another Eastern Synod of the General Synod. He could not understand why I could think it necessary "to leave us."

The explosion at last came. I hesitate to record it, but as my words were misrepresented and used to my injury, it is right that I should make this statement. I had made my last evening report to Dr. Baugher, and was standing at the door, ready to leave. He was in his large green chair at the other end of the room, which afterward fell to my lot when I became Greek Professor. "Well, Henry," he said, "willyou send us students, when you are located as pastor?" "Doctor, I am sorry to say, that is something I cannot promise." In a moment he was on his feet, and rushing at me. I knew he would not strike. But his hand was waved right at me, with the words: "Well, then, I will

see that your father's salary as Emeritus Professor ceases." I was neither frightened nor irritated. I owed too much to Dr. Baugher to lose my esteem for him. But for him I would probably never have entered the ministry, or have become as positively conservative as I was, or ever opened the old Lutheran theologians. I was simply consistent in the application of principles which he had much to do with instilling. "Doctor," I answered, "if my lot in the ministry falls within a synod which has a college of its own, I cannot advise young men to turn from it to any other." I felt that he already realized that he had gone too far. His meeting with me the next morning was cordial; and Prof. Himes who was then a student has told me that, while I was calling the roll, the Doctor was weeping. I did not mention the encounter at home; but told it to Dr. Stoever. After Dr. Baugher's death, when my name was proposed for a Professorship, the chief argument used against me was that I had "boasted" that I would not send students to the College. Dr. Stoever was kind enough to state the circumstances as I had reported them to him directly after the event.

The Pittsburgh Synod met at Greenville.<sup>5</sup> I went there by a circuitous route - up to Corry over the Philadelphia and Erie Road - and thence across. It was another stormy meeting. The crisis came with the adoption of the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity" and the Constitution of the General Council.<sup>6</sup> The debate again lasted several days. The conservative side had been strengthened by the entrance into the Synod of Rev. S. Laird,<sup>7</sup> while the General Synod party had a leader in Rev. J.H.W. Stuckenberg.<sup>8</sup> Instead of Dr. Krauth, Rev. G.A. Reichert (grand-father of Mrs. Stulb) was delegate from the Mother Synod. Rev. J.A. Kunkelman also united with the Synod, and made several effective speeches.<sup>9</sup> The result was the same as the preceeding year at Rochester. The minority of ten pastors withdrew and declared themselves the Pittsburgh Synod. The majority, they asserted, had forfeited its rights to be known as the Pittsburgh Synod by accepting other Symbolical Books than the Augsburg Confession, as only this was mentioned in the Constitution.<sup>20</sup> To the present day, it makes this claim. In the Lutheran Cyclopaedia, the representative of this General Synod Body who writes its history mentions my name as one of its former members!

After the adjournment, I spent several days with Mr. Frederick at Zelienople where his mother was keeping house for him, and with Rev. Bassler at the Orphan's Home, preaching on Sunday on the Cleansing of the Ten Lepers. Passing through Pittsburgh, I finally accepted a proposition made by Dr. Passavant and Mr. Roth. My father's health still preventing me from tearing entirely loose from Gettysburg, Dr. Passavant secured from Mr. George Black, a director of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the promise that he would secure passes for me whenever I wanted them, so that I would be free to return home every sixth week. A mission was in prospect in a district of Allegheny, called "Manchester".<sup>21</sup> I was to canvass the field, and begin work at an early date. Meanwhile I could be used very advantageously as a supply. I went home to arrange for my charge.

I was not long at Gettysburg before Mrs. Ehrehart became seriously ill and at last died. As a favor to her afflicted husband, I again entered the Preparatory Department and not only heard his classes, but acted as Principal until he was able to resume his duties.

Then, early in November, I turned my face toward the unknown future in Pittsburgh and its neighborhood.

## Chapter Thirteen - In Pittsburgh

Arrangements were made for me to live in the building which had formerly been the Deaconess' Home, on the corner of Reed and Roberts' Streets, and opposite what is now known as the Passavant Hospital. Mr. Roth then was living on the one side of the house. He had a very motherly housekeeper, Mrs. Bear. A number of former orphan boys who had business situations lived in the house with him, among whom was Henry Balken, then in Mr. Black's office, afterwards the Secretary of Mr. B.F. Weyman. The other side of the house was occupied, as I found out after I had been there for some time, as the Small Pox Ward of the hospital. There were at one time that winter some seventeen cases in that building.

We were on an elevation overlooking most of the smoke and dirt of the city, with ample ground on the premises, not attended to, and with a general impression of delapidation all around us. In the hospital across the street, Dr. and Mrs. Wenzel resided. Mrs. Wenzel was an invalid who scarcely left her room, a Presbyterian by birth and training, but an earnest and intelligent Lutheran by conviction - well-read and most amiable and entertaining. Many an evening did we spend with her and her husband, a former pastor of Zion's church, Philadelphia, and graduate of Jefferson College, my father's Alma Mater. It was intended to fit up a separate room for me, but Mr. Roth and I got along so well together, that the temporary arrangement, according to which I was to live with him, became a permanent one.

The General Council was to be finally organized that very week at Fort Wayne, and my first Sunday I was to spend as a substitute for Mr. Roth who was to be a delegate. Dr. Krauth came through Pittsburgh, and spent a couple of days there. Mr. Laird invited a few of us to his house for an evening to meet Dr. Krauth. It was an hilarious party. Dr. K. threw aside all restraint and felt himself a boy. So loud did the party become that the neighbors were alarmed. One of his performances was the delivery of the speech supposed to have been delivered by the Rev. John McCron, D.D., a bombastic pastor of the First Lutheran Church, Baltimore to the General Synod at Fort Wayne, Ind.<sup>2</sup> His peroration described the American Eagle, perched on the top of the Rocky Mountains, with its bill dipped into the Atlantic Ocean, and its tail sweeping the Pacific, while its wings were extended over a happy and prosperous people. The most ludicrous passage was where, with the most dramatic attitude and eccentric gesticulation, he broke out into the exclamation, actually made by Dr. McCron: "I stand here, sir, not as John Mack-er-on, but as the representative from Maryland."

When the delegates returned, Mr. Roth brought with him the proceedings, as he was Secretary, and I aided him in preparing the copy for the printer, and reading the proof. Mr. Thiel invited me with others to his house on a hill, on the edge of the Allegheny, on Thanksgiving evening.<sup>3</sup> The party consisted of Drs. Seiss, Laird, Roth, Welden and Wenzel, and Mr. Thomas H. Lane; and it was just as genial, though not as boisterous as the one where Dr. Krauth figured. On both these occasions, there was discussion concerning the questions agitating the Church, and discussed in the General Council. Dr. Seiss was freer than usual in announcing literary plans which he had in contemplation.

It was about this time, Father Heyer called one day, and in order to prove to me his assertion that he was always ready to preach, drew from his pocket a package tied in a red bandana handkerchief, which, on being opened, was found to contain probably fifty sermons, written in microscopic characters on onion paper, folded so as to be about 3 x 4 inches in size. "There they are; I am ready at a moment's notice!"

Our room seemed to be headquarters for all the rural clergy who came to town. They came often to report and consult concerning the ecclesiastical war which was now raging in all parts of the Synod. To understand this requires some knowledge of the peculiarities of the people in our Church in Western Pennsylvania. The life was still unsettled, and had many of the characteristics of the pioneer stage. The West actually began with the Allegheny Mountains. Pittsburgh was the gate to the West. Here all was commotion. The country around it was poor. Many of our people had settled in the lumber districts to the North. Westmoreland to the east was the garden of Western Pennsylvania, a wheat county, full of Lutheran people. Oil had been developed on the upper part of the Allegheny River. There was bituminous coal all over the territory. The Beaver Valley had many furnaces, rolling mills, coke ovens, glass factories, etc. The Scotch Irish had been the early settlers. Presbyterians and United Presbyterians, and Reformed Presbyterians and Associate Reformed and Associate Reformed Presbyterians abounded. The air was almost as blue with Calvinism as it was black with smoke. They had accumulated wealth, had flourishing institutions and large congregations, and had the social prestige. Descendants of Germans were numerous in Westmoreland County, but comparatively weak elsewhere. But a German immigration had set in within ten years of the time described, and was fast gaining on the Scotch Irish.

The Lutheran congregation at Pittsburgh was comparatively nothing when Dr. Passavant went there in 1845. It had grown to be a strong church, although the pastor's attention was soon diverted from his parish work to that of the country which Pittsburgh dominated. He succeeded in uniting many of the pastors of weak congregations on the territory into one synod, with elements drawn from various sources. He established preaching places at centers as they opened, and found pastors willing to preach at starvation salaries. He organized the Home Mission work of the Pittsburgh Synod, and made it the most active Synod in the Church of that period. But, in time, he neglected his parish for the church beyond as the tide of emigration went westward and westward. He was a pioneer to preempt places and drive stakes, but this done, had to leave the rest to strangers. Wherever a little mission had been started in Western Pennsylvania, it was apt to attract many people who were not Lutherans by birth or education, but who recognized the name as standing for evangelical Christianity in general. They soon joined the churches, became identified with all their interests, and only by tradition knew that they had ever been anything else than Lutherans. A large part, therefore, of the people in our congregations were of Scotch-Irish descent, with very decided Presbyterian prejudices against any very marked emphasis upon distinctly Lutheran doctrines. Others, particularly in the lumber regions were as

thoroughly Pennsylvania German as their cousins in Berks and Lehigh. The dialect prevailed, and the preaching was largely German, which, in order to be intelligible, had to be the very simplest. To these now were added a number of congregations of exclusively foreign Germans. <sup>5</sup>

Dr. Passavant was a man of the people, and made himself at home in circles among all these elements. Educated in a Presbyterian college, the Presbyterians regarded him almost as one of their own men. He was intimate with a number of their pastors. Among the Germans, he could smoke, and talk the language sufficiently to join in their Gemüthlichkeit. The simplicity and earnestness of the Pennsylvania German attracted him. He could repeat Harbaugh's "Heimweh" and "Schulmeister an der Krök".<sup>6</sup> They adhered to him with their characteristic stubborn loyalty to one who, they think, has their interests at heart.

But with the withdrawal of the Pittsburgh Synod from the General Synod, a general revolt began. All over the Synod, whenever there was an opening, emissaries were busy. "The Lutheran Observer" kept up a weekly attack. Graduates of Gettysburg, Wittenberg and Selinsgrove were affected.<sup>7</sup> Some pastors were almost distracted because of the attempts made by disaffected people to excite factions.

The controversy had broken out first in the First Church at Pittsburgh, the preceeding year, and had been taken to the courts. The General Synod minority was defeated; but the Graff family representing much wealth established a new congregation, and called Mr. Stuckenberg as pastor. After many years' trial, it was disbanded.<sup>8</sup>

The church at Kittanning became so much threatened that Rev. J.A. Earnest, its pastor, turned from the General Council to the General Synod side, but then, to his surprise, found the General Council element the stronger, and felt constrained to resign. Mr. Roth was elected pastor with the understanding that, with my assistance, he could serve for the present, two parishes.<sup>9</sup>

There was a large congregation at Leechburg. Here the zeal of a former pastor succeeded in dividing the church, and beginning a legal contest for an old delapidated weather-worn frame building, which lingered for years, was carried to the Supreme Court, and wasted for both sides money enough to build five churches as good as that for which they struggled.<sup>10</sup>

At Erie, Mr. Stuckenberg's relations to the congregation as former pastor, and prospective husband of the daughter of the founder, gave much trouble.

In vacant congregations in the Pennsylvania German district, a former pastor (Rev. G.F. Ehrenfeld) appeared, and made a remarkable canvass. In the winter the farmers enjoyed turning-out to a night service, particularly when it was moonlight, and the sleighing was good. He sent word ahead by messengers, at a time of the year when the farmers are idle. The churches were well attended. He proceeded to inveigh against Symbolism and Liturgies and the

the Romanizing tendencies that were entering the Lutheran Church, and which the General Council was intended to foster. The people were bewildered; they could not understand what it meant. One of them reported: "He said something about candles, and about gowns, and about a little room. The only way I could put it together was that there were some preachers who wanted to use candles in the little room where they put on their night-gowns." The eagle eye of Schweigert caught sight of the situation from afar. Arming himself with the authority of the President of Synod, he hurried after Ehrenfeld and caught up with him. The General Council representative followed him in every congregation. The community was excited and attended. To hear Schweigert was worth a long trip. He had the popular gifts which his opponent lacked. Ehrenfeld was severe, angular, captious, melancholy; Schweigert, the picture of good nature, full of wit and inexhaustible in resources, and abounding in anecdotes and incidents that held the attention of the most ignorant, as well as others. The people knew he was not a scholar; but as he told them in unmistakable terms what he meant, and did it in the most entertaining way, he carried the field before him wherever he went.

At Freeport the church was divided.<sup>12</sup> A violent General Synod advocate was speaking in a crowded house concerning the Symbolical Books. A little cur strayed into the church - some one tramped on it and it yelled. The speaker paused in his discourse and ordered: "Put that symbolist out!" The incident was too tempting to Dr. Morris, when he heard it, to keep him from printing it with additions. He wrote an article for one of the church papers which ended somewhat in this way: "Now, by a strange coincidence, the sexton's name happened to be Simon Bolitsch. He was a resolute and contentious old German, and, considering the order an attack on him, he turned towards the pulpit, and shaking his fist at the preacher he exclaimed: "I'd like to see you put Sim. Bolitsch out!"

I had left Gettysburg in order to have peace; instead, I fell into the very vortex of war. Nevertheless I enjoyed congregational life as I learned to know it. Mr. Roth's church was in Birmingham (South Pittsburgh) probably over a mile and a half away, over cliffs and across the Monongahela. The hotter the contest grew, the more he was absent, and I attended to his duties. I remember the Ramseys, and the Duffs, and the Hamiltons, and the Hunters, and the Whites, and the Doyles - names not suggestive of German origin.

I was often at Kittanning where I stayed at Mr. Schweigert's, altho' he was either at Washington or Greenoch over Sunday. Sometimes I waited for his return. The congregation worshipped in an old frame church belonging to the German congregation of which Mr. Reichert was pastor. Here I learned to know Mr. E.J. Schmauck. His son belonged to the Catechetical class I instructed. Here also was Mr. Klingensmith (father of the Revs. U.J. and F.W.), and a Mr. Reiter - a relative of Mrs. Schweigert - whose son is now pastor of the Reformed church at North Wales. I preached at Leechburg and West Ainton and Rochester and Zelienople.

One Sunday I was sent to attend an evening service at Phillipsburg.<sup>13</sup> My future mother-in-law and sisters-in-law were present, but did not deem me worthy of sufficient notice to introduce themselves.

It was a sorry service. There was no organist, and no one to start the tune. I attempted it, but struck the wrong metre, and then, when the metre was right, either pitched the tune too high, or started one which was unfamiliar.<sup>74</sup> There were candles on the altar, not because of any ecclesiastical significance, but for convenience. In the midst of the sermon, the sexton came forward and snuffed them. I spent the night with a Mr. Schaeffer, a former economist, a very interesting and intelligent old gentleman. In the morning the Ohio, swollen by heavy rains, had risen and was sweeping by the large cakes of ice with such velocity that the ferry-boat could not cross. I was a prisoner, spending the morning with Prof. Kopp - a former student of my father - until some time in the afternoon. A number of boat captains residing at Phillipsburg were anxious to get their boats off that had been waiting long for a rise. They invited me to go with them, informing me that the crossing would not be without some risk. We rowed upstream for fully a mile; then began working our way towards and through the center with a man at the prow and men at each side of the boat furnished with poles by which they pushed the ice away and cleared a passage. In spite of their vigilance, a cake would occasionally get beneath us, but we escaped disaster. Hundreds were watching us on the other side. That night I was off for home to be with my parents over Christmas.

Back again early in January, I found plenty of work. I visited the wards of the Passavant Hospital thrice a week, repeating the experiences in the Christian Commission. I undertook to initiate Miss Zelia Passavant into the mysteries of Latin, devoting generally an hour in the afternoon to this work. Dr. Wenzel had translated Wildenhahn's Paul Gerhardt into English,<sup>5</sup> and we read the entire Ms. together, and weeded out Germanisms. My Sundays were divided chiefly between Birmingham and Kittanning. My sermons were carefully written, and committed verbatim, at Dr. Passavant's request. I began to feel, however, that this made of the sermon a very mechanical performance.

Towards Spring, I became sole pastor at Springdale,<sup>16</sup> in Allegheny County, some fourteen miles from the city. My services there were to be only every two weeks, while the alternate Sunday was to be divided as before. It was a new congregation of about 35 or 40 communicants, worshipping in a recently built frame church. I soon began to canvass the neighborhood, increasing the attendance, and ultimately making a considerable addition to the membership. The people were fairly intelligent farmers. "The Observer" had a hold among them; but they were mostly good, earnest people, and, I think, devoted to me. In my zeal, I held a service every Saturday evening, when I had an appointment on Sunday morning, and another on Sunday evening. The evening services I devoted to conversational talks on doctrinal subjects, and the people said they preferred them much to my sermons. It was at one of these services that a kitten jumped on to my Bible and wanted to sit there while I preached, and was forcibly ejected by a blow from the irate head of the family where it belonged, and who was also the most influential elder and chief contributor to the congregation.<sup>17</sup>

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\* Dr. Baugher died early in April from diphtheria after an illness of one week.

Unsuspectingly I encountered opposition where I least expected it. At a communion service I gave no "general invitation". A regret was afterwards expressed that I had "forgotten" it, as there were a number of Methodists present who would have communed. My answer was that it was not forgotten; but that such an invitation was something that I could not give.

At a congregational meeting held some weeks afterwards, the leading member of the Church offered two resolutions. One was that no other form of service be used in this church than that used by Mr. Jacobs. Dr. Wenzel had preached one Sunday, in my absence, and had read the Confessional and General Prayers. Altho' Mr. Sharp had gone to him while the service was in progress and told him to go into the pulpit and not to read the prayers, Dr. Wenzel - the President of the Synod - had declined to obey. This first resolution, therefore, was directed against him. I showed them that the resolution meant more than they wanted. I had committed the prayers, and to pass the resolution would bind the congregation to the liturgy, as the standard was "the service which Mr. Jacobs uses." The resolution was not pressed.

But then came another, requiring the pastor always to use the General Invitation at communion. I gave the arguments against it; but their purpose was fixed. The resolution passed. I had foregone threatening; but when the matter was finally decided, I announced: "As long as that resolution is in force, I cannot administer the communion in this church. For no congregational action can compel me to do what I believe to be wrong." The women began to cry. There was no personal feeling involved. I took supper with my host as usual, and preached several times afterwards, and saw no change of feeling towards me. They actually made an addition to my salary when settling for the past. The resolution possibly would have been rescinded if they could have retained me. But I was destined for another field. I placed a protest on the Church Records, where anyone desiring to know my reasons for my course can read them. About twenty years afterwards, a young minister who secured a copy of the Protest, referred a President of the Pittsburgh Synod to it when a similar issue was raised. He received a reply that the protest was written when Dr. Jacobs was a very young man, and that he would decide differently now. The case then came for me to review, and I said that Dr. Jacobs' matured convictions are in entire accord with the position he took in his youth. 8

Meanwhile I had translated the section in Gerhard's Loci "On the Third Commandment" for Dr. Stoever. 9 This suggested to the President of Synod a theme for my thesis for Ordination. I was assigned: "The Lutheran Doctrine of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day". It was to be presented to the meeting of the Synod to be held at Erie, Pa., in the autumn of 1868.

But alongside of this, I was diligently working on another literary project. I had been surprised how little knowledge even intelligent pastors had of Lutheran doctrine, and how restricted were their sources of information. There was really no accessible handbook in the English language. I decided to

translate some book of our old theologians. While rooming at Gettysburg with Mr. Spieker, we had become deeply interested in Leonard Hutter's "Compendium Locorum Theologicorum". I had procured a Latin copy and Mr. Spieker had a German translation. He was now pastor at Kutztown, and we were in frequent correspondence. I proposed, therefore, that I translate the first part of the work from the Latin, and he, the latter part from the German; and that, after having completed the work, we meet at Gettysburg, and my translation be compared with the German, and his with the Latin. This plan we carried out in a few months' time. The most of my portion of the translation was really done within a week. My pen flew ahead with almost the ardor of original composition. It was finished early in the summer. Mr. Spieker spent many a week with me at Gettysburg. My father advanced half the cost of publication, which was repaid him before very long. "The Lutheran Book Store", Mr. T.L.Schrack, agent, became the publisher. The book appeared early in November, and was welcomed in all parts of the Church. No one accused it of any polemical interest. It was sought for in the General Synod, as well as in the General Council, Missouri and Ohio Synods, and the South, and passed through a number of issues. The plates were finally destroyed by fire in Baltimore, whither they had been sent some ten days before, to a friend who thought he could dispose of a large edition if we allowed him their use. 20

A new problem now met me. I was to return to teaching although I had sincerely hoped that I was done with it forever. I was sincerely desirous to be a pastor, and resisted with great vigor all appeals to teach, until I found that it was my clear duty.

The opening of the school at Phillipsburg had been in fulfillment of a long cherished plan of Dr. Passavant. He wanted to establish a Church school for the Lutherans of Western Pennsylvania, and neighboring parts. Mr. A. Louis Thiel, a retired baker, and devout member of Dr. Wenzel's church - a convert from the Roman Catholic Church - had offered Dr. Passavant five thousand dollars with which to do some benevolent work; and in the offer, he saw the means to carry out what he had been long contemplating.

A property containing several buildings, and running from one street to another, was purchased at Phillipsburg. The village, on the Ohio, almost directly opposite the mouth of the Beaver River, and across from Rochester, was called after boat-builders who once carried on their trade there, but some thirty years before had been purchased as the home of the Count de Leon and his followers, a split from the millenarian communists who had settled first at Harmony near Zeligople, afterwards in Indiana, and then at Economy. On the opposite side of the Ohio the country all the way up to Allegheny was being densely settled, and vast manufacturing plants were springing up. The banks of the Beaver were being similarly utilized. Within a very short distance were Freedom, Rochester, Bridgewater, Beaver and New Brighton. Railroad connection with Pittsburgh and Allegheny was close and frequent.

The south side of the river, however, was isolated. Phillipsburg was built on a shelf - a level plain of irregular shape, back of which rose steep bluffs. To the west these bluffs continued to run more closely to the river until at the edge of the village they directly touched it. The river was bounded by a steep precipice. To the east, the range of hills retreated until probably half a mile intervened between bluffs and river. The village had once been larger, but in 1869, contained probably four or five hundred inhabitants. Since then it has changed its name to Monaca, and with the construction of a bridge across the Ohio and the location of the railroad has grown to a town of several thousand.

The property purchased by Dr. Passavant had once been a hotel and country resort of not the very best reputation; but it served the purpose of a school very well.<sup>2</sup> It was so near the world on the one hand, and so secluded on the other, that it was thought to offer peculiar protection for boys against the temptations of a large place.

Dr. Passavant had called Rev. E.F. Giese to the school as principal, and Rev. W.F. Kopp, a graduate of Gettysburg, in very delicate health, as additional teacher,<sup>3</sup> and had placed the care of the Boarding Department in the hands of his sister-in-law, Mrs. M.W. Downing, who had moved thither with her son and three

daughters. The school was intended for both sexes but there were three or four times as many boys as girls. Miss Annie E. Downing had soon been added to the corps of teachers.<sup>4</sup>

Within two years, Mr. Giese accepted a call to New York, and Mr. Kopp died. The school was on Dr. Passavant's hands and he could find no one to undertake it. I was decidedly averse to his propositions at first; but the continued feebleness of my father became an argument in favor of my acceptance. I could spend with him a much longer vacation than would have been possible in a pastorate. I finally consented to undertake it with the understanding that I could employ Mr. F.R. Feitshans, a recent senior in Pennsylvania College, as my substitute for a month until after the meeting of the Synod at Erie.<sup>5</sup>

I was at the school with Mr. Feitshans for several days at the beginning of September, organizing classes and getting matters generally under way. Miss Annie continued her work as a teacher. Rev. C. Steinbach, the German pastor, was to teach the German. I returned to my father's side and worked hard on my thesis for Synod of which I shall speak later.

The West Pennsylvania Synod met that fall at Littlestown, ten miles from Gettysburg, where I attended several sessions.

As I passed through Pittsburgh on my return I called on Dr. Passavant, and was taken to the sick bed of the President of the General Council, Rev. G. Bassler, who died several days later. He was very weak; had been taken ill at Atlantic City, reached Dr. Krauth's home in West Philadelphia where he lingered long, and after some weeks of Dr. Passavant's constant personal care, died greatly lamented wherever known.<sup>6</sup>

At Erie, I stayed with Mr. Jarecki's, rooming with Rev. J.L. Smith, the pastor loci.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Seiss was present as the delegate from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. I was ordained with Rev. G.W. Frederick, who had accepted a call to Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, on Sunday evening, after a sermon by Rev. H. Reck. Dr. Wenzel was the President of Synod. The majority of the Synod went directly to Niagara, the sessions having been abbreviated by an entire day. It was my very first visit; and the first view of the Falls as we came up on the Canadian side was very disappointing. But they grew upon me as I lingered and continued to gaze. On our way thither I had a brief look into Buffalo. Then I hurried back to assume full charge of the work at Phillipsburg.

We had probably forty students that year, covering all classes from those which were very elementary through the Freshman year of College. We had a number of young men preparing for the ministry, some as old as myself. Among them, naming them by their later titles, were: Rev. Hiram Peters, D.D.; Rev. J.W. Myers; Rev. F. Veit, formerly President of the Canada Synod; Rev. Prof. J.A.J. Zahn, afterwards in Thiel College; Rev. C.J. Hirzel; Rev. L.M.C. Weiksel; Rev. G.H. Gerberding, D.D., of the Chicago Theological Seminary; Rev. G.C. Berkemeier, D.D., Superintendent of the Mt. Vernon Orphans' Home; Rev. J.C. Kunzmann, D.D., Superintendent of Home Missions, Editor of The Workman, and Chaplain of the Deaconess House, Milwaukee; Rev. D.L. Roth, D.D., of South Pittsburgh; Rev. T.B. Roth, D.D., former President of Thiel College; Rev. G.W. Critchlow; Rev. D.L.

Passavant; Rev. F.C.E.Lemcke. One or two of these may not have been present the first year, but all were there while I was Principal. My youngest brother, Edward, was with me.

The most of the institution fell on Miss Downing and me. Mr. Steinbach proved a failure; and, what was worse, was deposed from the ministry for a grave offence. The morning was devoted solid to my classes; the afternoon was devoted to study, and the close of it, to walks. There was much preparation that was new to me for which I had to make preparations. On Sunday evening, I preached regularly in the German Church. We organized a congregation - "The Church of the Redeemer", and installed some of the students as Church officers. We held a service in the school-room on Wednesday evening. I gave a sort of popular outline of theology on another evening. We had morning prayers in the school-room, and worship at table directly after supper. Dr. Passavant would often come down from Baden on Sunday afternoon and preach for me, and would drop in at other times. Dr. Wenzel was a frequent visitor, generally with some manuscript to correct. Rev. H. Reck was my nearest neighbor, and I often preached for him on Sunday mornings. I confirmed a number of the students during my term; among them W.A.Passavant, T.B.Roth, and G.W. Critchlow. Dr. Gerberding has given an account of the occasion in his Life of Dr. Passavant. The older students were required to prepare a synopsis of every Sunday's sermon.

It was my delight to scale the bluffs and gaze over the wide landscape with the river as the chief feature. On Saturdays I occasionally went to Pittsburgh, and was always sure to visit the book stores.

The first edition of "The Church Book" had just appeared, and we immediately introduced it. We were the first congregation in the Pittsburgh Synod to do so. My fondness for a liturgical service was not developed as early as my preference for conservative Lutheran doctrine. My father first tried to argue my prejudices against a responsive service out of me. I gradually yielded to it because there seemed no help. But, in the use of "The Church Book", I learned to love it, and continually studying it, grew more and more into its spirit. But even at Rochester on the other side of the river, I was instructed by Dr. Passavant not to use more than a small portion of the Morning Service, when I preached there. At Wednesday evening service we would use The Litany, or Suffrages; and all were pleased. I found it an excellent practice in the school to have all repeat in concert Luther's explanation of the three articles of "The Creed".

I had scarcely been at Phillipsburg a month when the meeting of the General Council occurred at Pittsburgh. I went up on a Friday afternoon and remained through Monday, at any rate. I was just in time to hear the great discussion on the Four Points, the most of which I reported. The report was published in pamphlet form but I have no longer a copy. "The Lutheran" of that date, however, contains it.'

When the General Council was organized a number of the German Synods that had been invited to participate either entirely declined (Missouri, Ohio), or accepted under certain qualifications (Iowa). They insisted that the Council should make a clear declaration on certain points, Iowa asking for three, and the other synods for four. The three were: 1. Pulpit Fellowship, 2. Altar Fellowship, 3. Secret Societies, the fourth was Chiliasm.<sup>2</sup>

They maintained that no minister of another Church could preach in a Lutheran pulpit, and no minister of the Lutheran Church could preach in the pulpit of another Church. They charged the Synods uniting in forming the General Council of acting contrary to the principles of our Church, in supplying the pulpits of other Churches - particularly at meetings of Synod, and in allowing pastors and Churches to invite others to preach for them. At this meeting of the General Council, both Drs. Krauth and Seiss preached for the Presbyterians. The argument was similar with respect to Altar Fellowship. Lutherans, they contended, should under no circumstances commune in other Churches, nor should they admit others to their communion. All secret societies were condemned, and the demand was made that Church discipline should be exercised against these members who persisted in remaining in lodges.

The policy adopted with respect to these demands was very conciliatory. While not ready to take the action asked, the Council under Dr. Krauth's lead conceded the principles underlying their claims, and passed a series of very judicious educational propositions. The aim was to seek to remedy evils, not by stringent legislative remedies, but by appealing to the consciences of the people.

The brothers, Revs. Profs. Siegmund and Gottfried Fritschel were the leading debaters on the side of those making demands of the Council. They were Professors in the Theological Seminary of the German Iowa Synod, and had both been pupils of Loehe. The brothers were very unlike. Siegmund was the spokesman. He spoke with great readiness and fluency. In his earnestness, he often fell into a semi-monotonous pulpit tone. His presentations were illustrated by Scriptural and Historical allusions, generally fresh and striking. It became the regular custom for Dr. Krauth to give in English the substance of what Prof. S. Fritschel said in German. Prof. F. had the distinction of having proved more than the match for Prof. Walther of St. Louis at the Milwaukee Conference, where his remarkable memory of his theological reading in former years, as Prof. Walther made demands on it, astonished his audience. He was as modest as he was learned; and even when arguing against an overwhelming majority, did so with the simplicity and straightforwardness of a child. In private inter-

course, he was a most delightful companion. His spiritual character was without cant, but it deeply impressed everyone who met him. Always cheerful, he was always serious. Always firm, decided and exacting, he was also always considerate and sometimes unexpectedly compliant. His English was very broken and imperfect; but the Americans were always attracted to him. His limitations were manifest, but could be readily explained. His life had been a constant struggle with poverty, joyfully borne for the sake of the Church he loved.<sup>3</sup>

His brother Gottfried was a very taciturn, retiring man, not gifted as a debater, and speaking with more or less embarrassment, but of well-grounded scholarship - his brother habitually referring to him as his superior.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Krauth was the chief speaker who met their arguments with any very decided opposition. Two or three men of relatively weak influence spoke with excitement against them, but made no impression. Drs. Krauth and Passavant sought throughout a middle course.

The delegates of the Wisconsin Synod,<sup>5</sup> particularly Revs. R. Adelberg and J. Bading, were uncompromising. Adelberg was a converted Jew, a graduate of Hartwick and son-in-law of Dr. Miller, President of Hartwick, a man of very gentlemanly bearing, who had spent nearly all his life in the New York Ministerium, and had been heard on the floor of the General Synod. A number of us were invited to a meal, during the progress of the discussions. While we were at table, Mr. A. was ushered in. Every possible space at the table was occupied. The hostess had a small table cleared where she had Mr. A. served. "I see Bro. Adelberg practices what he preaches - close communion," said Dr. Krotel.

Drs. Conrad and Stuckenberg were interested spectators.

The Secret Society discussion made such an impression on several of the lay delegates that their connection with the societies to which they belonged, immediately ceased.

On the subject of Chiliasm, there was not as much discussion. The Fritschels did not press; for although they were in no sense Chiliasts, they and the Iowa Synod had felt themselves constrained to protest against the extreme attitude of Missouri on this subject. Prof. Fritschel, on the floor of the General Council, distinguished between Gross, Subtile, and Most Subtile Chiliasm, and argued that in the last form, it had been tolerated in the Lutheran Church. This was the position his synod had taken in its controversy with Missouri concerning Rev. Mr. Schieferdecker.<sup>6</sup>

It was well known that Dr. Seiss was an avowed Chiliast. He had preached and written on the subject from his early ministry, and was recognized as one of its most prominent representatives in America. We need only refer to the quotations in Dr. Charles Hodge's "Systematic Theology", from Dr. Seiss' writings, to learn this. With Drs. Newton and Duffield, he was at this time editing and publishing "The Prophetic Times". Dr. Seiss seemed therefore particularly reconciled to Prof. Fritschel's rigid positions on the other points because of Prof. F.'s endorsement of the right of chiliasts to claim membership among Lutherans.<sup>7</sup>

The three points continued to be discussed with much ardor at every meeting of the General Council and in the Church journals for twenty years. The final declaration on the last one agitated, "Pulpit Fellowship", I wrote, and carried, after a debate of several days, in 1889, again at Pittsburgh.

The truth is that the controversy which had sprung up, and which finally carried out of the General Council the Synods of Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, and Michigan, and which kept Missouri and Ohio attacking the Council from the outside, was symptomatic rather than itself fundamental. No leader of the synods mentioned, in my knowledge, ever construed the denial of Pulpit Fellowship so rigidly as to deny that there were circumstances that justified preaching in churches outside of their communion. The practice of the Missouri Synod in supplying congregations without pastors even belonging to the Evangelical Union, and gradually preparing them for an ecclesiastical change, may be cited. The General Synod church at St. Louis, years ago, was frequently supplied by students from the Missouri Seminary. This very summer (1906), I heard down South of a vacant congregation belonging to the United Synod South to which a Missouri Professor preached several times, during a vacancy several years ago. It is true that mechanical consistency has often forced the advocates of this position to extraordinary extremes, as when they declined to have meetings for joint conference with other bodies opened with prayer, as such prayer would be interpreted as a fraternal recognition of those with whom they differed. Until the correctness of a definition, for which they insisted, could be conceded and accepted, with all the inferences to be drawn from such a definition, common prayer, in their opinion, is impossible. And yet, as a theological definition has to do with the choice of terms as well as with the Scriptural truth involved, merely logical quibbling may be elevated to a position higher than prayer! We tested a Missouri Professor, however, by inviting him to dine with us. We did not ask him to say grace, but noticed that when we said grace he neither objected, nor closed his ears. Neither Iowa nor Wisconsin nor Michigan ever suggested such radical measures in discussions on the floor of the Council. We will have to recur to this question farther on.

Neither has the exclusion of members of Secret Societies been enforced with absolute strictness anywhere. Room has always been afforded in practice for some elasticity where a peculiar case would arise, no difference how pronounced might be the official utterance against them. Ohio has attacked churches and pastors in the General Council, and Missouri has attacked Ohio, for not exercising discipline rigidly against members of secret orders; and yet, as Dr. Nicum showed some years ago in the Lutheran Church Review, even Missouri has in well established cases, avoided the discipline she has demanded of others.

The various German Synods that pressed the matter upon the General Council doubtless felt the pressure of the Missouri Synod upon them. And yet even if the demands of Missouri on these points had been conceded, other points would soon have appeared as further barriers. The Predestination Question, the mechanical theory of Inspiration, the "Gemeinde-Prinzip", the doctrine on

the Ministry, the question as to the marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister, all appear as obstacles of any union of synods with Missouri, unless its decision were absolutely accepted. Back of all lies the discussion in which Prof. S. Fritschel had so ably contended with Prof. Walther, as to whether there could be "Open Questions" in Theology, the latter asserting that this was impossible.

After all is considered, it will be found, I think, that the decision not to enter into any union with the Church in the East was the dominant factor, and this led, consciously or unconsciously, to the finding of doctrinal objections to such a union. Every union, at best, is in spite of defects that stare parties in the face, but which they are willing to overlook and forego.

Nor do I think that such indisposition to unite was culpable. The circumstances of some of the Western Synods and those of the Synods that had grown in the East from the start made by Muhlenberg and his associates were so different, that years had to elapse until, as the result of longer acquaintance, they could understand each other or cooperate in various forms of Church work. The one element was composed exclusively of immigrants from Germany and their children of the first generation. The other element consisted very largely of those whose ancestors had emigrated to America before the Revolutionary War, and who, therefore, were thoroughly acclimated. The one element looked back to Germany for all its standards, as though nothing were good unless traced back to the fatherland, and the degree of excellence must needs be measured by its nearness to that source. The other element had made considerable progress in appreciating the new conditions forced upon the Church here. The one had begun to build, and had made commendable progress in the attempt, upon foundations they themselves had laid. They had been able to have their ideals realized by a direct route. The others had to struggle amidst many precedents for which they were not responsible, and to exercise prudence not to destroy, while endeavoring to improve and remedy. The former imagined, like some very young men, that they should be teachers at whose feet the more experienced elders should sit and learn; but as history advances, it is to be seen whether the experience of their predecessors will not be reproduced in those who come after.

The great difficulty was not the unwillingness of these synods to unite, but the constrained attitude which they maintained towards the General Council, and the constant misrepresentations of partisan Church papers and journals, among them the Lehre und Wehre may be especially mentioned.<sup>7</sup> As a blow fly scents out from afar a tainted piece of meat, so the editors of such journals delighted to search with the utmost diligence for any item that could be reported, and to publish it - often greatly exaggerated and torn from its connection - and with modifying circumstances not mentioned - while everything that could be placed to the credit of an opponent was industriously suppressed. Readers of such journals, published under Church authority, and by reputable ministers and Professors, drew inferences only from what they read. These naturally were of a character that made them regard those criticized as offenders of the highest order,

or imbeciles of the lowest grade. The words "Thou shalt not bear false witness", with Luther's explanation, seemed either to be cut out of their copy of the Symbolical Books, or to be inapplicable to the editorial sanctum. The Missourians, we know, were not alone in such policy. It has been pursued also within the General Council ( "Kelle und Schwert", "Kirchenblatt", and sometimes - though not recently - "The Lutheran" and the General Synod "Observer"). But whatever be the body in which it appears, it should always be met with indignant protests, and, if persisted in, with disciplinary action. If churches have good reasons for keeping separate, let them say so without maligning those with whom they differ.

It is also a question whether even the Synods which remained faithful to the General Council were prepared for any very close union. The very best that could be attained seemed to be to bring the Synods into such accord with each other that they might learn and be encouraged by each other's work.

My thesis on "The Lutheran Doctrine of the Sabbath and Lord's Day", prepared for the Pittsburgh Synod, attracted more attention than was expected. It was listened to with very close attention when read from the pulpit, and no objection was made to its length. Although it was unusual to hear the side advocated which I maintained, the members of the Synod at once commended it. Dr. Seiss was present as delegate from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and was very kind in the notice he took of me, and his pronounced opinion on the worth of the paper. Rev. H. Gilbert, then regarded "the theologian of the Pittsburgh Synod", who had had a thorough University course at Leipzig, was equally emphatic. The Synod, by a unanimous vote, requested Prof. Stoeber to publish it in "The Evangelical Review."

The topic was one which I had neither selected, nor suggested. When given me, I was still very decidedly of the opinion that the Sabbath belonged to the New, as well as the Old Testament, and that the ceremonial element had to do only with the change from the last to the first day of the week; and at once proceeded to read all that I could find in our Confessions and Lutheran Dogmatists. Dr. Krauth's article on the same subject I determined not to read lest it might have too much weight in deciding my position.<sup>2</sup> I wanted to consider our theologians with as unprejudiced mind as possible. I soon began to be shaken from my position. The Augsburg Confession and Large Catechism seemed to speak in a manner rendering it surprising that they should be cited as in any sense Sabbatarian. Melancthon's "Locis", and the "Locis" and "Examen" of Chemnitz seemed equally clear. On the other hand, the article from Gerhard I had already translated and published in the Gettysburg "Review",<sup>3</sup> Baier and Hollazius - all the authorities I had at Phillipsburg appeared equally decided and insistent on the other side. My mind was opening to the differences among our Lutheran theologians. I sent to St. Louis and procured a series of articles which Prof. Walther had published in the "Lehre und Wehre",<sup>4</sup> and also got the Bampton lectures of Dr. Hesse on Sunday.<sup>5</sup> They confirmed, at every step, my dissent from the theory I had learned from my childhood. My father's knowledge of German was laid under contribution. His hand was too stiff to write; but he dictated translations of any passage in Luther I desired.

I did not know what result would follow my avowal of my position. My father's attitude was remarkable. He had such a clear conception of the relation of Law and Gospel, that he did much to aid me to the position which I took. Then he would respond and react, and express his regret at the position I was taking. But when I wrote out my conclusions and would read them to him, he would criticize me wherever I seemed to veil my own opinions, or to modify my statements with various qualifications.

The essay is partly historical, and partly doctrinal. The questions answered are: First, What is actually the position of the Lutheran Church, and secondly, upon what Scriptural ground does it rest, and how is it accepted by theologians who are not Lutherans?

The answer to these questions is that the Confessions, Luther, Melancthon, and Brenz, in common with Calvin, regarded the Sabbath as a ceremonial ordinance, and that this meant not simply the observance of the seventh day, but the observance of any particular day of the week as the Sabbath. Distinctions both of place and of time are abolished under the Christian dispensation, as many passages of the N.T., and Col. 2:16, and the Epistle to the Hebrews in particular testify. The O.T. Sabbath was an ordinance of the Ceremonial Law typifying the entire life of the Christian under the N.T., according to which "whether he eat or drink, or whatever he does", is done to God's glory. At the same time, the Lord's Day has its place, and its observance is not to be disregarded. But the Lord's Day is not the Sabbath, but an entirely different institution. Not figurative and prophetic of the future, as was the Sabbath, but a memorial of the full accomplishment of redemption in Christ. It is to every week what every Easter is to the Church Year. Its observance is based upon Apostolic precedent and example. The Third Commandment, we argued, contained both a ceremonial and a moral element; and Luther, with his usual insight, had eliminated the ceremonial element, and retained only the moral in the very few words of his explanation in the Small Catechism.<sup>6</sup>

When published in "The Evangelical Review", for January, 1869, it encountered much criticism. Dr. Stoever received a number of letters censoring him for giving it a place. Dr. Brown preached a sermon against it in the College Church at Gettysburg, which was published in pamphlet form. "The Observer", "American Lutheran", and "Lutheran Visitor" had a succession of attacks.<sup>7</sup> Although Dr. C.W.Schaeffer had commended it in review columns of "The Lutheran", some other writer attacked it on the first page.

I did not care for controversy; but decided that I would not let the arguments by which I was attacked be unanswered. I read all that was spoken against me, and kept pondering it in my heart until the Summer vacation would give the needed leisure for writing a reply. I had a note book, in which from time to time I made memoranda. When vacation came, I sat down to work, and tried to forget entirely the personality of my critics, but to weigh every argument used against me. I made as thorough a study of authorities as were at hand. I was again by my father's side, and his clear mind aided me at every step I took. At Jefferson College, Canonsburg, he had learned to know the weakness of the Puritanical spirit that had there prevailed, and against which he had reacted. My own position was only the development of his. For from a child, he would correct me whenever I referred to Sunday as "the Sabbath". He would say: "Do not say "Sabbath School", but "Sunday School"; the Sabbath belongs to the Old Dispensation."

In this way, I wrote the article, "The Sabbath Question, in its Relations," in the "Evangelical Review" for October, 1869.<sup>8</sup> It is a much more thoroughly matured article than its predecessor; and I have never felt, since then, that there was anything that I could add to it. It by no means silenced attacks; but for years continued to provoke them. But I believed the answer could there be found for every objection still urged. My duty was done. My testimony was given. The responsibility of continued opposition no longer rested upon me after my protest had so delicately

been made.

Among many others who stood by me was the Presbyterian pastor at Gettysburg, Rev. Mr. Hillis. "If I am called to account," he said, "for my departure from the Westminster Catechism, I will answer that I stand with John Calvin on this question."

More than twenty years afterwards, in a discussion at the meeting of the American Church History Association at Washington, D.C., presided over by Bishop Hurst of the Methodist Church in the presence, among others, of Dr. Fisher of Yale, Rev. T.W. Chambers (Ref. Dutch) of New York, Dr. Wolf of Gettysburg and others - and afterwards at dinner in Bishop Hurst's house, I was surprised to find how generally the principles for which I had continued to content in the first years of my ministry, had been accepted even among those who were not Lutherans. I do not claim that my paper had anything to do with the result.

One of the most gratifying incidents of the discussion was a most cordial letter from Dr. C.F.Schaeffer, commending my articles without qualification, and urging me not to be disturbed by the criticisms which I was encountering.

Even with my opponents, however, I had considerable sympathy. I never pled for a "Continental Sunday", or a Sunday devoted to business or chiefly to recreation. The needs of the Christian life demanded times for quiet reflection. Attendance upon public worship cannot be given unless the current of worldly occupation cease, or if there be liability from interruption by pleasure seekers. Even the idea of the strictest form of "Sabbath observance" is a privilege of the advanced Christian, rather than a duty to be exacted under constraint of the law. The earnest advocates of the observance of Sunday upon the basis of the Old Testament requirements, will continually find themselves condemned in their own practice. As soon as the N.T.principles are introduced to modify their rigor, the O.T.regulation is undermined. "Se volunt et Judaei et Christiani, nec Judaei nec Christiani esse possunt." This I had learned in my own experience. Until the conception that the Sabbath and Lord's Day were distinct institutions became a conviction, I tried with the utmost scrupulosity on Sunday, not to think my own thoughts, or do my own deeds, refraining even from making fire in my own room when I was a tutor, in order to comply in every respect with O.T.demands. I confused my room-mate, Spieker, so that he checked himself when stooping to pick up a string from the floor one Sunday. "Is this a work of necessity?" he asked. It plainly was not. No one could stumble over it, and be injured by a fall. "Is it then a work of mercy?" - the string surely would not suffer by remaining where it was. The inference, of course, was that the picking up of the string would be an offense to be classed alongside of murder and adultery and all the other sins forbidden by God's law. This was nothing more than a return to the Rabbinical prohibition concerning wearing shoes with nails in the heels - on the Sabbath - since this would be to carry an unnecessary burden.

Puritanism, however, I have concluded since, is vulnerable

on a point which I had not thought then. For "Sabbath observance" ceases to be "a rest". It is converted into a work from the hour of waking to that of retiring for sleep. One of my pupils was so conscientious a Sabbatarian that, because he set his alarm clock for half past four every morning on every week day, he felt he must do the same for Sunday. If he was careful, he thought, of his own time, he must be just as careful in seeing that none of the Lord's time be lost. In order to keep all occupied with none but religious thoughts on Sunday, there were churches in which the Sunday School had two sessions, one before service in the morning, and the other in the afternoon, followed several hours later by the regular evening service. Even the children were forbidden their toys. When we children were "playing Church" on Sunday afternoon, a minister who was a guest in the house, interrupted us and to our great astonishment told us, what our parents seem never to have thought of, concerning the great sin we were committing! Thus I was gradually led to the conclusion upon which I have often insisted that to pronounce those things sins which are not sins, is to prepare the way to the judgment that things which are really sins are no sins. It is a dangerous thing to tamper with the line which separates what God permits from what He prohibits.

At this time my attention was called to the question of Chiliasm. Dr. Seiss had begun to show himself very friendly, and was one of my chief supporters in my discussion on the Sunday Question, notwithstanding the fact that he had written a Review article several years before on the other side. In, I think, the same number of "Review" with the first of my articles, he published one of his very strongest papers on: "Will there be a Millenium before the return of Jesus?", controverting the theory that the world will gradually be converted to Christ by the preaching of the Gospel; then a long period of universal peace and prosperity will follow, succeeded by the coming of Christ. With the refutation of this theory, I was satisfied. Here Luther could be cited just as clearly as an ally. But further than this, I could not agree with Dr. Seiss, altho' I read with interest many of his books. An elderly gentleman, Mr. J.G.Wagner, a Wurtemberger, who had come in his childhood with the Economites under Ropp, and had been one of the faction who seceded under Count de Leon - and remained faithful to the Count to the end - was a frequent visitor, and tried hard to make me still more deeply interested in Millenarian studies. It was the one subject that occupied his mind. His family were my chief adherents outside of the school, in my efforts to found a congregation. They were intelligent people, in comfortable circumstances, and deeply interested in everything that promoted the progress of the Church.

## Chapter Seventeen - Thiel Hall Becomes a College

Through all this time, Dr. Passavant was maturing his plans for raising Thiel Hall to the rank of a College. His standard of College work was not very high, and in this I at that time sympathized with him. Education was simply a tool for use in the ministry. It was not thought that this need be very comprehensive. A straight line for the Seminary was to be made with as little time lost as possible, to fit men who could successfully work among the children of immigrants. The college of the Missouri Synod at Fort Wayne, Ind., was in his mind a model; and the growth of the Missouri Synod from its educational efforts, on the most primitive scale, was often referred to as an encouragement. With the "Pro-Seminar" idea as the basis, he combined two others entirely foreign to it. He was an advocate of co-education, to which I have always been opposed, and thought that there was no need of Young Ladies Seminaries - altho' he sent his daughter to Rainesville, O., but thought that girls could obtain all the education they needed in a "Pro-Seminar". Beside this, the high esteem in which he was held in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, made him an adviser of parents, outside the Lutheran Church, as well as in it, concerning a proper school to which to send their children. These inquiries were made generally by parents in good circumstances, able to pay liberally for their children's education. Such was the plan and such the elements out of which the new College was to be evolved.

Mr. Thiel called me into his counsel in December 1868, on a visit he paid to the school. As I recall him, he was a short, heavily-built, clean shaven, well-dressed, white haired German, mild in disposition, and with considerable natural refinement, earnest and devout, and anxious to do his full duty, with unlimited confidence in Dr. Passavant and Dr. Wenzel, his pastor. He was probably nearing seventy years old, and both he and his wife, who was in sympathy with his projects, were in precarious health. He told me of his intention to give the property at Phillipsburg to the Pittsburgh Synod, and to have the transfer made as soon as possible, in order that the institution might be made his chief beneficiary at his death. "Now, what do you think of it?" he asked. I commended the scheme, but said that there was one criticism which I had to offer. "Do not hand the property over to the Synod, but select out of the Synod, a few of the best men, and ask the Synod to endorse the gift you will make to them as trustees, and to see to it that the Lutheran character of the school be forever maintained. For, in my opinion, a synod as such, is not properly constituted to successfully administer a College, or to make the best selection of trustees of such an institution. Let the trustees, with such limitations you may prescribe, select their own successors." His answer was that my suggestion seemed to him a very good one, but that he would have to consult Dr. Passavant. Some time afterwards, he informed me that Dr. Passavant insisted that the school be handed over to the Synod, for it to elect the trustees, and asked: "What shall I do?" I answered: "My opinion is based upon limited experience. Dr. Passavant's is much wider. I would do as he says."

A few years later when the Pittsburgh Synod failed to re-elect Dr. Passavant a member of the Board, he would have been glad if Mr. Thiel had taken my alternative.

At the meeting of the Pittsburgh Synod in 1869 at Greensburg, I preached the opening sermon on Wednesday evening. The chief business was the proposition of Mr. Thiel. I was Chairman of the Committee to which it was referred, and prepared the action adopted by Synod, accepting the property, and undertaking, in the fear of God, the establishment of a College. It met with some opposition, but finally, after a vigorous debate, there was practical unanimity, and my name stood next that of the President of Synod, in the Board of Directors that were chosen. This much gained, Dr. Passavant did not care about the prompt organization of the Board. By the advice and direction of Dr. Wenzel, President of Synod, I sent out notices convening the Board at Phillipsburg for organization. We lacked one of a quorum, and Dr. Passavant was one of the absentees - much to the indignation of those who, at considerable expense, had come from a distance. Dr. Passavant was so occupied with his institutions in Chicago, and Milwaukee and Jacksonville, Ill., that he could not give the proposed College much of his attention. When the Board was organized, Dr. Laird and I were the committee to prepare the Charter, Dr. Laird writing it from a model before him, and I making such suggestions as seemed important. The Charter was finally passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature. The College was organized at the beginning of September, 1870.

In the organization of a Faculty, I had my troubles. I had been elected the Secretary of the Board, and was elected also "First Professor". Funds from Mr. Thiel's estate now being available, a "Second Professor" was to be elected. I urged the election of Mr. F.R. Feitshans, a Gettysburg graduate who had taught for me several years during my first year, and had been with me the entire second year, and proved himself a most efficient teacher of the higher mathematics. Beside his special qualifications as a teacher, I urged that it would be an outrage to throw him out of a school where he had been so successful. But Dr. Passavant was again absent. Drs. Laird and Roth urged the name of Rev. W.F. Ulery. Mr. U. was a Gettysburg graduate of the Class of 1853, upwards of forty years old, of no considerable experience as a teacher, and never as a College teacher, whose only qualifications were that he occasionally "nibbled at" Greek in his study, and had a very discouraging career as a pastor. It was insisted that he deserved a "better place", than he had been serving.<sup>2</sup> I was almost unanimously defeated in my opposition to his election. Rev. H. Gilbert voted with me.

This was the first fruits of entrusting a Synod with the conduct of a College. A third Professor who, beside teaching Mathematics, was to be Principal of the Preparatory Department was then elected. For this, Rev. D. McKee was chosen - a man who had never had a College education, and whose schooling of any kind was very limited. He had, however, been a successful Common School teacher, and had been Principal of an academy at Leechburg, which had prepared many students for

College. Jefferson College had given him the honorary degree of A.M. Of Presbyterian origin, marriage into a Lutheran family had brought him into our Church, and he had been ordained, although he had not been a permanent pastor for any length of time. He was probably nearer 50 than 40 years old, was very unrefined in his habits and uncouth in his appearance - an habitual chewer and spitter in the recitation-room, and in company - altho' probably a good drill-master in Mathematics.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Passavant was astonished at the result. He had expected that, in deference to him, the Board would take no action; and here, a corps of teachers was on hand, entirely different from any of which he had ever dreamed. He was not only astonished, but indignant.

Within about two weeks after this result, "the First Professor" elect declined the position offered to him, for a reason that he had not anticipated even when he was chagrined as to the personnel of the Faculty of the new College.

At Dr. Passavant's advice, I attended the meeting of the General Council at Chicago in 1869. Mr. Feitshans was so efficient that the care of Thiel Hall was left in his hands with entire security. On the way I spent a day at Fort Wayne, Ind., where Rev. S. Wagenhals met me at the train.<sup>4</sup> The morning was devoted to Concordia College. I was present in the class-rooms of Prof. Schick in Latin and Prof. Saxe in Greek, when the classes recited, dined with Prof. Schick, met Profs. Lange and Achenbach, visited the churches, and joined the Pennsylvania Synod delegates, some of whom brought their wives with them, late that evening at the depot.<sup>5</sup>

It was my first visit to Chicago, then a very muddy city, with board walks on side-walks, and with the grade frequently changing, so that flights of steps up and down varied the even tread. My first night was at the Sherman House. Rev. Mr. Drees of the New York Ministerium, Dr. Belfour, Dr. Spaeth, Rev. J.L. Stirewalt of Ind., Revs. S. Wagenhals and C. Albrecht were in the party. At Sherman House we went into the elevator, greatly to the alarm of Mr. Drees. When it began to ascend, he wanted to jump out, and asked where we were going. "Himmel-warts," said Dr. Spaeth. The next morning at breakfast, in great vexation at the delay in filling his order, he paced the dining-room up and down, and finally lit a segar. This brought prompt action on the part of the Head Waiter; but, as, by the time the parley was over, the breakfast was ready, Mr. D. was satisfied. When it is remembered that Mr. D. was pastor of a Brooklyn congregation, the incident gives some idea of the impractical sort of men who wanted to dictate the policy of the General Council.<sup>6</sup>

I roomed with Rev. J.L. Stirewalt, then Home Missionary Superintendent, suffering from consumption in an advanced stage, and racked with a terrible cough which kept me awake nearly all night, and distressed him, because of the inconvenience he felt that I was suffering.<sup>7</sup> The rain poured in

sheets all the next day. Through it all, we found our way to the very large and handsome church of Pastor Carlson, just recently built.<sup>8</sup> Some misunderstanding had occurred with reference to the opening sermon. Dr. Krauth was prevailed upon to preach, and did so with much power. When the time for election of officers came, Dr. Krauth, as a member of the Pennsylvania delegation, announced that he objected to the reelection of the President from his own Synod ( Dr. C.W.Schaeffer), as he believed in rotation of office, and nominated Dr. Krotel of the New York Ministerium. I again made notes and reported the theological discussion, and aided the reporters of the "Times" and "Tribune". At the request of the reporter of the "Times", I prepared a sketch of the leading men of the Council. Dr. Krauth found out what I was after, and writing a paragraph on me, handed it to the reporter; so that I was both mortified and surprised the next morning to find my name at the head of the list, introducing the article I had written. It afterwards appeared unaltered, in "The Lutheran."<sup>9</sup>

There was the customary skirmish on "The Four Points." My former school-mate, Rev. J.H.Sieker of St. Paul, Minn., afterwards of New York, seemed to be the leading spokesman of the strict constructionists. One night I came accidentally upon a conference of leaders of both sides in the parlor of Dr. Passavant's Chicago Hospital. It was thought an agreement might be reached in such private meeting, where no reporters could intrude; but in vain.

The chief item of business was the proposal of Dr. Passavant that the General Council should establish a Theological Seminary at Chicago. The plan was that the Swedes should move their seminary, then at Paxton, Ill.; and the Iowa Synod, theirs, then at Strawberry Point, Ia.; and the Hauge Synod, unite theirs; and the Norwegian Augustana Synod also join in the movement.<sup>10</sup> An English Professorship would also be provided. In this German-Swedish-Norwegian-English Seminary, the two Fritschels and Hasselquist,<sup>11</sup> with others would be Professors. Dr. Passavant offered to furnish the ground. He gradually bore down all opposition before him. The representatives of the different Western seminaries gave assurances of their cooperation. Dr. Krauth spoke eloquently for the East. The Council became an enthusiastic unit, and passed the resolutions presented with great ardor and interest. Mr. Norton (founder of the "Norton Professorship") exclaimed, "We must give this news to the Associated Press at once; and have it read all over the country tomorrow." Then Dr. Passavant told me that he had fixed on me as the English Professor. It was a complete surprise, and I had no ambition to see it realized. I mentioned objections. When he asked: "Who can be had, if not you?", I answered; "Mr. Spaeth would be a capital Professor". He replied: "Mr. S. is a German; and could not become an English Professor of Theology." But even the most ardent advocate of the Chicago Seminary could not expect that it should begin for some years.<sup>12</sup>

During the sessions of the Council, on Sunday evening, I preached for Rev. D. Swing, to become famous some years later for a Presbyterian heresy trial in which Dr. Patton, now of Princeton, came into prominence as prosecutor.<sup>13</sup> I was ignorant

of the man, or would not have relieved him of a service, which he himself did not attend, but sent a courteous note saying he would avail himself of my presence to take a rest.

## Chapter Eighteen - The Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Franklin Professorship at Gettysburg

One afternoon within a short time of the close of the term ending June 1869, I was called from the supper table to the door, to receive a telegram from Dr. Passavant, then attending a meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, to this effect: "You have just been nominated to Franklin Professorship over Prof. Martin, of Wisconsin. Telegraph me at once." It was the first intimation which I had received that my name was being considered for one of the vacant Professorships at Gettysburg. The same growth of friendly feeling that had led the Mother Synod into the General Synod in 1853, had effected a union of its educational interests with Gettysburg a few years before. Franklin College at Lancaster had been endowed by the State of Pennsylvania with certain lands, now in Venango County, shortly after the Revolutionary War. The College was a Union institution controlled by Lutherans and Reformed jointly. Dr. Henry Ernst Muhlenberg was its first President. The plan, however, was scarcely successful at any period. It was a college in nothing more than name. For ten years or more, Prof. F.A. Muhlenberg, grandson of Henry Ernst, had been its chief teacher. By the intervention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, acting on the suggestion of friends of Gettysburg, the Lutheran interest was sold out to the Reformed for \$17,500,\* and the Reformed College at Mercersburg was transferred to Lancaster, the institution henceforth being known as Franklin and Marshall. With the purchase money, an endowment was provided for "The Franklin Professorship of Ancient Languages" in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg. Of this chair, Prof. F.A. Muhlenberg became the first incumbent in 1850, and moved from Lancaster to Gettysburg.<sup>2</sup> In 1867, upon his assumption of the Presidency of Muhlenberg College, a vacancy occurred which had not yet been filled. The Ministerium, which was guaranteed the right to nominate, first nominated the Rev. Reuben Hill. His nomination had been rejected.<sup>3</sup> The prospects were not very bright for the election of any man nominated by the Ministerium, unless for courtesy's sake a General Synod man were nominated. Efforts were made from Gettysburg to induce prominent members of the Ministerium to favor the nomination of a man known to be acceptable before hand.

But at last the Ministerium, by a very large majority, put up my name. My competitor for the nomination was promptly nominated for the German Professorship - whose endowment was in the hands of the Treasurer of the Ministerium. The project seems to have sprung from the generous impulse of my present colleague, Rev. Dr. J. Fry, who presented my name.

Dr. Passavant's telegram evidently advised and invited an absolute declination. He thought that I could not consent to return to Gettysburg. If I had had only myself to consult in the matter, such would have been my decision. But I was not free. My father was helpless. My mother was just recovering from a severe attack of illness, brought on largely by over-exertion and worry. All this time, I was visiting home more frequently than would have been possible, except for what was only a temporary arrangement, Mr. Black's passes. I replied therefore: "Am not ready to decide." I did not expect to be elected; but thought

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\* The amount was \$17,169.61.

that the question as to my future ought to be left entirely in the hands of Providence.

When the Board at Gettysburg met, I was at home, our school having already closed for the year, and of course met a number of the directors, before they convened for action on the nominations. I asked no one for his vote. I was in a state of entire passivity, with mind made up to accept the result whatever it would be as an indication of duty. The branches connected with the Professorship had been changed. It was no longer a "Professorship of Ancient Languages." A new chair had been created, "The Pearson Professorship of the Greek Language", and Rev. H.L. Baugher, Jr., elected to it, thus filling the vacancy made by the resignation of Prof. Muhlenberg. The program was to shelve the Franklin Professorship by giving it the title of "Professorship of Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern History." I felt myself competent to organize this new department, in case I was elected; for my tastes have always been largely historical.

The result was as I had thought most probable. Prof. Martin, whom no one knew, was elected Professor of German. I, whom they all knew, was rejected. I was by no means crushed, but on the contrary, much relieved. My father felt the blow heavily, as though it were personal; and did not hesitate to so express himself. My granduncle Gen. Middlecoff, former Secretary of the Pennsylvania Senate, was greatly disturbed. He had been moving among his old friends in the Board, had urged my election like an old campaigner, and now, Presbyterian as he was, could not understand "why they should reject Henry." I met the directors individually in a friendly way, told them I was not disappointed, and that they had only decided my duty for me. Nevertheless, I thought it due myself, to visit Dr. Valentine, and ask him for the reasons that determined the action. His answer was that there was no question as to my qualifications, or my efficiency as a teacher, that my religious and theological convictions had nothing to do with the result, but that the nomination was rejected on the sole ground that my course had offended those upon whom the College relied for support and patronage. Our conversation then drifted to general subjects connected with the College and the Church, I spent a full hour with him, and we parted good friends. (Unfortunately and greatly to my mortification, my sister and mother regarded the action as a personal matter and a declaration of open war.) Neither of us expected the question to be reopened a year later. I spent the summer at Gettysburg, preached in the College Church, elaborated my second paper on "The Sunday Question" and made a special study of the "Examen" of Chemnitz.

## Chapter Nineteen - Ten Days in Philadelphia

Before I was again brought face to face with another possible call to return to Gettysburg, I had to decide in reference to another important matter. On his return from the General Council at Chicago, Dr. Seiss spent a day at Phillipsburg, and made a new suggestion concerning my future. He expressed the opinion that I could be used with greater profit to the Church in Philadelphia than at Thiel Hall, and that arrangements could be made that I could be as much with my father if such change were made. The conversation led to a correspondence. He told me of his plans concerning St. John's. A very radical forward movement was in contemplation. He was not yet clear, as to whether a new congregation should be formed, or the entire congregation be transplanted to Broad and Arch Streets, or its vicinity. In either case, another man was needed. He wanted me for the present as his assistant, both in preaching, and in editing "The Lutheran". In order to effect his plan, by the fall of 1870, he invited me to spend Holy Week of that year with him.

It was with much trepidation that on the Saturday evening before Palm Sunday, I rang the bell at 1338 Spring Garden Street, whither Dr. Seiss had recently moved. The entire situation was strange to me. Of Dr. Seiss I stood in mysterious awe. The city of Philadelphia, I knew very slightly. Of our Lutheran people, I knew few, and had never been within St. John's Church. The arrangement was that I was to preach the sermon the next morning. Dr. Seiss was to confirm a class of catechumens. After supper we walked to the Church, which the ladies were decorating for Palm Sunday, and estimated the height of platform needed to raise me above the pulpit desk. We called on Dr. C.F.Schaeffer on our way back.

Palm Sunday was bright and warm, an ideal Spring day. The sun wakened me early, and I pored over my sermon for nearly two hours, so that I could have preached without notes, if it had been desirable. The people of St. John's, in those days, were as much offended by the absence of notes - which seemed to indicate a reflection upon their intelligence - as country people were prejudiced by their presence. The audience and service were very inspiring. As I rose in that pulpit, high above the people, and looked down into the spacious auditorium, it seemed as though almost every seat in that large Church was full. The gallery also had a considerable number of people. I recognized Mr. Samuel Weaver of Gettysburg, with his son, my college classmate, now Prof. R.B.Weaver, M.D. In the audience was Gen. Haupt, whom I remembered from childhood, and the family of the recently departed Dr. David Gilbert, formerly of Gettysburg, and for many years our family physician, the Mayor of Philadelphia, Hon. D.M. Fox, and many of them strangers whom I afterwards learned to know well. I often think of that scene, and contrast it with the small audiences to which we have become accustomed in that large church. In the evening Dr. Seiss preached on: "Oh that I knew where I might find him," and I read the service. The audience was very small. I preached again in the lecture-room for two or three evenings. Dr. Seiss preached on Thursday night in the church, and I, on Good Friday morning, in connection with the administration of the communion. On Easter, I preached in the morning, and Dr. Seiss, to a large audience, composed in part

of members of our other Lutheran churches, in the afternoon. In the evening, St. John's was closed, but, at Dr. Kunkleman's request, I preached again at St. Mark's.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Seiss could not have been more cordial.<sup>3</sup> He gave his time freely to my entertainment, not only in his study, but outside of it. One afternoon we spent in the Park. He was very communicative concerning his past life and experience, his literary work, his mode of study and sermonizing, his opinions of men and things, the controversy raging in the Church and plans for the General Council. He was just a little past the middle of his ministerial life of 64 years. His struggles in early life had told upon him, and he looked as though he were considerably more than fifty, altho' only forty-seven, being very bald, and what hair remained almost as white as at his death. But in the pulpit, no more dignified or impressive personality ever rose before an audience; and when he let himself out, the effect was fairly startling. His sermons were most thoroughly elaborated. His English was remarkable for its strength and purity, altho' lacking somewhat in flexibility. His weakness lay in his frequent use of old sermons, not fitting time and place in which he was preaching. A sermon on which he spent many days preparation, was apt to be often repeated. I once recognized a sermon I knew him to have used forty years before - both times before the same Synod, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. While preparing a master-piece, he fell back upon past accumulations for ordinary occasions. He had cases of drawers, labeled with names of the different books of the Bible, containing his sermons, thoroughly arranged, for convenient use. He was the greatest preacher our Church in America had produced, and was conscious of the responsibility his reputation had imposed upon him. Twelve years before, he had come to St. John's from the Lombard Street Church, Baltimore. For some years, he drew crowded houses. Among others who occasionally attended his afternoon services was Phillips Brooks, who, while Rector of the Church of the Advocate, lived at Seventh and Race, on Franklin Square. I do not think it was the startling or strange character of his Millennial sermons that made his preaching popular so much as that they were largely expository Biblical courses, exhibiting much careful preparation, in a clear, strong, dignified, forceful and lively style. They were probably thorough re-elaborations of discourses first preached in Baltimore.

I had heard Dr. Seiss at Gettysburg, first, in 1852. Afterwards his brother, Jeremiah, a class-mate of mine in the Preparatory Department, was very ill with typhoid fever; and Dr. Seiss was with him for a week or more, preaching again at the College Church. I had trembled, as a child, over some of the things I had heard repeated from some of his books. He was a rather rare visitor at Gettysburg. But he had near relatives at Littlestown, and occasionally stopped in going or coming. When the English Professorship in Pennsylvania College was founded, he was urged to allow his name to be used for it, with the assurance of an election.

When the break at York occurred in 1864, Dr. Seiss was in Europe. He belonged then to the East Pennsylvania Synod, of which

he was the President, and was active in "The Board of Publication", now at 1424 Arch Street. The General Synod leaders long hoped that he would remain with them when the lines were drawn. But he had thrown himself into the contest with all his force, and had left the East Pennsylvania Synod, carrying St. John's Church with him, as, a few years before, he had induced it to leave the New York Ministerium where it had always before belonged.

During the week I had too many social engagements, considering the number of times I preached, and the season of the Church Year. I took a meal with Mr. William Heyl, long the Superintendent of the Sunday-school, and with Reuben B. Miller (father of E. Augustus), and with Gen. Herman Haupt (at whose house many questions were asked about Gettysburg) and at Daniel M. Grim's and William J. Miller's (whom I met for the first time). Mr. Grim was the brother-in-law of Mrs. Passavant and Mrs. Downing, and Mr. Miller (brother of Reuben B. Miller) Mr. Grim's son-in-law.

One day Dr. Krauth called to see me and invite Dr. S. and me to spend Saturday evening at his home in West Philadelphia. He had scarcely entered, when, taking off his coat, he said: "Brethren, you must excuse me. I have sustained a compound fracture of the suspenders," and proceeded to repair them. He lived, I think, on Spruce Street (it was before he moved to 4004 Pine), and Miss Harriet (now Mrs. Spaeth) was his housekeeper. The books were crowding out all the room in the house. Book-cases lined even the hall-way, and that to such an extent that, when we put on our overcoats, we had scarcely room. Among other topics of conversation, I remember Dr. Passavant was discussed. Dr. Krauth declared, and Dr. Seiss assented, that Dr. P's pulpit gifts were of such extraordinary character, that if he had cultivated them, he would have had no superior in any Church in America. His lack of concentration and dislike of study were deplored. Dr. Seiss had expressed to me while in Fairmount Park another ground of criticism of Dr. Passavant, viz. that much of his work was of a purely humanitarian character, and not for or through the Church, and that we had constantly to be careful lest the Church be made responsible for his own individual enterprises!

Leaving Philadelphia on Easter Monday, I went home where I spent another week. I preached in the College Church on Ps. 126:3: "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." Was it prophecy, that although I had been rejected, they might expect me to return? I certainly had not so intended (for it was originally a Harvest Home sermon, which was afterwards adapted to the occasion, when I preached the opening sermon to the Pittsburgh Synod). But whether so intended or not, it was to become true very soon.

Shortly after my return to Phillipsburg, Dr. Seiss made me a proposition to move to Philadelphia, as his personal assistant, offering me a home and board, and the expectation that the rest would take shape as the work advanced. Dr. Passavant most urgently objected. My first interview with him was for a few moments on the night of his Silver Wedding. Later, he came down to Phillipsburg, and talked the matter over. He predicted for me

a most ignominious failure in Philadelphia. No one could stand alongside of Dr. Seiss there. Dr. Krauth, he said, had confessed to him his helplessness, and his sensitiveness at the indifference of people to his services when Dr. Seiss was at hand. This made no impression on me whatever. If I felt it my duty otherwise to go, I would not be scared away by being regarded - what I knew I was - second to Dr. Seiss. Dr. Passavant had simply put me upon my mettle. And so I wrote Dr. Seiss I would accept, and begin work for him in the Fall. But opposition came from an unexpected quarter. As soon as I announced my purpose at home, my brother, Will, wrote me a long letter, stating that he thought himself breaking down with the constant care and anxiety of my father, and that he could not endure it alone any longer. I must come home. My father scarcely slept at night over a half hour at a time. His suffering was great, until turned, and his limbs adjusted. In accepting Dr. Seiss' offer, I had been actuated largely by the opportunity of reaching home more conveniently. I felt the way was closed, and, with much regret, wrote Dr. Seiss of my difficulty, and asked to be relieved. He kindly assented, engaging me, meanwhile, for appointments early in the summer, after my return to Gettysburg.

What was I to do? I would be no more at liberty to return to Phillipsburg than to go to Philadelphia. I could only patiently wait. When elected "First Professor" of Thiel College, I simply held the call under consideration, uncertain as to whether I could hope for any improvement at home that would allow me to accept.

## Chapter Twenty - Elected at Gettysburg

The way opened very soon. I was not to organize Thiel College, or to go to Philadelphia, but to become for thirteen years Professor in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg. The Board that had rejected my nomination in 1869, with great cordiality elected me in 1870.

What had brought the change? Both parties, viz. the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Board of Trustees of Pennsylvania College, were growing very weary of the contest. Both were seeking some basis of agreement by which their connection with each other might cease. But the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had thought the very best terms possible on their side, was to divide the Professorships, surrender the Franklin Professorship to Pennsylvania College and transferring the German Professorship to Muhlenberg. To this the Gettysburg Board would not agree. They offered only a part of the funds of one of the Professorships ( my impression is \$5,000.) to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in consideration of the surrender of the right to nominate both Professors. Each party, in order to secure its end, had to be careful with every legal requirement. The legal adviser of the Ministerium (Charles E. Lex, Esq., a prominent Philadelphia attorney) had given "an opinion" that the Ministerium was under no obligation, unless sufficient reason be given by the Board for its rejection of a candidate whom the Ministerium had nominated. The mere statement of a failure to elect was declared to be insufficient. The Board must agree as to the statement for its non-concurrence. Upon the basis of this "opinion", the Ministerium resolved to present my name again, and to challenge the Board to specify the reasons.

Of this procedure , I was entirely ignorant until after it had occurred. I had no intimation or thought that such action was being discussed.

The Minutes of the Ministerium for 1870 give the official record. The President ( Dr. C.W.Schaeffer) in his Report says:

"The nominations made at the last Synod for the two vacant Professorships in Pennsylvania College were regularly and promptly submitted to the Board of Trustees of that institution. We have been officially informed by the Secretary of the Board, that 'the German Professor was unanimously elected, the Franklin Professor was not elected.

"Of course it can afford us but little satisfaction to see our honest and intelligent efforts for keeping two chairs at Pennsylvania College always filled by able men and competent teachers, so often thwarted. We anticipated, and that justly, that the gentleman whom we nominated for the Franklin Professorship, by his personal character, by his social standing, by his attainments as a sound scholar, by his large experience as an educator, would add lustre to their institution. But our hopes have failed, and they have rejected him.

It can really be of no credit to this Synod to carry on this partnership any further, under existing circumstances, and I am happy to state that, on both sides, there seems to be a growing desire to alter relations. Yet this should be sought and effected only in an equitable way."

The President then refers to the presence of a Committee from the College Board ready to negotiate with the Ministerium. Unless my memory is at fault, Drs. Brown and Sadtler were the Committee. A Committee was appointed by the Ministerium, of which Dr. B.M.Schmucker was Chairman, to confer with them. The result is stated in a report made at a later session:

"Rev. B.M.Schmucker presented the following report which was unanimously adopted:

'The Committee appointed to confer with the representatives of the Trustees of Pennsylvania College, with reference to the relation of this body to the two Professorships in said College, would respectfully report that they have not been able to come to any agreement which your Committee is prepared to recommend to Synod for adoption.

We would, therefore, recommend to the Synod the following action:

1. That the Board of Trustees of Pennsylvania College have, in the judgment of the Synod, exceeded their just and lawful powers, in the rejection, without assigning any reasonable cause, of the nominee of this Synod, to the Franklin Professorship.
2. That the Synod declines to withdraw, and hereby reaffirms the nomination to the Board of Trustees, of Pennsylvania College, of Rev. Henry E. Jacobs as incumbent of the Franklin Professorship.
3. That the Officers of this Synod have full authority, in the interim until the next meeting of Synod, in the name of the Synod to make an amicable agreement with the Trustees of Pennsylvania College, or to secure, by any legal or legislative action, which they may deem proper, the rights of this Synod in the matter of the Professorship of the German Language and Literature, and the Franklin Professorship in Pennsylvania College."

When Dr. Laird who had been at the meeting at Pottsville, where this action was taken, called on me at Phillipsburg, and told me of it, it awakened no expectation of any other result than that of the preceeding year. The leaders of the Ministerium probably thought precisely as I did, and were ready for a legal or legislative battle, as the third resolution shows, in case their expectations were realized.

As my vacation had begun, I was again at Gettysburg before the Board met. On Monday (I think) of that week, Dr. B. Sadtler, then of Lutherville, Md., called on me at my father's house.

Dr. Sadtler was at that time a member of the Maryland Synod, and one of the most efficient members of the College Board. His Church sympathies were well known to be largely with the General Council. He had been pastor of St. John's, Easton, and was after this to become the Second President of Muhlenberg College. He was a peace-maker, and had no rest until, years after, as a member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, he succeeded in bringing about an amicable separation, upon terms, that gave Gettysburg everything, and the Ministerium nothing, after the Ministerium had by a bad investment lost a portion of the endowment. Dr. Sadtler asked me for some assurance that, in case I were elected, I would confine myself to work as a literary Professor, and refrain from obtruding my theological position upon the students. My answer was that no such assurance could be given. I was not seeking the Professorship. I was first of all a minister of the Gospel, and I could accept a Professorship only as a part of such ministry, and not as a merely literary association. At the same time, my record as an instructor in the College for over three years, ought to be sufficient guarantee of my sense of propriety and gentlemanly bearing. If my nomination were confirmed upon such a record, the probabilities were that I would accept; but I could make no promises in order to secure an election. Again, I thought that the matter was all over.

When one evening, just as the shades were falling, I was told that David A. Buehler, Esq., and Drs. Valentine and Baum, were in the parlor, and asked for me, I expected another parley, and went in determined to concede nothing more than to Dr. Sadtler. Instead they announced themselves a committee to communicate the fact that I had been elected, and to urge my acceptance. They stated also that the Professor of Natural Sciences had resigned, and that it was the wish of the Board that I temporarily take that chair. Samuel P. Sadtler, then studying in Goettingen, had been elected to succeed Prof. Conrad;<sup>2</sup> but it would be a year until he would return to America. I expressed my appreciation of the confidence of the Board, but at the same time my surprise that I was thought competent to at once take charge of a department for which I was without any special training or preparation. They assured me that it would be satisfactory if I adhered closely to the text-book. The Department of History had not yet been organized, and could wait until Prof. Sadtler would relieve me of the Natural Sciences. The Professor who had resigned had been a great failure; and I was confident that I could improve on his teaching, particularly with my father at hand to advise me. So I told them that, if I accepted, I would do everything in my power to relieve the College of all embarrassment, even to the point of undertaking to teach Chemistry and Geology and Physics.

There were warm congratulations on all sides. I had a long talk with my old teacher, Dr. Stoeber, the evening before he left Gettysburg on a vacation trip, from which he never returned. He was much gratified, and let me into some of the secret history of the conflict. It seems that the painful conversation I had had with Dr. Baugher, Sr. had been used against me at the first election. He rejoiced that he had been able to clear away that objection. My acceptance was sent in within a week. It was

followed very shortly by the announcement of Dr. Stoever's death.<sup>3</sup> The Board reconstructed my chair, making it: "The Franklin Professorship of Latin and History", imposing on me all of Dr. Stoever's duties, and then adding, with extra compensation, Chemistry and Geology. They certainly paid a compliment to my versatility.

Meanwhile I paid a visit or two to Pittsburgh and Phillipsburg, to attend a meeting of the Board of Thiel College,<sup>4</sup> and to pack up my effects. My interests at Phillipsburg were not all removed when my books were shipped, however. (There was a young lady there of whom I shall speak hereafter.)

Dr. Passavant was much troubled by my removal. But he realized that there was a Providence in it. I could scarcely have done otherwise than have resigned and gone home to care for my father, if the Board of the College had not elected me.

Several visits were also paid to Philadelphia that summer, in order to fulfil promises previously made Dr. Seiss. These visits were utilized to visit book-stores and to gather some material for the new work before me.

A - Biographical Sources

Throughout the notes, reference will be made continually to the sources for further biographical material concerning the men who are mentioned. A word of caution is necessary in the use of these sources. A clergyman's life is rarely described in a cool, careful manner. The layman who writes of his pastor loses sight of the man; the clergyman is influenced by his own theological views to sympathy or opprobrium.

The most outstanding leaders of our church are described in articles in the Dictionary of American Biography. A bibliography of their writings, and of the sources for their lives is included. The number of men so included are few; Dr. Jacobs himself was living at the time the volume was closed.

When referred to the Evangelical Review, the reader may expect to find the fullest descriptions we have. Dr. M.L. Stoever wrote a series of articles entitled, Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers, and through them earned the title, "the Plutarch of the Lutheran Church". As was the custom of his day, Dr. Stoever moralized, and drifted into quotations from Latin authors, yet was able to catch the character of his subjects. There were sporadic attempts to carry on this work after Dr. Stoever's death, but they failed. The lives of the great of the last century are preserved far better through Dr. Stoever than the names of the men of Dr. Jacobs' generation.

Sprague's Annals are interesting to read, but cannot be trusted. They are descriptions furnished by friends from recollections. Of the same character is Jenssen's American Lutheran Biographies, a wholly untrustworthy book, where articles have been transcribed from other sources without any recognition of their origin. The reminiscences of Dr. Morris (J.G.M.) furnish the reactions of a contemporary who was a clergyman above average, yet an accurate observer who spread himself quite thin.

The lives of Drs. Passavant, Krauth, and Spaeth have been recorded, and bring much light on other men who were contemporaries. Yet of these, only the biography of Dr. Krauth rises to the name of a source, for the others are products of admirers whose devotion shows throughout.

The alumni records of the institutions at Gettysburg, Muhlenberg College, and the Philadelphia Seminary provide factual material about the men. Dr. Wentz' History of the Gettysburg Seminary is the best of these. It provides a fine discussion of the development of theological education in the Lutheran Church. The faculty members receive extensive sketches, as they do in Dr. Reed's like effort for Philadelphia. The old Pennsylvania College Book is much more valuable for our purpose than the later Alumni Record, for it details the times Dr. Jacobs describes.

Necrological reports in synod minutes are today a very important source, usually the only one for tracing clergymen. Until very recently, these reports were merely notices except in the reports of some synods.

To make possible the tracing of men by the reader, the exact date of death is given in the Notes. It is then easy to leaf through the church papers for notice of death and obituary, or find the same in synodical minutes.

### B - Abbreviations

- A.S. - The Life of Adolph Spaeth D.D., K.L.D., Phila. 1916 by Mrs. Harriet Reynolds Spaeth.
- All. - History of the Alleghany Ev. Luth. Synod of Pa. ed. by W.H.B. Carney (Phila. 1917).
- B.Pb. - Memorial History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the Ev. Luth. Church by E.B. Burgess (Greenville, Pa., 1925).
- Berks - Lutherans in Berks County by H.S. Kidd (Reading, Pa., 1923).
- C.C. - Concordia Cyclopedia, edited by Feurbringer, Engelder, Kretzmann (St. Louis, 1927).
- C.P.K. - Charles Porterfield Krauth by A. Spaeth (Phila. 1904-1909) two volumes.
- Dict. of Am. Bio. - Dictionary of American Biography ed. by Allen Johnson, under auspices of American Council of Learned Societies; 20 volumes. (Scribners, New York; 1928-1937).
- Dis. Syn. of O. - History of the Ev. Luth. District Synod of Ohio by G.W. Mechling (Dayton, O., 1911).
- E. Pa. - History of the Ev. Luth. Synod of East Pennsylvania by (Phila. 1892).
- G. - The Alumni Record of Gettysburg College by Stover and Beacham (Gettysburg, Pa., 1932).
- G.Pb. - History of the First Ev. Lutheran Church of Pittsburgh by G.J. Gongaware (Phila., 1909).
- J. - American Lutheran Biographies by J.C. Jenssen (Milwaukee, 1890).
- J.G.M. - Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry by J.G. Morris (Baltimore, 1878).
- J.W.E. - Lutheran Ministers of Berks County by J.W. Early (Reading, 1902).
- Jacobs - History of the Ev. Lutheran Church in the United States by H.E. Jacobs (New York, 1893).
- L.C. - The Lutheran Cyclopedia edited by H.E. Jacobs and J.A.W. Haas (New York, 1899).
- N.C. - History of the Ev. Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina by Bernheim and Cox (Phila., 1902).
- Neve - Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America by J.L. Neve (3rd edition edited by W.D. Allbeck, translated by J. Stump; Burlington, Ia., 1934).
- Nicum - Geschichte des New York Ministeriums by J. Nicum (Reading, 1888).
- O.G.C. - Documentary History of the General Council by S.E. Ochsenford (Philadelphia, 1912).
- O.M. - Muhlenberg College by S.E. Ochsenford (Allentown, Pa., 1892).
- P.C. - Pennsylvania College Book, edited by E.S. Breidenbaugh (Philadelphia, 1882).
- R. - The Philadelphia Seminary Biographical Record, edited by Luther D. Reed (Philadelphia, 1923).
- S.C. - History of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of South Carolina (Columbia, S.C., 1924).

- S.C.Pb. - History of the Southern Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod by W.F.Ulery (Greensburg, Pa., 1902).
- S.G.H. - History of Gettysburg College by S.G.Hefelbower (Gettysburg, Pa., 1932).
- Schierenbeck - Lebens-Beschreibungen ... by Johann H.C.Schierenbeck ( Selinsgrove, Pa., 1863).
- Sprague - Annals of American Preachers, Vol. IX, edited by W. B. Sprague (New York, 1869).
- Sus. - The Susquehanna Synod of the Ev. Lutheran Church in the U.S. by F.R.Manhart ( 1917).
- W. - History of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary by A. R. Wentz (Philadelphia, 1926).
- W.A.P. - Life and Labors of William A. Passavant D.D. by G.H. Gerberding (Greenville, Pa., 1906).
- W.Md. - Centennial History of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Maryland... by A.R.Wentz (Harrisburg, Pa., 1920).
- W. Pa. - History of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania edited by A. Stump and H. Anstadt (Chambersburg, Pa., 1925).
- Wentz - The Lutheran Church in American History by A.R.Wentz (Philadelphia, 1923).

#### Magazines

- E.R. - The Evangelical Review ( July 1849-Oct. 1870)
- L.C.R. - The Lutheran Church Review ( 1882-1927)
- L.C.Q. - The Lutheran Church Quarterly (1928 -
- L.O. - The Lutheran Observer ( -1915)
- L.Q.R. - The Lutheran Quarterly Review (1871-1927)

## Chapter One - Notes and Studies

- Page 2
- 1 Among the papers found after Dr. Jacobs' death were three charming little descriptions of his early life. The first of these, on a typical Eastern Pennsylvania town, has been brought into the narrative at this point. Most of these towns copied the lay-out of Philadelphia.
- 3 2 "Kildee" is an old spelling for kildeer, preserving the sound of the cry of the bird.
- 5 3 The diary of this trip to Pittsburgh is extant, though the minute handwriting of Michael Jacobs, weathered and smeared by rain during the trip, is illegible in places. The transcription of the entire journal might cause some boredom to the unscientific reader:  
 i.e. "left G. at 6 1/2 o'clock - Slate to 1 1/2ck - greenstone & syenite passing under the slate, the latter became red & more sandy, often quartzose conglomerate especially on eastern border to 19 ms.. Limestone thence to Y. the red shale diverging off to left ( in sight) - at 25 to 28 miles from G. trap or greenstone dykes. Arrived at York at 12ck. cold and partially clouded. Found Gerardia Purpurea-- Found Bidens Chrysanthemoides..."

Though his destination was Pittsburgh, this trip was more of a lark than that. They went to New York, up the Hudson, and across the Mohawk Valley to Rochester and Niagara Falls. From Erie they set out on the last lap of their journey. -

"...Commenced to rain at 8 Pck. but rained at intervals till about 10 Pck. when there began storm & rain - travelling became very unpleasant - our baggage became wet - ladies, in order that stages might be changed, were obliged to get out in the middle of the road amidst rain & mud.

Saturday Oct. 3rd. Still on our unpleasant ride - at day break, the driver either carelessly or maliciously drove so near the edge of the road as to overturn the stage - 7 of us more or less hurt, but especially Miss Besbit & the sister-in-law of the stage proprietor - stage partly broken. We might easily have been killed - but a step between us and death - truly in the midst of life we r. in death, we had not feared any such accident - but our God preserved us - After considerable delay & labor we again got under way - At Meadville I complained to Mr. Bennett agent & wrote to Mr. Clark at Erie - but I fear no improvement will be made until a prosecution shall be instituted against the proprietors - the driver who overturned us I suppose to be intoxicated - and taking all together, they r. a vulgar profane & reckless set from Erie to Pittsburgh - hope I may not need to travel that was again - Miss N. seemed to be in great pain all the way -... On Saturday night within a few miles of Butler the straps of ----- were cut & the baggage nearly robbed. Much detained so that we did not reach Pittsburgh until 8 1/4 Ack. on Sunday..."

- Page 6      4      See Chapter Five, note 1.
- 8            5      This school was called Oak Ridge Seminary. General Herman Haupt ( 1817-1905) was a graduate of West Point, and won fame as a railway engineer. While employed by the State in railway construction, he lived at Gettysburg and taught Mathematics at the College. He and his brother and fellow teacher, Lewis, married daughters of the Rev. Benjamin Keller, pastor of St. James' church in town. (See Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 6            Mrs. Eyster was the sister of Dr. William M. Reynolds ( see p. 28, note 4). Before her marriage she had conducted a school in Allentown, Pa. Her husband was the Rev. David Eyster (1802-1861) pastor in Philadelphia, Shepherdstown, W.V., Dansville, N.Y., and Johnstown, Pa. Mrs. Eyster's description of her husband can be found in the Memorial Volume of the Hartwick Lutheran Synod (Philadelphia, 1881; p. 123 ff.). Mrs. Eyster was Dr. Jacobs' great aunt by marriage.
- 10          7      The Parent Education Society was the "ministerial aid" society of the General Synod, founded to "educate indigent pious young men for the Gospel ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church". (See Minutes of the G.S. for 1835, p. 46.)
- 8            The Lutheran Publication Society was a group of individuals whose interest in encouraging an American Lutheran literature and the translations of German Lutheran works caused them to band together and pool their resources. The Society established a book-store in Philadelphia as a depository and sales-room for Lutheran literature, and met annually at the Synod meeting, though it remained outside of the synodical organization. (See Minutes of the G.S. for 1862, p. 100 ff.; 1864, p. 93-97; 1866, p. 100-105.)
- 9            The Rev. Benjamin Keller (1794-July 2, 1864). (See M.L.S. in E.R. for October, 1865, p. 470 ff.; J.G.M., p. 155 ff.)  
 Father Keller was a true Church father. Dr. C.W. Schaeffer was his step-son. Dr. A.J.D.Haupt ( see p.      ), and Dr. C. Elwin Haupt ( see p.      ) were his grandsons. Prof. L.M.Haupt of the University of Pennsylvania ( see p.      ), Mr. L.L.Haupt ( see p.      ) and Mr. Norton have shown their devotion as leading Lutheran laymen.
- 10          The hymn-book mentioned was the official General Synod hymnal published in 1832 by Lucas and Deaver, Baltimore. It was the result of the joint labors of a committee consisting of the Revs. S.S.Schmucker, Charles P.Krauth, Sr., G. Shober, J.G.Morris, and Benjamin Keller. It was a revision of the rationalistic New York Synod hymnal prepared by Dr. Quitman; and it provided the apparatus necessary to use both hymnals in the same congregation.

- Page 12 11 The Rev. Michael Jacobs, D.D. (1808-July 22, 1871) was graduated from Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa., and taught in the academy in Bel Air, Md., for a year before he joined his brother David in the newly formed Gettysburg Gymnasium. He was Professor of Mathematics and Natural Sciences till his retirement in 1867. Prof. Jacobs married Julianna Matilda Eyster on May 3, 1833. There were four children:  
 Henry Eyster (Nov. 10, 1844 - July , 1932),  
 Mary Julia (1846- ), Mrs. John Harpster,  
 Michael William (1850- ), sometime Judge of Dauphin County Courts, Pa.,  
 George Edward ( 1854- ).  
 Michael Jacobs' lectures, still in possession of the family, are testimonies to his gifts and scholarship. (See Dict. of Am. Bio.; H.E.J. in J.G.M., p.228 ff.; C.A.Hay in P.C., p. 158 ff.; J., p.395.)
- 14 12 From Johnson's New Universal Cyclopedia, ed. Barnard & Guyot ( New York, 1877).
- 13 From Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg by M. Jacobs (Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1864) p. 111.
- 15 14 From The Lutheran and Missionary for Aug.3, 1871.
- 16 15 "New Measures" was the term to label new techniques to effect sudden conversions, borrowed by the denominations from the Camp Meeting.
- 16 The Rev. Augustus H. Lochman D.D. (1802-Dec.29, 1891) was the son of the Rev. George Lochman, the theological preceptor of many early pastors. He succeeded his father at Harrisburg, and served as pastor of Christ church, York, Pa. from 1836 to 1880. He was in Harrisburg for ten years previous. During this whole period, he was a frequent visitor at Gettysburg, being on the boards of Seminary and College.  
 (See L.Q.R. for April 1892, p. 180-198; W. Pa. p. 633-635; J. p. 475.)

## Chapter Two - Notes and Studies

Page 19

- 1 Jacobs' church is still there surrounded by its picturesque old graveyard. Its picture and history may be found in W.Md., p. 31 ff. H.B.Bell's History of the Leitersburg District (1898) contains many intimate descriptions of these ancestral haunts.
- 2 The Rev. John F. Ruthrauff (1763-1837) was a simple pastor of modest intellectual attainments, yet strong in the humbler virtues. He served a broad area throughout the Cumberland Valley in Franklin County. Some of his younger parishoners whose ambition led them to seek education elsewhere could not longer regard their former spiritual adviser with the same deference upon their return home. His type of piety did not always appeal to the young mind, but it contained the sincerity which made it appeal to those who worked the soil. Parson Ruthrauff had been taught by Pastor Goering of York. (See J.G.M., p.46.)  
Among his descendants in the ministry were his two sons, Jonathan and Frederick, the Rev. W.P.Ruthrauff, President of Wittenberg College ( see p. ), and Rev. G.A.Bierdeman.
- 3 The Rev. John Heck ( 1809-Mar. 11, 1861) was pastor from 1844 till 1857. (See Bell, p. 259, W. p. 382.)
- 4 The Rev. J.F.Campbell ( 1811- Jan. 3, 1892) was pastor from 1856 till 1866. (See W. ,p.388.)
- 20 5 Omitted from the text is the following:  
"... Here my two cousins, Rev. David Jacobs Eyler (1825-1860) and Anna Maria ( first married to a Mr. Besore, and afterward to Mr. Albert Bingham), were born and reared. The service of the former in the active ministry was very brief. Disabled by throat trouble, he became a druggist, and died in 1860, leaving three children, one of whom is the Rev. Clarence Eyler, whose ministerial service has also been of brief duration..."
- 21 6 Printed in Leitersburg, Md., 1898.
- 7 "Erbauliche// Lieder-Sammlung// zum// Gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch // in den // Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen // Gemeinen // in // Nord-Amerika // Gesamlet, eingerichtet und zum Druck be // foerdert durch die gesamten Glieder // des hiesigen // Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen // Ministeriums // Erste Auflage // German-taun // Gedrukt bey Leibert und Billmeyer, 1786."  
The first edition of this German hymn-book contained an introduction by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Further editions came out in 1795, 1803, and 1811 and were influenced somewhat by Dr. Helmuth. Dr. Muhlenberg's preference was admittedly for hymns of a pietistic bent, yet he included many fine Lutheran hymns. Many of these were exchanged in subsequent editions for poorer subjective lyrics. The original hymn-book contained enough good hymns to keep it far in advance of the General Synod hymnal of a much later date. (See A. Spaeth in L.Q.R. for Jan. 1898, p. 98.)

Page 24 8 Since Dr. Jacobs compiled this list, there have been some additions to the line:

Great-great-grandsons - Rev. Edward T. Horn, III  
 Rev. William H. Horn  
 Rev. Henry E. Horn  
 Rev. James G. Horn

Ministers' Wives

Great-great-~~great~~ grand-daughters -

Mrs. Margaret Jacobs Irvin  
 Mrs. Helen Shearer Doberstein  
 Mrs. L. Winifred Shearer Weber  
 Mrs. Ruth Horn Thompson

Great-great-great grandsons

Rev. Alexander M. Jacobs  
 Rev. William M. Horn

To clarify the ancestry, Dr. Jacobs inserted the following outline:

JACOB, HANS Sr. born Preussdorf, Alsace, 1623;  
 died Feb. 20, 1708.  
 JACOB, HANS Jr. born 1651; married Katherine Motz;  
 died 1709.  
 JACOB, HANS MARTIN born Preussdorf, Alsace, 1696;  
 married Anna Barbara Vogler, 1726.  
 JACOB, (John) MARTIN born Preussdorf, Alsace, Oct. 2,  
 1731.

He emigrated to America in 1753,  
 arriving at Philadelphia in the  
 ship Richard and Mary, Sept. 17.  
 He first settled in Carroll's Tract,  
 Frederick Co., Md., between Emmits-  
 burg and Fairfield. He removed in  
 1761 north of the Blue Ridge, where  
 he made his permanent home. His  
 first wife was Barbara Musselman,  
 and they had three sons:

George  
 Henry  
 Michael

His second wife, a widow when he  
 married her, was Anna Barbara Fehl,  
 who died in 1814. He died 1803.

JACOBS, HENRY born in Washington Township, Franklin  
 Co., Pa. Dec. 15, 1764; died there  
 Oct. 24, 1821. He married Anna Maria  
 Miller. They had eight children:  
 Susanna Barbara (Eyler)  
 Henry (1795-1863)  
 Elizabeth  
 John  
 George  
 Anna Maris ( Bell)  
 Rev. David  
 Rev. Michael

- 1 The pioneer, John Harris, settled in 1726 on the Susquehanna at a place where the river was quite shallow and easily forded, and here started his trading. About 1753, his son had found it quite profitable to operate a ferry across the river, and the little settlement became Harris' Ferry till the town of Harrisburg was laid out.
- 2 The Rev. Charles William Schaeffer D.D. (1813-Mar. 15, 1896) was pastor of Zion's church from 1840-1849. His first parishes had been Barren Hill and Whitemarsh on the outskirts of Philadelphia, and he was to leave Zion's for St. Michael's church, Germantown, Pa. (See p. ).
- 3 The Rev. Charles A. Hay D.D. ( 1821-June 30,1893) was pastor for sixteen years after Dr. Schaeffer left. He gave up this parish to become a professor in the Seminary.
- 27 4 The Conewago Chapel, near Hanover, Pa., is one of the oldest Roman Catholic parishes in this country. It was founded by Jesuit missionaries as a frontier post over two hundred and fifty years ago. The present building is almost two centuries old.
- 5 John Andrew Schultze was born in 1775 in Tulpehocken Township, Berks Co., Pa. He was the son of a Lutheran minister. His mother was the eldest daughter of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. The strain of the pastorate on his health was too much for him, and he left the pastorate after six years in favor of business, later of politics. He was the Governor for two terms ( 1824-1828). He died in Lancaster, Pa., Nov. 18,1852.  
(See Nothstein's Lutheran Makers of America, Phila. p. 221-223.)
- 31 6 : Rev. William F. Eyster D.D. (1822-June 18,1921) for some years had the distinction of being the oldest living alumnus of any college in the country.  
(See P.C.,p. 205; W. p. ; E.W.Hocker, History of Trinity Lutheran Church, Germantown, 1836-1936, p. 83-91.)
- 7 An outline of Dr. Jacobs' mother's ancestors might help:
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| JOHN JACOB EYSTER<br>came to America c.1717  | PETER MIDDLECALF came to<br>America from Palatinate<br>1728 |
| CHRISTIAN EYSTER<br>m. Margaret Smyser   | LEONARD MIDDLECOFF<br>m. Catherine Castle                   |
| ELIAS EYSTER   |   |
| GEORGE EYSTER - b. 1757,<br>Revolutionary soldier;<br>had 13 children of whom<br>one was Rev. David Eyster | JACOB MIDDLECOFF - d.1850<br>m. Julianna Thomas,<br>d. 1858 |
| Gen. JACOB EYSTER - b. 1781<br>in Adams Co., Pa.;served<br>in War of 1812; Pa. Senate;<br>Surveyor General | m.MARY MIDDLECOFF   |

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Julia M. (Jacobs)	Jacob M. (1815-96) See G.476	David A.S. (1820-86) See G.6	Rev. Wm. F.	Alfred E. (1828-96) See G.490	Louisa (Muhnle)
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## Chapter Four

- Page 32 1 The Rev. Samuel DeVin Finckel D.D. (1811-Feb. 13, 1873).  
(See J.G.M. p.235; L.O. for Feb. 21, 1873; W. p.265.)  
This congregation was an Evangelical church, made of recent arrivals from the Prussian State Church.
- 33 2 In 1640, when the Puritan party was ruling England, Francis Rous(e), a member of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, undertook a purification and correction of the psalm meters. His revision was extremely severe, and the translations were painfully literal. The "Bay Psalm Book", the first book printed in this country, is of the same character, and probably influenced Rous. It was perhaps through that book that these meters were used in Gettysburg.
- 34 3 "The Definité Synodical Platform" was an anonymous pamphlet which suddenly appeared in the mail of the pastors of the Lutheran Church during September, 1855. It proposed a "Platform" as a definite confessional position for the General Synod, actually a recension of the Augsburg Confession. Charging that the Augsburg Confession was in error in five specific places, the author attempted to rid the Confession of these objectionable parts, and then present the remainder as a fair statement of what American Lutherans believe. This was really the last stand for that group, under Dr. S.S.Schmucker's leadership, who represented "American Lutheranism." Even some of the more radical Lutheran bodies were hardly ready for anything so sudden. The Platform was rejected by all the larger synods. Dr. Schmucker and his group had departed from the actual position of the pastors of the General Synod. This effort to test out the feelings of the church backfired.
- The pamphlet called forth a torrent of opposition. The Lutheran Observer, edited by Dr. Schmucker's life-time friend and ally, Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, supported him, and in so doing, shared in the alienation that came to Dr. S.. Dr. S. attempted to close the breach by a "Pacific Overture", but the opposition was aroused, and a new Confessional movement was set upon an open path.
- (See Ferm's Crisis in American Lutheran Theology (New York, 1927); Jacobs p. 424 ff.; Wentz p. 175 ff.)

## Chapter Five

- Page 36 1 The Rev. David Jacobs (1805-Nov.30, 1830) studied theology under the private direction of Dr. Benjamin Kurtz at Hagerstown, and when the Seminary opened at Gettysburg, he entered the first class. Some of his letters to his brother Michael are extant and are of great interest. Dr. H.E.Jacobs has written of his uncle in P.C. ( p.145 ff.). Michael Jacobs, David Gilbert and John Ulrich describe brother and friend in Sprague (p.195 ff.).
- (See also M.L.S. in E.R. for Jan. 1856; David Jacobs' Diary in the Lutheran Intelligencer for Dec. 1830, p. 317-320.)

## Note 1 ( con't)

The Diary of this trip was kept in a little note-book, in a very neat, microscopic hand-writing. Though marred by the heavy rains, the faded ink speaks of the discouragements of that last journey, and the pious faith of the traveller trying to summon every ounce of strength for his daily trials. His companion, Jacob Wingart, for whom the journey was undertaken, survived his young teacher only a few months. (Sprague p. 171).

- 37 2 The Rev. Charles Philip Krauth D.D. (1797-May 30, 1867) was studying medicine when Dr. David Schaeffer of Frederick influenced him to study theology. After he completed his studies with Dr. Schaeffer, he became the pastor of the near-by Shepherdstown-Martinsburg parish and took an active part in the organization of the Maryland and Virginia Synods. In 1827, he moved to St. Matthew's church, Philadelphia, and took up the fight for the introduction of the English language in the Lutheran Church there. In 1833, Dr. Krauth succeeded Dr. Hazelius in the Seminary at Gettysburg, but the next year he was called to the Presidency of the College. It was 1850 when he again joined the Faculty of the Seminary.  
(See C.P.K. p. 6 ff.; M.L.S. in E.R. for Jan. 1869; J.G.M. p. 101-119; D.A.Buehler in P.C. p. 146 ff; W. p.308; Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 3 The Rev. Henry Louis Baugher Sr. D.D. (1804-April 14, 1868) , except for a brief pastorate, was associated with the College throughout his life. He succeeded David Jacobs in the Gymnasium, and when in 1832 it became a college, he was Professor of Greek and Belles lettres. From 1850 till his death, he was President of the College.  
(See F.W.Conrad in P.C. p. 149 ff; J.G.M. p. 191-194; Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 38 4 The Rev. William Morton Reynolds D.D. (1812-Sept.5, 1876) was graduated from Jefferson College in 1832. He had been the Principal of the Preparatory Department and Professor of Latin for two years before he became a regular professor in 1836. Dr. Reynolds started a literary monthly, the Monthly Magazine of Religion and Literature, a paper of high literary standards which was later called, "The Reynolds Magazine". He also became the first editor of The Literary Record and Journal of the Linnean Association of Pennsylvania College ( 1844-48) to which Drs. Jacobs, Stoever, and Baugher also contributed. The establishment of the Evangelical Review in 1849, largely through his efforts, gave the conservative men of the General Synod an organ to express their views in opposition to Dr. Kurtz' Lutheran Observer. (See H.E.J. in P.C. p. 161 ff.)
- 5 Prof. Martin Luther Stoever (1820-July 22, 1870) perpetuated his name in the pages of the Evangelical Review which he edited for many years. His death in 1870 marked its change into the Quarterly Review, and put an end to the fine series of Reminiscences of Deceased Ministers, which remains to this day the highest attainment of

biographical material on Lutheran ministers. Prof. Stoever's son, William Caspar Stoever, was also well known as an active layman.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; J.G.M. p.252 ff.; C.W.Schaeffer in P.C. p. 164 ff.)

6 The Rev. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg D.D. (1818-Mar. 21,1901). (See H.E.J. in O.M. p. 171 ff.; P.C. p. 169 ff.; Dict. of Am. Bio.; L.A. for 1924-1926.)

Page 39

7 The Rev. Timothy Tilghman Titus D.D. (1829-Feb.15,1873) was in his latter years a professor at Hartwick Seminary, N.Y.  
(See J.Swartz in L.O. in J. p. 799; J.G.M. p.198 ff; W.p.410.)

8 The Rev. Mahlon Carleton Horine D.D. (1838-May 16,1917) was for twenty eight years pastor of St. James church, Reading, Pa. He was the father of Dr. John Horine of the Southern Seminary.  
(See W.p.428;O.M.p.250.)

The Rev. Junius Benjamin Remensnyder D.D.(1841-Jan.2, 1927) was for many years pastor of St. James church, New York City. He held many responsible positions in the church, and was active with his pen.  
(See L.A. for 1927 for bibliography of his writings; W.p.433;G.p.53.)

The Rev. Henry Clay Hollaway D.D. (1838-May 5,1924).  
(See Minutes of E.Pa. Syn. for 1924; W. p.427.)

The Rev. Leonard Groh D.D. (1833-Oct.24,1919).  
(See W.p.427;Berks p.405; O.M.p.249.)

The Rev. John Philip Hentz (1832,Germany -Aug.23,1915).  
(See Min. of District Syn. of Ohio for 1916,p.80; W.p.427.)

The Rev. I.Calvert Burke (1844,Canada -Jan.29,1916).  
(See W. p.426; Sus.p.116.)

J.Harvey White (1838-Jan.15,1909).

Rufus Benjamin Weaver (1841- ).

9 Otto Schnurrer (1831-Jan.6,1905) was ordained by the Ministerium of Pa. in 1859, only to change to the Roman Catholic church. He taught in several Catholic schools, and later became a druggist.

40 10 Charles Van Sweringen Levy (1844-Dec.8,1895). Mr. Levy's father-in-law was well known in the New York Ministerium ( see Nicum p. 186-187).  
(See G.p.56.)

11 Hon Frank E. Beltzhoover (1844-1868), a Carlisle lawyer.

Hon. Mason Weidman (1843-1897), a Pottsville lawyer.

Henry H. Keedy Esq. (1841-1893), a Hagerstown lawyer.

## Note 11 (con't)

The Rev. Martin Luther Culler D.D. (1839-Aug.10,1925) was a faithful pastor to congregations at Duncannon, Pa., Williamsport, Md., Martinsburg, W.Va., Apollo and Bedford, Pa.. He served as director of the Seminary and was also a trustee of Susquehanna University.

(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1926; W.p.429.)

The Rev. Samuel Augustus Koch Francis D.D. (1837-Mar.22, 1921) was for over fifty years pastor of Trinity church, South Philadelphia. Dr. Jacobs' reminiscences of Dr. Francis which formed his funeral address are in manuscript form in the Krauth Memorial Library, Philadelphia Seminary.

(See W. p.434.)

The Rev. Frederick Klinefelter (1836-July 28,1903).

(See W.p.430.)

The Rev. Duncan McVicker Kemerer D.D. (1838-May 22,1930) was extremely active in the Pittsburgh Synod, serving often as an officer, and during his later years, as Missionary Superintendent.

(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1930 p.83; G.p.56.)

The Rev. Jacob B. Keller (1837-May 13,1918).

(See W.p.430.)

The Rev. Jonathan Sarver D.D. (1837-Jan.24,1922).

(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1923; W.F.Ulery - History of the Southern Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod p. 401; W.p.431.)

Dr. Claudius Galen Treichler (1840-Nov.2,1912) of Honeybrook, Chester Co.,Pa.

(See G.p.57.)

12 The Phrenakosmian and the Philomathean Societies were the literary societies of the College. Founded in 1831 to foster true love of learning, they soon became the most bitter of rivals. A full history of these two organizations may be found in P.C. pp. 100-129, where Dr. Jacobs himself writes about his own society.

(See also S.G.H. p.329 ff.)

42 13 The Rev. Friedrich Valentin Melsheimer (1749-1829) was one of the best known Lutheran pastors of his time. He had come to America as chaplain of Hessian troops in British employ during the Revolutionary War. The new land pleased him, and he settled in Dauphin County, then in Mannheim and New Holland, Lancaster Co.,Pa. While he was pastor in the latter place, he held a professorship in Franklin College, Lancaster. From 1790-1814, he was pastor at Hanover, Pa. His writings on entomological subjects are numerous.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; Schierenbeck.)

43 14 John Title Luther Sahn (1843-Dec.28,1906), a Wilkes Barre lawyer.

## Chapter Six

- Page 44 1 'went up Salt River' is an expression current in the section for political defeat.
- 46 2 The Colonization Society was that group which promoted the transportation of Blacks back to Africa as the only solution to the slave problem. Its aims were quite idealistic. The few times this was tried, the experiment proved a failure. The slaves had adjusted themselves to a new climate and could not stand the new environment of Africa.
- 3 The Rev. John Bachman D.D. (1790-1874) was known throughout the nation as an outstanding Southern clergyman. For years he was pastor of old St. John's church, Charleston, S.C., and was closely associated connected with civic affairs at a time when the secession fever was running high. Dr. Bachman was an intimate friend and co-laborer of the naturalist, Audubon. The Bachman Warbler is named for him. An interesting letter has been found of a trip taken by Michael Jacobs to visit his friend.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; biography by J.B.Haskell completed by Miss C. Bachman (1888); J.F.Ficken, A Sketch of the Life and Labors of John Bachman (Charleston, 1924); E.T.Horn in L.C.; J.p.47.)
- 48 4 Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth (1837-1861) was a popular hero because of his unusual gifts as a drill-master. The men whom he gathered and drilled toured the country before the War. Ellsworth secured employment in the law-office of Lincoln, and accompanied his chief to Washington, where he immediately became prominent because of his gifts. It was on May 24, 1861 that Ellsworth, angered at the sight of a Confederate flag waving over the Marshall House in Alexandria, Va., attempted to remove it, and was shot by the proprietor. The untimely death of this hero brought a sensation of anger throughout the North.
- 49 5 Nesbit Baugher (1836-1862) had been a newspaper editor before the War. His courage on the field of battle was mentioned on the floor of Congress.  
(See G.p.31.)
- 6 Frederick A. Huber (1842-May 31, 1862).  
(See G.p.511.)
- 7 Samuel D. Schmucker (1844-Mar.3, 1911).  
(See G.p.59.)

## Chapter Seven

- Page 59 1 The Rev. Stephen Albion Repass D.D. was then a student at Roanoke College. He was a prisoner for twenty one months. See p. .
- 2 The Rev. Robert C. Holland D.D. was then a licentiate of the Virginia Synod. He lost an arm in the battle. See p. .
- 3 The Rev. John H. Harpster D.D. was not twenty years old but was gravely wounded. See p. .

## Chapter Eight

- Page 61 1 The Rev. William Miller Baum D.D. (1825-Feb.6,1902) was pastor of St. Paul's church, York, Pa. In 1874, he was called to St. Matthew's church, Philadelphia where he spent the rest of his life. He had three ministerial sons: the Rev. Frederick J. Baum D.D. of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., the Rev. William M. Baum Jr. D.D. of Canojoharie, N.Y. and John C. Baum who died while still a young man.  
(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1902 p.43; W.p.395; J.W.E.p.39.)
- 2 The Rev. Charles A. Baer (1830-Sept.9,1863) was graduated from Yale and attended Gettysburg Seminary. His short pastorate was at Trinity church, Norristown, Pa. Dr. Stoeber regarded him as a most promising young man.  
(See E.R. for Oct. 1864 p.534.)
- 62 3 Judge David Wills (1831-Oct.27,1894) was a graduate of Pennsylvania College. He studied law under Thaddeus Stevens and practiced in Gettysburg, where he became a prominent citizen. He served as President of the National Cemetery Committee for some years until the Cemetery was ceded to the Government.  
(See G.p.30.)
- 4 Notes / on the / Rebel Invasion / of / Maryland and Pennsylvania / and the / Battle of Gettysburg / July 1st, 2d and 3d, 1863. / accompanied by an / Explanatory Map / by / M. Jacobs, / Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg. // Philadelphia: / J.B.Lippencott & Co. / 1864.
- 63 5 Prof. Henry Coppee (1821-1895) was a graduate of West Point, then a professor of English Literature and History at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1864 he started to edit the United States Service Magazine, a professional military magazine. Its life was cut short in 1866 when its editor accepted the presidency of Lehigh University, then in its first year.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio..)
- 6 See Evangelical Review, Vol. XV, p. 225-245; April, 1864.
- 7 Hon. Edward Everett (1794-1865) was a brilliant graduate of Harvard. He entered the Unitarian ministry and at nineteen served a fashionable church in Boston. Shortly thereafter he was elected Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard, and to prepare himself, studied in Europe, receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Göttingen. He then was influential in bringing the whole ethos of European university instruction and life into the American scene.  
But Everett's ambitions led him to seek political fame, and he was sent to Congress five times between 1825 and 1835; served as Governor of Massachusetts for four terms; and in 1835 served as Senator from Massachusetts. He aspired to take the place of Daniel Webster in eloquently defending the Union, even if compromise would be the only way. The desire to show deference to Southern views brought him into conflicts which led to his resignation. During

the Civil War , Everett used all his persuasive powers to the support of Lincoln. Although he was a great orator, he realized that Lincoln had said more at Gettysburg in two minutes than he in two hours.

- 64 8 Dr. Jacobs has described his impressions in much greater length in his little book, Lincoln's Gettysburg World Message ( Philadelphia, 1919) .
- 65 9 The Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine (1799-Mar.13,1873) was graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1820, and studied theology privately. As Chaplain and Professor of Geography, History and Ethics at West Point, his interests in revivals and new methods brought him into conflicts. For several years he was Professor of Evidences in the University of New York, and his lectures, published in 1832 formed the book, The Evidences of Christianity in Their External Division. In 1832 he became the Bishop of Ohio, and President ex-officio of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. He was in constant conflict with his friends of "High Church" convictions, though loved by all. In 1861, President Lincoln sent him to England to help settle the Trent Affair. Bishop McIlvaine died while travelling in Europe and funeral services were held in Westminster Abbey.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 10 The Rev. J.P.Thompson D.D. (1819-Sept. 20,1879) was the well-known Congregational minister of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York City. As editor of the New Englander, Biblia Sacra, and the Independent, he was well-known. He was most active in raising feelings for the slaves in the North before the War. After 1871, Dr. Thompson travelled widely, lecturing on many subjects.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 11 Bishop William Bacon Stevens (1815-June 11,1887) had already an M.D. before he entered the ministry. In 1847 he was called as rector of St. Andrew's church, Philadelphia, and in 1861 to the Professorship of Liturgics and Homiletics in the Divinity School there. He succeeded Bishop Potter. Dr. Stevens was a brother-in-law of Prof. Coppee (see page 63,note 5), and was associated with him in the founding of Lehigh University.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

#### Chapter Nine

- 66 1 Jacobs Abbott (1803-1879) was a Congregational minister and a prolific writer of children's books. Perhaps his best known series was the Rollo Boys. In 1832, he published The Young Christian which was immediately popular, and was translated into French and Dutch. The Corner Stone (1834) was also widely read, and stirred up quite a doctrinal controversy. The practical Christianity that he advised was mistakenly labelled an Arian heresy, and Mr. Abbott was forced in later editions to make changes to correct this Arian impression.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

- Page 66 2 Timothy Dwight (1752-1817) was a famous Congregational leader and author, the President of Yale College from 1795 to 1817. He was one of the last outposts for the theology of his relative, Jonathan Edwards. His Theology Explained and Defended (1818-1819) appeared in five ponderous volumes, and was a set in Dr. Jacobs' library that appeared especially forbidding to the editor. A discussion of Dwight's place in Congregational History appears in Walker's History of Congregationalism pp. 301-303 (Scribners, New York;1894).
- 67 3 The tendency of American Lutheranism was to wait until one could point to some conversion experience before applying for Confirmation.
- 4 A Manual of Sacred History by Johann Heinrich Kurtz was widely used throughout the Lutheran Church. It was one of that first generation of translations from the German that were to bring about a confessional revival. Dr. C.F. Schaeffer had translated it from the sixth German edition. (Philadelphia;1855.)
- 5 Horne's Introduction (American edition -Philadelphia; 1831) was an introduction to the critical study of the Scriptures written in a semi-popular style. It was a store-house of information about the geography, history, customs of the Holy Land together with a statement of the state of critical scholarship with proper defences. During Dr. Jacobs' latter years, the editor was visiting his grandfather, and was asked to pick out any volumes he wished from his library. Proudly, in his innocence, he singled out Horne's Introduction. The old man was quite crest-fallen: "Yes, they're all right, I suppose," he said, "but ancient as I am, I am even fifty years ahead of them."
- 6 The bark remaining in the tan pits after processing was used for walks in the same way that cinders are today. This was quite customary in Gettysburg where leather was required for the carriage industry.
- 68 7 Theological Encyclopedia corresponds to a course in orientation or introduction to theology.
- 8 The Rev. John G. Schmucker D.D. (1771-1854) was a leader in the generation before Dr. Jacobs' father. He had studied under Drs. Helmuth, Schmidt and Paul Henkel. Most of his active ministry was spent in Hagerstown and York. He was a founder of the General Synod and active in its affairs as well as those of the College and Seminary. (See M.L.S. in E.R. for Jan. 1855; J.G.M. p.11; J.A. Brown in Sprague's Annals p. 95; B.M.Schmucker in L.Q. for Oct. 1888 - The Lutheran Church in York, Pa.; Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 9 The Rev. Justus Christian Henry Helmuth (1745-1825) was a graduate of the Halle institutions and came to this country as a Moravian. He was first located at Lancaster, Pa., and then became pastor of Zion's and St. Michael's congregations of Philadelphia. Dr. Helmuth was the link between the Muhlenberg tradition and the generation of the General Synod. Though he was a learned man, a professor

at the University of Pennsylvania, his Christianity was of the heart rather than of the mind. His revision of the Ministerium hymnbook showed more regard for hymns of personal warmth and emotional content than of more objective characteristics - a revision typical of his own faith.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; M.L.S. in E.R. for July 1854; Sprague's Annals.)

10 The Henkel family entwined itself in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country. Through the many ministers and laymen in the family, and through the family press in New Market, Va., their influence went out through the whole surrounding country. At a time when other Lutherans were courting the new thought of the American Protestant scene, the Henkels maintained an uncompromising confessionalism. They were not simply content to preserve a tradition; they carried the fight into their neighbors' camp. Their readiness to expose the unLutheran character of their opponents effectively stifled the influence they might have exerted and brought them the label, "the Henkelites." However, they were a real bridge for American Lutherans to the new Saxon immigrants that formed the Missouri Synod.

69 11 The Rev. Samuel S. Schmucker D.D. (1799-1873) was the dominant figure of the American Lutheran Church during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. The story of his life is poorly told in P. Anstadt's Life and Times of Samuel S. Schmucker ( ). V. Ferm's The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology ( 1927) represents a most sympathetic account of his life struggle. Recently Dr. A.R. Wentz has seized the present ecumenical mood as a time to present Dr. Schmucker as a fore-runner of ecumenical planning.

(See W. p. 106; B.M.Schmucker in P.C. p.154 ff.; L.G. for Jan. 1927; J.G.M. p. 121 ff.; W.Md. p.72; Dict. of Am. Bio.; A.R.Wentz,

70 12 The Rev. Karl Frederic Edward Stohlman D.D. (1810-1868) was the beloved pastor of St. Matthew's church, New York for thirty years. Dr. Schaeffer assisted his brother, a former pastor of that church, and was well known in the congregation.

(See The Oldest Lutheran Church in America, 1664-1914 by Kretschmann (New York, 1914); E.R. for July, 1870; Nicum, p. 174-182.)

71 13 The Rev. Charles Frederick Schaeffer D.D. (1807-1879) grew up in Zion's church, Philadelphia under Dr. Demme. After assisting his brothers, David in Frederick, Md., and Frederick Christian in New York, he was called to Carlisle, Pa. Here he married Susanna Schmucker, one of the nineteen children of Dr. J.G.Schmucker. He was for six years pastor at Hagers-town, Md., then professor at the new seminary at

Columbus, O., pastor at Red Hook, N.Y. (1845-1851) and at St. John's, Easton, Pa. When he came to Gettysburg in 1855, he was already well known to readers of conservative church papers. Among Dr. Jacobs' papers were found several letters from the early period of Dr. Schaeffer's life which show him to have been then an untiring apostle of conservative Lutheranism. His writing was not original but rather translations of German confessional scholarship.

(See Memorial of C.F.S. by A.Spaeth, C.P.Krauth, W.J. Mann, and B.M.Schmucker, printed by the Alumni Association of the Philadelphia Seminary in 1880; B.M.Schmucker in P.C. p. 169; R. p. 34; Dict. of Am. Bio.)

- 14 Christoph Starke, Synopsis bibliothecae exegeticae in Vetus Test., et in Novum Test. 10 vols.
- 15 Johann Christolph Wolf, Curae Philologicae et Criticae, 4 vols.  
Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 11 vols.
- 72 16 Mr. George Weyman (d.1870) was a charter member of the First English Lutheran Church of Pittsburgh, and was the father of the donor of the Krauth Memorial Library at the Philadelphia Seminary.  
(See G.Pb. p. )

#### Chapter Ten

- Page 78 1 The meeting of the General Synod at York in 1864 was the start of a breach which is still in the process of healing. The break had been forecast by the bitter conflict between the "American Lutherans: and the "Old Lutherans" in the Lutheran Observer, the Evangelical Review, and after 1860 in the Lutheran and Missionary.  
The general histories of Lutheranism in this country trace the outlines of this struggle. A more detailed account may be followed from the General Council side in O.G.C. (pp.60 ff.), and from the General Synod view-point in Ferm's book (pp.185 ff.). The clashes in the Church-at-large were bound to be carried to each separate congregation and synodical histories, and congregational histories all reflect the spirit of the times. Another source is in the biographies of the leading personalities of the time.  
The central battle-line, however, was in the pages of the Lutheran Observer and of Dr. Krauth's Lutheran and Missionary.
- 2 Dr. Krauth was then the editor of the Lutheran and Missionary from 1861-1867, and he left no one in any doubt as to the position of his paper.
- 80 3 Dr. Mann tells of Muhlenberg's desire to form a seminary in his Life and Times of H.M.Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1887). Dr. Helmuth was Muhlenberg's successor at Philadelphia, and many gathered around him for theological instruction. (See p. ).

- Page 80 4 The Rev. Charles R. Demme D.D. (1795-Sept. 1, 1863) had a wide reputation for scholarship which brought many young men around him.  
(See M.L.S. for July, 1864, p. 428 ff.; J.G.M. pp. 119-121; W.J.Mann - Rede. über Dr. Demme (1863); Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 81 5 Before the formation of the General Council, the East Pennsylvania Synod was considered the English speaking synod - the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the German speaking synod. The East Pennsylvania Synod was the younger and the more active. When Dr. Seiss was called to St. John's church, Philadelphia, he had chosen the East Pennsylvania Synod for these reasons.
- 6 The term "symbolist" was used in controversy to label those Conservatives who looked for their authority to the Lutheran Confessions (Symbols). Though in itself it was not a severe term, its association with Romanism in the mind of Dr. Kurtz made it particularly hateful. Though sixty-nine, Dr. Kurtz carried on the fight till the hour of his death the next year. (See p. ).
- 82 7 The New Theology - Its Abettors and Defenders (Philadelphia, 1857) had its origin in an article in the E.R. for July, 1857. The views of Dr. Schmucker were deeply resented by Dr. Brown, and his attack was most unmerciful.
- 8 The Rev. Charles Porterfield Krauth D.D. (1823-Jan. 2, 1883) was a man for whom Dr. Jacobs had the greatest admiration. Among the latter's papers are many clippings of Dr. Krauth's articles, pictures of Dr. Krauth, and well-preserved letters from him. The link between these two leading theologians of the Lutherans in the nineteenth century is very strong and can be traced in these Notes as well as in letters printed in Dr. Spaeth's biography of Dr. K.  
(See C.P.K. in 2 vols; B.M.Schmucker's memoir for the Ministerium of Pa. at Norristown (Phila, 1883); C.W.Schaeffer in L.C.R. for April and July, 1883; G.W.Sandt in L.C.R. for April, 1917; Dict. of Am. Bio.) .
- 83 9 The Rev. James Allen Brown D.D. (1821-June 19, 1882).  
(See L.Q.R. for July, 1883, p. 415 ff.; L.O. for June 31, 1882; W. p. 311...).

## Chapter Eleven

- Page 85 1 The Rev. George H. Trabert D.D. (1843-Sept.16,1931), a pioneer leader of the English Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Northwest.  
(See Min. of the North West Synod for 1932, p. 71; R. p. 74.)
- The Rev. Jacob Abraham Clutz D.D. (1848-Sept.5,1925), a leader in the General Synod, and later Professor of Practical Theology at the Gettysburg Seminary.  
(See W. p. 334; Min. of W. Pa. Synod for 1925, p. 64-5.)
- The Rev. Abraham G. Fastnacht D.D. (1845-Feb. 18,1927).  
(See Min. of W. Pa. Syn. for 1927-28, p. 111.)
- The Rev. David Brainard Lady D.D. (1847-Aug 2,1926).
- 2 Luther's Small Catechism; Explanations in Questions and Answers for the use of the Church, School and Family by Drs. W.J.Mann and G.F.Krotel in German and English ( Philadelphia, 1863).
- 3 ; The Tiber is the name given by some person of great imagination to the brooklet that winds through the College grounds.
- 86 4 Robert Hall (1764-1831) was a Baptist preacher of wide reputation throughout England. At a time when the intellectuals looked upon religion as the refuge for the ignorant, Robert Hall was able to commend it to their serious study.
- 5 "Protracted Meetings" is a term which described one of the "New Measures" popular in the early Nineteenth Century. These meetings were evangelistic efforts concentrating on conversions.
- 87 6 The Rev. Frederick W. Conrad D.D. (1816-April 10,1898).  
(See Memorial of F.W.C. in L.O. for April 29,1898; Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1898.)
- 88 7 The Rev. George Frederick Spieker D.D. (1844-Sept.7,1913) was acting Professor of German from 1864-1866. Much later he became a member of the Faculty of the Philadelphia Seminary. See p. .  
(See H.E.Jacobs in L.C.R. for Oct. 1913, p. 564 ff.; Lutheran for Oct. 23, 1913; R. p. 43.)
- 8 The Rev. Charles John Ehrehart (1827-1870) was Principal from 1865-1870.  
(See P.C. p. 234.)
- 89 9 The Rev. Charles S. Albert D.D. (1847-Jan.28,1912), the son of a country pastor, was a graduate of the Philadelphia Seminary. It was as an editor of the Lutheran Publication Society that Dr. Albert made his greatest contribution to the Church. He was also an active member of the Seminary Board at Gettysburg, and the Home Mission Board of the General Synod.  
(See E.H.Delk, The Life and Works of Charles S. Albert (Philadelphia, 1915); R. p. 72; P.C. p. 283.)

The Rev. Charles Jacob Cooper D.D. (1847-July 14, 1927), after a pastorate in Bethlehem, Pa., became the Treasurer and Financial Agent of Muhlenberg College.

(See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1928, p. 88; R.p. 72; O.M., p. 241.)

The Rev. James William Richard D.D. (1843-Mar. 7, 1909) taught at Carthage College, and Wittenberg College before he was called in 1889 to the Gettysburg Seminary as Professor of Homiletics and Ecclesiastical Theology. He was a prolific writer, and used his gifts to oppose the confessional and liturgical changes that were taking place.

(See W. p. 325; L.Q. for Oct. 1909; Min. of Allegheny Synod for 1909, p. 58 ff.; L.O. for Mar. 19, 1909; Dict. of Am. Bio.)

The Rev. Samuel Strickhouser Henry (1838-Jan. 13, 1901).  
(See R. p. 68.)

90 10 The Rev. George Washington Frederick (1837-April 10, 1904) after a short pastorate at Chestnut Hill, Phila., became the owner and publisher of the Lutheran.

(See J.W. Early in the Lutheran for April 21, 1904; W.p. 435; P.C. p. 274.)

11 The Rev. Jacob Lawson Smith D.D. (1836-June 21, 1913).  
(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1914, p. 16; W. p. 433.)

The Rev. William Oliver Cornman (1841-Oct. 24, 1910).  
(See W.p. 431; R. p. 65.)

The Rev. Frank Richards D.D. (1840-Sept. 11, 1904).  
(See L.J. Smith - In Memoriam (Zanesville, O., 1904); Min. of District Syn. of Ohio for 1905, p. 69; R. p. 66.)

12 Among Dr. Jacobs' papers was found the following description of this meeting place:

"A bay window with its large bottles of bright colored liquids disposed in tasteful variety, through which from the other side passers by could be seen strongly distorted and moving along in diminutive form, indicated a drug-store. Within, jars and bottles with Latin labels were ranged on the one side and against the back of the wall of the room. The other side was lined with shelves full of books. An old-fashioned clock, which was regulated by a sun-mark in the garden of the house, was the standard according to which the watches of the townspeople were set. The town-clock itself was constantly criticized by those who every now and then, visited this store and noted what was then regarded as the real time. On the counters were glass cases supplied with an array of stationery, soaps, brushes, hand-mirrors, cosmetics and patent medicines, while drug-gist's scales were kept polished, and a gradation of mortars and pestles were white as one could conceive marble ever to have become. Against the front wall, in the space between the wall and the window, there were pigeon holes containing variously graded primers and readers, and shelves filled with wooden-framed slates of assorted sizes and

prices. A heavy wooden box hid the lower shelves, and, beside being the repository for reserve stationery and blank books, formed a capacious seat for the proprietor at moments of leisure, or for friends who might drop in for a conversation.

"A glance at the book shelves exhibited great variety but impressed one with the intelligence and solidity of the community. The fiction comprised only a few standard authors. "Ivanhoe" and "The Antiquary" represented Scott. "Rasselas" and "The Vicar of Wakefield" were side by side with a few volumes of Cooper. While Dickens and Thackeray had not yet attained the reputation they now hold, "Martin Chuzzlewit" and "Vanity Fair" represented them. The earlier volumes of Macaulay's "History of England"; Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire"; and a full set of the "Modern British Essayists" were there. "Paradise Lost", Young's "Night Thoughts", Thomson's "Seasons", Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy", a complete edition of Cowper, with Longfellow's "Belfry of Bruges" and "Evangeline" exhausted the poetry. Jeremy Taylor's "Life of Christ" and "Holy Living and Holy Dying"; Flavel's "Method of Grace"; Edward's "On the Affections"; Alexander's "Christian Experience"; Davies' "Sermons"; "Five Hundred Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons" stood side by side with translations of Thomas a Kempis, Arndt's "True Christianity", Starke's "Prayer Book" and Knapp's "Theology". There were the English Dictionaries of Webster and Walker, a few English and German hymn-books, and beside other school literature an unusual number of Classical books, with several Greek Testaments and a few copies of the Hebrew Bible.

"The proprietor had already passed the prime of life. We shall know him in these pages as Mr. Thayer. This was not his real name; but, so far as that is concerned, he shares in this the fate of many of his kinsmen who, in changing their homes, had their names translated. Thus the Zimmermans have become the Carpenters, the Kleins - Littles, the Schneiders - the Taylors, the Firestines - Flints, and by another process, the Eberhards -Everetts, and the Lebensteins - Livingstones. So too when truth assumes the garb of fiction, it is only proper to adopt the same plan. Mr. Thayer was verging fast on seventy - a tall man, slightly stooped with a piercing black eye, with rather sparse but curly snow-white hair, shading a high broad forehead, and a mouth and chin which expressed at once both benevolence and tenacity of purpose. Without the training of the schools, he was a man of superior intelligence and wide reading. The books upon his shelves had been to him much more than mere articles of trade. He knew what was in all those which were not technical. Although a native of a neighboring county, the language of his childhood had been the German of his ancestors, and whatever education he enjoyed had been mainly in the Parochial school of the German congregation. Daily he read the Bible in Luther's German version, while his scholarly tastes led him to supplement it by comparisons with the

modern translation of DeWette and others. He was a frequent reader and admirer of the Württemberg mystic, Jung-Stilling, and derived from him some of his apocalyptical peculiarities.

"The real responsibility for the conduct of the business rested upon a son now in middle life, whose still wider reading and extraordinarily well-balanced judgment and generous character had given him a position of influence second to none in town. A modest and retiring bachelor, he lived and labored for others and rarely left his home except for exercise, but was constantly sought for on all sides for advice and help in perplexities. The professional men of the place, as well as those who had been for any time residents, on their subsequent visits, were regular in their calls at the store, in order to discuss current topics, whether of personal, local or state or national character, or to exchange views on literary, scientific or theological questions. After the stages had come in - the railroad was not made until four or five years before the Civil War - while the mails were in the process of distribution at the neighboring post-office, many of the more prominent citizens would be glad to spend the time of waiting, conversing with the younger Mr. Thayer, if he were unoccupied, or looking for the hundredth time perhaps over the array of books on the shelves. Some who had no purchases to make found the daily comparison of their watches with the clock we have mentioned to be an important duty, which they could not neglect except for the most urgent reasons. And it must be conceded that the groups that collected there were often such as can rarely be found in a place even of many times the size of this humble Pennsylvania town. Among them were men who rose to high distinction in the councils of the nation, and others who had some standing in the literary world.

"In this store, on a bright May afternoon, early in the fifties of the Nineteenth Century, when doors and windows were opened and the linden trees were casting a grateful shade upon the brick side-walk, a dignified and well-dressed gentleman was seated on a chair near the entrance. His cleanly-shaven face was one which would have attracted attention in any assembly. It had the stamp of character, of refinement, of cultivation, and enlisted the fullest confidence even without further acquaintance. Sympathy with life and a considerable amount of humor were united with depth of thought and intense earnestness. It bore the traces of wide and varied experience, and of keen insight into human nature. A heavy ivory-headed staff was grasped by one hand and upon it he had placed his carefully polished high silk hat, which had become burdensome for the long walk in the sun that he had taken. The chair was resting on its two rear legs, while his feet were supported by the front round. His conversation with the younger Mr. Thayer concerning books in general, and concerning a new series of Commentaries that had been announced in particular, was interrupted by a countryman whose appearance was in most striking contrast with these two friends. The blue overalls worn by laborers generally today, were supplemented

by a loose brown blouse of similar material, held together by a belt while the trousers were pushed into the boots which were thickly coated with mud, and a tow-like unkempt beard almost hid the countenance. In his hands there was a long leather whip. A few packages of garden seeds, a bottle of horse linament, and a package of school supplies upon the order of a rural pedagogue were promptly purchased, while Dr. Arndt (for so we translate the name) was nervously pulling at his gold watch-chain, and comparing it with the infallible clock in the corner. Just as the countryman was leaving, a little boy in a ragged roundabout and a rusty felt hat came in to buy a penny's worth of licorice root and a sheet of buff post-office paper. Then, in broken English, a German woman asked for "a borax plaster", which the skilled druggist at once knew to be a "porous plaster". A wagon drove up to the door, and two or three heavy boxes were unloaded. Before they were out of the way a Sunday-school teacher dressed in a cut-away coat and high silk hat, and wearing blue glasses, wanted the volume of the "Union Sunday School Question Book" on the Acts of the Apostles. Two gentlemen entered, at this point, with letters and other documents in their hands, showing that the mail had been opened, and pausing for a moment to greet the friends who might have stopped at this center. There were a few words of greeting to Dr. Arndt, and, pulling out their watches and comparing them with the clock, they too hurried out. A lull came finally in the rush of trade; the active business-man sat on the box which we have described; and an eaves-dropper would have heard no gossip, but only a discussion concerning the relative merits and distinctive features of Schiller and Goethe, of Lessing and Herder, and comparisons with the standard authors in English literature. An intelligent hearer would have regarded them well matched, as, while the younger man showed Dr. Arndt the greatest deference, both knew well the subjects they discussed. The conversation was at last broken off by a messenger with a prescription that had to be immediately filled. Dr. Arndt arose stating that he had to meet an appointment at 3 o'clock; but before he could leave a youth addressed him asking advice concerning a choice between editions of an author he was about to order, and then when complaining concerning the poverty of the literature on the subject given him for a thesis was encouraged by the mention of a perfect flood of authorities, concluding: "And if more be needed, you will find some most excellent suggestions in Schrock's Kirchengeschichte the twenty-fourth volume, from page 458 on, if my memory do not fail me. Schrock you will find in the Seminary library, the first alcove against the wall south of the northern door, third shelf - the work fills the whole shelf, remember volume twenty-four. If you have any more difficulties let me know. You will not find much that is not in either German or Latin. You must master these languages, if you are to accomplish anything solid."

"With this the Dr. walked hastily away. He noticed little as he passed down the street with his face towards the mountains. His staff was rarely used as a support, and was carried part of the time in an oblique position, simply

as an object which his hands might grasp. He recognized and spoke to few on the street. But many an eye followed him, as whatever may have been his mental gifts, and his attainments as a scholar, the whole community revered him most of all as a man without guile, whose name was synonymous with the very highest type of Christian character."

It seems clear that this description of Buehler's Drug Store contains a fine appreciation of Dr. Charles Philip Krauth.

- Page 90 13 Robert Weidensall (1836- ) originally studied for the ministry but throat trouble terminated this career, and he turned toward young people's work. He was chosen the first field Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. and held that position for many years.  
(See All. p. 845 ff.)
- 14 Prof. A.M.Mayer (1836-1891) was Professor of Physical Sciences from 1865-1867. From Gettysburg he went to Lehigh and thence to Stevens Institute. At the time of his death he was a well known physicist.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- Prof. Edsall Ferrier ( See below p. )
- Prof. John F. Wilken (1810-1876) was Professor of German from 1866-1868. He was a native German, a graduate of the University of Göttingen, and a former tutor in the Court of the King of Hanover.  
(See P.C. p. 172.)
- 92 15 The Rev. Samuel Sprecher D.D. (1810-Jan.10,1906) was, with Drs. Schmucker and Kurtz, a leader of American Lutheranism. As the second President of Wittenberg College, his influence was wide among his theological students. Toward the close of a long life, Dr. Sprecher tended to become more conservative, departing from his friend, Dr. Schmucker. He was President of the General Synod from 1864 to 1866.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; L.Q. for April, 1906; ...)
- 16 Drs. Swartz and Sternberg have defied the editor's efforts to trace them. Usually in the Lutheran Church in this country a clergyman's obituary at least is found in synodical minutes. But when a man does the unpardonable - demits the ministry - he drops out of sight. This is one of the demerits of a "folk-church" where membership brings fame. Dr. Swartz, however, continued to write for the Observer.
- 17 The Rev. Henry Warren Roth D.D. (1838-Sept.25,1918) was several classes ahead of Dr. Jacobs at college. He entered the Pittsburgh Synod and was soon a leader. During his whole ministry he was closely tied to the Passavant tradition.  
(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1919; P.C. p. 268; G.p.53.)
- 93 18 The Rev. William Alfred Passavant D.D. (1821-June 3, 1894) was to become even more closely bound to Dr. Jacobs throughout the rest of his life. In addition to a warm friendship, Dr. Passvant was married to an aunt of Dr. Jacobs' bride-to-be.

The Missionary made its first appearance in January, 1848. Previous to this time, Dr. Passavant's pen was most active in the Lutheran Observer, yet the heat of the controversy was too much for his practical piety, and he felt the need for a paper that would be interested in creating, and developing the mission fields of the American Church. The Missionary was the organ of no party. Through its pages, Dr. Passavant described the work of the church in extending its boundaries through its schools, hospitals, deaconess homes, orphanages, missions at home and abroad.

In Dr. Gerberding's Life of W.A. Passavant, the author quotes Dr. Jacobs' description of the Missionary:

"Through the small monthly, the Missionary, in his youth, he enlisted a wide sympathy in all the enterprises started through his agency. Never has the Lutheran Church in America had such an editor who entered into such close relations with his readers, and could move them so thoroughly. His pen glowed with the interest with which his work held him. He wrote as one possessed of truths which he had to express. His knowledge of persons and things was so extensive, the facts presented were so numerous, and diversified, the horizon covered so wide, the language was so plain, so forcible, so diversified, so full of unction, so directed to one point, the judgments concerning man and events and movements so pertinent, so positive, so decided, while calm and discriminating, and so completely was the bond of sympathy with his readers maintained, that the arrival of the paper was waited almost with impatience in hundreds of Christian homes." (p.201)  
(See W.A.P., a work of an admirer of Dr. Passavant, containing much interesting material found nowhere else, but undocumented and often inaccurate; H.E. Jacobs in William A. Passavant - Jubilee Memorial Address (1899); The Memorial Edition of the Workman for Nov. 22, 1894; G.W. Sandt in L.C.R. for Oct. 1918, pp. 441-444; Dict. of Am. Bio.)

19 The Rev. Henry Reck (1829-Oct. 27, 1881) was graduated from Pennsylvania College in 1850, and Gettysburg Seminary in 1852. He was pastor at Rochester from 1863-1870. The last years of his life he spent as Professor at Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.

(See the Workman for Nov. 10, 1881; P.C.p.236; G.p.27; W.p.405.)

94 20

"And are we yet alive,  
And see each other's face?  
Glory and praise to Jesus give  
For his redeeming grace.  
Preserved by Power divine  
To full salvation here  
Again in Jesus' praise to join  
And in his sight appear.

What troubles have we seen!  
 What conflicts have we passed!  
 Fightings without and fears within  
 Since we assembled last;  
 But out of all the Lord  
 Hath brought us by his love  
 And still he does his help afford  
 And hides our life above.

Then let us make our boast  
 Of his redeeming power  
 Which saves us to the uttermost  
 Till we can sin no more;  
 Let us take up the cross,  
 Till we the crown obtain;  
 And gladly reckon all things lost  
 So we may Jesus gain."

So went this hymn of Charles Wesley. It was split into six stanzas in the Evangelical Psalmist of Dr. Seiss, and sung to Inverness. This was the favorite Conference hymn of the Methodist Church, and was always used as an opening hymn. When we bear in mind the difficulties of travel in Western Pennsylvania, even in 1866, its suitability is evident.

21 The Rev. Gottlieb Bassler (1813-Oct.3,1868), a native of Switzerland, was a graduate of the Gettysburg institutions. He first served in Zelienople, the birth-place of Dr. Passavant. After 1864, he was Director of the Orphans' Home there. He was a founder of the Pittsburgh Synod.

(See B.Pb.p.83; Lutheran and Missionary for Oct. 22,1868; W.A.P.)

95 22 The Rev. Carl Friedrich Heyer D.D. (1793-Nov.7,1873), pioneer Lutheran foreign missionary, came to this country as a boy and settled in Philadelphia where he joined Zion's church. He studied under the pastors, Helmuth and Schaeffer, and later at the University of Göttingen. His first pastoral work was as a pioneer missionary among the German immigrants in North-West Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana. In 1839, he was called as a missionary to India, but he refused to go under an interdenominational board, and requested the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to send him. Thus he forced the Ministerium into foreign missions, and became the first foreign missionary of the American Lutheran Church. When he was on furlough, he spent his time in home missionary work.

It was not long after this meeting that a proposal came before the General Council to transfer the mission to the Church Missionary Society of London. Father Heyer, recently arrived from Europe, came directly to the convention and offered his services.

(See Mss. of life by W.A.Lambert in Krauth Memorial Library; Autobiography in L.C.R. for April,1906; J.G.M. p. 211 ff.; H.E.Jacobs in L.C.R. for Jan. 1900 p. 50 ff; I.O.Nothein, Adventuring for Christ (Philadelphia, 1932) p. 195 ff.; Drach and Kuder, The Telugu Mission (Philadelphia,1914); E.T.Bachmann, They Called Him Father (Philadelphia, ) ; Dict. of Am. Bio.)

- Page 95    23    The Rev. Samuel F. Breckenridge D.D. (1833-Nov. 11, 1907), Professor of Logic and Mathematics at Wittenberg. (See Min. of Wittenberg Syn. for 1908, p. 23.)
- 24    Examination Committee:
1. Personal Piety etc. - Revs. D. McKee & J. G. Pfuhl
  2. Greek & Hebrew - Revs. E. F. Giese & H. Gilbert
  3. Natural & Revealed Theology - Revs. G. A. Wenzel & H. Reck
  4. Church History - Revs. V. Miller & C. Bauman
  5. Pastoral Theology etc. - Revs. J. A. Earnest & H. J. J. Lemcke
- 96    25    The Rev. George A. Wenzel D.D. (1816-Dec. 12, 1896) was a native German. He was graduated from Jefferson College, Canonsburg in 1840, and from the Gettysburg Seminary. For some time he was a pastor in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. From 1854-9 he served as Dr. Demme's assistant at Zion's church, Philadelphia, and then succeeded him as pastor. At the time mentioned, Dr. Wenzel was pastor of the Second German Lutheran Church of Pittsburgh. (See W. p. 385; Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1897.)
- 26    The Rev. William Heinrich Berkemeier (1820-Mar. 7, 1899) was also a native German. He settled in Pittsburgh, and for sixteen years was a pastor on the territory of that synod, caring for many German speaking immigrants. A year after this meeting, he moved to New York City where he became the beloved immigrant pastor, and director of the Mt. Vernon Orphanage (The Wartburg). A sketch of his life appears in the biography of his son, G. C. Berkemeier, Ein Lebenslied, by E. C. J. Kraeling (Stuttgart, 1926). (See also W. p. 403.)
- The Rev. Herman Gilbert (1813-Jan. 28, 1897) was a man of unusual attainments. He was the son of a Lutheran pastor in Saxony. After receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig, he became a candidate of theology in the Staats Kirche; but as there was no opening, he turned to teaching. As secretary of Dr. Wichern at the Rauhe Haus, he was prevailed upon to come to this country, and here he met Dr. Passavant, and was ordained by the Pittsburgh Synod in 1859. His work was done in one synod, serving scattered groups of immigrant Germans. (See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1897, p. 52.)
- 97    27    The Rev. Michael Schweigert (1811-July 9, 1891). If some young historian is eager to write the biography of a forgotten man, he need go no further than Michael Schweigert to find a character as genuine and interesting as any man our church has produced. As an immigrant, he wandered into the town of Canonsburg, Pa., to learn a trade. It happened at the time when W. A. Passavant was a student at Jefferson College, and while he was doing missionary work among the German immigrants in the neighborhood. Mr. Passavant heard of the new arrival. "Passavant got after me. When I saw him come in at the front, I slipped out the back door. I did not want to be preacher. But the good Lord had his hook in me. So I got the man to take back the house and lot I bargained for, and began to study English and other things at the College."

(The Workman for July 23, 1891.)

From Jefferson College, he went to Gettysburg to study theology. But he was not built for theological pursuits, and soon drifted into the work of a colporteur throughout Frederick County. In 1845, he was licensed by the Pittsburgh Synod. He took great delight in calling himself, "Bishop Schweigert", for there was no objection among Lutherans that the Episcopalians should have the exclusive claim to apostolic succession. When a change was made in the name of a licentiate to 'licensed bishop', the simple, good-humored Schweigert was happy to sport the title.

Schweigert was invaluable as a friend to the strangers from abroad. He used to meet the immigrants at the stations, and make their church home, their first home. The stories of his good humor and his unusual experiences were traditions in the Synod. Unfortunately, few of these were put to writing, and they have passed on. At the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Synod, held October 3, 1870, Michael Schweigert was on the program, and was in rare form. Excerpts from this speech are found in S.C.Pb. p. 21-23.

(See The Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary Record for April, 1906, an article on Schweigert by H.W.Roth, p. 46-51; B.Pb. p. 96.)

28 The Rev. George Frederick Ehrenfeld (1810-July 26, 1876) later became the first President of the Pittsburgh Synod, General Synod.

(See W. p. 381; B.Pb. p. 78.)

The Rev. Augustus Clemens Ehrenfeld (1821-Mar. 10, 1897).  
(See W.p. 394; P.C. p. 251; B.Pb. .)

29 The Rev. John Welfley (1823-Dec. 19, 1898).  
(See S.C.Pb. p. 364.)

30 Prof. J.R. Titzel (1832-Aug. 22, 1898) studied theology at the Philadelphia Seminary in 1873-74, and was from 1874 to 1898 Professor of Greek at Thiel College.  
(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1898, p. 64; G. p. 37.)

31 The Rev. John George Goettman D.D. (1840-1905) was graduated from Pennsylvania College in 1859, and Gettysburg Seminary in 1861. For thirty five years he was pastor of Trinity church, Pittsburgh, until in 1898 he became pastor emeritus. He was a strong leader in the minority group that refused to leave the General Synod. He was President of the Synod from 1868-1870.

(See Min. of Pb. Syn. of the G.S. for 1906, p. 43; W. p. 422.)

The Rev. Samuel Bacon Barnitz D.D. (1838-1895) was a serious student at the Gettysburg institutions. At the time mentioned, he was pastor of a mission in Wheeling, W.Va. In 1881, Dr. Barnitz started his work as Western Secretary of the Board of Home Missions of the General Synod, in which position he earned a well-deserved name.

(See W.E. Parsons biography of Dr. Barnitz (Burlington, Ia.; 1905); W. p. 421; P.C. p. 364.)

Page 97 32 Prof. Ewald F. Giese (1832-June 11, 1893) was the son of the Superintendent of Prussia, and was treated to a fine education at Halle, and Berlin. He taught at the Royal Cadet School at Potsdam. His first experience with the American church was in Wisconsin, but his breadth of theological opinion made him uncomfortable here. Dr. Passavant brought him to Thiel Hall as the first teacher.  
(See J.p.253.)

98 33 The details of the battle are to be found in B.Pb., a revision of the author's former volume on the History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the General Synod (1904).

### Chapter Twelve

Page 99 1 We have not been able to locate these articles.

2 Prof. Friedrich August Schmidt (1837-1928) was a native German who had studied at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. Between 1862 and 1871, he was a professor at Luther College, Decorah, Ia., and edited the Lutheran Watchman (1866-67). Afterwards he taught at Concordia Seminary as the representative of the Norwegians. But controversies of which we shall hear later, broke his bonds with the Missouri Synod, and the rest of his life was given as a theological professor for the Norwegians.

(See C.C. p. .)

3 "How God concurs in the wicked deeds of men" translated from Gerhard's Loci Theologici (Locus VII -De Providentia) in the E.R. for April, 1867, pp. 310-322.

"Conversion" - translated from the Loci Theologici of Dr. Martin Chemnitz (Locus - De viribus humanis, Cap. 7) in the E.R. for Oct. 1867, pp. 536-544.

100 4 The Rev. Henry Miller Bickel D.D. (1827-Nov.12,1893) was pastor of St. Luke's for only two years (1865-67), though his stay in the Philadelphia area was of much longer duration. At this time, Dr. Bickel was the office editor of the Lutheran and Missionary.

(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1894; J.W.E. p. 40; W.p.398.)

5 The history of Muhlenberg College was written by S.E. Ochsenford in his Muhlenberg College // A Quarter-Centennial Memorial Volume // being a // History of the College and a Record of its Men. (Allentown, 1892). Dr. Ochsenford has collected here a group of articles from various men, describing the first twenty five years. A large part of this history deals with the formation of the College.

(See pp. 39 ff.; pp. 179-181.)

6 The Rev. Samuel Kistler Brobst (1822-Dec.23,1876) had a wide following throughout the German speaking Ministerium. His various journals did much to draw Pennsylvania German pastors and their people to a more churchly outlook. These papers breathed much of the same spirit as Dr. Passavant's Missionary, though on a simpler plane. Pastor Brobst's Jugend Freund and Lutherische Zeitschrift circulated among simple, pious German folk, and were received in the warm, serious, religious spirit that set them to print.

After his graduation at Jefferson College, Pastor Brobst had spent some time as agent of the American Sunday School Union among the Pennsylvania Germans. There he became conscious of the need for some journal which could educate the folk who could not appreciate the English papers. In 1847, the first issue of Jugend Freund appeared, the first German Sunday School paper, printed in Allentown. Later came the Missionsblätter opening up home and foreign missions. In 1858, the first edition of the Lutherische Zeitschrift, Jugendfreund und Missionsblätter appeared in German homes. This weekly was truly a "Vereinigtes Blatt für die Familie, Schule und Kirche," and it continued its influence until a few years after Pastor Brobst's death, when it united with the New York Herold. The Lutherische Zeitschrift was thoroughly behind the establishing of a seminary on the territory of the Ministerium, and likewise of a college at Allentown. The influence was great, but cannot be clearly measured.

Another paper, the Theologische Monatshefte, came out from 1868-1874. In addition to these, the Brobst publishing house was sending out Sunday School literature, calendars, and almanacs.

(See T.H.Diehl - Reminiscences of S.K.Brobst and his Times in L.C.R. for 1910, pp. 326-342; 478-499; 835-854; J.G.M. p. 226 ff.)

7 Dr. Schmucker married Christina M. Pretz in 1860. Her father was one of the leading citizens of Allentown, and a strong lay leader of the Lutheran Church.

101 8 The Rev. Gustaf Adolph Hinterleitner (1824-March 13, 1901) was German-born, but fled Germany because of his active part in the Revolution of 1848. He had a fine education before he came to this country, but had been here too short a time to teach in an institution where English traditions were so strong. He became the beloved pastor of Trinity church, Pottsville, Pa.

(See J.W.E. p. 49; Berks, p. 409; O.M. p. 250.)

9 Augustus Jacob Erdman (1844-Nov.27,1918) became a Philadelphia lawyer. (See G. p. 70.)

Preston K. Erdman ( 1848-July 11,1915), also a Philadelphia lawyer. (See G. p. 70.)

Charles Philip Krauth (1849- Dec. 27,1899) was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1869. He became associated with a railroad car company.

(See G. p. 521.)

10 The Rev. Edward Jackson Koons (1830\_May,1890) was graduated from Pennsylvania College in 1855, and was tutor 1858-59. He remained at Muhlenberg for only two years, became editor of the Allentown Daily News, and then entered the Episcopal ministry.

(See O.M. p. 216, by M.H.Richards.)

- Page 102 11 Prof. Davis Garber Ph.D. (1839-Sept. 27, 1896) was an instructor in Washington Hall Collegiate Institute, near Trappe, Pa., before he accepted the Professorship of Mathematics, Astronomy and Physics. Prof. Garber held this position until his death.  
(See O.M. p. 196-199.)
- 12 The Rev. Theodore Lorenzo Seip D.D. (1842-Nov. 28, 1903) was two classes below Dr. Jacobs in College. He was graduated from Gettysburg Seminary and immediately became involved in the arrangements for the College. For four years, he was principal of the Academic Department, and assistant in Greek. In 1872 he became a full professor of Latin, and in 1877, in Greek. From 1886 till his death he was President of Muhlenberg.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; O.M. p. 184 ff.)
- 13 The Rev. Matthias Henry Richards D.D. (1841-Dec. 12, 1898) was the son of Dr. J.W. Richards (grandson of H.M. Muhlenberg), the pastor of St. Michael's church, Germantown. Dr. M.H. Richards preceded Dr. Jacobs at College by three years. In 1868, he was elected Professor of English and Latin, and served as such for six years. For a short time, Dr. Richards was pastor in Indianapolis, but he soon returned to Muhlenberg as professor. His connection with the College did not prevent him from doing his share in the work of the Church as editor of the Lutheran and of the Church Messenger, and for a time as pastor of Trinity church, Catasauqua, Pa. His son was the Rev. John W. Richards D.D., pastor of St. Luke's church, Philadelphia.  
(See O.M. pp. 200-203; The Early Days of Prof. M.H. Richards D.D. by his son in the L.C.R. for , 1899, pp. 347-359; Proceedings of the Pa. German Society, Vol. IX, p. 29; The Lutheran for Dec. 15, 1898, an article by Dr. Schmauk; The Muhlenberg, Vol. XVI, No. 5, Memorial Issue for Jan. 1899 ( a paper conducted by the Literary Societies of Muhlenberg College.)
- 14 The Rev. J.H. Fahs (1825-Aug. 2, 1903) was Professor of History from 1867-1870.  
(See Min. of District Syn. of Ohio for 1904 - Appendix; O.M. p. 212.)
- 103 15 The meeting occurred Oct. 10-17, 1867. From the report of the Examining Committee comes the following brief note:  
"Committee (1) On the Papers of Rev. H.E. Jacobs Reported. The papers placed in our hands are a transcript of his Journal, a sketch and two sermons. Although not in the pastoral work, the journal shows that brother Jacobs has been abundant in labors during the past year. The sketch is brief, but clear and systematic in arrangement, and the sermons well conceived, expressed in chaste and elegant language, and pervaded by an admirable spirit."  
The renewal of his license was recommended.
- 16 After the exclusion of the delegation of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania from participation in the Meeting

of the General Synod at Fort Wayne, the delegation had reported back to its Synod, and the Ministerium decided that its connection with the General Synod should be terminated. It therefore instructed a committee to draw up an address to the other synods, inviting them to join in the formation of a new general body, more 'Lutheran' in character. This Fraternal Address resulted in the Reading Convention of Dec. 1866 where the organization of the new body was discussed. The basis upon which the synods were asked to unite was two-fold. The doctrinal basis of the organization was largely the work of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, and was presented as the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity". This platform was the statement of the theological position upon which Dr. Krauth and the conservatives stood. It starts with an Introduction expressing the need for such an organization, and then proceeds to lay down nine theses of confessional faith. The second portion dealt with the principles behind the organization.

In addition to this document, the Constitution of the new body was drawn up. The Reading Convention was therefore, merely a Constitutional Convention. The Constitution and the Fundamental Principles had to then be adopted by the constituent synods before the General Council could come into existence. It was the adoption of these documents by the Pittsburgh Synod, that Dr. Jacobs here refers to.

(See O.G.C.; in the Minutes of the two General Bodies; in the current church papers; and in C.P.K.)

17 The Rev. Samuel Laird D.D. (1835-Dec. 17, 1913) was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and a student of law before he entered the ministry. He studied theology privately with Drs. Mann, Seiss, and Krauth, and served first at St. Luke's church, Philadelphia. For a short time he was pastor of Trinity church, Lancaster, and from thence went to First English Lutheran Church, Pittsburgh. In 1879, he was called to St. Mark's church, Philadelphia, where he had his greatest influence. Dr. Laird was a man of broad culture, and conservative in his sympathies.

(See G. Pb. p. 94 ff.; O.M. p. 254; J.p.450; material in Archives of Krauth Memorial Library.)

18 The Rev. J.H.W. Stuckenberg D.D. (1835-June, 1903) came to this country as a little boy, and settled in Ohio. He was educated at Wittenberg College and Seminary, and studied under Tholuck at Halle. From 1862-1873, he was pastor of Messiah church, Pittsburgh. He returned to Wittenberg as Professor of Sacred Philology. While there, he was editor of the Lutheran Evangelist. Dr. S. spent his last years in Germany. He was well-known throughout the General Synod, and an author of reputation. His sympathies reflected the liberal training he received at Wittenberg.

(See ; M. Valentine in Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1903, pp.69-72; L.A. for 1931; J.p.775.)

19 The Rev. John Alleman Kunkleman D.D. (1832-Dec.14, 1908) was graduated from Pennsylvania College in 1855. He studied theology privately, and had parishes previously in Chambersburg and Indianapolis. It was while he was pastor at Fort Wayne, Ind., that he was connected with the Pittsburgh Synod. His connection with this body was renewed in 1883 when he became pastor of Holy Trinity church, Greenville, Pa.

(See the Lutheran for Dec. 24,1908.)

20 "Whereas the majority of this Convention of the Pittsburgh Synod have adopted the "Fundamental Principles of Faith" proposed by the Convention held at Reading, December 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1866, which "Principles" we believe to be in conflict with the doctrinal position of this Synod as stated in the Preamble to the Constitution with the "Testimony of the Pittsburgh Synod" adopted at Zelienople; with the great principles of liberty respecting all human authority in matters of faith established by Luther and the great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century; with the true spirit of the Lutheran Church, and with the Constitution of this Synod (Art.13,Sec.2):

"Therefore, we, the undersigned, adhering to the original doctrinal position, and Constitution of this Synod, impelled by the fear of God, and by the imperative conviction of duty, respectfully beg leave to withdraw from this Convention of the Synod, leaving it to the guidance of our Heavenly Father to determine in the future what course to pursue..."

(See B.Pb.p.101-120.)

21 This was the field where Emmanuel church was established many years later, and the church to which the Rev. Luther D. Reed was called in 1895.

### Chapter Thirteen

1 Both of these men were members of First church, Pittsburgh. They were in the same company in the U.S. Army and had both participated in the Battle of Gettysburg where Mr. Weyman was severely wounded. In later life, Mr. Balkan was secretary of the Church Council for many years.

2 The Rev. John McCron D.D. (1807-April 26,1881).  
(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1881; G.Pb. p. 28-46; Sus. p. 28.)

3 Mr. A.L.Thiel was a simple German who made quite a little money through investments in the Columbia Oil Co. He donated this for the establishment of Thiel Hall.

4 The Rev. Christian F. Welden D.D. (1812-Oct.2,1897) was responsible for the organization of Zion's church, Rochester, N.Y. He was later pastor in Chester Co.,Pa., Bethlehem, and then St. Peter's church, Philadelphia. Dr. Welden was a member of the Church Book and Common Service Committees.

(See the Lutheran for Oct. 14,1897; J.W.E.p.66; Memoir by Miss Mary Welden in Msss. in Krauth Memorial Library.)

Mr. Thomas Lane was another able layman of First church, Pittsburgh. (See G.Pb. pp.183 ff.)

- 107 5 The immigrants were pouring into the Mid-West at this time. The Pittsburgh Synod, nearest to the territory, was in the position to become the great missionary synod. Dr. Passavant saw that it did just this. (See B.Pb.)
- 6 The editor is still hunting for these poems.
- 7 The Gettysburg, Wittenberg and Susquehanna Seminaries were the centers of opposition against the conservative movement.
- 8 This break occurred after the pastorate of Rev. Reuben Hill. Dr. Laird was the choice of the majority, but his conservative leanings were well known. Forty members withdrew and formed Messiah church which called Dr. Stuckenberg. In 1884, the new congregation disbanded.
- 9 Mr. Roth was also pastor of Grace church of the South Side of Pittsburgh, or Birmingham. This congregation he supplied as a student in 1861-1863, and he then continued as pastor till 1870.
- 10 Rev. John Sarver was the pastor there and his sympathies were with the General Council. But the character of the congregation required the pastor to be a member of the General Synod. The application to the Court to change this provision resulted in an unexpected application from the opposition with the same number of signers, for the status quo. To add to the trouble, the former pastor, L.M.Kuhns, took up the club of the opposition. The attempt of the petitioners to prove the unLutheranism of the General Synod failed, and the judgment went against them. They therefore withdrew and built a new church building.  
(See B.Pb. p.383; J.G.M. p. 409.)
- 11 See page 97, note 28.
- 108 12 See B.Pb.p.361.
- 13 St. Peter's United Evangelical Protestant Church, Rev. E.F.Giese, pastor 1867-68.
- 109 14 One look at the hymn-book with its divided pages for the quick choice of tunes is enough to imagine the embarrassment of one not particularly known for his daring in singing.
- 15 Paul Gerhardt by K.A.Wildenhahn - a historical life picture translated from the German by G.A.Wenzel (Philadelphia, 1881).
- 16 St. Mark's church, Springdale, had been founded by A.C. Ehrenfeld in 1860. After a slow start it was revived by the efforts of Dr. Passavant, Dr. Wenzel, and Mr. Roth.  
(See B.Pb. p. 251.)  
The Minutes of the Pittsburgh Synod for 1868 contain the following, "Rev. Jacobs supplied St. Mark's congregation, at Springdale, and that only for the last six months."

- Page 109 17 This incident gains flavor when one remembers Dr. Jacobs allergy to cats!
- 110 18 The following item was found among the papers of Dr. Jacobs and has been transcribed from a letter from E.S.Welfley of Springdale to Rev. J.K.Melhorn, President of the Pittsburgh Synod. It was evidently used as a fine statement of this orthodox position.

#### The Springdale Protest

Springdale, Pa.  
July 26, 68  
St. Mark's Church.

Mr. Geo. Shoop, Sr., moved that hereafter the Pastor in administering the Holy Supper, be required to invite all members in good standing in other Orthodox Christian Churches to commune with us. The motion was carried.

#### Protest

To the passage of this resolution, the Pastor desires to place upon record his solemn protest, inasmuch as such an invitation given at the time of the administering of the Holy Supper, will, ultimately prove subversive of all Church Discipline, and defeat the end for which this Sacrament has been instituted.

The proposed practice constitutes that all applicants for the communion judge both for their own fitness, and of the orthodoxy of the organization claiming to be a Church with which they are connected, inasmuch as no time is granted for the authorities of the congregation to examine the right of those claiming this privilege to partake of the Holy Supper. The requirement of the congregation conflicts therefore with the command of St. Paul to the Corinthian Church requiring it to judge concerning the worthiness of those who claimed a right to participate with them in Christian fellowship - I Cor. 5:11,12; with the charge of the same Apostle to Titus and the Thessalonians in reference to the exercise of Church discipline, Titus 3:16, 2 Thess. 3:6; with the prohibition of St. John in reference to association with those who hold a false doctrine - 2 John 10; with the words of our Savior forbidding us to give that which is holy to those outside the Christian Church, compare Matt. 7:6 with Rev. 22:15; with the terms for admission to the Lord's Supper as declared in its type, the feast of the Passover, Ex. 12:43-48; and with the teaching of our Church as set forth in the Augsburg Confession, Art. XXIV (the ms. I copy from has XXIII) "None are admitted except they first be proved."

The proposed requirement conflicts likewise with the preparation of the heart necessary for a worthy reception of the Lord's Supper inasmuch as it invites persons to the Holy Table who have not been present at the Preparatory Service and without having had the necessary time for self-examination. It is based upon an erroneous view of the Lord's Supper which regards this ordinance as nothing but a commemorative ceremony and token of

love, designed to set forth the bond of Christian fellowship existing between those who profess to follow the same Lord and Master; so that just as we show our friendship to our fellow-men by extending them hospitality, so also we show our love to other Christians by inviting them to commune with us. Thus it makes of the Lord's Supper but an ordinary feast, and brings upon us the guilt of those who do not discern in this Sacrament the body of our Lord, I Cor. 11:29.

Under these circumstances the Pastor cannot fulfill the requirements which the Congregation has prescribed. Were he to do so, he would become a partaker in other men's sins. Were he to do so, he would not be a true Shepherd, but would be opening breaches in the walls of the Church for the entrance of wolves and robbers. In love, then, to the congregation which by this action has removed the safeguards, which the Bishop and Shepherd of their souls has established for their protection; and in love to unworthy applicants for the Holy Supper, who by partaking of the Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, will eat and drink condemnation to themselves, he positively refuses to make any such indiscriminate invitation. At the same time, he wishes to express here what he freely expressed during the discussion of the resolution. He would willingly administer the Holy Communion to any true child of God, longing for the Sacrament as a means of feasting upon the bread which came down from heaven, to the strengthening of faith and the firmer establishing of the Communion between the Soul and its Savior, who will participate with us in our preparatory services and hand in his name with those of our own communicants for presentation before the proper authorities of the Church.

Springdale, August 2nd., 1868

H.E.Jacobs,  
Pastor...

19 The Third Commandment, translated from Gerhard's Loci Theologici, Locus XXII De Lege Dei. (Condensed). (See E.R. for Oct. 1868, pp. 548-561.)

11 Compend of Lutheran Theology by Leonard Hutter, translated from the original Latin by Rev. H.E.Jacobs and Rev. G.F.Spieker (Philadelphia, 1868.)

#### Chapter Fourteen

Page 112 1 Short sketches of Thiel College may be found in W.A. P. pp. 501 ff.; H.W.Roth in P.C. pp.181 ff.; J.G.M. p. 516.

2 Phillipsburg was originally called Water Cure because of the Sanatorium there.

3 The Rev. W.F.Kopp (1820-Mar. 23, 1868) was a graduate of the Gettysburg institutions, and had been a professor at Augustana Seminary for three years. (See P.C. p. 218.)

- 4 Mrs. Margaret (Walter) Downing (1820-May 14, 1909) was the sister of Mrs. Passavant. Her daughter, Laura, was to become the bride of Dr. Jacobs. See Chapter Twenty One.
- 5 Mr. Frederick R. Feitshans (1846-1888 ). ( See G. p.73.)
- 6 October 3, 1868 during the meeting of Synod. See Minutes for 1868.
- 7 See note to page 90 above.
- 8 The Rev. Hiram Peters D.D. (1847-Aug.28,1918). (See Min. of District Synod of Ohio for 1919, p. 109; R. p. 82.)  
 The Rev. J.W.Myers (1845-July 19,1916). (See R.p.79.)  
 The Rev. Frederick Martin Neit (1845-Jan.13,1927). (See Min. of the Synod of Canada for 1927, p. 24; R. p. 76.)  
 The Rev. Prof. Jean August Julius Zahn (1851-Apr. 25, 1888) (See R. p. 90.)  
 The Rev. Charles John Hirzel (1854-July 14,1914). (See R. p. 87.)  
 The Rev. Luther Melancthon Conrad Weicksel (1853-Sept. 1929). (See Min. of Pittsburgh Syn. for 1930,p.81;R.p.89.)  
 The Rev. George Henry Gerberding D.D. (1847- Mar. 27, 1927) was the biographer of Dr. Passavant, and most active in the Church in the North-West, with his friend. He also was for many years a professor in the Chicago Lutheran Seminary, and distinguished himself by many writings, chiefly of a practical nature.  
 (See the Lutheran for April 14, 1927; Min. of N.W. Synod for 1927,pp.64-67; L.A. for 1927-28, p. 79; R. p. 87.)  
 The Rev. Gottlieb B. Berkemeier (1855-Feb.5,1924), the son of "Father" Berkemeier, and his well-known successor as Director of the Wartburg Home, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.  
 (See E.C.J.Kraeling - G.C.Berkemeier - Ein Lenenslied (Stuttgart, 1926).  
 The Rev. Jacob Christian Kunzmann (1852 - ) for many years was active in home missions in the West.
- The Rev. William Alfred Passavant Jr. (1857-July 1, 1901) was closely associated with his father. As editor of the Workman he carried on his father's work in much the same spirit. For six years he was head of the General Council's Home Mission and Church Extension Board. He spent his last years as Director of the Passavant Hospital in Pittsburgh.  
 (See Memorial Sketch, a supplement to the Annals of the Institute of Protestant Deaconesses, Vol. 7, No.4 for June, 1902 - in the Krauth Memorial Library; Other Ms. material in the same library; W.A.P.; R. p. 97.)  
 The Rev. David Luther Roth D.D. (1847-Mar. 21, 1935). (See Min. of N.W.Synod for 1935, p. 54; R.p.89; Auto-biographical material in J. p. 626.)  
 The Rev. Theophilus Bassler Roth D.D. (1853- ) later became the President of Thiel College, and except for a brief pastorate ( his first) in Utica, N.Y., never strayed far from the campus.  
 (See ; R. p. 95.)

The Rev. George Washington Critchlow (1854-Dec. 17, 1932).  
(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1933, p. 91; R. p. 95.)

The Rev. Detmar Luther Passavant (1859- )  
was a brother of William, and an associate on the staff of  
The Workman. He turned from the ministry to the conduct  
of a bookstore specializing in antiquated books.

The Rev. Frederick Christian E. Lemcke (1850-July 13,  
1902. (See R. p. 91.)

- 114 9 The English Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer,  
Phillipsburg, (Monaca, Pa.). (See B.Pb. p. 419, and  
W.A.P. p. 502.)

### Chapter Fifteen

Page 115 1 See The Lutheran and Missionary for November 26, 1868.

2 Chiliasm takes its name from Rev. 20:4,5. It refers  
to certain doctrines respecting the future of the King-  
dom of God on earth, the Second Coming of Jesus, a thousand  
years (millenium) of his rule, and the final consummation.  
In its narrower sense, it refers to that view which expects  
a golden age here on earth before the final end, during  
which Christ will reign in great glory for the thousand  
years.

(See L.C. article by Drs. Seiss and Graebner; O.G.C. p.  
154 ff.; Jacobs p. 477 ff.; C.P.K. Vol. II p. 195 ff.)

- 116 3 The Rev. Siegmund Fritschel D.D. (1833-1900) as a young  
man was eager to come to America as a missionary. He  
was sent by his teacher, Wilhelm Loehe, to the North-West,  
where he became a teacher in the teacher's seminary at  
Saginaw, Mich. He soon accepted a call to a professorship  
of the Iowa Synod at Dubuque, Ia., the center of Loehe's  
influence. Dr. F. helped to form the Iowa Synod, to pre-  
serve the teachings he had learned from Loehe from Missouri  
congregationalism. To express these views in the face of  
aggressive Missouri attacks, he founded the Kirchliche  
Zeitschrift, with his brother.

The Milwaukee Conference of 1867 was a discussion of  
the attitude of the Church to symbols of faith, its atti-  
tude towards open questions, and towards the doctrine of  
the last things. Dr. F. maintained that there were many  
doctrines in the Bible and in our Confessions which were  
not settled, such as the Doctrines of the Church, the Mini-  
stry, of Sunday observance, and of the Last Things. Coopera-  
tion with other bodies who disagreed in these matters  
only was perfectly possible. Missouri maintained that all  
doctrines have been settled. There are no open questions.  
There can be no fellowship with those who believe differ-  
ently on any of these points. This unbending position kept  
the new Lutheran immigrants in the Mid-West in a constant  
state of ferment.

(See C.C. under Controversies; A. Spaeth in L.C.R. for  
Jan. 1901, p. 1 ff.; Neve p. 284 ff.)

4 The Rev. Gottfried Fritschel (1836-July 13, 1889) followed his brother to America, and became Professor of Historical Exegesis and Dogmatics at the Seminary of the Iowa Synod in 1857. He was a regular contributor to the Kirchenblatt of the Iowa Synod, and the Kirchliche Zeitschrift, and occasionally to the Monatshefte of Brobst.

(See L.A. for 1931-32; Neve, p. 284; J. p. 232.)

5 The Wisconsin Synod (1850-1919) was founded at Milwaukee by men from the Barmen Training School of the Langenberg Missionary Society. Its connection with the General Council was short-lived (1867-1869). In 1872 it became a member of the Synodical Conference.

(See Neve, p. 410 ff. for bibliography; Jacobs, p. 410 ff.)

A great part of the difference between Germans at this time can be traced to sociological differences. Whereas a few of the German pastors and professors were university trained, the majority were the products of seminaries set up for missionary activity. The natural animosities between the two were expressed in the church journals of the time.

The Rev. Rheinhold Adelberg (1835-Sept. 9, 1911).

(See C.C.; J. p. 20.)

The Rev. John Bading (1824-May 24, 1913) was a founder of the Wisconsin Synod. The C.C. says of him that he was "most active in redeeming the Wisconsin Synod for Sound Lutheranism".

(See C.C.; L.A. for 1931-33; Neve, p. 234.)

6 The Missouri Synod was very firm in its denunciation of any chiliastic theory. It insisted that such theories were always reading something into the text. Inasmuch as there could be no open questions in theology, the true Lutheran Church must rid itself of those who hold such theories. The Iowa Synod believed that this was a matter in which dissent could be allowed. In fact, it was charged that President Deindoerfer of the Iowa Synod had views of his own on the subject!

The Rev. Mr. Schiefendecker (1815-1891) was one of the first settlers who came over with Pastor Stephan. He was therefore a most active leader in the Missouri Synod. But his chiliastic views caused his dismissal by his friends, and he entered the Iowa Synod. Later, he renounced his views, and was reinstated in the Missouri Synod. (See C.C.)

7 Dr. Seiss' views on Chiliasm have been so publicized that outsiders have thought his views typical of whole sections of the Church in which he was a leader. His ideas, still eagerly devoured by all sorts of millenarians, are best expressed, in Last Times; Lectures on the Apocalypse, both of which have gone through many editions; his articles in the Prophetic Times, and pp. 331-337 in the Javelin.

Dr. H.C. Sheldon describes Dr. Seiss' position in his History of Christian Doctrine (Vol. II, p. 389 ff; New York; 1886), in a manner which Dr. Seiss himself approved.

The description by Dr. Hodge in his Systematic Theology (Vol. 3, New York; 1873) was considered unfair by Dr. Seiss.

Dr. Seiss had been approached by Drs. Newton and Duffield to allow his name be used in connection with a new periodical, the Prophetic Times. When the paper ran into difficulties soon after its inception, Dr. Seiss was forced into an active editorial position to retrieve his invested money. Therefore he was forced to be its sole back-bone until its death in 1842. His connection with this paper laid him open to many an attack.

He had been forced also into a study of the subject by the strong appearance of the Millerites in his early ministry at Shepherdstown, W.Va. To answer his troubled people, he had to crystallize his own thought, and thus commenced what later appeared to be a peculiar twist of his thinking.

- 118 8 See L.C.R. for July, 1890, Missouri on secret societies...  
9 The Lehre und Wehre was a theological monthly started by Dr. Walther in St. Louis as a magazine for pastors. This monthly had a long life (1855-1920), later becoming the Theological Quarterly.

#### Chapter Sixteen

- 1 The Lutheran Doctrine of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day in E.R. for Jan. 1869. "A thesis read before the Pittsburgh Synod at Erie, Pa., October 1st, 1868 and published at the request of the said body."
- 2 The Lutheran Church and the Divine Obligation of the Lord's Day. in E.R. for Jan. 1857. (Also published separately by Henry C. Neinstedt, Gettysburg.)
- 3 See the E.R. for October, 1868.
- 4 Die Lehre der lutherischen Kirche vom Sonntag, in Lehre und Wehre for Nov. 1864, pp. 321-344.
- 5 Sunday, its origin, history and present obligation, by J.A. Hesse, 1866.
- 121 6 The outline of the paper is as follows:  
I. The Sabbath is an ordinance of the ceremonial law.  
1. The Confessions  
2. The theologians of the Lutheran Church  
3. The testimony of the Early Church  
4. The Lutheran Doctrine as held by those of other Churches.  
5. Does the Word of God likewise teach the Ceremonial Character of the Sabbath?  
II. The Sabbath is therefore abrogated  
III. Desirableness of a fixed day for public worship  
IV. The Church following the example of the Apostles has devoted the first day of the week to this service.

Gettysburg, of course, was a part of American culture. The "Sabbath" was strictly observed, in complete compliance with Scotch-Irish legalism. Naturally a storm of opposition broke forth. Dr. Schmucker called the new author "a

very misguided young man." It is interesting that the paper contained little that was at all original, except in the arrangement, digestion, and correct use of the authorities. It is all very characteristic of Dr. Jacobs' early works.

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7 The Lutheran Observer for March 5, 1869 had a stinging article by P. Bergstresser, against this "new theory." The discussion continued in the issues of March 19 and 26.

The American Lutheran came from Susquehanna University.

The Lutheran Visitor was the paper of the Southern Church. A writer signing himself, Beth Eden, wrote a criticism of the thesis which Dr. Jacobs answered in the Lutheran and Missionary for April 1, 1869, in his irenic way.

8 The Sabbath Question, in its Historical Relations, and Bearings Upon the Faith and Life of the Church, by H.E.Jacobs, A.M., Phillipsburg, Pa.

#### Chapter Seventeen

Page 125

1 The Minutes of the Pittsburgh Synod for 1869 give a short account of the past progress of Thiel Hall, and add this note:

"Nov. 28, 1868, Rev. H.E.Jacobs organized a new English congregation, the Church of the Redeemer, in Philipsburg, Beaver Co., Pa. with 6 members and a Sunday-school numbering 85 scholars & 12 teachers."

2 The Rev. William F. Ulery (1829-Dec.27,1903), a native German, was a graduate of Gettysburg Seminary, and had served as pastor at Greensburg and Greenville, before coming to Thiel.

(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1904, p. 7; W.p.410; also S.C.Pb. p. 406.)

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3 The Rev. David McKee ( 1824-Mar. 30,1898).  
(See Min. of Ob. Syn. for 1898,p.62.)

4 The Rev. Samuel Wagenhals D.D. (1843-Dec.10,1920) was the pastor of Trinity English church, Fort Wayne, Ind. For years his name was associated with the Chicago Seminary.

(See Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record, Vol.XXV, No. 4, Jan.1921; R. p. 69.)

5 Prof. Georg Schick (1831-Jan.3,1915), Professor of Ancient Languages.  
Prof. Saxe

Prof. Lange ( 1825-Oct. 2, 1892), later professor of theology at Concordia, St. Louis. (See C.C.)  
Prof. Achenbach (1831-Feb.24,1899). (See C.C.)

6 The Rev. G.W.Drees was pastor of St. Luke's church, New York. In 1881, he joined several pastors in entering the Missouri Synod.

- Page 126 7 The Rev. J.L.Stirewalt (1832-June 16,1872) was Superintendent of the Home Missions for the General Council in Indiana (1865-72).  
(See Min. of District Syn. of Ohio for 1872, App.)
- 127 8 The Rev. Erland Carlsson D.D. (1822-1893) was then pastor of Immanuel church, Chicago. He had gathered a fine Swedish congregation, and had erected a fine building destined to destruction in the Great Fire. Dr. Carlsson was a strong leader of the Augustana Synod.  
(See Dr. Telleen in My Church by I.O.Nothstein, Vol. VII pp. 43-- 57, 1921; L.A. for 1924-26,p.246.)
- 9 The Lutheran for November 25, 1869, contained this article clipped from the Chicago Times:
- " ...
- Rev. Prof. H.E.Jacobs
- Among the delegates is a young and scholarly gentleman, who is one of the rising men in the Lutheran Communion. Modest and unobtrusive, he keeps in the background, and yet few persons in the Council so deeply sympathize with all its interests, and are more ready to aid in any service in its behalf. Though yet a young man, he is already known in the Church as the translator of Hutter's Compend of Theology, author of several valuable treatises on the Christian Sabbath. He is at present Principal at Thiel Hall near Pittsburgh, Pa., and is warmly cherished by a large circle of friends."
- 10 The Swedish Seminary had been founded in 1863 with Dr. Hasselquist as Professor. The Iowa Synod Seminary had its origin in 1852 at Loehe's instigation at Saginaw, Mich, as a teachers' seminary for Missouri, but in 1853 it moved to Dubuque. Loehe's differences with Missouri forced the separation under the leadership of the Fritschels. The Hauge Seminary was at Red Wing, Minn, after 1879. The Synod traced its ancestry to Hans Nielsen Hauge, evangelistic leader in Norway.
- 11 The Rev. Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist D.D. (1816-Feb.4, 1891) was the patriarch of the Augustana Synod. His many sided activity as writer, editor of the Hemlandet, and the Augustana, Professor of the Seminary, and President of the Augustana Synod has been described by Oscar F. Ander in his biography of Dr. H. (Rock Island, Ill.; 1931, 256 pp.).
- 12 Dr. Jacobs speaks further of this in the Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record for Oct. 1916; in W.A.P.
- 13 The Rev. David Swing (1830-1894) was pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church. His popular sermons and articles emphasizing pragmatic Christianity and human experience were charged by Dr. Patton, Professor of Polemical Theology of the Presbyterian Seminary of the North West. Though the charges were unproven, Mr. Swing withdrew to organize the Central church, where he continued his popularity until his death.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

## Chapter Eighteen

- Page 129 1 The Rev. Henry Ernst Muhlenberg D.D. (1753-May 23, 1815) was for years pastor at Lancaster, Pa. He was the son of the Lutheran Patriarch, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. (See Dict. of Am. Bio.; E.R. for Oct. 1853, p.520 ff.)
- 2 See S.G.H. p. 154 ff.; P.C. p. 71 ff.; Min. of Min. of Pa.
- 3 The Rev. Reuben Hill D.D. (1826-Mar. 3, 1895) was a graduate of the Gettysburg institutions. From 1855-59 he was pastor of St. James' church, Gettysburg, and married Rose Schaeffer, daughter of Dr. C.F. Schaeffer. His later pastorates took him to Hagerstown, Md., Pittsburgh, Pa., Rhinebeck, N.Y., Rochester, N.Y., and Allentown, Pa. We shall hear of him later as Financial Agent of the Philadelphia Seminary. (See the Lutheran for March 7, 1895; M.H. Richards in O.M. p. 213; Memoir by J.K. Plitt in Krauth Memorial Library.)

## Chapter Nineteen

- Page 131 1 Dr. Seiss was pastor of St. John's church, Philadelphia from 1854 till 1874. This congregation had been formed in 1806 for members of Zion's and St. Michael's congregations who were eager for English services. The split then had been most violent, but the new English church, the first in the city, elected the Rev. Philip Mayer as its pastor, and started a separate existence. Dr. Mayer gave his whole life to the parish, and Dr. Seiss was his immediate successor. Dr. Mayer's step-father was Dr. Quitman of the New York Ministerium, a leader of the rationalistic movement within the Lutheran Church in this country. The early part of Dr. Seiss' pastorate was spent in actually counteracting this rationalistic influence by means of a conservative, confessional program. St. John's church was a beautiful example of Georgian architecture with a high pulpit on the East Wall, almost level with the balcony. One can well understand the awe with which the country boy entered this sophisticated and elevated pulpit! A replica of this building was provided at 62nd. and Columbia Ave., Overbrook where St. John's is today; the original building was taken by the City for the approaches to the Camden Bridge. (See History of St. John's Church by E.E. Sibole (Phila. 1906.)
- 132 2 Dr. Kunkleman ( see p. 103) was pastor of St. Mark's church from 1868-1879. He had just come from the Pittsburgh Synod, where he had participated in the debate over entrance into the General Council..
- 3 The Rev. Joseph Augustus Seiss D.D. (1823-June 20, 1904) (See his Autobiography in Mss. in Krauth Memorial Library; Dict. of Am. Bio.; H.E. Jacobs in the Lutheran for June 12, 21, 28, 1904, and in L.C.R. for Oct. 1912 - The Making of the Church Book; G.F. Krotel in the Lutheran for June 30, 1904; G.W. Sandt in the L. C.R. for 1918; C.P.K.; Stuckert - Pulpit Treasury,

( ); Vol. III No. 2, p. 745 ff. - gives an account that suited Dr. Seiss' vanity; L.A. for 1929.)

n.b. Joseph Seiss was the son of a simple Maryland farmer. His first ambition was to become a minister, but his own Moravian pastor discouraged him. Through contact with a simple Lutheran pastor, who encouraged this desire, Dr. Seiss was able to make his way to Gettysburg, where he entered the College. His father was dead-set against his able-bodied son's leaving the farm, and turning his thoughts to an easier life; so Joseph's stay at Gettysburg was not made any pleasanter. He soon had to leave College, and take a teaching position in a neighboring town. Here he became the friend of a German reformed minister whose chief message was bound up with talks on temperance. In his travels with his friend, Dr. Seiss happened in on a meeting of the Virginia Synod. The men of the Synod, destitute of pastors, were glad to hear of this young man who wished nothing more than to be a minister. He was immediately examined, licensed, and soon ordained.

For the first year, the young clergyman was given a taste of why there were few ministers in Virginia. With a salary of seventy-five dollars a year, he rambled through Northern Virginia as a missionary.

He was soon called as pastor at Shepherdstown, W. Va. This parish had formerly included Martinsburg, but at Dr. Seiss' coming, it was divided, and Dr. Seiss became the pastor in the congregation that Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth had served. Though only twenty-three, Dr. Seiss' gifts as an expository preacher were soon evident, and his elders spent much time trying to find out where he 'lifted' his sermons. During his stay in Shepherdstown, Dr. Seiss was a strong opponent of the New Measures that were everywhere in evidence. In addition, he had to oppose the unstable views of many in his congregation, who were influenced by the Millerites.

His second pastorate was at Cumberland, Md. (1847-52). From here, he was called to the Lombard Street Church in Baltimore, which had formerly been under the same Dr. Krauth. Again, he was forced to oppose no end of Methodistic practices. His leisure time gave him opportunity to express himself in writing more extensively.

It was in 1858 that he came to Philadelphia. He set at once to work to eradicate the influences of his predecessor. He prepared a hymn-book of his own, the Evangelical Psalmist to take the place of the old New York Hymn Book of Dr. Quitman. This book was an

attempt first to improve the General Synod book, but Dr. Seiss' original purpose was left far behind, and the book turned out as a new hymnal with music.

Because the East Pennsylvania Synod was the English speaking synod in the territory, it was natural that Dr. Seiss should join that body, and bring St. John's into its membership. He acted as President of the Synod at a time when the two synods were eager to settle their differences and merge, but when his own synod refused to cooperate, Dr. Seiss, in disgust, withdrew to the Ministerium.

In all the literary projects of the Church, Dr. Seiss had a hand. In Philadelphia, he was largely responsible for the formation of the Joint Stock Co. which induced the Missionary, and the Lutheran Home Journal to unite as the Lutheran and Missionary. Dr. Seiss was elected President of the new company, and upon him fell the burden of leading it through the troublous times ahead. The business agents were often incompetent, and the company was faced with heavy losses. Then the editor would resign, and Dr. Seiss would be left with the paper. As President of the Stock Company, he became editor, part-manager, and general water boy of the Lutheran and Missionary.

In the formation of the General Council, Dr. Seiss, though a leader, took little part, for he well knew that his leadership would only antagonize the German groups that were on the border. But these very groups considered the Lutheran and Missionary as largely his paper, - as perhaps it was. Dr. Seiss, moreover, was not a man who could keep silent for long on subjects on which he had any opinion - and he had a definite opinion upon them all. Therefore, the Lutheran, though not the official organ of the General Council at all, but often the mouthpiece of one individual, created much embarrassment for the General Council during the years of its childhood.

## Chapter Twenty

1 The Rev. (J.P.) Benjamin Sadtler (1823-April 28, 1901) was a graduate of the Gettysburg institutions. He served parishes in Pine Grove, Pa., Shippensburg, Middletown, and Easton, Pa. till 1862, when he became the Principal of Lutherville Seminary. He was later President of Muhlenberg College for a period of nine years. Dr. Sadtler's wife was Caroline Schmucker, daughter of Dr. S.S.Schmucker.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio; O.M. p. 81 ff; W. p.392)

Page 137      2      Prof. Victor L. Conrad (1824-Jan. 7, 1900) was  
the brother of Dr. F.W. Conrad, and was later  
associated with him in editing the Lutheran Observer  
(see p.      ). Mr. Conrad was Professor of Natural  
Sciences for three years.  
(See Min. of N.Y. and N.J. Syn. for 1900, p. 36 ff.)

Page 138      3      July 22, 1870.  
4      as a member 1869-72.

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*Memiors of  
Henry Oyster Jacobs*

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Volume 2

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**NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN**  
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**Edited and Annotated By  
- Henry E. Horn**

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NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN

M E M O I R S

of

H E N R Y E Y S T E R J A C O B S

Volume II.

Written in 1906

Edited and annotated by

Henry Eyster Horn in 1938

These Memoirs and Notes have been placed in this mimeographed form for the use of the church. In this present form they are the result of several years' work terminated about 1940. No subsequent effort has been made to bring the Notes up to date with notices about books appearing since that time, except those immediate additions which were possible in the typing. It is expected that permissions to use this material will be sought through the editor.

Henry E. Horn  
338 Harvard St.  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

September 21, 1974

# NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN

*As Edited and Annotated By*  
**HENRY E. HORN**

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## Chapter Twenty One - First Year as Gettysburg Professor

None of the members of the Faculty into which I entered when the session began on September 1, 1870 had been in that same Faculty when I had begun my work as tutor six years before. Every member of the old Faculty had left, Drs. Baugher and Stoeber by death, Dr. Muhlenberg by removal to Allentown and my father by physical disablement. The professors with whom I became associated were all new to the work. President Valentine had been in office two years; Prof.s Ferrier and Croll, four; Profs. Baugher and Martin, one. The average term of service of the members of the old Faculty, when I became tutor, was 21 years. It is a disadvantage to an institution when the change of administration is made abruptly. A new Faculty ought to be constantly growing up within the old, the older members maintaining the historic continuity and representing the reasons for established rules and precedents, and the younger members infusing their warm blood and aggressive spirit into the work. With my three years service under Dr. Baugher, and the extraordinary responsibilities thrown on me then because of his declining years, I was probably less a stranger to the inner life of the College than any of my colleagues, although I was the most recent acquisition.

When Gettysburg was lifted out of obscurity by the ever memorable events of July 1863, the hope was cherished by many friends of its Institutions, that its reputation would be increased, and a larger patronage would follow. Such had not been the case. Two or three names a year may have been added from those who learned of the College in this way; probably just as many particularly from the South were kept away by the associations. The moral standard of the town was undoubtedly lowered by its becoming an excursion center. Among the laboring classes a holiday spirit prevailed, with reliance upon a few days or weeks in the year in which money might be made to defray the idleness the rest of the time. There was an increase of dissipation. Excursionists were often drunken and violent. Sunday was sometimes the noisiest and busiest day of the week. Even apart from such more flagrant abuses, the distractions to study were increased. There were public occasions when no one in the community could be entirely independent of what was transpiring.

But if the Battle did not increase the number of students, the earnestness of the ecclesiastical struggle to a certain degree made up for it. The withdrawal of probably more than a score or more of the students with Dr. Muhlenberg to start Muhlenberg College was scarcely felt. Partisan zeal made the pastors more active agents for students than ever before; and the number instead of decreasing, actually had increased.

When Dr. Baugher died, the most natural arrangement would have been that Dr. Stoever should have succeeded to the Presidency. His life had been spent in the College. He had come to Gettysburg as a boy, and had advanced step by step, from student to tutor, from tutor to Principal of the Preparatory Department, from Principal to Professor. He was still in his vigor, being only forty-eight years old. His circle of acquaintances was the widest of any man at Gettysburg. He had a rare gift of making and retaining friends. His vacations were largely occupied in traveling from place to place, and keeping in close touch with the families of students, and former pupils, as well as men of high influence in Church and State and business life. He took a personal interest in every one with whom he came into contact; and was called upon for advice by men moving in entirely different circles. In many respects he resembled somewhat Dr. Schaff in this respect, altho', unlike Dr. Schaff, he did not concentrate his attention upon scholars or influential leaders, but felt for and sought out all classes. I can recall the friendship which he cultivated with Mr. George W. Childs, while the latter was as yet in obscurity. He not only gratefully accepted the hospitality of others, but he had frequent visits at his home from eminent men. When the Presidency of Girard College had been vacant - a few years before - Dr. Stoever failed of election only by a tie vote. Dr. Krauth told me that the real reason for his defeat was that some of the directors thought that so agreeable a gentleman could not be a very efficient disciplinarian. Dr. Stoever's mother lived in Germantown for a number of years after his death.

If Dr. Stoever had been elected, there can be no question that he would have been a tireless canvasser for students, and would have brought to the College much influence from outside circles. It is true that he was not a magnetic teacher. His gifts were social and executive; his teaching was mechanical; his voice was weak and his delivery was monotonous. His strength lay where Dr. Baugher was weak; his weakness where Dr. Baugher was strong. If Dr. Stoever had been a strong partisan when the General Synod divided, he probably would have been elected. But while loyal to the General Synod, and pronounced in his declaration that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania should have made every concession on the controverted points rather than have remained outside, he at the same time would have preferred milder action than that which prevailed. He had friends on both sides and did not propose to be separated from either. Thrown off the Treasurership of the Education Board for some reason, I heard it openly stated to the West Pennsylvania Synod at Littlestown in 1867, that, by his private talks with beneficiaries, he might make them less loyal to the General Synod. This simply indicated why he was out of consideration when a vacancy occurred in the Presidency of the College. I am confident that he

was ambitious for it and felt somewhat hurt when one of his pupils was preferred before him. He survived only two years. I dined with him as a guest on his last birthday. He was then fifty years old. Directly after my election, he came to Philadelphia to spend some time with his relatives. The weather was oppressive. He walked in visits to his friends more than his strength could bear; and died of exhaustion.<sup>2</sup>

The Presidency had come to Dr. Valentine unsought. He did not want it, and had to be persuaded not only to accept it, but when he had accepted it, to retain it. Its administrative duties and the maintainance of discipline were never tasteful to him. All his habits were those of the student. His study was a work-shop, where he unintermittingly labored, and from which he did not want to be called. He made a great sacrifice when he abandoned the Professorship of Church History in the Seminary, altho' his mode of thought was philosophical rather than historical. He had worked his way from the farm, at rather an advanced age, through College and Seminary. No student of his period had more thoroughly won the esteem of both Professors and fellow-students, as he advanced with more than usual maturity of mind from every step in the two Gettysburg institutions, from student to Tutor, and from Tutor into the ministry, in which he enjoyed the privilege of being a supply for Dr. Krauth, Jr., at Winchester, Va., and of later an associate of Dr. Passavant where he was an early pastor of Zion's Church, Greensburg. Throat trouble had ended his pastorate there. He had been Principal of Emmaus Orphans' Home, Middletown, and, for a few years, pastor at St. Matthew's, Reading.

His training was not such as afforded him any particular advantages for the part to which he was called. He was ~~narrow, one-sided, pedantic, artificial,~~ sensitive, slightly hard of hearing; but mild, gentle, amiable. He was a forceful writer, and a thoughtful and inspiring preacher. But his discourses were rather philosophical essays than sermons, and had an ideal audience in mind rather than the people before him who were to be instructed and moved. ~~As a President, his policy was somewhat antagonistic to that of his predecessor.~~ But from one extreme he ran to the other. The excessive severity of Dr. Baugher gave place to a reliance upon the honor of the students to an extent that allowed many gross irregularities. The real significance of Dr. Valentine's election was that he could be trusted to keep the College running in the groove of General Synodism, rather than elevate it to one independent of the issues involved in current controversies. For whatever may have been Dr. Valentine's personal excellences, to the very last he remained an ardent partisan, and used all his strength, even in his old age, in repressing every effort to give the College a wider outlook.<sup>3</sup>

Prof. Ferrier was a Presbyterian minister, and a stranger, a good teacher, but one who, apart from his class-room work, had no influence<sup>4</sup>. Prof. Croll lacked independent judgment. His teaching was lifeless and tedious. Everything was done by rote. His opinions were never discriminating, but echoes of what others had said.<sup>5</sup>

Prof. Martin also thought and acted like an utter stranger. He was always on the outside. A graduate of Hamilton College, he had been President of North Western University at Watertown, Wis., where his experience with the Missouri element had taught him a severe lesson. Part of the endowment he had collected had been restored to the donors because of scruples concerning loaning out funds at interest. He had lived in constant conflict with the extremists on one side, only to come to Gettysburg and be associated with those on the other. He excelled in social gifts. He was a most entertaining conversationalist and agreeable companion; but not a close or progressive student. He was critical, censorious, and pessimistic. If he had put himself down to systematic, thorough work, he might have stood very high in the judgment of the Church.<sup>6</sup> But he became discouraged and devoted himself to the care of his wife and only child; and after a time, of the large fortune of his father-in-law.

Prof. Baugher inherited many of the peculiarities of his father. He was a good teacher, a diligent but not systematic student, an earnest and solid preacher, an energetic and aggressive advocate of every cause in which he took an interest. He never shrank from taking the initiative but was courageous, outspoken, progressive. He had supplemented his Gettysburg education with a year at Andover, Mass., and by travel in Europe. The son of the former President, and the descendant in a direct line from one of the first pastors of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, he felt the influence of historical traditions. He was abrupt, impatient, denunciatory of those differing with him, tactless. What characterized the father as a temporary ebullition of feeling, became in the son a settled and unyielding principle.<sup>7</sup>

At the first meeting of the Faculty which I attended, I was appointed to draw up a Minute on the death of Dr. Stoeber. Altho' it was an unusual procedure for a successor to prepare resolutions of respect on one who had never been his colleague, I complied. The resolutions on the Minutes are mine, without any amendment.

To the students, I was not altogether a stranger. A large number of the Seniors and Juniors, as well as a few in the other classes, had been my pupils in the Preparatory Department. With the higher classes, it seemed perfectly natural to resume the acquaintance and work that had been interrupted by my three years' absence from the College.<sup>8</sup> The Seniors had been naughty boys. They had rendered the life of two Professors intolerable; and had

triumphed in an appeal to the Faculty against the Professor of Natural Sciences, who had thus been compelled to resign.<sup>9</sup> But although I completed their work in this department that had been so entirely disorganized and they knew I was a novice, there was never the least symptom of disorder or inattention.

My duties as Professor of Latin called for ten hours of recitations weekly. To these, three more were added for the Seniors in Chemistry and Geology. The Latin authors (Cicero, Livy, Horace) read in the two lower classes I had taught already at Thiel Hall. I found enough to interest me in preparation for the higher classes. I began my plan, which I have since pursued, of always taking up something entirely new to me, and throwing all my energy in the study of that, and then carrying over (in the study of that) the impulse to the other classes. As such new subjects at this period, I recall the Germana of Tacitus, and the Andria and Heauton-timoroumenos of Terence. In the class-room, I tried to constantly vary methods, and to keep the students' mind on the alert. Four small boxes were procured on which were posted the names of the classes. Slips with the names of the students were kept within these boxes. With entire impartiality, and yet without mental effort, the names were drawn and announced, so that no one could tell when he would be called on to recite. But the Professor often departed from this course. In order to keep a class up to standard, it would be sometimes advisable to give a particularly good student a difficult passage, or a particularly weak brother a section the poor soul could translate. When myself a pupil, I had thought out many devices which I adopted when I became a teacher.

But it was to the Chemical laboratory that I had to give a very large share of my attention. Since my father had ceased teaching Chemistry, and the funds of the College had increased, the apparatus had been completely renewed, and facilities afforded, we as students never enjoyed. I availed myself of everything at hand in preparation for my classes, trying many experiments in order to be successful in the class-room. I narrowly escaped being blinded by putting a crystal of Chlorate of Potash on a glass surface with a small quantity of alcohol, and then applying a glass rod I had dipped into a bottle of sulphuric acid. I had also a violent explosion of phosphuretted Hydrogen, damaging a few coats in the presence of the class. I always resorted to my father for instruction.

When we reached Mineralogy, I began to study the large collection that had been purchased some years before for the College. I had no difficulty in giving the class as much instruction as it could assimilate. The class got a general idea of the subject; and that was all that was needed unless they wanted to specialize. We made a canvass of Culp's Hill and neighborhood for geological purposes.

The pulpit of the College (Christ's) Church was filled by the Professors of the Seminary and College without compensation. Dr. Hay, the pastor, sent me a schedule on which I was assigned every sixth Sunday morning and every fourth Sunday evening and Wednesday evening. The voluntary arrangement undertaken by the Professors in the first years of the College had grown into a rule which was executed as though by written statute. The freedom and joy of preaching were in measure lost. Confusion also was sure to occur. Even if the preachers were in entire harmony, the unity of the services would be lost in such variety. But some observed the Church Year; and others ignored it. I had heard the same Scripture lesson read three Sundays in succession. There was no small doctrinal divergence among them. The rancor of the Church controversy could not be excluded. They preached, I think, not at or against me, but against those who, they thought, had too much influence over me.

The first Sunday of the session Rev. J.I. Burrell of Brooklyn, N.Y., was visiting Gettysburg, and filled the pulpit in the evening. He preached on the work of the Holy Spirit, and charged Conservative Lutheranism with not believing in the Holy Spirit. Before going to Brooklyn, he had been a rampant revivalist in Northampton Co., Pa. (Stone Church), and had encountered opposition from pastors of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.<sup>10</sup> It being my turn to preach the next Sunday morning, I prepared a sermon on Rom. 8:17: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit". The next time I had to preach my uncle, W.F.E.,<sup>11</sup> came along and kindly relieved me. As the second morning appointment approached, a good man (a theological Professor at that) in his enthusiasm, tried to show that it makes no difference what one believe, only so his life be right. This prompted me to choose as my next text, Matt. 22:42: "What think ye of Christ?" I always avoided carefully the polemical tone, and everything that might be construed into a personal or partisan allusion; but tried to set forth the truth that had been ignored or denied, in all its practical bearings.

My entrance into the Faculty was celebrated by teas and dinner parties in all the Professors' homes, as well as by Dr. Brown's. Gettysburg was very sociable that winter. I attended a number of entertainments and declined others. Beside this I was writing frequently for "The Lutheran", and was a diligent letter-writer. I was writing two letters every week to one of my former pupils! During Christmas vacation, I visited Philipsburg. Mr Roth had succeeded me as First Professor, and had organized the College. The troubles had already begun. The project of removal to Greenville was being agitated.

At the close of the year my salary was raised from \$1000 to \$1300; but at the same time the salary of my father as Professor Emeritus was discontinued. This action was taken notwithstanding the fact that the Board, on his retirement, had resolved that such salary should be paid him throughout life, and he had the action signed in writing over the signature of its officers. (At the Post Office, one of the Board was heard to say that they never imagined that Dr. Jacobs was going to live so long.)

Dr. Hay and Mr. A.D. Buehler, both members of the Board spoke to me in bitter protest against what their colleagues had done. My father never learned of this action. My mother and I dreaded the effect which its communication would have upon him. He asked several times what the Board had done; but I managed to evade the answer. He would have had to know it at last, but we were hoping to prepare him for it.

I left home about July 10th for Philipsburg to spend a week or two at my former residence and with my prospective bride. When I returned the blow we had so long dreaded had fallen.

During the year that I had spent with my father, in many respects he had improved. He was certainly less helpless and more comfortable. He could walk without assistance. His voice was generally stronger. His sufferings at night were not acute. But he was weaker. He had had a severe fall and had broken his collar-bone. But he reacted. He did not expect to survive long. As Spring approached, and we stood at the end of Chambersburg Street, surveying the landscape westward with its green covering, and the blue mountains in the background, he said: "The only regret I have in dying is that I must leave so beautiful a world." His cheerfulness kept up to the end. Rev. M.L.Culler called a few weeks before the end. My father's voice was so feeble, the visitor could not understand him. Turning to me in distress he said, "Oh, Henry! he doesn't recognize me." Then he speaking more distinctly, the words came: "To be sure I do; you have not changed colour (Culler)."

Every day his German Bible was read, and alongside of it the German Hymn-Book, the first edition of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which had been his father's. The hymns of this collection he was frequently reading. He took an interest in my new books; but was apt to fall asleep on his feet while reading, and to lose his balance. His hands were too stiff to hold a book. As in former years, I was accustomed to lie on the mohair sofa in the study and read, while he was at work at his table, so he wanted to be where I was working, and would rest on the same sofa in the same room, while I was preparing for my classes.

The end was at last sudden. On Friday evening (July 21st. 1871); at bedtime, one of the family read a Scripture selection, and, in a strong and distinct voice, he made a prayer. The next morning, at 4:30 A.M., my mother discovered that a stupor had come from which he could not be aroused. He died seven hours later.

I was telegraphed for, and at once started homewards, telegraphing that I was on my way. I reached York early Sunday morning, and secured conveyance and driver to take me to Gettysburg. At Abbotstown we stopped for about twenty minutes for breakfast, and then resumed the ride. It was nearly noon, when we approached the house, and I saw the crepe hanging at the door that told me that all was over.

The funeral arrangements had been made before my arrival by my mother and brother Will. They had asked Drs. Hay, A.H.Lochman and C.W.Schaeffer to conduct the services. Dr. Lochman's address is published in a volume of his sermons printed shortly after his death.<sup>12</sup> They had all three been pastors of the church at Harrisburg, and intimate friends of my father. Dr. Baum also assisted in the Church services. The choir, by request, sang one of his favorite hymns:

"What sinners value, I resign;  
Lord, 'tis enough that Thou art mine,  
I shall behold Thy blissful face,  
And stand complete in righteousness.

This life's a dream, a fleeting show,  
But the bright world to which I go,  
Hath joys substantial and sincere;  
When shall I wake and find me there?"<sup>13</sup>

My father died one year after his colleague, Dr. Stoever. The date was the same, July 22nd.

To the present day, my father is ever before me. There is scarcely an hour when I do not recall his words and his looks. I often ask myself, in some perplexity which I encounter, what he would do or say under the circumstances.

It was shortly after recovering from the shock, I think, that I prepared a long review of Dr. Krauth's "Conservative Reformation", which had just appeared. I offered it to Drs. Brown and Valentine for "The Lutheran Quarterly",<sup>14</sup> as they had urged me to be a contributor. With some embarrassment, they declined to publish it. "The Mercersburg Review" gave it a place.<sup>15</sup>

## Chapter Twenty Two - Calls To Leave Gettysburg

The next year Prof. Samuel P. Sadtler having arrived from Goettingen where he was studying, I was relieved of the Scientific work, and was able to concentrate myself on my department!

The Pittsburgh Synod met at Warren, Pa. It was a long trip, but I undertook it.<sup>2</sup> The Synod, the preceding year, had passed a resolution requesting me to retain my membership in it. I was made a member of a committee to settle difficulties that had already arisen in the Board of Thiel College. One of the Professors proved to be entirely incapable, and the Professor who urged the need of a change, was the very man who had forced his election over my protests. The Synod was divided between the friends of the two Professors!<sup>3</sup>

Sunday, I spent at Erie at Mr. Jarecki's<sup>4</sup> preaching for the First Church, now known as "Memorial Lutheran Church." A congregational meeting was called after the morning service, and a committee waited on me with a unanimous call. Dr. Passavant had sprung a surprise on me. As my father had died, he thought the necessity for my remaining at Gettysburg was over, and thus, opened the way. But I could not leave so abruptly. I had just begun the year. The rules required six months notice for a resignation; and at this time of the year, it would be insisted on, particularly as the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was also concerned. Besides, my mother and sister were to be looked after. The grief for my father was too fresh for them, to be left just then. I took the call home with me, but, after a few days, sent a formal declination.

Shortly after I received through Rev. R. Adelberg, a formal call to a Professorship of English in North Western University - the college of the Wisconsin Synod at Watertown, Wis. To accept this call would have brought me into affiliation with the Missouri Synod.

The Pittsburgh Synod having elected me a delegate to the General Council at Rochester, N.Y., I attended. I reported the discussion of the Theses on Justification by Faith.<sup>5</sup> Father Heyer was present, clothed in a new suit of shining broadcloth, very much in contrast with his former appearance. He had just returned from India. Full of humor, he teased me whenever he met me with a complimentary term Dr. Krauth had used in the discussion: "There comes the rising theologian," "Rising theologian, how are you?" On Sunday morning, attending the Church of the Reformation, Rev. R. Hill, pastor, as I was leaving the Church, Rev. Frank Richards met me, and brought me a message from the President of the General Council, Dr. Krauth. Dr. Schaeffer had returned homewards ill, and the appointment made for him to preach in English in the German Church in which the Council met, was transferred to me. There could be no refusal, as the announcement had already been made at the morning service. I submitted to the

inevitable, and preached the sermon on "The Witness of the Spirit," to which reference has already been made. After service, a venerable Episcopal clergyman requested the loan of my manuscript, had it transcribed, and published it in pamphlet form. (He was the Rev. I.V. Van Ingen, D.D., a brother-in-law of Bishop Whittingham of Maryland.) Some months afterwards, he kindly began to intimate that if I desired an ecclesiastical charge an opening would be found for me within his Church. I treated his invitation with all courtesy but let him know that my preferences did not lie in that direction.

Drs. Seiss, Spaeth and I were appointed a committee on an analysis of the Catechism. We began work on it very soon. I came down to Philadelphia several times during the winter on this errand. We prepared the Catechism with Scripture Proofs. Beside this we were working on a fuller explanation. Dr. Seiss prepared the part on the Ten Commandments. I completed the Sacraments. The manuscript must be among Dr. Seiss' papers.

From Rochester, I went past Hanover Junction to Baltimore. Mrs. Downing and family had just moved there from Phillipsburg. Spending Sunday with them, I attended Luther Chapel on Sunday morning, where the Maryland Synod was in session, and a Synodical communion was being administered. Dr. Morris drew me within the chancel and I assisted in the administration. In the afternoon, I was present at the ordination in the Lombard Street Church, Dr. D. Steck preaching the sermon. After tea at Dr. Wolf's, Miss Laura and I heard Dr. Valentine in St. Mark's Church. On New Year's Day, I was with Dr. Seiss, assisting him at communion.

A great crisis in my life was now approaching. I have deferred much that might have been said long before this.

Dr. Passavant had provided at Phillipsburg not only a teaching force, but a mother to look after the household gathered into Thiel Hall, in the person of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Downing. When I came to the school, she had been living there for over a year, and had been a widow for ten years. With the exception of a brief period directly after her marriage in her husband's home at Downingtown, Chester Co., her life had been spent, before coming to Philadelphia, entirely in Baltimore and its vicinity. Dr. Gerberding's "Life of Dr. Passavant" tells how he came to find his bride there, and of the family from which she came. Mrs. Downing was the sister next older.

Writing chiefly for my children, they need not be told how attractive and vivacious their grandmother must have been in her earlier years, and how cheerful must have been the family life where she presided. There were clouds - sometimes very dark ones - but the sun was always ready to burst through, and enliven the scene with his radiance. Left a widow with a large family of children, while still a young woman, she

had never lost heart, but trained her children well, kept them faithful to the Church, and provided for their education for lives of usefulness. Her eldest son had left home during the war, had been a captain in the army, and, upon his discharge, had entered into business, married and was separated from the family. Beside a young son, Seiss, - her four daughters were at home - Annie, a teacher in Thiel Hall; Maggie, who had taught, but was then at home preparing for her marriage; Georgie, the fourth daughter, then a little girl attending the school; and Laura, the third daughter of the family, forming the link which has bound me to it for life. I would not say a word here that might make her in any way appear ridiculous to one who may read this journal. But there was about her reserve force, combined with agreeableness of manner, absolute propriety of deportment, thoughtfulness, maturity of judgment, quickness of apprehension, vivacity, elegance of language and manifest fruits of varied reading, that at once arrested my attention. When I undertook to give her and her sister Annie Latin lessons, I learned still more to appreciate her. Persuading her to take up Greek, her progress was more rapid than any pupil I have ever had. The entire verb was thoroughly mastered in all its parts at one recitation. Before this, I had confirmed her at the first communion in the Church of the Redeemer.

And so, notwithstanding her great youth, for she was nearer sixteen than seventeen, - we decided, just as her sister was about being married, and she was about accompanying her East, that, Providence permitting, there should be another marriage afterwhile within that household. Three years elapsed until our hopes were realized. But, at last, on July 3rd, 1872, with the thermometer at 102 in the room, we were married at high noon in Baltimore. Dr. Seiss came from Philadelphia, to perform the ceremony. Dr. H.W. Roth and Dr. E.J. Wolf were present. The Passavant family were represented by Walter. Mr. and Mrs. Hewes, her granduncle and grandaunt, Mrs. Grim of Philadelphia, my brother Will, and Julia, beside her own family, and the Dunnings her cousins, living in the same house, were also witnesses. We spent some days at Williamsport, where I preached on Sunday morning; thence went to Watkin's Glen, where Judge Wills and wife, with their two daughters, of Gettysburg, met us and accompanied us there and at Niagara.

Throughout the years that have come and gone since then, she has risen to every occasion, adapted herself to every emergency, been a companion to me in all my undertakings in the truest sense, and a constant stimulus and incentive to exertion, encouraging and persuading me to undertakings that I was more than once about declining. My life cannot be interpreted except in connection with hers. A more faithful, devoted and sympathetic mother cannot be found. She has known how to combine the deepest affection for her children, and interest in all that concerns them with

unhesitating decision and firmness where needed. She has labored with me to bring them up in the fear of God, and to afford them the very best educational advantages within reach. Her life has been one constant act of self-denial for their interest. The English element prepondering in her ancestry has tempered my entirely German pedigree. The North German practical business trend of her German forefathers has balanced the South German characteristics of mine. Her birth and education in a large city have been a corrective for the provincialisms of her husband's rearing in a country town. When we were married her knowledge of German was so in excess of mine that it put me to shame, and kept me at its study until I learned to read it with facility. She is so essential to my life, that I find it difficult to endure her absence except for a very few days at a time. As a rule, I want to see how a thing looks through her eyes, before my final judgment is made.<sup>11</sup>

Returning to Gettysburg, with my bride, we made our home with my mother, in the house where I had been born and reared, during the eleven years that followed. My length of stay there was uncertain. Every year seemed to have indications that it might be the last.

We certainly could not complain of lack of attention on the part of our acquaintances. In all the unpleasant controversies there, I seemed to have escaped any personal antagonisms. Nothing broke my social relationships. Even the venerable Dr. S.S.Schmucker with his wife called on the young couple; as did also the other Professors. We also were at frequent entertainments that winter. My colleague, Dr. Baugher, had been married a few months before; and it was convenient to do honor to both events. My brother-in-law, A. Seiss Downing, entered the Junior Class of the College. He had passed through the Freshman Year at Thiel, the Sophomore at Muhlenberg, and finished his course at Gettysburg. By the variety of institutions he attended he was laying the foundations for his subsequent career as a successful educator and organizer of schools in the State of New York. The youngest in his class, he was full of College pranks,<sup>12</sup> with such fellows as the present Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, a former Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and a Judge of Common Pleas of the State of Ohio, that gave his sister no little concern.<sup>13</sup>

The beautiful drives around the town, the mountain roads above it on the West, the rocky points around Culp's Hill and the Devil's Den, the rich autumn foliage at every turn, the convenient walk to the cemetery with its extended landscape and gorgeous sunsets formed a fitting frame for our honeymoon.

## Chapter Twenty Three - The Chicago Seminary

That autumn the Pittsburgh Synod met as usual; but I was not there. The General Council also met at Akron, O. Neither was I there. I had married a wife; and therefore could not go.

But although I was not at Akron, the meeting there nevertheless brought a knotty personal problem for my solution. There a Constitution for the Proposed Seminary at Chicago was proposed by the "Commission of Twelve" appointed by the Chicago Convention of 1869. It was a revision of the Constitution of the Philadelphia Seminary. Accompanying it were a number of statements, followed by recommendations. The statements began with the report that "one of our ministers" offered four acres of ground adjoining the city of Chicago, as the site, with a detailed description of the ground and estimate of its value. It was further announced that a subscription of \$1500 had been obtained for the support of the first English professor for one year, and a personal pledge from a member of the committee to raise a second \$1500 for the succeeding year, should no sufficient endowment be secured. The belief was expressed that \$10000 could be secured "during the coming year" for erection of most necessary buildings, "so that by the 1st of September 1873, they may be ready for occupancy without incumbrance of debt." The recommendation was made, "that at this convention, an election be held for the Board of Directors of the Seminary, and also for the first English Professor," and, furthermore, "that the General Council invite, and hereby does respectfully invite the Augustana Synod's Institution at Paxton, to unite with the new Theological Seminary at Chicago."

The ground was accepted with thanks to Dr. Passavant, and two committees appointed, one to name directors, and the other, to nominate the Professor. Dr. Passavant with the Augustana representatives Drs. Hasselquist and Carlson, constituted the former committee, and presented the names of a Board of 12 ministers and 12 laymen. The committee to nominate a Professor consisted of Dr. Seiss and Revs. H.W.Roth, G.W. Mechling, S. Klingman, T.N.Hasselquist and J.H.Hunton. Their report reads: "The committee appointed to nominate some suitable person or persons, to be voted for as the first English Professor in the Chicago Seminary, reported that they had unanimously agreed to present the name of Rev. Prof. Henry E. Jacobs of Gettysburg, Pa." <sup>2</sup>

The election immediately following, an Akron paper reported some remarks on the recommendation made by Dr. Krauth, that were so indiscriminate in their commendation of the nominee, as to cause him much amusement. I remember only one: "He unites the maturity of age, with the enthusiasm of youth." Finding a grey hair in my beard, I showed it to Mrs. Jacobs, and said: "See here, I have found at last the maturity of age, of which Dr. Krauth spoke."

I was by no means elated. The result was no surprise, but I felt that Dr. Passavant by his eloquence and personal magnetism had swept the Council before him, and that the action did not represent near as much as appeared on paper. If the General Council, calmly deliberating on the subject, would reach the mature conviction that it needed a Seminary at Chicago, and was ready to support it, I would accept. But I wanted to be assured of this. I discovered by correspondence that there was no great interest on the part of our members in the East, that I should accept. Dr. Seiss urged me not to decline it at once, as I desired, but to hold it under consideration, there need be no hurry. Dr. Krauth's advice was similar. Dr. Schmucker's judgment was that of Gamaliel, Acts 5:38,39.

It was evident that the Eastern portion of the Church was not ready to lift a finger to further the movement; and, as to the Church west, the General Council had practically nothing outside of the Augustana Synod, and besides it was not Wagenhals and Mechling and Fahs who were pushing the project, but Dr. Passavant. The future success of the movement was to depend upon Dr. Passavant influencing the Western pastors, and these pastors enlisting the support of their people. The movement had to be proved from above downwards, instead of from beneath upwards. Then notwithstanding Dr. Krauth's extravagant estimate of my fitness for a theological Professorship, I knew well my own weakness. I was just 28 years old. My course at the Gettysburg Seminary had been most unsatisfactory. My efforts to remedy its defects had been made under the constant strain of exacting duties and interruptions. There were a few branches which I might make an effort to teach. But how could I become an entire Seminary? That my associates at Gettysburg were very kind in urging me not to leave the College, had no influence as to the result. I had many long letters from Dr. Passavant; and for nearly ten years, he continued his efforts. I went to the General Council at Erie in 1873, to test the temper of the General Council. While I found the Norwegian-Augustana man very anxious that the Seminary should be immediately started, Drs. Hasselquist and Carlson, representing the Swedish-Augustana, did not actively urge it. Every one seemed to look towards Dr. Passavant, with a satisfied air, that if he could succeed in having the Seminary planted, it would be desirable, and that, to this end, he might use the endorsement of the General Council. Dr. Passavant, in turn, seemed to be looking towards me, and insisted, if I would at once begin, success would be assured.

I felt that I was being put into a false position by allowing the matter to be pending so long. Shortly after the Erie meeting (1873), I, therefore, wrote to the Corresponding Secretary of the General Council ( Rev. Dr. B.M.Schmucker) formally declining the call, and assigning my reasons for so doing. The minutes of the Jamestown, N.Y. Convention contained the following:

"The letter of the Rev. Prof. Jacobs, declining the call to the professorship tendered him in the proposed

Theological Seminary was read, whereupon, it was RESOLVED, That having heard the letter of Rev. Prof. Jacobs, declining the professorship to which he was elected in the Chicago Theological Seminary, in view of all the circumstances of the case, action upon the acceptance of the resignation be deferred until our next annual Convention." 3

At Galesburg in 1875, the Board of Directors reported to the General Council the following resolutions:

- "1. RESOLVED - That it is the conviction of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Theological Seminary, that great damage has resulted to our Church in the West, from the unavoidable delay, in commencing this institution, and also, that to avoid further injury to this important undertaking, the opening of the Seminary, if possible, be not delayed longer than the first week of September, 1876.
2. RESOLVED - That the Board earnestly ask the General Council to request the Rev. Henry E. Jacobs to withdraw his declination, and to accept the Professorship of Systematic Theology, to which he was so unanimously and cordially called, by the suffrages of this body.
3. RESOLVED - That we request the General Council to elect a Professor of Pastoral Theology at this Convention, and that, until special provision be otherwise made, such other branches of instruction be assigned to him by the Board, as may be consistent with his other engagements.
4. RESOLVED - That the Revs. W.A. Passavant and E. Belfour and Messrs. P. Anderson and L.H. Johnson, be a committee to procure the necessary plans and specifications for the residence of the first Professor, on the Seminary grounds at Chicago, and that they be hereby authorized to proceed with its erection during the summer of 1876; provided, however, the necessary means can be secured, so as not to involve this Board or the General Council in any pecuniary obligations.
5. RESOLVED - That the Revs. S. Wagenhals and G.W. Mechling be authorized to solicit subscriptions and donations for this object, in the States of Indiana and Ohio, and that the Rev. W.A. Passavant be hereby appointed the General Financial Agent, to obtain funds for the same purpose and for the salaries of the Professors.

The consideration of this report was resumed, and the following action was taken in reference to it:

RESOLVED - That while deeply impressed with the importance and desirableness of having the Chicago Theological Seminary in full operation as soon as

possible, yet, inasmuch as no means have been provided for endowment of the erection of buildings, and inasmuch as the co-operation of the Swedish-Augustana Synod cannot now be obtained, that the General Council is not prepared at present to direct that the institution be opened.

RESOLVED - That action on the declination of the Rev. H.E.Jacobs of the Professorship in the Chicago Theological Seminary, be deferred until our next annual convention.

RESOLVED - That if the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary find it desirable and practicable to make arrangements for the temporary labors of Prof. H.E.Jacobs, at the Seminary at Rock Island, as well as provision for his support, they are hereby authorized to do so."<sup>4</sup>

This last proposition had been made to me, through Rev. H. Reck, the English Professor at Rock Island. Mr. Reck had been one of Dr. Passavant's most trusted friends and faithful colaborers. He wrote me of the hopelessness of any efforts to induce the Swedes to unite in the Chicago Seminary, and asked whether I would not be willing to accept a call from them to an English Professorship of Theology in their own Seminary, with a view to constituting that ultimately as the General Council's Western Seminary. I gave the proposition no encouragement.

The General Council continued, meeting after meeting, to postpone consideration of my declination, until it was at last overlooked. I still remain a Professor elect in the Chicago Seminary. It seems to me, as I review the case, that I should have insisted that the declination be accepted. It was an annoyance to have the matter constantly pressed upon me, and, yet, the conditions upon which an acceptance was possible, not considered. I was not favorably impressed with the course of our prominent Western leaders, in evading, instead of squarely meeting the issue.

With the final starting of the Seminary I had something to do. This we hope to relate at a later place.

A few weeks after our wedding, I wrote the article in "McClintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia" on Melanchthon.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Krauth suggested my name to the editors. My wife translated a sketch of the life of John Brenz from the German of Wildenhahn. It was published in several numbers of "The Lutheran."<sup>6</sup> During that winter, as well as the preceding, I was frequently in Baltimore, preaching a number of times for Dr. Morris in Luther Chapel and Dr. Wolf in the Lombard Street Church. On one of my visits there, I unexpectedly learned that Dr. Krauth was to lecture in Dr. Morris' church on "Life in the Danish West Indies." I heard the lecture. The next morning I spent with him at the house of the publisher,

Mr. Gustavus A. Dobler, and after dinner visited with him several bookstores, where we each made several purchases.

On April 14th, 1873, Easter Monday, I became a father. My eldest child, Eugenia Anna, was born at her grandmother Downing's in Baltimore, Md. For four years she brightened our lives, and left us April 23rd. 1877. She was a bright, affectionate child, who captivated all hearts, and constantly taught and trained us while we were training her. I have collected and written out many incidents of her life, and have had the Ms. bound. Drs. Martin and Wolf officiated at the funeral. She lies in Evergreen Cemetery alongside of her grandfather who preceeded her six years, and her grandmother Jacobs who mourned for her greatly, and followed her nearly fifteen years later. Her uncle Will, made an all-night drive from Harrisburg, and arrived early in the morning of the day she died. The day after her death was one of the brightest Spring days ever known, cloudless and warm, with fruit trees in blossom, and flowers in profusion, and the air vocal with the songs of birds. Grieved as I was, I could not wish her back; for she was safe. I remembered Luther's thanksgiving over his precious little daughter; and was consoled. But all this occurred four years later.

Early in the school-year, 1872-3, Prof. Ferrier resigned very suddenly, and only a few weeks were give<sup>n</sup> for the Board to make provision for his department. In connection with the meeting of the Board, probably in Nov. 1872, the Gymnasium - a frame building on the North-east end of the campus was formally opened. I never had any interest in the project, and the trial at Gettysburg proved a failure. The building was afterwards converted into a Chemical Laboratory.<sup>1</sup> In connection with the exercises, the two oldest Directors were requested to play the first game of ten pins. Could one have prophesied that the venerable Dr. S.S. Schmucker, a puritan of puritans in his theories, would ever have raised his hand to roll a ball? When Charles A. Hay was a theological student, he sought, in company with several of his fellows, a retired field on the bank of Marsh Creek, three miles away, where they might have a few games of ball - "town ball", probably undisturbed; and was it not their misfortune that their theological preceptor was taking a drive that afternoon, and caught them in the crime? The severe reprimand they received was impressed upon Dr. Hay's memory until the close of his life. When Dr. Charles W. Schaeffer was a member of the Board of Directors, the Seminary students, not long before the close of the session, had erected in the grove, back of the Seminary, parallel bars, for gymnastic feats. When the Board met, the Chairman of the Faculty reported it as a very serious offense, and took the Board that they might with their own eyes see the evidence. And did not the aforesaid Director horrify the Chairman of the Faculty, and astonished the commission de inquirendo delicto, by taking a run, and making a leap, according to the rules of the game, that would have brought the applause of the benches, in case there had been spectators?

But there he stands at the head of the alley, with ball poised in his hand, although his high silk hat remains to support his dignity. The ball rolls off the alley five feet away. The second ball goes off, on the other side, at perhaps the same distance. The third effort is no better. The naughty College boys raise up a deafening shout. Some of them are hanging from the rafters, and from that eyrie join in the noise.

But now comes the crisis. Here is the director, who, above all others, championed such recreations, and regarded himself an expert, - the venerable Dr. Morris, then seventy years old, but vigorous as though fifty. Off go coat and vest. He would not be embarrassed by such impediments. What a portly figure is uncoiled! He will show the boys the difference between the work of "an expert", and that of a mere layman in bowling! The whole audience is in a state of expectancy. But "there is many a slip", etc. The first ball does no better than that of Dr. Schmucker. The students put no restraint on themselves. There is a roar of laughter, followed by clapping of hands, and still louder laughing than over Dr. Schmucker's misfortune. The second ball rolls off to the side; and the third. Dr. Schmucker and Dr. Morris are at a tie, at zero! The alley is duly "consecrated".

I related the occurrence some years later to Dr. B.M. Schmucker. "Who would have thought", he said, "that my father could ever have been persuaded to handle a ten-pin ball!" And yet Martin Luther had an alley built in his garden for exercise!

At that meeting of the Board, I was assigned Prof. Ferrier's class ( Juniors) in Logic, for the rest of the year - an hour a week. The interest of the majority of the class was fully aroused, and that stimulated mine. But a few of the heavier men were left behind. One of the oldest members undertook to "cut" recitations. The Faculty decided that he must return, make up all he had missed to my satisfaction, or be dismissed. He boasted to his fellow-students that he would leave College before he would study Logic. I determined that he should not leave, and that he should make up everything he had missed without any concession. I found him one evening in front of Buehler's Drug (Book) Store. "Come, Mr. Dale", I said, "let us have a walk." Our walk was long. I laughed at his depreciation of his ability to master such a simple study. Of course he could do what the rest of his class-mates were doing! I would help him by giving him private instruction! We would see whether it could not be done! And so he came to me at the appointed time, period after period, until his deficiencies were all made up, and he stood even with the class! Of course, his fellow-students jeered at him for it, but he stood it very well. It was certainly more of a triumph to me than if he had been dismissed for his obstinacy. "I have made up my mind to leave College," he told Dr. Valentine; "but I was treated in such a gentlemanly way, that I could not

do otherwise than submit."

Prof. Ferrier, besides his Class Room work, had been Vice-President, alternating daily with Dr. Valentine in the conduct of Morning Prayers and the care of the building and students. The Board, by what was a remarkable proceeding, resolved to allow the Faculty, to elect his successor in this office. When the Faculty met, without any discussion, I was promptly elected. Dr. Valentine proposed the choice, and the rest of the Faculty acquiesced and urged me to accept. My compensation for the extra labor was to be use of the house on the College Grounds. I promised to take it under consideration, and report at the next meeting. Then, through local Trustees, particularly Mr. A.D.Buehler, I discovered the secret history of the transaction. The extra meetings of the Board were usually so slimly attended that there was difficulty in securing a quorum. But at this meeting, the number was unusually large. There had been an apprehension that Prof. Baugher might be elected to the Vice-Presidency, and the personal antagonism to him which ultimately dismissed him from the service of the College, was already gathering. When the Board assembled, my name was presented, and I was elected by the Board with great cordiality. As tutor, I had, during Dr. Baugher's last years, discharged most of the duties now devolving on the Vice-President. At the evening session, Dr. S.S.Schmucker made a statement that, on reflection, he thought the end in view could be reached in another way. The publication of the act that Prof. Jacobs had been elected by the Board of Pennsylvania College, as its Vice-President, might be construed as, to an extent, a recognition of his theological position, and might offend friends of the General Synod. But if the matter were left to the Faculty, it would be a tribute to his character and executive ability, and no more; and, beside, for this the Board would not be responsible! The action of the Faculty had not been spontaneous, but, in accordance with the program prepared for it by the Board. This I was told confidentially, in order that I might have the assurance that the Board desired me to accept.

My conviction was that if the Board was not ready to publicly approve my election to the second place in the administration of the affairs of the College, it had no right to claim my services. I knew well the position would be no sinecure, and that there would fall into my hands more than Prof. Ferrier ever attempted to perform. With Dr. Valentine's distaste for the work, and my inclination, when I undertook a matter, to be absorbed in it, I would soon be so thoroughly identified with the College, that a retreat would be impossible; and beside that, in difficulties which might arise, my ecclesiastical position might embarrass me. As Franklin Professor, I was a representative of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Gettysburg; but could I have remained such, if I had become Vice-President? The Board might try to evade the question at present by committing the election to the Faculty; but the time would come when it would have to officially approve or reject its choice. I declined. Dr.

S.F.Sadtler ( grandson of Dr. S.S.S.) was the next choice. He asked to be allowed to try the work for a week or two; and when he learned the situation, also declined. Dr. Martin and Prof. Croll were the only men left, with Prof. Baugher eliminated. Prof. Croll was elected, and continued in the office till his retirement. I could not but feel gratified that, after being rejected for a Professorship in 1869, three years later - and when only 28 years old - the Board was ready to entrust me with an office of such importance in my hands. The General Council's election to the Chicago Professorship and the call - if I could call it such - to the Vice-Presidency of the College, probably occurred the very same month. I might mention also, what I had almost forgotten, a scheme of the Board of Thiel College, to establish a "Bassler Professorship of Biblical Instruction," probably a year before, and the mention of my name in connection with it. The Minutes of the Board may show more concerning this than I at present recollect.

Beside my appointments in the College Church, I was called upon to preach in various places in the neighborhood. For the Presbyterians at Gettysburg I acted as supply for a considerable period: Their people were very friendly to me throughout my entire life at Gettysburg. In St. James' Lutheran Church and the Reformed church, I was less frequently. At Emmitsburg, Md., ten miles to the south-west, alongside the mountains, I was a number of times; my stopping place was with a physician, Dr. Eichelberger, who had been the family physician of Dr. Seiss' parents, and was gratified to tell of the help he had been in overcoming the father's opposition to sending his son to College. Miss Anna, afterwards Mrs. Rowe, was an intimate friend of my sister. Taneytown, 12 miles directly south, was another point, as well as the Mt. Joy church on the way, where the father and brother of Rev. H. Reck lived. At York, I assisted Dr. L.A.Gotwald, in St. Paul's church, at two communion seasons, and supplied his pulpit regularly during a trip he made to the Pacific coast. I had appointments also at Harrisburg, in Zion's church, and at Smithsburg, Md., and Cumberland, Md. (Reformation festival), beside those at Baltimore, already mentioned. In addition, I was called a number of times to Trinity Church, Reading, and other places in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, (Columbia, Lebanon, Myerstown, Easton). Once I went to New York, during an absence of Dr. Krotel in Easton.

In the summer of 1873 ( July 26), Dr. Schmucker died suddenly, after a few hours illness from angina pectoris, from which he had long suffered. He had lived in retirement for nine years. During most of his life he had ample private means, which - to his credit be it always remembered - he had freely spent in the service of the Church. Indeed much of his influence came from his readiness to be as heavy a giver as any to any cause, for which he ask the assistance of others. But he was injudicious in later years in his investments, particularly in oil stocks and bonds, and his resources disappeared. He became financial agent for the

College, and was disappointed to find that he could not secure subscriptions and gifts as in the early days of the College. When a vacancy occurred in the Seminary Faculty, by Dr. Valentine's assuming the College Presidency, it was generally understood that he desired to return to the institution which he had founded; but the doors were closed. He lived much of his time alone, his third wife preferring to remain with her relatives in Germantown. Three of his sons and three of his sons-in-law were ministers. S. Mosheim, the eldest, said to be a very gifted man, the son of his first wife, was once pastor of St. Michael's, Germantown.<sup>8</sup> He lacked stability and depth of character, became a lawyer, and doing himself no credit in his second profession devoted himself to literary pursuits, in which he had measureable success. He wrote, "Life of Hamilton", "Life of Henry Clay", "Life of Louis Napoleon", "History of the Civil War". He changed the spelling of the name to "Smucker."

Of Beale M., with whom I was somewhat closely associated, I will speak later. George W. was pastor at Rhinebeck, N.Y. and at Pottstown, but, on account of a throat affection, left the ministry, and became an insurance agent. He died in Philadelphia in 1905, and I conducted the funeral services at his house.

The sons-in-law were Rev. B. Sadtler, D.D., Second President of Muhlenberg College, Rev. B.C. Suesserott, who died early as pastor of St. John's, Lancaster, Pa., and Rev. A.T. Geissenhainer, a prominent member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

His sons, Samuel D., and Charles G.H. were my playmates and school-mates. Samuel, a few months older than I, is now Judge of the Court of Appeals of Maryland. Charles, the youngest and probably the most gifted of the family, died in 1862, greatly beloved and lamented by all who knew him.

Other daughters of Dr. Schmucker were married to Gettysburg lawyers, Hon. William A. Duncan, Member of Congress, and J. Cassett Neely, Esq., District Attorney of Adams County. The Duncan family are Reformed; the Neely family, Presbyterian.

The radical element in the General Synod continues to remain as the representatives of Dr. Schmucker's theological position. I do not think that I do it an injustice in saying that it interprets the distinctive feature of Lutheranism as being the absence of all distinctive features. The Presbyterian, and the Episcopal and the Methodist and the Baptist churches all have distinctive features. But according to this theological party, Lutheranism shows its superiority by having none whatever! It is the residuum that is left, after all denominational peculiarities have been eliminated.

## Chapter Twenty Four - The Ministerium of Pennsylvania

With the removal to Chicago no longer in prospect, my connection with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania became closer.

In the Spring of 1874 I received an invitation to preach in St. John's, Easton, then vacant by the removal of Rev. E. Belfour to Chicago.<sup>1</sup> I accepted and spent a Sunday there, stopping at the United States Hotel. My preaching was kindly received, and I was asked whether I would accept a call. My answer was that I would do so only upon one condition, viz., that it be unanimous. Shortly afterwards the Rev. Johnston R. Groff preached and so captivated the congregation with his stentorian voice, that I was nowhere.<sup>2</sup>

A few weeks later I went to Lancaster to apply for admission into the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. It was like going into another world. Everything differed so much from what I had previously experienced.

I stayed with Mr. J.F.Long, a retired druggist, whose wife, a woman of strong character and sweet disposition, was a daughter of Rev. Dr. J.C.Baker,<sup>3</sup> for many years pastor of the church in which the Synod met.<sup>3</sup> Rev. G.A.Reichert, the venerable Kittaning pastor, and Rev. Reuben Hill, just taking charge of St. John's, Allentown, were my companions.<sup>4</sup>

I had heard and read much of "the old synod" before, both favorable and unfavorable; and here I was about to enter it. My mother used to tell of its meeting at Harrisburg when she was very young,<sup>5</sup> and the impression it had made on her. She remembered the veneration in which "the fathers" were held, particularly the respect shown Dr. Helmuth, then a bent man, walking with tottering steps, who had entered the Ministerium in 1769;<sup>6</sup> and of the scrupulous attention some of the young men paid to dress, their "ruffled fronts", etc. It was the period of Jacob and Conrad Miller, and J.C.Baker and Hecht and J.G.Schmucker and Demme.<sup>7</sup> Then I remembered another meeting at Harrisburg about 1855, for which my mother remained, while my father and I returned to Gettysburg, as College was reopening, and the accounts she gave me of what she had seen and heard. The old Synod always had impressed the people with respect. Dr.C.W.Schaeffer incidentally referred once to the impression made on him, when a child of five, at the meeting at Harrisburg in 1818. The pastors assembled in their carriages at New Cumberland on Saturday afternoon, and then drove across the bridge, and entered Harrisburg in procession. Their appearance was an occasion to the town.

The old custom still prevailed of Preparatory Service on Saturday evening, with a sermon; and the Synodical Sermon, followed by the Communion, on Sunday morning. At the former service, Rev. A.J.Weddell of Norristown<sup>8</sup> - at the latter, Rev. B.M.Schmucker preached. While Dr. Schmucker had not the reputation of an able preacher, his sermon, on that occasion, on Acts 2:42, was admirable. In the evening, I went to Grace

Church to hear one of the young men of the Synod, Rev. E.T.Horn.

On Monday, the business sessions opened. There was more attention paid then than now to the order in which the pastors sat. The oldest in office occupied the front seats, particularly during the earlier sessions, and others followed according to their date of entrance into the ministry. The Ministerium has more than doubled since then. Of the 147 ministers present then, only 31 were present at the last meeting. The proceedings and discussions were more in German than in English. The proportion was perhaps that of three to one, as to number of speakers. But Dr. B.M.Schmucker spoke so often and so long, always in English, that he probably made up for the discrepancy.

Dr. E. Greenwald, the pastor of Trinity Church - presided, a venerable and fatherly man, a gentleman of the old school, with a cut-away coat, portly, rather florid, smooth shaven, except for suggestions of side-whiskers, and with hair thin, but coal black. His mouth showed firmness, his eyes, benevolence. He was a uniformly good preacher. Every word of his discourses was closely read; but they were written in such a simple style that a child could follow them, and the outline was so logical that it was readily remembered. There were no flights of oratory or resorts to rhetoric; but he read rapidly and impressively like a man who was in dead earnest and meant every word to tell. He stopped before the audience thought of being tired. He had been one of the pioneer missionaries to Ohio. The story was that after studying with Dr. D.F.Schaeffer at Frederick, Md., he bought a horse and saddlebags, put his wardrobe on one side, and his library on the other, and started Westward, without any previous call, but simply knowing that there were Lutherans in Ohio who ought to be gathered into churches. One evening he reached New Philadelphia, and arranged to preach in the Court House, with the result that he remained there for 20 years, not only building a church there, but founding congregations far and wide with this town as a center. He also founded "The Lutheran Standard", and was for many years its editor. Before going to Lancaster, he had been at Christ Church, Easton. The President had the full confidence of the Synod, and conducted the business with great dignity and urbanity. I learned to know him best from a week he spent in Gettysburg while we were packing to leave for Philadelphia in 1883, and from being his room-mate at Lebanon, Pa.(1879), one night when he was prevented from sleeping by an attack of the trouble that was finally fatal, and, as it was a great relief for him to converse, we talked nearly the whole night.

The men occupying the front pew, and who might appropriately have addressed the Synod with "Morituri salutamus", included Rev. F.W.Geissenhainer, D.D., of New York, who had entered the ministry in 1817, tall, still erect and dignified, with classical, sharply-cut features, and wearing the old fashioned high collar with white kerchief in front, harmonizing with his scant white hair. It was sad to see the progress of his decline from Synod to Synod. He would always appear, until, at last, he needed the support of his son, Hon. J.A.Geissenhainer,

not only because of feebleness, but because he was almost blind. He counted the years, his son told me, by the meetings of Synod. When one convention was over he was counting how long it was until the next.<sup>10</sup>

Next him was Rev. Jacob Albert, a typical intelligent and active country pastor of the better class, small and slight, much bent, but with brown hair. He was the father of Rev. Drs. Luther E. and Charles S. Albert. Altho' his sons had entered the General Synod, the father remained a humble pastor in what is now the Dansville Conference.<sup>11</sup>

Beside him was Father Reichert, a large man, noticeably but not conspicuously dressed, with a decided military bearing, the pastor emeritus of Zion's and St. Michael's, Philadelphia. His seventy eight years had not banished his youthful humor. For when Rev. Henry S. Miller - the next on the list - a very large and gushing old gentleman whose vanity and eccentricities made him a nuisance<sup>12</sup> - rose, and made his customary farewell address to the Synod with his usual donation of tears, Mr. Reichert whispered to me, as I happened to be with him: "Don't be alarmed, Brother Jacobs; Henry S. Miller has made that farewell address ever since I can remember." He certainly continued it for five or six years longer, the President, in courtesy to his age, permitting him to proceed even when his address broke into the regular order of business. He was the father of the wife of Rev. J.F. Fahs.

One more of that group must be mentioned, Rev. Joshua Jaeger, a regular Goliath in dimensions, a constant attendant and a close listener for years, but never, in my recollection, adding a word to the discussion. He was a fair representative of the Pennsylvania-German country pastor of half a century or more ago - German in speech, narrow, prejudiced, unprogressive, but enjoying a Synodical Meeting as probably the one vacation of each year.<sup>13</sup>

The most prominent figure - more conspicuous than even the President, was Dr. B.M. Schmucker. There was truth in the statement: "Beale Schmucker carries the old Synod in his breeches pocket." There he sits or stands right by the chancel. Not a word that is said escapes him. He is always alert. He is never surprised. Nothing whatever ruffles his temper. He never betrays the least emotion. He is studying every speaker, and studying those who are listening. He is feeling and recording the pulse and the temperature of the body before him. He may be writing or referring to a pile of books and papers; but he knows precisely what is transpiring. He has watched for his opportunity. It has come. With the most matter-of-fact calmness, he states the case and begins a strong argument, with point after point arrayed in logical order, and so well supported that you think that nothing more need be said. But do not be deceived. All this is only preliminary. He will be sure to demolish the edifice he has erected. Having argued the opposite side with more ability

than its warmest champions have attempted, he proceeds to take these arguments up one by one, point by point, in regular scholastic style, and refute them, and then proceed to fortify with positive arguments the side which he has espoused. His memory is prodigious. Facts, figures, dates, are at his finger's end. He traces a proposition to remote historical beginnings, and can tell all about its relations, or the various similar experiments that have been made and failed. He reminds leaders with short memories of resolutions which they offered and speeches they made years ago. Their experience becomes that of Judge Black of York, who was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania shortly after reaching thirty years of age, and who complained when, for many years he practiced as an ordinary attorney, that the worst mortification he had was when, in his old age the younger lawyers quoted his own decisions when a youth, against the side he was pleading. Or if it be a financial question that is up, he threads his way through the mazes of figures, however much they may be entangled, that the best lawyer on the floor regards him with surprise. This, however, is not a remarkable extemporaneous display of gifts, as it may appear. He speaks from an intimate acquaintance with and thorough study of the question at home. His pockets contain the small memorandum books into which he has, at his leisure, gathered his material. He has long known what would come up, and prepared himself thoroughly for it. As Secretary, and afterwards as member of the Executive Committee, these questions have long been pondered, and examined in all their bearings.

But this is only one side of his display of power in the Synod. Sometimes he resorts to other arts. He surprises you with a remarkable resolution, and is silent. The Synod becomes excited over it. There is warm discussion on both sides. Once I said to Dr. Krauth at the noon recess, that I could not understand how Dr. Schmucker could make such a proposition. "Don't you understand it? It is only a test that he is making. The resolution is intended to provoke discussion, and, as it proceeds, he will know where the Synod stands!" With this end accomplished, the resolution is withdrawn, or another which, he finds, can pass, substituted. He was more of a McKinley than a Roosevelt in his tactics.

Beale Schmucker was a man of wider and more accurate scholarship than his father. His mental resources were greater, and his knowledge of men more intimate. He inherited his father's love of clearness of statement, and his absolutely imperturbable temper. Both were fond of the possession and exercise of power. Both were always making plans, and collecting material to support them. The son reacted from the Puritanic and Pietistic elements in the father. It would have been better for him if there had been greater depth of spiritual life. If he could have combined with his wonderful gifts some of the elements of Dr. Greenwald's character, his influence would have been equal to that of any man who has lived in our

American Church. He had a high sense of honor, and was a man of strict integrity. But he was careless, not habitually, yet in a manner his associates could not overlook, in regard to his use of stimulants. Only once did it create any scandal; but this was such that, but for the intervention of the President of Synod, Dr. C.W.Schaeffer, his ministerial career might have ended. His brethren rallied around him, recognizing it as a weakness from which every effort should be made to rescue him. He was never known to offend again. But it was remembered; and that, too, with no little indignation. "If it had been a poor Pennsylvania-German pastor in the rural districts who had come before his congregation unable to preach, as Dr. S. had done, he would have been suspended," - such was the current talk, "but since it is Dr. S., of whom so much is expected, nothing is done. The Synod still follows him." And yet, not long afterward at a service at which I preached, he read the lessons and made an extemporaneous prayer. The chief lesson was the "Parable of the Prodigal Son." The prayer which followed was remarkable. For once Dr. Schmucker was eloquent. He developed in the prayer the leading ideas in the lesson, and I was deeply impressed with the conviction that he was speaking out of the depths of his own experience.

At the meeting of Synod, after this humiliating experience, Dr. Krauth had arranged with me to accompany him home, and to do some work together in his library. To our astonishment, Synod adjourned an entire day earlier. Dr. Krauth explained it by the fact that, at the meeting, Dr. S. was extraordinarily silent, and, in his humiliation, spoke only when it was absolutely necessary. "He has saved us just one day," was Dr. Krauth's remark.

A few Sundays after his death in the fall of 1888, by request of his church council, I preached a memorial sermon in his church at Pottstown. This was published in "The Lutheran",<sup>14</sup> and is a correct presentation of my estimate of his character and work. Of course I could not speak there with the freedom I do here. As a Church Leader, Dr. Schmucker so far as I know, projected no measure, and fought it through to the end, content to be in the minority and endure opposition for a time, in the conviction that someone must suffer, that a great end may be attained. But he was ready to seize upon the strong points which others advanced and give them his earnest support. His aim was always to gain what was best under the circumstances.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. Schmucker and Dr. Krauth exchanged places when the discussion turned from practical to doctrinal questions. Dr. Schmucker had no interest in Theology, as such. Whatever the Lutheran Church determined, he was ready to accept. The philosophical side of doctrine was distasteful to him. He abhorred metaphysical speculations. His gifts were executive and practical. He had decided taste for historical investigations. Dr. Krauth cared little for the business of Synod. He chose a favorite corner, and read some book he had brought with him, or very often dozed, while doctrinal questions were

not concerned. But the instant a doctrinal principle was involved, he was at hand; and if it were an important one, all his rare gifts were brought into requisition. The discussion often drifted into a quizz, the members of Synod all over the house asking questions, and drawing Dr. Krauth out. Where the business closely concerned interests with which he was closely connected, he sometimes would be aroused. It was probably at this meeting that he began a speech by asking: "Which is the first, the chick or the egg? Answer that and you have the answer of the Theological Seminary to Muhlenberg College."

To Dr. Mann, meetings of Synod were a bore. He could not sit still so long. He came for a day or two, and then was off. Even when he was elected President, he could not change his habit, but was absent as usual the last day. He would rush into discussion like a "Limited Express", at the most unexpected moments. With two or three minutes talk, scintillating wit, he would change the whole current of the discussion. He might speak within an hour on both sides of the question, or, in his impulse, make a motion against which he would afterwards speak. But whenever he spoke, the Synod felt as though it had touched a Leyden jar. While they worked harmoniously in their common historical studies, Dr. Mann and Dr. Schmucker constantly antagonized each other on the floor. Dr. Schmucker felt keenly the edge of Dr. Mann's satire, and was disturbed over the way in which he confused the business, while Dr. Mann's impatience at Synod was partially due to his annoyance at Dr. Schmucker's long and tedious speeches. At a meeting of the General Council, a layman, I think, asked why in the Orders for Ministerial Acts no provision was made for the extension of "the right hand of fellowship" at the reception of new members. "Because," said Dr. Schmucker, "it has no Lutheran authority; it has no endorsement except that of sentimental pietism." Dr. Mann was instantly on the floor. "Turn, then," he said, "to Gal. 2:9, and you will find the Apostles at Jerusalem who gave Barnabas and Paul the 'right hand of fellowship' were sentimental pietists!"<sup>16</sup>

Dr. Seiss was too dictatorial and contemptuous of those who differed with him, to attain the influence of Drs. Schmucker and Krauth. He differed from his school-mate and class-mate, Dr. Schmucker, in being ready to take the initiative, and leading in many enterprises from which the Mother Synod reaped advantage. But as long as Dr. Schmucker lived, he was more hampered than at a later period. For careful as Dr. Schmucker was in antagonizing the current feeling of the Ministerium, he was entirely fearless in antagonizing Dr. Seiss - and he did this without forfeiting Dr. Seiss' good will.

Of the Germans, Pastor S.K. Brobst, the editor of the Zeitschrift was unwearied in pressing the claims of his language. And yet he was not a German by birth. He was a tinsmith whom Dr. Passavant, when a student, had found in Washington Co., Pa., and influenced to study theology. He was

at heart a very amiable man, but narrow, his education being limited to a very brief irregular course at Jefferson College. He felt powerfully the influence of the Missouri Synod, and pressed constantly for a more rigorous administration of discipline. Mr. Hinterleitner had the reputation of being a learned man, but was very near sighted and extremely tiresome, with a heavy, monotonous delivery. He will always be remembered for his great hobby, the agitation of the subject of the burial of suicides. "Why, Mr. President," exclaimed Dr. Seiss, "we are agreed, I think, that they all ought to be buried!" The old gentleman lived in an atmosphere blue with smoke, knew little outside of his books, was easily imposed on, broke through a window with his head in order to spit, and yet was full of projects for reforming the practice of the Church.

Drs. C.W.Schaeffer and Spaeth we need not, for obvious reasons, characterize here.

The chief business of this convention was the financial condition of Muhlenberg College. Without completing its consideration, the Ministerium adjourned to continue its sessions some weeks later at Allentown.

A noteworthy incident of this convention was the presence on the floor of the Rev. Dr. Nevin of the Reformed Seminary, and his introduction to the Synod, in a very appreciative address of Dr. Krauth.

Rev. Dr. Ruperti who had just arrived from Germany, was brought to this meeting by Dr. Krotel, the delegate of the New York Ministerium, in order to make the acquaintance of the Church. I had a long walk with him from Seminary Hill, which was embarrassing from his very limited knowledge of English, and my very limited knowledge of German.'7

Only a few weeks later I attended the Commencement of Thiel College, and delivered the English Address at the laying of the corner-stone of Greenville Hall. The College was located there not simply for pecuniary reasons, but also because it was thought to be central to Western New York, Canada and Ohio. It was no place for the College if the Pittsburgh Synod alone was to be considered. The idea of making it a Synodical College undoubtedly stood in the way of its efficiency. No effort was made to gain the cooperation of the Lutherans in the neighborhood of Rochester and Buffalo. Wagner College at last cut off all hopes in that direction. Even the feeble District Synod of Ohio wanted a college of its own! When the citizens of Greenville pledged money for its location, they expected to have a real college, which the Synodical organization did not afford. Was it wonderful that their zeal grew cold, and their aid did not reach the amount that was counted on?

I was driven from the depot to the home of one of the prominent citizens. The servant showed me a room; but I saw no one until the next morning. The host was as agreeable and hospitable as he could be; but the hostess scarcely addressed a word to me while I was there, and made me feel that I was an intruder.

From Greenville I went to Erie to visit my brother, M.W.Jacobs, who practiced law there for several years. Then, desiring to learn something of the Lakes, I started with Rev. J.R.Groff on a boat, intending to go to Detroit. Stopping at Put-in-Bay, I was so pleased with the presence there of the Ohio State Teachers Convention, that I went no farther. I spent a day, hearing speeches and discussions of distinguished educators, among them President Fairchild of Oberlin. I returned to Erie by way of Cleveland where I stopped overnight.

During the vacation, I put myself down to a study of the Lutheran Doctrine of the Ministry. My results were published in the Gettysburg Quarterly, and also in a separate pamphlet.<sup>2</sup>

The General Council met that autumn at Jamestown, N.Y. on Lake Chatauqua. The forests were never more glorious, particularly as we reached the region where maples abounded. Judge Staake reminded me recently, of the great delight with which he saw me enter his coach at Olean, N.Y., after he had ridden all night in a crowded coach from Philadelphia, and with a plain countryman at his side. Mr. Staake was attending his first meeting of the General Council as a delegate and was an obscure young attorney, with limited acquaintance among our ministers. He says that I both greeted him and his seat-mate very cordially, and introduced the latter to him as Prof. Sigismund Fritschel. It was the beginning of an intimacy which lasted till the death of Dr. F. The future Philadelphia Judge was sent to a very elegant mansion, and received by the servants who gave him a room and dinner. Within a short time, no host or hostess appearing, he discovered he was considered the guest of the servants who were Swedish

Lutherans. He transferred his baggage promptly to a hotel.<sup>3</sup>

The Principal of the Public Schools, a Prof. Albro, was my host. The family were Baptists. I was treated kindly enough, but discovered that my coming disturbed the arrangements for meals. Both the Prof. and his wife taught in the schools and had dinner shortly after the middle of the afternoon on their return from their duties. But the Council was always in session then. They very considerately changed the hour for my benefit.

There was another embarrassment. On returning to their house on Saturday evening, the Prof. was studying the Sunday School lesson for the next day. "You have come just in time," he said. "I need assistance. How do you explain demonical possession?" "Precisely as the Bible says," I answered. "What are your proofs?" "The temptation of Christ alone is sufficient," I answered. "Oh, that is an allegory," he replied. "The devil there mentioned is the evil principle within Jesus that is there personified. It spake within him; and not from without." "Where, then, is his sinlessness?", I asked. "If he had natural depravity inciting to sin; if the temptation came from within Jesus, he could not be the sinless one described in Holy Scripture." "Why, I have no difficulty there," he answered, "If we resist the evil within us, when we are tempted, and the temptation does not reach its end, we certainly are without sin." "I disagree with you," was my answer, "Everything within us that is not in harmony with God's Law, is sin. It may be an act; it may be also a state. If there had been that in Jesus which prompted to the violation of God's Law, that of itself were sin." "You cannot mean that if there be such temptation, and it never be yielded to, that the person is a sinner?" "Yes, undoubtedly." "How about little children?" "They are also sinful and sinners." "If they die, then, will they be lost?" "God has provided a remedy for them." "What is it?"

"We have now reached such a point, Professor, that I cannot proceed without violating your hospitality. It concerns a point where, if you insist, I must criticize a distinctive doctrine of the Baptist Church." "Go ahead! I'm a pretty poor Baptist." "Well, then, as you ask me to proceed, I would refer you to our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus, in which he announces baptism as the remedy." "Yes, but that is for adults." "No, it is universal, *ἕως ἡμετέρας* etc." "Do you mean to say then that putting a little water on the head of a child makes any difference with God? Do you say that if two children are lying side by side in the same bed, the one baptized, as you call it, and the other not, there can be any difference between them?" "Precisely so." "That makes me mad," and taking a candle and lighting it, with a short goodnight, he left the room.

I was mortified that I had to go through such an experience; but slept well. My host didn't. Next morning he was very pleasant. "I had very little rest last night. No one ever talked to me as you did. I think that there is more in what you said than I at first imagined."

Prof. A. has become a prominent educational leader in the State of New York, and is now an intimate friend of my brother-in-law, Seiss Downing.

Dr. Ruperti appeared as delegate from the New York Ministerium - tall, large-featured man with hair inclining towards auburn, and a distinguished appearance and courtly manners. He was a University bred man, and had some celebrity in Germany as a preacher, where after his return from America he became a General Superintendent. He ranked with Drs. Mann and Spaeth, and was a decided acquisition to our American church. Here he preached his famous sermon: "And the king kissed Absalom," which Dr. Fry has made familiar to our students. He and Dr. Krauth roomed together. The next day he had this remark to make: "How rare it is for a man to be great in every department! There is Dr. Krauth, such a profound theologian, such a versatile scholar, such a brilliant debater, but - such a miserable bed-fellow!" He made a declaration of independence and found a bed elsewhere. Here too he made the blunder often referred to, which illustrates the readiness of the German to criticize without knowing the facts in the case. The Holston Synod of Tennessee applied for admission into the General Council. The Rev. Dr. A.J. Brown, as their representative, wrote the letter. The Committee, to which it was referred, through Dr. Schmucker, made a unanimous recommendation that the Holston Synod be received. Dr. Ruperti objected. Dr. Schmucker tried to remove the difficulties. He had known Dr. Brown for many years, and had been acquainted with the entire history of the Synod - it was an outgrowth of the Tennessee Synod whose confessional position was never in doubt. Dr. Passavant gave a similar testimony and urged Dr. Ruperti to withdraw his objection. Dr. Ruperti persisted that he was not satisfied, and must have clearer evidence than the mere declarations of Drs. Schmucker and Passavant. Then a happy thought came to Dr. Fry. "Perhaps Dr. Ruperti is confusing Dr. A.J. Brown of Tennessee with Dr. J.A. Brown of Gettysburg." "That is just it, Mr. President, I withdraw my objections. I must acknowledge that I have been in this country too short a time to distinguish the different shades of brown."

Shortly after my return home Dr. Charles A. Hay came to me with a proposition that I should undertake with him the completion of a translation of Schmid's Dogmatik. It seemed very strange indeed that our names should be linked together; for he stood for a very radical form of General Synodism, and was in consistent protest against conservatism. "When I heard that you two were working together," said Dr. Baum, "I thought that the Millenium must be approaching."

We have deferred a sketch of Dr. Hay to this place, as, from this time on, we knew him best. He was the only child of a widowed mother, the nephew of Dr. or rather of Mrs. Morris. He was born and raised in York in a circle of higher social standing and with better advantages of education than most of our candidates for the ministry. He was sent to Gettysburg

when a mere lad, and lived in Professors' families, with Dr. Krauth as his room-mate and closest companion. The boys used to fight pillow battles until Dr. Krauth Sr. would arrive on the scene, or Young Krauth would hang his foot out of bed until it was ice cold and then apply it to Hay's back. Hay was always a model of propriety, learned his lessons "like a book", and had the highest esteem of his Professors. Krauth preferred a desultory course of reading, and relied on his genius - which every one admired - for his success in the recitation-room. "I was nowhere in the class-room," said Dr. Krauth; "but I always thought, just wait until it comes to writing essays, and I will beat you all to pieces!" Both came under the revival methods then usual at Gettysburg. Krauth learned a better way; Hay never did. After a very brief pastorate in Maryland, Hay spent a year or possibly two in Germany, at Halle, living in the house of Prof. Tholuck, and was admitted by the latter into very close intimacy. On a vacation trip, Tholuck took the young American with him. Many years after when another American visited Prof. Tholuck with a letter from Dr. Hay, the Prof. sent for Mrs. Tholuck and they plied him with numerous questions asking even concerning his arrest some years before.

He came back from Germany with considerable German spirit infused into him, but he reacted greatly against the form of religious life with which he had come in contact. For a year or two he was Prof. of Hebrew at Gettysburg, then pastor at Hanover, and for seventeen years at Harrisburg - of the church where my grandparents were members.

He was a genial, companionable man with deep personal affection and strong prejudices. His strength was as a pastor. He was always looking after his people, entering into their joys and sorrows, teaching them how to trim their grapes and plant their flowers, and aiding them in all manner of directions. He lost the taste for close study, except for his Hebrew Bible and his Greek Testament. He had a great taste for the kind of criticism in which Tischendorf became famous - the comparison of texts and readings, down to the dot if an i or the crossing of a t. He was a diligent collector of Minutes and similar literature; and a careful arranger of all that was collected. But in the pulpit he was weak. If he prepared beforehand, he must have forgotten what he had thought out; for his sermons were very crude, often abounding in absurdities, and sometimes drifting into bitter personalities entirely out of harmony with the temper and character of the preacher. At heart he was a very gentle man; but in the pulpit, he was now and then violent and denunciatory. "Dr. Hay," said Dr. Mann, who was associated with him while Zion's Church, Harrisburg, was in the Ministerium, "is a very nice man; but he never seems to think that the Lord has given men brains to use them."

He was opposed to written sermons; but once he surprised his audience with bringing an old manuscript into the pulpit. "To-day," he began, "is the last Sunday of the year. It invites us to make a review of the past. In harmony with this spirit, I invite your attention this morning to a sermon I prepared a number of years ago on the assassination of

President Lincoln." The sermon not only demanded the hanging of Jefferson Davis, but launched out into a scathing denunciation of the Democratic party. Its adherents were the aiders and abettors of the rebellion, and its leaders ought to be hung up along-side of Jefferson Davis! All this we heard fully fifteen years after the passions connected with this Civil War had subsided. The faces of the audience were a study. At first they flushed with indignation - particularly the Democrats present. But before he had finished, the ridiculousness of the situation had become apparent to all; and there was general amusement. "Now is your time," said the wife of one of the older Professors to her husband, "for you to bring out your sermon on the laying of the Atlantic Cable."

He did not regard himself a radical, but boasted of his conservatism which consisted, he believed, in his opposition to the Anxious Bench. Invited to preach in St. John's church, Philadelphia, as a candidate when Dr. Mayer died, he complied, but discarded the robe - which was enough for those staid people. Because a paper published by "The Lutheran Board" printed a picture of Luther with a robe on, he excited an opposition to the Board which gave it much trouble. He was great on Union meetings, and threw some of the conservative methods of Dr. Baugher, Sr. into disorder when he became the pastor of the College Church. He was intensely anti-liturgical, and, during all the time I was with him in Gettysburg, refrained from the use of even "The Apostle's Creed" in the service. He was not only a partisan but an agitator, who had been among the most active in preventing the Ministerium of Pennsylvania from being admitted at Fort Wayne, and in promoting dissensions and divisions throughout Eastern Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

He was arrested by order of Maj. Gen. Wool during the War and incarcerated at Fortress Monroe, because of an article he had written in a Harrisburg paper suggesting that the General was probably in sympathy with the rebellion. Dr. Hay had been to Baltimore, and learned there of the privileges granted ladies of Southern proclivities in attendance upon wounded Confederates. This incensed him to attack the military commander, who had the Dr. brought from Harrisburg. A committee of citizens headed by Judge Pearson followed them to Washington, and procured his release.<sup>5</sup> The Camerons, father and son, were warm friends of Dr. Hay. Mrs. Simon Cameron was a member of Zion's church, and her husband an occasional visitor.<sup>6</sup>

This was the man who came to me with the proposition to cooperate with him in completing and publishing a translation of Schmid. We had no Dogmatik in the English Language. Hutter, which Dr. Spieker and I had translated, was good so far as it went. Beyond this there was nothing.

Thirty or more years before, when it first appeared in Germany, Dr. Morris procured it, and believed that its publication in English would be a service to the Church. He had torn it into sections, and divided it between Drs. Krauth, Sr., Krauth, Jr., Baugher, Sr., Hay and himself. They had gone

vigorously to work. But a panic soon seized them. No publisher, they thought, would ever undertake it, and they had no funds to risk. The project was abandoned. But Dr. Hay had published sections of his work in the *Evangelical Review*,<sup>7</sup> and there was a call for its publication in book form.

I did not hesitate a moment. He collected whatever he could find that had been done, and we revised it together, he reading the Ms., and I had the original before me. Our changes were so great that it was practically a new translation. All the Christology, the Chapters on the Church, the Ministry, and the Last Things, I translated afresh. We began the close of November 1875; some time in February I had completed the translations. The revision was completed, and copy ready by the middle of April. I pushed him as fast as I could, lest he might withdraw from the project. His friends told him that we would not find a publisher after our labor had been spent on it; and he occasionally wavered. But I toned him up. "Let us push ahead; and the publisher will be found." The General Synod's Board hesitated. Rev. G.W. Frederick, who was the proprietor of "The Lutheran Bookstore" said that he would take it. We went together to Baltimore where the General Synod was in session, and met Dr. Hay and Dr. Morris in Dr. Morris' house. Dr. Morris entertained Mr. Frederick with the story of his losses in trying to provide books for the Church, and predicted that it was doubtful whether this book would ever repay the publisher. Mr. Frederick again said that he would take the risk. Articles of agreement were made out and signed. Then the General Synod Board became anxious to have a share in the undertaking. A very threatening letter was addressed to Dr. Hay to force him to terms. At my intercession, Mr. Frederick, with the greatest reluctance, yielded, and arranged with the other house that they would divide expense and either profit or loss. And so while the papers of the General Synod were unrelenting in their hostility to Confessional Lutheranism, there came forth early in November, a stout volume that was to be the most powerful agent in converting their pastors and professors to an appreciation of its importance and worth; and that volume too was published in part by their own Board, and translated in part by probably their most radical Professor!<sup>8</sup>

We secured letters of commendation from Drs. Walther, S. Fritschel, C.F. Schaeffer, J.A. Seiss, T.N. Hasselquist, etc., on the one hand, and Drs. Sprecher, Brown, Valentine, and Morris on the other. Dr. Krauth referred us to a commendation he had published years before, which we also printed in our Circular.<sup>9</sup> The book was at once heartily welcomed. Since then the translation has been twice revised. I have made a number of additions from the old authorities. The third edition is stereotyped. It has been the text-book in most of the Seminaries where English is used.

But the effort almost proved fatal to me. I had been so much interested as to have lost sight of the amount of energy I had thrown into it. And so just as the proof was beginning

to come regularly, and scarcely 100 pages had been read, I woke one morning unable to lift my head above the pillow. I could not persuade myself that I was sick. I seemed all right, as long as I did not rise. College was to open that very day. But I could not move. Mrs. Jacobs and Eugenia returned from Newark, N.Y., where Mrs. Downing then was living, to find me bed-fast. A few days later one of the Professors spent over an hour with me; and after he left I collapsed. The next few days were almost a dream. I would see my wife or sister seated in the darkened room, during the few minutes that I was awake. I could hear the voices of inquiry at the front door, and learn from them how ill I was thought to be. It was pronounced typho-malarial fever. As I recovered they propped me up in bed to read proof. Before I could walk out, I was making the index of Schmid. My colleagues in the Faculty came anxiously inquiring how soon I could resume work in the class-room. I began to work with the Sophomore class, who were sent from college to my study, and drilled them in Latin with my aching limbs resting on a chair, in a partially recumbent posture. When I began to go to College, it seemed as though I had a toothache in my tibia. My poor head reeled except in one position until after I had taken a total rest the next summer. When I first preached in the Court House (for the Church was being repaired), I was listened to almost as though I had come back from another world. While I was lying on my back or convalescing, the famous meeting of the General Council was in session at Galesburg, Ill. I was on the delegation from the Ministerium, but would scarcely have gone, even if I had been well.

## Chapter Twenty Six - Gettysburg Incidents

On a Sunday morning, December 5th, 1875, my eldest son Charles came to us. He was distinguished by his large head and his vigorous voice. He was cared for by the mother of Jennie Wade, celebrated as the only Gettysburgian killed in the battle. On Christmas eve his mother made her first appearance below the stairs, and assisted in trimming the Christmas Tree. On Christmas Day Prof. Martin baptized him. When Eugenia first saw him she said: "His name shall be Charlie." She persisted in calling him so. When persons would ask in her presence: "What are you going to call him?" and we would answer: "We have not decided yet," she would interrupt us with: "Why, yes, you have. His name is Charlie." And so, while none of our kindred were known by that name, unless we count a brother of Mrs. Jacobs and a brother of my mother - both of whom died in infancy, the importunity of our dear little girl carried the day. The name stands as her memorial. I soon got the young man to the photographers that posterity might remember what manner of a babe he was. It became a pleasant recreation on bright days of the late winter and approaching spring to take him out in his carriage, with Eugenia running ahead or by my side. A half hour in the afternoon after my recitation was prepared, and before I went to class at 4 P.M., was very convenient for this purpose.

My hours were very regular. I was at the College when the students at 8 A.M. came from prayers. Returning at 9 A.M., my second hour was at 11 A.M., and the last hour at 4 P.M. No better schedule for solid work can be devised. On Saturday, the second hour was at 9 A.M., instead of 11 A.M. One day of the week - I think it was Tuesday - was entirely free. Wednesday afternoons were given over to the Literary Societies.

With Schmid off my hands I devoted all leisure I had to theological study. Not only was Dr. Passavant's persistence in regard to Chicago a constant incentive to make up deficiencies, but Dr. Krauth had already held out the prospect of my being called afterwhile to the Philadelphia Seminary. I was making good progress with German. Mrs. Jacobs was a wonderful aid. She had the German grammar at the tip of her tongue and readily solved my difficulties. I first studied German sermons, Ahefeldt, Gerock, Zielthe, Tholuck, Heinrich Müller, Walther. I read Walther's "American Lutheran Pastoral Theology."<sup>2</sup> At the advice of Dr. Fritschel I got Phillipi and read him with delight. I also read Thomasius' "Christologie," and wrote out a translation of all the paragraphs at the head of the chapters. I worked also on Luthardt's "Compendium," and procured a volume of his sermons.<sup>3</sup>

I undertook also several years to edit the "Church Almanac,"<sup>4</sup> and, to keep the register up to date, the various church papers were sent to me. I had a cabinet made for them with pigeon holes. Beside the General Council and General Synod papers, "The Vistor," "Our Church Paper," The "Lutheraner," "Gemeindeblatt" (Wisconsin), "Kirchenblatt" (Iowa), as well as Norwegian and Swedish papers were received.<sup>5</sup> I handed the corrections in

the register over to my sister, now Mrs. Harpster. I collected a good deal of historical information for the Almanac, and was often through Dr. Hay's kindness at work in the Seminary library. Here I gathered additional data and transcribed it into a common-place book, little thinking how serviceable it would prove nearly twenty years later, in the preparation of my "History of the Lutherans in America."

Other duties than those pertaining to school and church made their demands. There were several slaughter-houses directly in the closely built up portion of Gettysburg, one only a short distance from our house. In the heat of the summer the neighborhood was contaminated with the odour. The general sentiment was that they should be removed either outside of the borough limits, or to the very edge of town. The usual dread of offending those most closely interested deterred anyone from agitating their removal. During the summer of 1875, I wrote an article to the "Star and Sentinel," calling attention to the danger of sickness to which the town was subjected and urging the importance of legislation on the part of the Town Council. When the article appeared I was in bed with fever. This seemed to make it more effective than it would have been otherwise. After my recovery, I met Dr. O'Neal - afterwards for many years a member of the State Board of Health - on the street. He asked whether I was willing to appear before the Town Council and argue the case. Dr. O'Neal, Dr. J.A.Swope ( afterwards a member of Congress) and a mechanic whose house was close by one of the places appeared with me, while Hon. W.A.Duncan appeared as attorney for the butchers. The ordinance was passed and Gettysburg was freed from the nuisance.

The Assessors had assessed the income of the Professors of both College and Seminary at the full amount of their salaries, while all others in the community had a merely nominal value attached. The Judge with a salary of \$4000, paid taxes on the basis of \$1000. The lawyers were assessed on \$400 or \$500 each as a probable income. But the new assessment would compel me to pay taxes on the basis of \$1300. The two Faculties had a meeting and appointed a committee consisting of Dr. Brown on the behalf of the Seminary, and me on behalf of the College, to make efforts for a readjustment. We were authorized to employ legal counsel if we thought it best. On consulting an attorney, we found that his charges to undertake the case higher than we were disposed to at once assume. We decided therefore, to make a trial ourselves. At the time the commissioners sat to hear appeals, Dr. B. and I appeared, and after hearing our plea and holding it under advisement, an entirely satisfactory compromise was made.

Politicians I had to deal with on account of family trouble. My youngest brother, Edward, was attracted to the regular army by the idea that he could become a musician. Once he left Gettysburg for Philadelphia to visit a relative. It was some weeks before my mother learned that he had enlisted. Having had no experience in playing the instrument

which he had chosen, he found himself nothing but a regular cavalryman and he was sent to the barracks at St. Louis. As he was not yet of age, the whole procedure was illegal. My mother was almost crushed by the news. My first effort to secure his release was made through Hon. Edward McPherson, Clerk of the House of Representatives. In my presence he wrote an urgent letter to Gen. Simon Cameron, one of the U.S. Senators from Pa. Then I saw Dr. Hay. "McPherson's letter will do no good," said the Doctor. "The General was discourteous enough to curse McPherson in my presence, when his name was mentioned." But he approached Gen. C. from another side. My uncle Alfred (Eyster) called on him at Harrisburg. "Why don't you teach the boy a lesson and let the boy serve the sabre for awhile? It will do him good." Still he promised to intercede with the War Department, Mrs. Cameron adding her interest. I wrote to the other U.S. Senator, Hon. John Scott, whose wife was a relative of my mother; and he promised to act. Through Col. Frederick, I remembered Governor Hartranft. But just when everything was working towards his release, suddenly he appeared at home having deserted; and I had the mortification and the trouble of going over the entire matter the second time. I was in distress and anxiety for months until his discharge came.

About this time Dr. Wolf and Dr. Demarest, the Presbyterian minister, undertook to form a social "club" of some ministers in Gettysburg to meet and dine together once a month, and to discuss theological and practical questions. It was to be select, consisting only of those who could be trusted to treat confidentially what would be heard in the discussions. Two adverse votes would defeat a candidate for election. Drs. Brown, Baugher, Wolf, Martin, and for a short time Dr. Valentine, Dr. Demarest and Rev. Van Cleve of the Presbyterian, and Dr. Keefer of the Reformed were members. Prof. Bikle and a Methodist whom I cannot recall were also enrolled for a part of the time. We found the discussions extremely profitable. Dr. Demarest was a man of culture -- Dr. Paxton told me he was the best theologian of his class at Princeton - sharp, incisive, conservatively Calvinistic, a constant reader of the best new books, about my own age, and a friend of my relatives near Louisville, Ky., from whom he brought a letter when he came to Gettysburg. Dr. Brown was in his element in such a circle. The social surroundings diverted him from his polemical bent. Prof. Martin added much to it. Dr. Wolf was always starting questions. Dr. Keefer, the Reformed pastor had been the Professor of Theology at their Seminary at Tiffin, O. He was not a strong man, but was amiable, and tried to be as "strict a Lutheran as possible." When his son-in-law died he sent for me and said: "I make you my pastor." We all felt at liberty to speak out, knowing that no offense would be taken. I made several interesting studies in preparing papers for the "union." After a paper was read it was criticized by each member in turn.

In 1876 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania met at Reading. I

was Dr. Laird's room-mate at Dr. Fry's. It had already become a custom for Dr. Krauth at meetings of Synod to ask me to walk with him regularly in the evenings. We often spent the whole evening, while exercises were being held in the crowded and heated church, in going a considerable distance. He maintained that if one were faithful to the work all day long, he was unfit for the evening service. Sometimes he completely wore me out. This occurred one evening at Reading. I came home on a hot night thoroughly exhausted, with the result that I had a violent attack of cholera morbus - and that too the evening before I was appointed to preach the Ordination Sermon. I nursed myself however and preached the next evening from Rom. 1:1: "Separated unto the Gospel of God." The chief topic at that meeting was the consideration of the Report of the Delegates to the General Council on "The Galesburg Rules." We defer this for the present.

From Reading I went to Philadelphia and had my first sight of the Centennial Exposition. My interest in it may be inferred from the fact that I made three trips to Philadelphia while it was in progress. I had never crossed the ocean and never expected to do so. But here I found a large part of the world, both old and new, brought almost to my very door. The most attractive spot was Memorial Hall, whose pictures and statuary often reappear to my mind as though they were before me. But Machinery Hall with its universe Corliss Engine propelling all the wheels on the ground, made the impression of vast, incessant life. The Main Building presented the greatest variety, every step disclosing riches that would repay long study. Agricultural Hall, Educational Hall, and the buildings of the various States all added to the interest. The people were as great a study as the exhibit itself. Over 248,000 were present on Pennsylvania Day, the time of our last visit. Attending St. Stephen's church at our mid-summer visit, we heard one of Dr. Krauth's most impressive discourses: Ecc. 1:8: "Eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing." The next day he told me it was one of his earliest sermons; and that the older he grew the more he found himself in harmony with what he had first written. Can the explanation be that to those earlier discourses, he was able to give more thought than to those composed amidst the hurry and distractions of later life? I could not think that Mrs. Jacobs should not enjoy at least part of what has been to me a source of pleasant memories, and, therefore, I arranged that Mrs. Downing should meet her in Philadelphia and aid her in caring for the children. As the train stopped at the Centennial Station, our nearly ten months' old Charlie gazed at the scene and made an exclamation.

The heat that summer was terrific. The thermometer was uniformly in the 90's although I think there was not much moisture in the air.

Five weeks I spent at Newark, N.Y. It was my first visit, altho' Mrs. Jacobs had spent the previous summer there. A very large College building which its original owners had been

unable to maintain had been bought by the New York Ministerium for a small sum, and Prof. E.F. Giese had begun an institution there similar to the one which he had conducted at Philipsburg. My brother-in-law, A. Seiss Downing, had gone thither after graduating at Gettysburg to assist in the teaching. A house not far off had been leased with a view to have female students lodge and board there with Mrs. Downing while they would attend school. The entire scheme failed; but it was the beginning of the very successful career which Mr. Downing has had as an educator. Starting with a primary school at Newark, he has advanced step by step until to-day he is Assistant Commissioner of Education for the State. The property in which he and his mother and sister, Georgie, lived, was commodious and comfortable and surrounded by as much ground, with trees, as could be well kept in order. It was a quiet place, in an entirely different atmosphere from that to which I had been accustomed. There was a family reunion, croquet in abundance, beautiful drives in the neighborhood with something new to study every day, and the lake (Ontario) only twelve miles away, and connected with Newark by rail. Mr. and Mrs. Grim of Philadelphia (Mrs. Downing's sister, Matilda) were there part of the time of our visit. I had had orders to rest from work, to relieve my head of the vertigo which had continued, ever since my illness the preceding year, to trouble me. I did so and came away entirely restored.

After my return to Gettysburg, and before the year closed, I attended the funeral of two of my mother's near relatives. Before the summer closed, her aunt, Mrs. Weaver, died some four or five miles from Gettysburg in Straban township. She was a Miss Eyster - my grand-father's eldest sister, and the member of the family nearest his own age. She was an unassuming, quiet woman, about 87 years old. Her son, Rev. William Weaver, was a member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Reed E.R. Cassaday is her granddaughter. Another granddaughter was the wife of Judge Smith of Westminster, Md., and a great-granddaughter, the wife of the Rev. Charles Michael Eyster of Baltimore. J.J. Weaver, M.D. Jr. is her grandson.

A few months afterwards, and after College had opened, my grand-uncle Middlecoff, often referred to before, died near Shippensburg, after having just completed his 80th year. I attended the funeral. Next to my father, mother and grandmother, I think I knew him best of all my older relatives. He spent much time in Gettysburg with his daughter, Mrs. Dr. Robert Horner, during the last years of his life, and after the death of his wife; and I saw much of him. I spent a week with him in 1873 at his home. On Sunday evening we knelt down together, and if I remember aright, he offered a prayer. It deeply touched me. He was vigorous with scarcely a sign of approaching age until a few weeks before his death, and was arranging for visiting the Centennial with his grandson, Dr. Radebaugh, when taken sick, if "sick" it could have been called. He succumbed all at once to the advance of years.

Just before the session opened Dr. Krauth surprised me in my study at Gettysburg. I found him pulling a volume off of one of my shelves as I entered the room. We went hastily that evening to the Cemetery to have some time before sunset. But as we stood by his father's grave, the keeper roughly ordered us out, with the admonition that we ought to know that the sun was down. On our way back he consulted me concerning the advisability of his favoring Dr. Muhlenberg as a successor to Dr. Allen as Professor of Greek in the University. The next day I accompanied him to see Dr. Hay and the Seminary. Dr. Hay teased him about his long beard. "Why I am a Melanchthonian," answered Dr. Krauth. "You with your smooth face are a second Luther who has no patience with errorists." In recalling their boyhood, Dr. Krauth said that one of the Gettysburg authorities, when he was a child, had torn him from his warm bed, carried him down the stairs, and throwing him in the snow, had left him there. There had been a reason, he said, to justify the punishment, but nothing as severe as that! In the library Dr. Krauth directed Dr. Hay's attention that the weight of the books was too great for the supports. Dr. Hay mentioned a nice sum of money which the Seminary was about to receive for the Library. "Don't invest it," said Dr. Krauth. "The best endowment is the books themselves." Replying to a complaint of Dr. Hay concerning unpleasant relations among Professors at Gettysburg, Dr. Krauth said, "That is the trouble with a small place. The nerve of a tooth is most sensitive because contained within a small cavity; one spread over the whole body is not so responsive to the touch. In a small place you cannot get away from what annoys you. It is before you all the time. In a large city there is so much to attract the attention that petty animosities dwindle into insignificance." Mr. Alexander Buehler at first failed to recognize him. "Excuse me for a moment, Mr. Buehler said, "until I get my other glasses." "So you have two sets of glasses, have you," asked Dr. Krauth, "one for friends, the other for enemies."

I am not absolutely sure of the time - it may have been a year later - I took from the Post Office a communication in a large envelope. On opening it, the first words read were: "In the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." There followed a call, signed by the officers of the old Norwegian Synod, to the English Professorship in "Luther College," Decorah, Iowa.<sup>7</sup> My name had been submitted to their congregations, and they had elected me. A letter explained that this was the first step towards the founding of a theological department in their college. Prof. F.A.Schmidt was then a colleague of Dr. Walther at St. Louis. All their students were sent there. If I would accept, the plan was to bring Prof. Schmidt to Decorah, and then for the two Professors to attend the theological department. I was deeply touched. Dr. Wolf was with me as I opened it. "That should set a man to thinking," he remarked. The whole matter was so remote and the situation so strange that I could not respond to it. Dr. Krauth was very emphatic when I reported the matter to him. He could not see that they had any claim on me.

But now there came a call much nearer home, and one which just as greatly surprised me. The Board of Muhlenberg chose Dr. Greenwald as President and me as Vice-President and Professor of Greek. Dr. Schmucker communicated the action to me explaining that the purpose was that Dr. Greenwald should represent the College to the Church while I was to be in charge of its inner administration. This was an offer I did not for a single moment entertain. If I was to continue as a literary Professor there was no reason why I should leave Gettysburg. I was fitting a Professorship of the Ministerium, and by its appointment. I believed that I was exerting an influence in the interests of sound Lutheranism. Besides I was devoting to the general services of the Church the leisure which my experience in my department was giving me. I had begun and had made good progress in the translation of the Symbolical Books. I sent by return mail my declination. Immediately followed another letter from Dr. Schmucker, "protesting in the name of the Church" against my declination, and urging that when the Church needed my services "as a trained teacher," I was bound to give them. He proposed that if I preferred to retain my department at Gettysburg, Prof. Seip who then had the Latin chair should take the Greek, and give me the Latin. He also asked if, in the event of the probable decline of Dr. Greenwald, I would be willing, at least for a time, to discharge the duties of President. I felt indignant to have any one interpret to me my duty after that style, and answered that my refusal was final. Dr. Greenwald's declination came in a few days. Dr. Sadtler was then elected President; and Prof. M.H. Richards, who had left the College and for about two years been pastor at Indianapolis, Ind., was recalled to Allentown. I afterwards learned that the program had been, in case I had accepted the call to Muhlenberg, to nominate Prof. Richards as my successor at Gettysburg.

My first theological student may here be introduced. There was an A.M.E. Zion church (colored) at the southwestern edge of Gettysburg. Its Sunday-school was taught by students and ladies of other churches (mostly Presbyterian). My father, I understand, was largely influential in starting it, and taught there in his earlier years at Gettysburg. In the vacations when the students were absent, I often superintended the school. The colored people asked me to preach; and I did so in the very simplest way. And so their preacher - a very black middle-aged man came to me one day and asked whether I would help him in complying with the requirements of his Conference for his Ordination. I consented and appointed times when I could meet him. I asked him at our first meeting for a brief account of the sermon he had preached the preceding Sunday. He said that it was about "the thunder of his power," but could not tell where the text was. He brought out a printed slip of textbooks he was to study, and when I found Hagenbach's "History of Doctrines" among them, I discouraged him from proceeding. What a poor uneducated soul would have made out of the learned book named, a long part of which consists of Greek and Latin quotations, is hard to see!

## Chapter Twenty Seven - Conflicts at Gettysburg

My unwillingness to leave Gettysburg in response to the invitations just recounted was not due to any peculiarly pleasant condition of affairs there. It had always been a scene of conflict. No more unsatisfactory arrangement is possible than the preaching appointments then prevalent. Every man who had the clerical title and was elected to a Professorship in the College was forced to preach; and he was forced upon the people. There was no choice. He was held to it by an iron rule. There was no compensation. There was no allowance made for the extra work in the distribution of duties with his lay colleagues. He was not only forced to preach, but was compelled to comply with the rules others made for him. The situation was not calculated to promote sympathy between the preachers and the people, or harmony among the preachers.

The congregation was divided with respect to the liturgical order. There was a strong element coming originally from the Presbyterian church, including wives of Professors, who were opposed to anything but free prayer. The Presbyterian order was the standard for everything that was done or was to be done. Others were determined by what they had been accustomed to from childhood, and wanted no innovations. The "Lutheran Observer" for an entire generation had been attacking liturgies. Dr. S.S.Schmucker warned against them incessantly, in the pulpit, from the Professor's chair, and in print.

But there were others whose attitude differed. The first responsive service I ever heard was introduced into the College Church by Dr. C.P.Krauth, Sr. It was between pastor and choir, and while it was little more than the use of the Gloria Patri in response to opening versicles it established the principle. Nevertheless every inch of progress in the application of the principle was most stubbornly contested.

The first year of our Professorship, when the General Synod's new "Book of Worship" appeared, compliance with its directions at once occasioned diversion. The officiating preachers were summoned, and Dr. S.S.Schmucker, who was no longer one of the number, appeared to enter his protest and deliver a warning.

The occasion for a violent outbreak came with the renovation of the church. It was greatly enlarged, and its appointments were made more churchly. The officiating ministers passed a resolution requesting the church Council to provide a reading desk. Instead of this, there had been a simple marble covered table in front of the pulpit with a Bible and Hymn Book on it. These the officiating minister had to hold in his hands. "Here we stand, trembling, and trembling," said old Dr. Krauth about twelve years before, "with nothing to support us or our book." The request of the officiating ministers was a very moderate one, when the fact is considered that they preached gratuitously, and certainly had the right to expect so much appreciation from those whom they served so constantly. Dr. Brown very aptly supported his contention

that the ministers had a right to be heard in this matter by appealing to I Cor. 9:9: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." They could not decide adversely without making a serious reflection upon those who asked the favor. To intimate, as they did, that the request came from a Romanizing tendency, carried with it the implication that the preachers were not to be trusted, and were unworthy of their place.

Such was the situation when the Council declined the proposal. But it was aggravated when a desk was presented to the Church and it was thrown out. Drs. Brown and Wolf of the Seminary, and Drs. Baugher, Martin, and Jacobs and Prof. Bikle of the College informed Dr. Hay, the pastor, that their services were at an end. This left Dr. Hay and Dr. Valentine alone among the Professors. Dr. Valentine had joined in the request, but was satisfied with the refusal. For some weeks these two Professors with Rev. E. Breidenbaugh, a retired minister, did all the preaching except on the mornings reserved for the Seminary when Drs. Brown and Wolf officiated. The struggle caused much feeling, and finally ended in a compromise. A plain desk without legs was made, and placed upon a small table - an "ice cream table," Dr. Krauth called it. The effect of this was to find all the ritualistic tendency in the legs of the desk; and believing that this performance carried its own refutation with it, the Professors returned to their places. The church at last had a reading desk - altho' of unique pattern.

As I review the controversy, I cannot say that all the fault was on one side. It was not so much an indisposition on the part of the Church Council to grant the Professors a favor as it was an unwillingness to be coerced, particularly by Dr. Baugher who was the most active agitator. But back of this were various complications. David A. Buehler, Esq., a member of the Council, was a shrewd lawyer and editor, the Superintendent of the Sunday School, the President of the College Board, the Republican leader in Adams Co., a Free-Mason, Odd-Fellow, Red Man ( he joined almost every secret society that came along, and became its spokesman on public occasions.) He was frequently a delegate to the General Synod, and probably had more to do with the events at Fort Wayne than appears on the record. He belonged to that class of men who have to exercise power without becoming conspicuous. The Professors, in his opinion, should be made to learn that they must do whatever the authorities asked - and he did not accurately discriminate between his position as President of the Board and member of a Church Council of a congregation that asked for gratuitous preaching. He was accustomed to such an excess of ritual in the lodges that he dreaded the simplest liturgical service in church.

I should have kept out of the struggle. I see now that I could have stated that, as a representative of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, I could await the decision of the question at issue by the General Synod people. I could

not preach while they continued divided; but when they reached an agreement, I would return. And yet I was something more than a representative of the Ministerium. I was a child of the congregation and of both Institutions. I represented, with Prof. Baugher, the old Faculty who had had the same struggles with the very same men, and, therefore, I found it difficult to break with the past.

The conflict brought me much nearer Dr. Brown than ever before. It made a breach between him and Dr. Valentine that never completely healed. It widened the separation that had existed for a long time with his colleague and relative, Dr. Hay. Thus, it was a very usual matter for him, on his way to the Post Office, to stop at my study and confer at first on what was going on in regard to the controversy, and then on a wide range of subjects.

Another complication I have passed over in its regular chronological order, but I may properly recur to it here. It occurred two or three years before. The Day of Prayer for College was usually celebrated the last Thursday of January. College recitations were suspended and the day was kept (if regulations were observed) with the strictness of a Puritan Sabbath. There was a regular Church service in the morning, with a sermon; and a Prayer Meeting with addresses in the afternoon; and sometimes another public service at night. These services the students were expected to attend, and the preaching was usually of the revivalistic type. As might be expected, the less devout students evaded these services and made it not only an occasion for idleness, but sometimes for frolics if not dissipation. One year when the time was approaching and the motion to suspend the exercises of the College was pending, I criticized the custom and cited instances of how the day was abused. When it came to a vote we were all surprised to find that the motion to suspend was negative. Dr. Valentine was the only one disturbed over it, but he felt keenly his defeat. The next Sunday morning it was my turn to preach. After the sermon Dr. Hay came forward to make the usual announcements, and said that it had been the custom to observe the Day of Prayer for colleges on the last Thursday of January; but as the Presbyterians and other denominations had changed the date to the last Thursday in February, it had been arranged to conform to the change. The General Synod, by a mere oversight had taken no action; but at its next convention it undoubtedly would approve the change. Services, therefore, would not be held during the coming week, but a month hereafter. When the subject came up again in Faculty meeting further objection was useless. But when I urged that the great object of the day seemed to me not so much for services at the Institutions, as for the direction of the minds of the people towards them and enlisting their cooperation - the proper time was not on a week day but on Sunday when all could attend - the suggestion was carried up to the General

Synod, and some years later the last Sunday in February was appointed as the day.

On the other hand, Prof. Baugher was constantly urging the suspension of recitations on Ascension Day. We supported him and the dominant faction resisted, although the observance of the day was recommended by the General Synod, and the recommendation printed in their Book of Worship. Here the opposition at last yielded.

In the spirit of Augustine in his Retractiones, I would say here that my objections to the Day of Prayer for College are not as strong today as they were then. A revision of methods of observing it might have been made which would have removed some of the points of criticism, and retained other elements that might have been utilized. The observance of a Sunday does not reach the end in view. On the other hand, today I would not insist upon suspension of all College exercises on Ascension Day. A special religious service I would have, and omit such regular exercises as would be necessary for this purpose; but the best way of observing the rest of the day is by honest work.

When it was exactly when Pennsylvania College at my motion in the Faculty, which was then approved by the Board, conferred the degree of D.D. on Prof. Sigismund Fritschel, I cannot remember. I was extremely mortified when he declined to receive it from Gettysburg and accepted it later from Muhlenberg.

There was considerable discord in regard to the conferring of degrees. The Charter explicitly provides that action on degrees is to be taken by Board and Faculty jointly, i.e. that every degree given be approved by both bodies. For years the Board had been giving degrees without consulting the Faculty. President Valentine assured the Faculty that he had repeatedly called the attention of the Board to this irregularity, but they had ordered him to proceed upon the justification of their action, that the Faculty is the creature of the Board. The Faculty respectfully called the attention of the Board to the matter, and received a most remarkable reply. It was to this effect, viz. that the President of the College is the representative of the Faculty when he confers the degrees, and therefore, when by the order of the Board he reads the names given him on Commencement Day, his act is the act of the Faculty! The Faculty appointed Profs. Baugher and Jacobs to get legal opinions. We submitted the terms of the Charter to the most prominent lawyers among the Alumni. There were two opinions - one by a local lawyer, and one by a class-mate of mine - and those very weak ones, which justified the Board. The others - about a dozen - from the most eminent lawyers which the College had graduated - pronounced the course of the Board a usurpation of authority. We sent the entire budget to the Board but it made no impression.

The Board published the required legal notice of application for a change of charter so as to authorize to discharge

any Professor at six months' notice without showing cause for removal. I sent the notice to the officers of the Ministerium, and urged that, as the dismissal was without showing cause, the rights of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania were jeopardized by the change. Mr. Staake endorsed the opinion, and when the time came for the court to act, Hon. W.A. Duncan appeared with a protest. David A. Buehler, Esq., the President and Attorney would not risk having the Court decide the case; and the petition was immediately withdrawn.

These various incidents are related to show why it would not have been strange if I had accepted one or other of the calls that came rather frequently, to escape such a scene of turmoil.

We have previously mentioned the crushing sorrow that befell us on April 23rd. 1977. Only a few days elapsed after Eugenia's death until Charles was taken with Scarlet Fever. The attack was so light that it was with difficulty that we kept him in bed, but of course it made us very anxious. He was so precocious and mature that we had hoped that his sister would always be remembered.

A few weeks later, his mother took him to Frederick and spent ten days or more with her sister Maggie ( Mrs. Brunner). Before she returned, Mr. Charles Kieffer, Editor of the "Frederick Examiner," and Mrs. Brunner's brother-in-law was killed in an accident on the Baltimore and Ohio near Frederick. As she had spent the previous evening in his house, the shock was very great.

Thiel College conferred on me at the Commencement of 1877 the degree of S.T.D., usually interpreted as D.D. Dr. Morris on congratulating me expressed his regret that the College had been in such a hurry ( I was five months short of 33), as it would have been of more worth from an older institution.

## Chapter Twenty Eight - The New York Ministerium

As soon as possible after Commencement we went to Palmyra, a few miles west of Newark, N.Y., where the Downings had moved. Here the unfurnished parlor was given to me as a study, and with a trunk full of books, I put myself down to solid work.

Dr. Krauth wrote that the New York Ministerium was to meet in Utica, N.Y. in August (1878), that he was delegate from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and that I should meet him there. What a scene of confusion that body was! The President ( Rev. Krug of New York), a tall, dignified, refined looking man with piercing black eyes and neatly trimmed side-whiskers, scrupulously particular in his dress, could have been readily taken for some distinguished city pastor or Princeton Professor of Theology. But his appearance was deceptive. He was guileless, unpractical, an old gentleman elected President because he was too amiable to take a positive stand on important issues. Business soon got into a tangle. "Mr. President, what is before the Synod?" was asked. Claspig his arms around his waist, his answer was: "I do not know."

The Missouri element was still strong in the Ministerium, headed by my old school-mate Sieker, who had succeeded Dr. Rupert<sup>1</sup>. Greeting Dr. Krauth, Pastor Sieker said: "Well, Dr. Krauth, have you come to bring peace to the Ministerium?" Imitating Pastor Sieker's pietistic tone, Dr. Krauth replied: "Brother Sieker, peace never comes on the railroad; it comes from above."

Pastor Busse - a handsome young man and evidently cultivated<sup>3</sup> - and Pastor August Emil Frey,<sup>4</sup> a delicate, dyspeptic looking man, peering at one through spectacles, and who had once accepted a call from the General Synod Board as missionary to India, also represented the Missouri wing. Close to them stood Pastor Leo Koenig,<sup>5</sup> a pugnacious and odd-looking New York pastor. Dr. Moldenke<sup>6</sup> led the opposition - a thorough gentleman in appearance and reality, with something of Dr. Mann's versatility and attainments, formerly amanuensis of Tholuck, and one who would be honored in any church assembly in this country. Ordinarily impetuous, at this meeting, he was tactful and conciliatory, and was more than a match for the extremists. Not a word of English was spoken. Dr. Krauth asked me to act as his interpreter several times. When afterwards I expressed my surprise, and said, when he acknowledged his want of familiarity with German when spoken: "Why, Doctor, in the General Council, you constantly repeat in English the substance of Prof. Fritschel's remarks in German." "That is readily explained," he wittily answered, "I know precisely what such a man as Prof. Fitschel intends to say on any given subject. His remarks are on what I am most familiar with, and I know the terminology. With these discussions, it is very different."

In vain they urged Dr. Krauth to participate in their debates. At last after he had not responded even to a formal resolution, asking him to speak on the Gemeinde-Prinzip,<sup>7</sup> Mr. Koemig addressed a number of questions to him directly, expecting him to sustain the position for which Mr. Koenig was being attacked. Then he spoke with his usual clearness, but it completely upset Mr. Koenig's theory. I thought it probable that he was piqued for being forced into the discussion, and was enjoying the revenge he was taking on his tormentor.

We devoted a day to Trenton Falls. Mr. Henry Martin, our host, drove us thither. We had Rev. Charles S. Kohler as another member of the party. It was a glorious day. Seated on an elevation whence we could see the progress of the stream for a considerable distance with some of the falls, Dr. Krauth said: "Such views as these are a permanent possession. We do not forget them. They leave their impression. When we write in our studies, they help to mould and shape what we compose." As we drove back, for miles there were birds - either blackbirds or crows - flying in the same direction we were going. They were constantly passing us. Then we saw them closing in on both sides. At last, there in the center of a large field stood an elm, every branch freighted with birds. As we continued we met them from the opposite side and watched them for a large distance beyond. "Well," he said, "a General Council of blackbirds."

He was rejoicing over the prospect of his son, Edward, entering College, and spoke of his purpose to review every line of the classics he would read.

As night had fallen and we drove back through the dark, he proposed that we should sing hymns. I must say that the choir was not such as could have maintained itself long in any church where people care for good Church Music.

The next day we had intended to go to Richfield Springs, and make a call on Dr. Krotel. But a struggle on the Language Question had broken out in the Synod, and a vote of censure had been passed on our host for his activity in trying to have English introduced into the Utica congregation. "We must stay," he said, "and help to fight out this battle." He sent for Rev. G.H. Gomph,<sup>8</sup> Chairman of the Committee to whom the matter had been referred, stated what action he thought should be taken, and, at Mr. Gomph's request prepared the report of the Committee. It recommended that the members of the Utica congregation desirous to have English services should leave the mother congregation and start an English Lutheran Church. The new enterprise was thus given the endorsement of the Synod.

With the spirit pervading that meeting of the N.Y. Ministerium he was profoundly disgusted. He said to me:

"We ought not to be deceived. This is not zeal for pure doctrine; this is not zeal for the Lutheran Church, or the German nationality, or language. It is pure deviltry. You know, there is such a thing."

Preaching in English Sunday night on "Jesus of Nazareth went about doing good," he referred to the need of English services in Utica, etc., in such terms that there was some scraping of feet and other signs of disapproval in the audience.

Mr. Martin was discouraged. "We cannot find a man who can successfully collect a congregation for the salary we can raise." "Can you raise \$500?" "Oh, yes." "Well then, we will find the man."

We had much conference concerning whom to recommend. I suggested Rev. Theophilus B. Roth, then in charge of St. Peter's, Philadelphia. He approved the suggestion; and we at once proceeded to persuade Mr. Roth that it was his duty to accept.<sup>9</sup>

Rev. F.W.Klingensmith, pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, Utica,<sup>10</sup> on the occasion of the XXVth. Anniversary of the congregation, several years ago, published the letter which I had addressed to Mr. Roth. I emphasize the importance of the beginning then to be made not only for Utica, but for the entire State of New York, and indicate the places where work should be done. The letter is interesting now, because it followed precisely as I had indicated. At that time the Church of the Reformation, Rochester, N.Y., still a struggling congregation, was the only English congregation in the New York Ministerium. Dr. Krotel's (now Armand Miller's) in New York City belonged to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Except for these far distantly separated congregations, the State was unoccupied. Since then the English congregations have been established in Syracuse, Binghamton, Elmira, Buffalo, Albany, Rondout (later Kingston), Jamestown, the Rochester church, while itself strong, has branched out into a number of congregations, and Brooklyn alone is fast nearing the number of two score! I had no scruples in persuading Mr. Roth to leave St. Peter's since it was almost under the shadow of the walls of the Seminary, and could readily be supplied with preaching.

Returning to Palmyra late one moonlight night, I frightened Mrs. Jacobs and her mother by rushing to greet them over the table-cloths spread upon the lawn, which I mistook for unusually bright patches of the Queen of Night's reflection.

What a delightful trip we made to the Thousand Islands before my return! Mrs. Jacobs' troubles that summer were particularly severe, and she needed all the recreation I could persuade her to take. But I could not save her from the sea-sickness on the lake from which I escaped, while most of the passengers suffered. We spent Saturday and Sunday on Wellesley Island. Returning to those scenes in 1904, I found them readily recognizable.

The study of people one meets on such excursions is almost as interesting as the scenes through which one passes. One Yankee asked me what was my home. "Gettysburg," was the answer. "How near the battle-field?" "Right on it." "Do you own that place?" he concluded, looking on me with manifest respect.

Before going home, I attended the Pittsburgh Synod at Butler, Pa., as delegate from our Synod. I went by way of Niagara Falls, where I stopped for some hours, and then through N.W. Pennsylvania to Parker City, a wild, rough, oil town, from which a narrow-gauge road, charging 9 or 10 cents per mile, took me to Butler. I was the guest of Rev. W.A. Ferguson, the U.P. pastor. His wife was Emma Huber of Gettysburg. Mr. F. is now Rev. Dr. Ferguson, President of Westminster College. He is a cousin of the Ferguson family now living at Mount Airy. He was a most agreeable man. On Sunday night, I preached to the Synod. It was a very pleasant visit to my former associates and pupils, although of no very special importance to our Church interests. Mrs. Jacobs and Charles remained at Palmyra for nearly a month later.

The last months of 1877 were very eventful to our Church in Pennsylvania. Within them the arrangements were made for two memorable conventions, one held in October, the other at the very close of December. An important letter concerning the latter was on my table at Gettysburg upon my return from Butler. But we may consider the former first, as the latter cannot be explained without it. The former was polemical; the latter irenic. The former threatened separation; the latter promoted harmony. From the former I was absent; in the latter I took a prominent part.

The Galesburg Rule cannot be understood without a careful study of Dr. Krauth. Two remarks he made to me may be used for its interpretation. One has already been mentioned, viz. that a synodical resolution is often proposed simply to elicit discussion. The second he made as he met me in front of St. Matthew's, Philadelphia, in December 1877, where he expected that there would be a warm debate. "I carry both sides within my own heart."

Dr. Seiss claimed to be the author of the phrase: "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only," etc., and he gave it to Dr. Krauth who made a note of it, as what he believed to be the true principle. Dr. Seiss' practice it is acknowledged had been more rigid than Dr. Krauth's. Dr. Seiss had strictly guarded his pulpit from the ministers who were not Lutheran before the break at Fort Wayne, and while he was still in the General Synod. Indeed I do not know whether Dr. Seiss had ever any other than a Lutheran minister to preach for him. Dr. Seiss just as consistently opposed the General Invitation to Communion. With Dr. Krauth it was otherwise. When he had charge of St. John's church, during Dr. Seiss' visit to Europe (1868), he called the Rev. Dr. John Chambers, pastor of an Independent Presbyterian Church on S. Broad Street in to the pulpit of St. John's. Dr. Krauth was on intimate terms with a wide circle of pastors of other churches. Dr. Seiss was not!

The General Council was constantly pressed by the German element to make a more specific definition of its position on Pulpit and Altar Fellowship. This pressure arose from the efforts of Missouri to draw them away from the Council, and the attacks it was incessantly making. It has always been the policy of the Missouri organs - particularly the Lehre und Wehre - to seize upon any inconsistency with Lutheran principles it may find reported, without inquiring into the trustworthiness of the report or considering the extenuating circumstances - and to give it the widest publicity, and, at the same time, to suppress the publication of anything that is to the credit of those whose influence it is bent on breaking. The German synods were kept in constant commotion by these attacks of

Missouri. They very naturally desired that the Council should put itself in such a position as to escape these criticisms. The German papers within the General Council were therefore advocates of a more strict practice.

The churches of the General Council no one claimed to be ideal. Everywhere there were abuses that had to be corrected, and practices that had to be revised. The German congregations were by no means an exception. The establishment of the Philadelphia Seminary and the formation of the General Council were the beginning of a reformation and reorganization of the Church. They were a protest against what had hitherto prevailed, and a recurrence to the principles laid down by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg for the building up of the Church in America? Just as at the Reformation everything could not be accomplished at once. Changes had to be effected as the result of inner conviction, and by a process of quiet growth rather than by extreme violence.

The Pittsburgh Declaration, prepared by Dr. Krauth in 1868,<sup>3</sup> was certainly sufficient. But in 1869 at Lancaster, my old school-mate, Rev. J.H. Sieker of the Minnesota Synod, who even when in the Preparatory Department at Gettysburg took delight in absorbing the time of his class by disputing with the tutor concerning the interpretation of Virgil, had certain exceptions to offer to the Declarations just adopted. Sieker, I may remark, was so superior to the rest of us that, at one bound, he had vaulted from the Preparatory Department to the Gettysburg Seminary, leaving the rest of us to plod along in the regular college course.<sup>4</sup> If the leaders of the General Council had known their man better, they would not, it is probable, have paid so much attention to his criticisms. He was a crude, conceited German, of large build, carrying himself, when a Preparatorian, with the bearing of an Archbishop, and wearing a coat with remarkably long tails, which he accused my cousin, Luther Jacobs, whether rightly or wrongly I will not say, of fastening to the bench at the Prayer Meeting so that when he tried to kneel, he nearly lost his train. Dr. Schaeffer's interest in the Lehre und Wehre in the Gettysburg Seminary had attracted his attention and led him, he wrote me toward the close of his life, into the Missouri fold. He was now Father Heyer's successor at St. Paul, and in the ministry about eight years. According to the regular order to-day, five years would have to be subtracted for more thorough training. The sanctimonious air which had survived his earlier period made his presence somewhat imposing. And so the questions propounded by this very inexperienced delegate from Minnesota were deemed worthy the attention of a committee consisting of Drs. Seiss, Krauth and C.W. Schaeffer, and convulsed the entire Church.

In the discussion on the report of this committee at Lancaster, O., the next year, Dr. Krauth (as I have gathered) used the expression which Dr. Seiss had coined.

Although Mr. Sieker promptly had led his Synod out of the Council and thrown it into the vortex of Missouri, Iowa which had one foot in the Council and one outside of it, by an official action petitioned the General Council to officially approve the statement. This came up at Akron, O., in 1872, at the same convention which elected me Professor in the Chicago Seminary. The petition of the Iowa Synod was approved, and, at Dr. Krauth's motion, the action was taken:

- "I. The Rule is: Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only. Lutheran Altars are for Lutheran communicants only.
- II. The Exceptions to the rule belong to the sphere of privilege, not of right.
- III. The Determination of the exceptions is to be made in consonance with these principles, by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as the cases arise."

If it was Dr. Krauth's object - as it scarcely was - for the proposition was drawn from him rather than through him - to excite discussion, he was certainly successful. According to my recollection, there was no special protest against it on the part of the Americanized element. The declaration was axiomatic. It is certainly the duty of every Church to test the claims of its public teachers and its communicants. In such sense, all agreed to the principle, provided the admission of exceptions were also to be recognized. But the Germans were clamorous for more. If they could not succeed in entirely forbidding exceptions, they demanded that such declaration be made as would practically have the same effect. Everything must be raised to a standard that would satisfy Missouri. Prof. Fritschel, I grant, was independent of Missouri.

The matter slumbered, so far as the General Council was concerned, through the two conventions, at Erie and Jamestown, which I attended, and woke up at Galesburg in 1875, continued to be discussed at Bethlehem in 1876, and reached its most acute stage at Philadelphia in 1877, when I was absent and I must confess that at the time I did not regret being absent. I was in general sympathy with the principles advocated by Dr. Krauth. I could not accept many of the premises laid down by Dr. Seiss,<sup>6</sup> and still less so, those advanced by Dr. Kunkleman<sup>7</sup>. But I could not sympathize with Dr. Passavant's<sup>8</sup> gratification at the agitation and its immediate result. My judgment was that the General Council should stand on the Pittsburgh Declaration of 1868, and endeavor to be as consistent in the maintenance of what is there declared as possible; and cease the process of defining and redefining ad infinitum; that its yea should have been yea, and its nay- nay; "for whatsoever is more ---."

The meeting at Galesburg, Ill., in 1875, was very poorly attended. Delegates were growing tired of going long distances at their own expense, and finding themselves assigned to people of other denominations who generously entertained them, while the main question of discussion was that with such persons there could be no fellowship! Dr. Mann had lost his interest with the Fort Wayne Convention (1871), and absented himself for ten years until the Council met within a few squares of his house in 1877. Drs. C.W.Schaeffer, Deiss, and Krotel were absent. Outside the Swedish Augustana Synod there were only 26 clerical delegates present, seven of whom (Greenwald, Schmucker, Krauth, Spaeth, Belfour, Schantz and W.A.Schaeffer) were from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Dr. Rupert, with his limited knowledge of American conditions and eagerness to participate in all discussions, was on hand, as well as Prof. S. Fritschel whose anomalous position - with the right of speech but not of vote - was not without profit to the Council on the one hand, and injury on the other. Where there is no responsibility to execute an action taken, the right of debate ought certainly to be judiciously guarded. Directly after the reading of the President's Report, and before the officers were elected, Dr. Rupert, who knew precisely how everything should be done in America, "gave notice that he would submit propositions for the consideration of the Council upon the following subjects: Pulpit Fellowship, Altar Fellowship and the Relations of Synods and Congregations."<sup>9</sup> This eloquent advocate of a stricter practice and more stringent regulations for the General Council was to end his life as a General Superintendent of the State Church of Germany! He was the nephew of Pastor Wynecken, next to Sihler<sup>10</sup> and Walther, the most prominent leader in the Missouri Synod.

The action resulting was not such a great advance as was actually proclaimed. The famous "Galesburg Rule" is only an interpretation of the Akron Declaration. It is as follows:

" RESOLVED, That the General Council expresses its sincere gratification at the progress of a true Lutheran practice in the different Synods, since its action on communion and exchange of pulpits with those not of our Church, as well as at the clear testimony in reference to these subjects, officially expressed by the Augustana Synod, at its Convention in 1875; nevertheless we hereby renewedly call the attention of our pastors and churches to the principles involved in that testimony, in the earnest hope that our practice may be conformed to our united and deliberate testimony on the subject, viz. the rule which accords with the Word of God and with the confessions of our Church is: Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only - Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only." "

One experienced in ecclesiastical legislation will see at once that this was evidently a compromise. The one side

could claim that no change whatever was made, that all included in the Akron Declaration still stood, and that the clause inserted "which accords with the Word of God and the Confessions of the Church," only declared what every one must have been convinced was true when he voted for the Akron Declaration. "The Word of God and the Confessions of the Church," lying at the foundation of the organization of the Council, according to the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity," the action would have been unconstitutional if the Council could not have made such a statement. On the other hand, the champions of the stricter party were triumphant because they saw in this action an absolute repudiation of all exceptions. If the rule be "in accordance with the Word of God," they argued, "there can be no exceptions; for you can make no exceptions to that which God's Word enjoins."

The country was instantly aflame with indignation against the Galesburg Convention. The Associated Press telegraphed the action all over the country, and the General Council was held up to ridicule and contempt for its exclusiveness. The religious press followed, led by the New York Independent, followed by religious journals. Our German Reformed neighbors in Eastern Pennsylvania, and the Lutheran Observer had their opportunity. The laity became excited. The Church Councils of St. Mark's and St. John's, Philadelphia, passed resolutions compelling their pastors to make a general invitation at communion to all Christians of other Churches. Dr. Seiss, as editor of The Lutheran began to open his artillery.<sup>12</sup>

I was gradually convalescing from my attack of fever, and was disturbed at the earliest reports. How far the action went I could not accurately tell. I wrote to Dr. Passavant in astonishment. He tried to calm me by stating precisely what the action was, and disclaiming the representations made by the daily press, and by the German extremists. I replied that the Church ought to know promptly how far the agitation was to go, and that in my opinion a special meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania should be called, to have an official report from the delegates, and to decide the future course of the Ministerium with reference to it. He agreed with me. Dr. Greenwald, the President, favored the plan. But when he submitted it to the Executive Committee the influence of Dr. Fry and others smothered it. Such a meeting at that time, they thought, might result in the disruption of the Synod.

As the regular time for the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania approached there was much apprehension as to the result. The Pennsylvania German element was inclined to rebel. Pastors of Union Churches had trouble, and the ties of kindred with Reformed people asserted themselves. St. Mark's and St. John's, Philadelphia, memorialized the Ministerium against the Galesburg Rule.<sup>13</sup>

I was present at a conference of Drs. Krauth, Schmucker, and Spaeth, in Dr. Fry's study at Reading, at which they agreed upon the report to be made by the delegates to the Galesburg Convention to the Ministerium. They insisted upon my remaining as there was nothing that should be concealed. Their anxiety as to what might occur and the proper wording of the report to anticipate it was manifest. This Report to the Ministerium is so important that we transcribe it.

When it was read, Dr. Schmucker took his seat alongside of Dr. Krauth, at the very front of the Church, while I attempted to make as full a report of the discussion as possible at a table, close by both of them. Dr. Schmucker showed by the rush of the blood to his very ears how great was his inner excitement, although externally he was calm.

From Report of Delegates:

"With reference to the action of the General Council... on this subject, no little uncertainty and apprehension has been manifested. Your delegates desire to state that action correctly, for the information of this Ministerium, and of the Congregations connected with it. It was proposed to amend the Rule, stated at Lancaster in 1870, and reduced to writing and approved at Akron in 1872, by inserting the words: 'which accords with the Word of God and the Confessions of our Church.'" The question was distinctly raised whether the adoption of such amendment would annul the other parts of the action at Akron, and the official decision of the President was given, that it would have no such effect, but that the second and third declarations of the Akron Rule would remain intact, and would continue to be, afterward as much as before the declaration of the General Council. This proposed amendment of the Akron Rule was, after it had been discussed at length, incorporated with a resolution which had been offered with reference to the action of the Augustana Synod on this subject, and the final resolution of the General Council, without abrogating any part of the Akron testimony. And after the action was finally taken, the President made the official declaration, that the sole change in the action is, it declares whence we get the Rule, to-wit: out of the Word of God and the Confessions of our Church. It only makes explicit what was implied before. And the President stated that if the correctness of his decision was doubted, an appeal from it could be taken. No appeal was taken.

"The support given by your delegates to the action on this subject, was given with full knowledge of the effect of the action as above stated.

"And, in addition to the above statement of facts, we would declare our belief that the manifest intention which moved to this action, was not to coerce the

practice of our congregations, but to set forth the true principle on this subject, and earnestly to direct their attention to it. Its action was meant to be, not governmental, but educational. That all would be at once prepared to acknowledge the propriety of this Rule, was scarcely expected, nor was the enforcement of a legal obedience thought of, but the Council desired to set forth its convictions of that which is true and right on this subject, in the full persuasion that sooner or later it will be accepted by our Churches." \*

The item transcribed was unanimously approved by the Ministerium.

The Report of the Committee on the Memorial from St. John's and St. Mark's, "complaining and petitioning against the laying upon them of an ecclesiastical robe, forbidding all discretion in the admission to their pulpits or altars, of ministers or\*\* members not in formal connection with the Lutheran Church," as adopted by the Ministerium, directs the attention of these churches to the fact: "It appears from the unanimous report of our delegates to the General Council that there has been much misapprehension both of the rule and of the exceptions, in the declarations of the General Council." They are referred to the Report as "sufficiently obviating wrong inferences in both directions."

The meeting of the General Council at Bethlehem in 1876 was awaited with much interest. The Report of the Committee on Minutes of Synods showed that there had not been the same understanding of the action at Galesburg in all the Synods. The Indiana Synod's delegation ( Rev. Dr. S. Wagenhals, chairman) reported that they had unanimously voted against the action at Galesburg, and that they had done so because, notwithstanding the fact that the President had made the statement so so emphatically quoted by the delegation of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the General Council had declined to insert the exceptions in its action, and that no mere verbal statement could be a substitute for incorporating the exceptions along with the action.\*\*\* The New York Ministerium had at first adopted, and then reconsidered and rejected a resolution endorsing the action " in the sense in which it was explained by the President."# The Synod of Michigan wanted the second and third resolutions of the Akron declaration, embodying the exceptions repealed. ## Pennsylvania, Ohio, Pittsburgh, and Holston agreed on the retention of the exceptions.

The Council at Bethlehem was so much divided that it was a drawn battle. Dr. Krauth was asked to prepare Theses to be discussed at the next meeting in Philadelphia.

Meanwhile a vigorous controversy agitated "The Lutheran."

\* Minutes of the Reading Convention, 1876, p. 16.

\*\* p. 32, 33. \*\*\* Minutes, Bethlehem, 1876., p. 28. # p. 26.

## p. 27.

Dr. Kunkleman made a challenge to Dr. Krauth, to which Dr. Krauth answered with characteristic vigor and ability. Dr. Seiss, the editor, joined in the struggle.<sup>4</sup> It lasted for months. Shortly after it began, Dr. Krauth wrote me asking me to criticize freely his articles as they appeared. I did so with entire candor, writing to him weekly, and receiving long letters in reply. How he was able to discharge his duties in the Seminary and the University, to prepare the exhaustive articles he was writing, and to give my letters so much attention, was a surprise. Dr. Spaeth has the entire correspondence on both sides, and will probably use it in the second volume of his Memoir of Dr. Krauth. One article I wrote for "The Lutheran," antagonizing the position of some of the opponents of Dr. Krauth on "Fundamental Articles."\* Constantly taking exception though I was to some of Dr. Krauth's positions, he generally accepted every criticism which I made, and claimed me as on his side. I was only so in a qualified way, and if he overlooked these qualifications, it was not because I did not call his attention to them. Even where I agreed with him in the principle, I lamented the manner in which it was stated. The formularies of our Church, particularly the Formula of Concord, meet courageously the controversies they attempt to settle, stating both sides of the controversy, and drawing sharply the lines between opponents on the one side, and those on the other. The Galesburg Rule, if not ambiguous, may readily be so interpreted. There were differences concerning the words "Rule," "Lutheran," "Pulpits," "Altars," "Rule," Dr. Krauth contended, was not a "law," but only "a general principle." The term "Lutheran" involved the settlement of the question as to whether it meant one connected as pastor or member with a Lutheran organization, or holding Lutheran doctrine.

Dr. Krauth prepared 105 Theses for the General Council at Philadelphia.\*\* Of that great discussion in which all his great powers showed to their best advantage, I know only from the reports of others. The discussion resolved itself into a debate between him and Dr. Seiss on the first Thesis. At this rate three generations would have passed before they could be finished!

We read at Gettysburg the debates as reported in "The Ledger." Our little Charlie caught the spirit of what was going on, and remarked: "Wait until I get to the General Council! Won't I make things fly?"

\* The Lutheran for March 9, 1876: Notes on the Discussion.

\*\* See O.H. of G.C. pp. 345-376.

## Chapter Thirty - The Lutheran Diet of 1877

Shortly after two months later, another convention assembled at Philadelphia. It was not the General Council, but was composed of essayists selected from the General Council and the General Synod, and all other Lutherans who chose to enroll their names.

Dr. Morris of Baltimore, then over 74 years old, had a future of 17 years before him in which he was conspicuously active as a writer and speaker almost to the very close. His sympathies were much wider than the General Synod, of which he was twice President. Educated partly under Moravian influence at Nazareth, and among Prebyterians at Dickinson College and Princeton, N.J., he was a student under Dr. S.S. Schmucker when he was pastor at New Market, Va., and was for a few months a member of the first class at the Gettysburg Seminary. My uncle David Jacobs was his class-mate. He was a frequent visitor at the meetings of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and paid his last call on me when he was erect and vigorous and scorned any attendant, when over 90 years old. It was his great desire to bring both parts of the Church together. The older men on both sides were his friends, and the young men he diligently cultivated, even though he was very brusque and almost rough towards them. He had tried various efforts to bring about an exchange of delegates, and other methods for some sort of recognition of one another. Finally he conceived the idea of holding a "Lutheran Diet" in Philadelphia in December 1877, and enlisted Dr. Seiss' interest and cooperation in his plan. Dr. Morris presided. Drs. Baum<sup>1</sup> and I were the secretaries, but as the former was pastor loci, all the work of secretary fell to me.<sup>3</sup> One hundred ministers, besides a number of laymen, were enrolled. The papers, as a rule, were thoroughly prepared and instructive. The discussions were animated, interesting, but without controversial heat. The men who had been separated for ten years seemed to enjoy meeting each other, and exchanging opinions once more. Dr. Morris began with a paper on the relation of the XXXIX Articles to the Augsburg Confession. It elicited no discussion. Dr. Krauth followed with an elaborate paper on the relation of the Lutheran Church to the denominations around us. It was an elaborate treatment of the subject, for which new historical investigation had been made. Only extracts from the paper, selected here and there, could be read, as the essayist was limited to forty five minutes. In the proceedings it fills 43 closely printed pages. In the discussion, Dr. Krauth and Dr. Brown were pitted against each other. The latter apologized for speaking, but "feared lest silence might be misconstrued into an endorsement of all that the paper read contains." Although attacking what he termed to be its exclusiveness, his speech was moderate in tone, and free from anything to which offense could be taken. Dr. Krauth, in turn, discussed the positions advanced by Dr. Brown, and avoided all personalities. Dr. Brown urged: "Wherever the tread of the Roman legion was heard, or the banner bearing

the Roman eagle floated, there were secured the right of Roman citizenship." Dr. Krauth answered: "The eloquent description of the Roman has no applicability to the visible Church militant. The Roman Kingdom was a Kingdom which imposed the cross; the Kingdom of Christ is a Kingdom which bears the Cross, and will bear it, till her King comes again."

It was either fortunate or unfortunate that when Dr. Brown's turn came to read his paper on "The Four General Bodies; wherein they agree, and wherein they might cooperate," Dr. Krauth had to leave to attend a funeral. Dr. Brown enumerated as the points of agreement: 1. The common name - Lutheran. 2. Common origin or descent. 3. The acceptance of the Augsburg Confession, with insistence upon: 1. Justification by Faith. 2. Priesthood of believers. 3. Divinely instituted office of the ministry. 4. Catechization and Confirmation. 5. Love of liberty, and agreement in diversity. He pled then that they might mutually recognize each other as Lutheran bodies, and then cooperate in everything, since "the differences existing between these four bodies are not greater than those which have existed in other Churches" without preventing cooperation. Besides, "diversities similar to those now existing in these four bodies, have existed in the Lutheran Church from the very beginning, and without destroying her unity, or forbidding cooperation." Discussion on his paper was diverted by a speech of Rev. D.P. Rosenmiller which was very offensive to Dr. Mann. Mr. Rosenmiller<sup>4</sup> - a cousin of Dr. Schaeffer and of Admiral Porter - had prepared beforehand speeches on every paper that was to come before the Diet, and afterwards sent me his manuscript containing both those delivered and those that were ready, but for which no opportunity was offered. Dr. Mann's onslaught on Mr. Rosenmiller roused Victor Conrad, who in turn, attacked Dr. Mann, from whom came a reply, followed by Victor again. Attention was finally called to Dr. Brown's paper by Mr. Emery,<sup>5</sup> with whom the former seemed to be slightly provoked.

In the evening session, I began with a paper on "The History and Progress of the Lutheran Church in the United States." It formed the outline for the "History" I wrote sixteen years later for the American Church History Series.<sup>6</sup> The preparation of the latter within four months would not have been possible if I had not had this paper in mind and simply elaborated its details. Dr. Krauth was pleased to say to the assembly: "The preparation of this paper alone would have repaid for the calling of the Diet,"<sup>7</sup> and Dr. Brown also kindly commended it in kind terms. Dr. Brown, however, could not refrain from reminding Dr. Krauth of some historical incidents suggested by the essay, and Dr. Krauth, in turn, defended himself against the charges of inconsistency. Dr. Valentine's essay on "Education in the Lutheran Church in the United States," was an able treatment, partly historical and partly a discussion of principles. It contained a vigorous protest against the multiplication of colleges and seminaries.

At noon that day Dr. Krauth came to me and said: "I am going to dine with you." He and Dr. Dosh<sup>8</sup> spent the intermission with

us. He was somewhat annoyed at Dr. Morris' incivility. For when Dr. Krauth had said, "If such a thing be so, I am ignorant of it," the President growled, "Humph! You know a great deal, but you do not know everything." But Dr. Morris was protected from a retort by his vantage point of twenty years excess in age, as well as by the fact that Dr. Krauth began his ministry under his care. Dr. Krauth's retorts were terrific. At the meeting of the General Council a few weeks before, a delegate had said to him, "You cannot force those theses down the throat of the Church. They will be thrown up." Dr. Krauth said nothing for a long time. At last he arose to correct certain misapprehensions concerning the Theses; and the first, he said, was that of Bro. U., who had imagined that they were something to eat!

The next day we heard papers read by the layman Diller Luther, M.D.,<sup>9</sup> said to be a relative of the Reformer, and by Drs. Seiss and Mann of the General Council, and Drs. Conrad, Stork, Diehl and Wedekind of the General Synod. Dr. Mann, instead of a regular essay, presented Theses on "The Lutheranism of the Fathers of the Church in this Country" - the fruits of his studies in connection with the Halle Reports. Dr. Charles A. Storck's essay on "Liturgical Forms in Worship" made a deep impression. It was fresh, thoughtful, suggestive, spiritual in its entire treatment. Dr. Spaeth saw Dr. Stork only on this occasion, and has repeatedly spoken of the favorable impression produced. Here is an extract: "A prayer that has been prayed by my father, and before him by his father, and so for centuries backwards, gathering on its petitions the yearning breath of generation after generation, is a very different thing from the petition made just for me, and uttered for the first time. Every word vibrate with the thrill of joys, sorrows, hopes devout aspirations, once warm and, though past, not extinct. I feel in that vibration the harmony of the Christian fellowship through the ages, as in the sound of voices, praying or confessing by my side, I feel the harmony of the present communion of saints." "No fellowship of the Church, now existant, though intensified to the highest degree, can ever make up for that which is lost by breaking the continuity with the Church of the past. The very fact that members of that body are no longer on the earth but in heaven, gives a color, a quality, a tone to the devotion, that uses their ancient form, which nothing else can supply."

Dr. Conrad's essay, drawn largely from Dr. Krauth's "Conservative Reformation," provoked Dr. Brown's criticism and started a controversy later in which, much to my sorrow, I became involved.

The effect of the Diet was good. While it did not prevent further strife but indeed to an extent became its occasion, it promoted mutual respect, and opened the way to a more impartial and objective consideration of questions at issue.

I hurried home as fast as possible. Dr. and Mrs. Brown were my companions for a part of the way. But Downing was ahead of me. I had hoped to anticipate his arrival. My devoted

wife was a brave woman to urge me to go from home at so critical a time! I could not do so now under similar circumstances.

I at once began to collect the essays and write out my notes of such speeches as were not furnished by their authors. Drs. Seiss and Brown arranged for the publication. My essay I fortified and made more valuable by bibliographical and other footnotes.

Dr. Krauth baptized my son, Downing, in February. He came to Gettysburg to attend the Fortieth Anniversary of the Sunday School of the College Church - the age of the school grew out of its having grown from a Union Sunday School founded about that date. Dr. Krauth in his boyhood had been both pupil and teacher. His invitation and acceptance were probably the fruits of the Diet. His presence was highly appreciated at Gettysburg; and he pronounced the days of the celebration among the happiest of his life. He arrived late on Friday evening in time for supper in the Church. I called on him at his step-mother's on Saturday morning. David A. Buehler, the Superintendent of the Sunday School gave a dinner in the evening. Drs. Krauth and Baum of Philadelphia, Rev. S.B. Barnitz, and Drs. Brown, Hay and Valentine, Wolf and Martin were among the guests. At the table there were no constraints. Drs. Krauth and Hay were recalling reminiscences of their boyhood association. Drs. Krauth and Brown were cordially asking each other concerning matters on which their judgments seemed agreed. Dr. Krauth was a Gettysburger again in a community that, notwithstanding the separation, was still proud of him. Was it a foretaste of a reconciliation that is yet to come? From the dinner-table we went to the church where the exercises of the evening were devoted to reminiscences. Dr. Krauth told how he was a teacher in that school when he ought to have been a scholar.

On Sunday morning I conducted the services, Dr. Baum making the General Prayer, Dr. Krauth preaching the sermon, and Dr. Valentine making a brief address, after the sermon. It was one of his best sermons which Dr. Krauth preached. His audience was carried away by the deep feeling which pervaded it. Going from church, Dr. Hay remarked that no one whom he had known quoted Scripture so aptly.

In the afternoon the church was filled with children, all the Sunday Schools in town having united to celebrate the event. It was an afterthought to ask Dr. Krauth to add something after other speakers had finished. His few remarks proved to be the address of the afternoon. The children were all attention. They took in every word. He told them about the Zoological Garden in Philadelphia, and the lessons which the animals had taught him. David A. Buehler who knew him well was astonished. "I never knew that he could bring himself down to children in that way," he remarked. In the afternoon after this address he came to our house and baptized Downing after which we had supper. (Downing cried. After the baptism, Dr. Krauth said, "I have thought of preaching a sermon on the text:

And the babe cried.'") Charles amused him much, and he told him the story of the Frog and the Ox from Aesop's Fables. Pope Pius IX had just died, and we talked of his character and of the conclave just assembling. He gave me advice concerning my edition of the Symbolical Books, and undertook to procure for me a copy of Carpzov' "Isagoge in Libros Symbolicos." Mrs. Jacobs spoke of Dr. Krotel; and he characterized him in this way: " Dr. K. is like a gentle kitten. It is so nice and friendly, and purrs as you stroke it; but all of a sudden, out come its claws, and you are scratched, and you cannot tell why." The preceding day, as I left his step-mother's, he urged me to make a study of the subject, and write an essay on: "Augustinianism not Calvinism."

Prof. Baugher was absent, I think from this celebration. He had been appointed Financial Secretary of the College for a year; and the Sophomore Class in Greek was put in my care, much to my delight. I had never read Lysias, and I became deeply interested in studying and teaching his orations. The agency of Prof. Baugher was rendered necessary by the action of the Board in 1874, in electing two Professors to fill one vacancy.<sup>10</sup> There were two applicants for the place vacated by Prof. Sadtler's election to the University of Pennsylvania. The wife of one of them offered to support him for three years, and upon this assurance both were elected. When the three years expired her appropriation ceased, and the College having no funds sent Prof. Baugher out to make collections. The next year he returned to his chair. The Board decided to save the \$1500 or more given to one of the Tutors in the Preparatory Department by ordering the Professors ( the President excepted) to divide his duties among them. Some money was given by a political aspirant for Congress and some by a friend of one of the Professors towards the support of the tutor. This lasted till Christmas. From that time to the close of the year, I spent an hour a day drilling the Primarians in Latin, and that with good results. Huber Buehler, now Headmaster of Yale Preparatory School, Lakewood, Conn., and a writer of text-books, and William L. McPherson, who graduated at Harvard after leaving Gettysburg, and is now editor of the New York Tribune, were among those whom I put to a very severe drill throughout that year. The class was one with which I afterwards had more than the usual number of hours during its College course.

At the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Easton in 1878, I became a member of the Examining Committee, and continued on the Committee until I became a Professor at Philadelphia. (It was understood that no Professor of Theology dare serve on the Examining Committee - a provision intended to guard any partiality he might show his own pupils.)

The Diet Volume edited by me appeared about Easter of that year. I allowed some of the essayists and debaters to see the galley-proofs in order that the discussions might be reported with all possible accuracy. This may, and it may not, have had something to do with the controversy between

Dr. Brown and Dr. Krauth that arose. There was an antipathy between the two that seemed absolutely irreconcilable. Dr. Brown in his "Quarterly Review", was incessantly making slurs and comments on Dr. Krauth. They appeared occasionally in articles which he wrote in the "Observer", and consumed considerable of his time in the Professor's chair. I had corrected a very unjust reflection he had cast on Dr. Krauth, in reviewing the volume of McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia which contained an article with Dr. Krauth's initials attached on "The Lutheran Church". The article contained a complimentary reference to Dr. Krauth - which of course seemed very strange. But Dr. Krauth explained this to me sometime before. The article he had not written, but had gathered the data it contained for Prof. J.H. Wonne of Drew Theological Seminary, who then wrote the article, appended Dr. K's initials, and published it in this way without Dr. K's knowledge. When I saw Dr. Brown's attack in the Review, I wrote a courteous note giving the above facts. To this, he replied that he would not make any correction unless I would submit to him satisfactory evidence to prove what he regarded mere assertion. I had done my duty and gave the matter no further concern.

Dr. Krauth had just as great an aversion to Dr. Brown. It was not due merely to these constant little attacks, although they kept it alive. Nor was it due to the old conflict in which Dr. Krauth had defended Dr. S.S. Schmucker against Dr. Brown. It was rooted probably in the pressure that had been brought to bear on Dr. Krauth's father, then so feeble, that it was only by an act of grace that he continued to occupy his chair in the Gettysburg Seminary, to come out openly in condemnation of his son. It was a very precarious hold which Charles Philip Krauth had on the Gettysburg Seminary. Dr. Brown was its executive officer. The Philadelphia Seminary had almost depleted the other of students. A circular was published by the East and West Pennsylvania Synods, reflecting to such an extent on the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, that it ceased the exchange of delegates. To this circular, a statement of a sentence or two signed by Charles Philip Krauth, was appended, expressing his approval of what was said in the document. There was no official reason for such note. Dr. Krauth, Sr.'s connection with it was explicable only because his son was the leader of the other side. It is my opinion that there must have been some incident connected with the persuading of the venerable father so to act, that made the son peculiarly hostile to Dr. Brown.

In the Diet, Dr. Conrad had affirmed that the Augsburg Confession, before its completion, had been submitted to Luther three times for his approval. He drew his data from the Conservative Reformation, and fell into the error of using in support of his theory a typographical slip which had first appeared in Dr. Krauth's little volume on the Augsburg Confession and had been transferred to the Conservative Reformation; as the entire treatment of the latter book on this subject was set up by the printer verbatim from the former. The word

"July", I believe, appeared as "June". The contention of Dr. Krauth was supported, not at all by this date but by other facts he had collected. Dr. Brown, with a lynx's eye, detected the error and noticed how Dr. Conrad had blundered. He called from his place in the Diet: "I challenge Dr. Conrad to prove that Luther saw the Augsburg Confession three times before it was delivered. Dr. Krauth replied: "He can prove it." "Well, then, " said Dr. Brown, "I challenge Dr. Krauth and Dr. Conrad together to establish it."

Dr. Conrad was deeply wounded. Extravagantly egotistic, and ludicrously vain, he was stirred to the depths of his being by the slur, and manifested a state of excitement that could only be explained by the fact that he was several times in Kirkbrides.

In reading the galley-proofs, both Dr. Krauth and Dr. Brown sought to strengthen their statements by notes and supplementary remarks.

When the volume appeared Dr. Brown handled Drs. Conrad and Krauth very severely,<sup>12</sup> and kept his students, as I heard, much agitated concerning the dishonesty of Dr. Krauth's quotations. In the Review, he also quoted from my article in the "Mercersburg Review" for 1872, commending the "Conservative Reformation", and referring to a study I had made of the correspondence of those days in Caelestine, as confirming Dr. Krauth's position, and challenged me as a Latin Professor to approve of Dr. Krauth's translations from that language.

The matter, I thought, had reached such a stage that Dr. Krauth ought to reply. He consented to do so provided I would make a study of the question of Latinity involved. This I consented to do. I used every authority within reach of Gettysburg, and made several trips to Baltimore where I laid the Peabody Library under contribution. Directly after the adjournment of the Ministerium I accompanied Dr. Krauth home, where I remained with him for several days and used his library. He also brought me some authorities which I desired from the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

My contribution to the discussion was as objective as I could make it. It was absolutely free from any personal allusion and reflection, and was confined altogether to the discussion of the question as to whether a translation of a passage from Melanchthon made by Dr. Krauth was or was not correct. My only modification of my argument to-day would be that reflection convinces me that I have not succeeded in defending Dr. Krauth of getting too much out of the Latin word, "Disputabam". The paraphrase "Discussed and decided" rests upon an elaborate etymological argument which may as well be surrendered. In other respects, however, Dr. Krauth's translation was entirely correct.<sup>13</sup>

The question at stake was actually of very little moment. What difference did it make whether Luther saw the Augsburg Confession twice or thrice? What difference in fact did it make whether he ever saw it at all? Its dependence upon Luther is sufficiently established by internal evidence. But this was not the issue. There was a more important one in back of it. When Dr. Krauth's scholarship and integrity had been attacked, and I was appealed to as an expert by the one making the charge, to give my opinion, and was also asked by the one accused, could I have done otherwise?

Dr. Krauth's argument, based upon Melanchthon's own words in his introduction to the *Corpus Doctrinae* of 1560, seemed and still seems to me to completely establish his point. But I place less authority now in Melanchthon's statements, particularly when it is remembered that they were written many years afterwards - and that too, when his powers were failing. To treat Melanchthon's testimony as though it were verbally inspired is an error. From this view-point, we concede the possibility of Luther's not having seen the Confessions, as often as Dr. Krauth claimed. The entire question rests upon the admission of Melanchthon's testimony.

There was an ardor and severity in Dr. Krauth's reply which surprised even his most intimate friends. Demosthenes in his oration "On the Crown", did not grow more eloquent over pent-up wrongs, or more scathing in his treatment of his assailant. The Polemics of former ages were without the sting of Dr. Krauth's pointed satire.

I should have protested against this when I read it in manuscript. I did not like it; but I felt reluctant to criticize. The effect was undoubtedly not to strengthen but to weaken Dr. Krauth's presentation. Readers did not have before them Dr. Brown's article, or his series of attacks on Dr. Krauth, and were not in a position to judge the case. Besides, as often happens in Church controversies, each side read what its own representative had written, and not that of the other.

Dr. Conrad's program was: "Dr. Krauth will treat of the historical; you will take the philological. Then when you both have finished, I will complete the work in "The Observer". Not a grease-spot will be left." Whether the leading organ of the General Synod would have been turned against the leader of the General Synod is a question I cannot answer. But before "Lutheran Monograph, No. 1" had appeared, Dr. Conrad's excitement was such that he had to withdraw for months into a sanitarium. A still more serious affliction came to Dr. Brown a year later. Dr. Krauth soon began to show signs of failing strength. This controversy taught me a lesson which I shall never forget. It was - after all is told - a needless expenditure of time and strength. Dr. Krauth needed no such vindication. No

attacks of Dr. Brown could have prevented his influence from extending, and his services being properly estimated in coming years.

## Chapter Thirty One - At Home and On Trips

One summer evening directly after supper, I was startled by a commotion on the street, and the announcement that two students had been drowned in Spring Lake. Nearly a mile west of the Seminary towards the mountains and not far from where the Battle of Gettysburg started, there was a spring whose water was said to contain lithia. Business enterprise had organized a company to make the most of the water for commercial purposes, and in the course of time, a hotel had been erected there for the accomodation of summer guests. It was a hot, treeless spot, where the red shale came to the surface and little vegetation flourished. Among the attractions devised to draw guests was the damming up of Willoughby's Run, a stream almost entirely dry in summer through a large portion of its natural course, and the paradise of frogs and dragonflies and mosquitoes, where some water still remained amidst the rushes and lilies. By the construction of the dam, the water was retained from the freshets early in the season to afford a very comfortable roadway for boats. With much anxiety I followed the crowd that was hurrying westward and soon learned the facts.

With boyish sport, two Juniors in the Seminary and a higher classman in the College had taken a recently arrived college student rowing, and then - upset the boat, either to give him a ducking - or rocked it to frighten him not expecting it to capsize. The two theologians, Koller of York Co., and Schindel of Danville, Pa., were drowned. Both had been among my best pupils in the class of '77. Schindel was the son of a minister, a member of the family of ministers in Lehigh Co., and a near relative of Mr. James G. Finley of Philadelphia. Koller was the brother of Rev. J.C.Koller of Hanover. The calamity agitated the entire community, while former students could not locate any place near Gettysburg where the water was deep enough to drown anyone. Dr. Wolf, one of their Professors, crossed the ocean in safety in the spring, doubtless not forgetful of the peril of such a fate for himself, and while he escaped, the young men who remained experienced it within a few minutes walk of the Seminary.

My trunk was again filled with books on my annual trip to Palmyra, and good use was made of the vacation. It was my regular practice to spend a day or more every summer at Rochester visiting the bookstores and calling on our Lutheran brethren. I preached for the Rev. Charles S. Kohler<sup>2</sup>, and nearly every summer saw Rev. John Muehlhaeuser<sup>3</sup>, now a Missouri minister, a graduate of the Philadelphia Seminary, a young man of more culture than practical gifts. I met also his brother, a graduate of a German University in Philology, called to a Professorship in the University of Wisconsin. I think it was this year that I visited the Rev. H.C.Kaehler<sup>4</sup> at Lyons, and preached in English in the German church.

It was probably that fall that on leaving Gettysburg one afternoon for a trip eastwards, I was introduced to Henry Armitt Brown, then regarded one of the most brilliant young men in Philadelphia, a lawyer of great oratorical power, and a polished scholar. We traveled together for several hours and he was very companionable. He told me something of the pains he was taking to attain excellence as a speaker and of his methods. Although a young man, he was on intimate terms with William M. Evarts, the Secretary of State under President Hays, who had been his guest when he delivered his oration at the opening of the Centennial in 1876. He narrated the method pursued by Mr. Evarts in the preparation of that speech, which, he thought, was below the standard of what could be expected from such a speaker.

The Fall of 1879 was remarkable for the extension of the summer far beyond the middle of October. The heat was intense as I started for the General Council at Zanesville, O. Gentlemen in the car I entered at Harrisburg had their coats off. My neighbor rose with an exclamation just before the cars started, and said there was no reason why any one should travel in such heat when there were night trains. That was in the second week of October. The thermometer rose above 90 degrees nearly every day of our sessions. Our Seniors were along part of the way. Prof. Breidenbaugh was taking them on a Geological trip for which the Pennsylvania Railroad had made them a special ticket, taking them through Pittsburgh into the oil regions. We all stopped over night at the Logan House, Altoona, and then started early the next morning on an observation car around the Horse Shoe Bend. I spent part of the day and a night with my brother Edward in Wheeling, W.Va.

At Zanesville, I was again assigned to the home of a non-Lutheran family. It was across the river from Zanesville in Putnam. The Rev. Dr. Hoge of the Presbyterian Church, and a Mr. Buckingham were brothers-in-law, living alongside each other. Their wives' name was Wills, first cousins of Judge Wills of Gettysburg. I had met Dr. Hoge at Gettysburg. Dr. Krotel was his guest. I was with the other family, solid, substantial, cultivated people. Mr. Buckingham was the brother-in-law of Hon. S.S.Cox, one of the most prominent members of Congress at that time. They were very cordial and entertained me most kindly. On Sunday night I preached in their church, the Presbyterian. The Rev. G.F.Moore, now Professor in the Divinity School of Yale College, was pastor, a tall, awkward, gaunt young man, whom I never would have regarded of any special promise.<sup>6</sup> The pleasure of my stay was marred by the agitation in the General Council of the Pulpit and Altar Fellowship Question. "I should think," said one of the Miss Buckinghams to me, "that if you did not want to have fellowship with people from other churches, you would not

ask them to entertain you." What answer could I make? What encouragement was there to travel hundreds of miles at his own charges, and then to be put to such mortification? Why could the General Council not meet in centers where Lutherans were sufficiently strong to entertain them, as long as these questions were perpetually forced upon it by the German element?

There were intelligent visitors at that Convention whose eyes and ears were opened. The Council was an interesting novelty to Presbyterians and Episcopalians. An Episcopal rector wrote an article for one of the daily papers under the title of "Licht - mehr Licht". He playfully criticized the discussion of the fellowship question - which at Zanesville was not particularly vigorous - and ended with the question: "Will not Dr. Krauth, the learned scribe, or Dr. Spaeth, the plumed knight, come to our aid and give us some light to illumine our darkness?" Dr. Krauth accepted the challenge, and published a rejoinder in the next issue under the title of "An Electric Ray". The daily walks across the bridge with Dr. Krotel, and the strolls at night with Dr. Krauth who protested against being confined in a heated church after being sweltered all day, will never be forgotten.

The discussion of the irrepressible Fellowship Question was only incidental. The chief topic before the Zanesville meeting was the Constitution of the Congregations to be recommended by the General Council.<sup>7</sup> It was Dr. Krauth's work. A leading principle underlies it, that is, the elimination of lay elders. Dr. Krauth had declined to have anything to do with the preparation of the Constitution unless this principle be adopted. It had been discussed quite fully at Jamestown. Dr. Krauth attacked and refuted the arguments urged for it by Calvin. I put in his hands while the discussion was in progress Walther's "A Lutheran Pastoral Theology", and pointed to Dr. Walther's argument in favor of it. He had not seen it before. I doubt whether he had considered Gerhard's argument on the same side. The weakness of Dr. Krauth's position was the same as Calvin's. Calvin's was that the lay eldership must be reintroduced, because he found it in the New Testament. Dr. Krauth's was that it must not be tolerated because it was not in the New Testament. But the accidentals of New Testament practice are not permanent. If they were, neither the lay eldership nor the diaconate would meet its requirements. New Testament Church Polity was only a germ of what was to develop according to the circumstances of time and place; Dr. Krauth convinced me at the time; but more experience makes me question the wisdom of overthrowing an arrangement that had so long been established in our churches.

An interesting episode was an animated contest between Dr. Krauth and his future son-in-law Dr. Spaeth. Dr. Krauth

insisted that the pastor must be the President of the congregation, and no other arrangement should be allowed. Dr. Spaeth argued for the retention of what had been in his opinion successful in the Philadelphia German churches, and particularly in St. Johannes. Dr. Spaeth's final proposition was that the pastor should be president when spiritual matters are considered, and a layman when secular affairs of the congregation were to be considered. "The change from one to the other will be so frequent in a congregational meeting," responded Dr. Krauth, "that the two presidents will be popping up and down, like peas on a hot shovel!"

I was the English Secretary of the Zanesville Convention, and surprised the Church by having the Minutes in the hands of our ministers within a month after the adjournment. I did this by having them printed at Gettysburg right under my eye. Mrs. Jacobs I had left with her mother. She returned with the two boys, as I came from the West, and suffered much from the heat while on her journey.

On my return, Dr. Passavant would not allow me to pass through Pittsburgh without stopping, but hurried me from the depot to his house with Mr. and Mrs. Vandermissen of Canada and Mr. Schaidt, although Mrs. Passavant was away and there was no servant at hand. With the aid of one of the boys he made coffee and gathered enough of the most necessary articles of food for us. He found time to corner me for a while and to walk with me to the depot, urging I think of the Chicago Seminary scheme which periodically revived.

In November Dr. C.F. Schaeffer died\* and two weeks later Dr. Brown had an apoplectic stroke. Dr. Brown was stricken while writing a review of Dr. S. Sprecher's "Groundwork of Lutheran Theology".<sup>9</sup> The book had greatly excited him, and he was determined to completely demolish it. He took supper in abstraction, scarcely noticing anything about him, and with his mind away from the meal itself. During the night he rose and paced the floor - then fell. Consciousness was soon regained. But although his son, now Justice J. Hay Brown, summoned Dr. S. Weir Mitchell of Philadelphia to his bedside, he never regained the power to converse. Although lingering for several years, there was only one expression which he could repeat, and that was : "Fifty dollars." Whatever the subject, he would manifest great interest and show he understood all that was said, and then begin to speak, and end with these constant words. Business he could conduct. He could refer to his books, and point to accounts. He could go to his library and pull down books, and turn the leaves, and finding passages under discussion, point them

\* November 23, 1879

to his visitor. Sometimes with difficulty he was able to write a few words expressing correctly what he thought. He would laugh over his accomplishment with the pleasure of a school boy who has successfully performed a task. He was editor of the "Review"; and had no difficulty in distributing new volumes that came in for notice. He brought me Dr. Shield's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. He survived about three years and a half, removing to Lancaster about a year after his disablement. Notwithstanding my connection with the controversy which may have contributed to his break down, his family have in various ways shown for me their friendship. I spent a week as Mrs. Brown's guest at the meeting of the Synod at Lancaster in 1886; and I never visit Lancaster that Justice Brown does not devote some of his time to me. At such times I recall that conflict with the greatest regret.

That winter and spring I was deeply immersed in continuing my translation of the "Book of Concord". Mr. Frederick came to Gettysburg and arranged for its publication with me. I would not have undertaken it, but for him. I wanted to pursue other studies, but he insisted, and finally made a deposit with me as a "retaining fee" and guarantee that he would actually publish the book when ready. Dr. Krauth had intimated that when my work was done, I might have the same experience as had been his repeatedly. He was much amused when I told him of the pledge which I had exacted. Dr. Seiss was actually back of Mr. Frederick, not so far as the capital was concerned, but by urging this as the next most important literary move for our Church.

At the meeting of the Ministerium in Lancaster in 1880 I was the guest of Col. William Peiper, cashier of one of the banks, who had known me from my infancy and had lived with my grandparents at Harrisburg. I was appointed to deliver an address on "The Confessional Principle". The occasion was the Tercentenary of the publishing of the Formula of Concord, and the third semi-centennial of the Augsburg Confession. I was not informed in advance that there was to be another speaker, and prepared an elaborate discussion. When I found that Dr. Spaeth was to precede me in German, I was surprised. Lancaster is a more than usually hot place. We struck a hot time for the meeting of the Synod; and the culmination of it seemed to be that evening. Old Trinity was filled, notwithstanding the heat. By the time Dr. Spaeth had spoken for forty-five minutes in German, the audience - largely English - was exhausted. Then came my long address which I could not abridge. With my experience today, I would summarize it in an informal way in ten minutes, and dismiss a gratified audience. Dr. C.W.Schaeffer listened attentively to both addresses, but in a peculiar way. He selected the open doors, by the side of the rear of the pulpit, and stood in the yard. "I would stand in one place, until the air around was heated by my body, and then find a cooler, which I would then heat up again so as to be intolerable."

The discourse, or its substance, was repeated a few weeks after at Lebanon for Rev. G.H.Trabert, and at Myers-town, for Dr. Schantz; and a few months later at the Pittsburgh Synod at Brush Creek, Westmoreland Co. It was printed in the "Quarterly Review" at Gettysburg, and in pamphlet form.<sup>10</sup>

My hospitable host had a farm some miles from Lancaster, in which he took much pride. Every afternoon after bank closed, he drove out at 4 P.M. and spent an hour there, returning for a late meal. One evening Dr. Passavant was with us and was so captivated by a beautiful Jersey heifer as to purchase it from Mr. P. and afterwards, at Mr. P's consent, turned the price for it into the Home Mission Treasury of the General Council. Another evening, Drs. Schaeffer and Krauth were along, full of good cheer and witty. Dr. Schaeffer suggested the thought which many years afterwards I embodied in a resolution - that men who have served the Synod long, when they reached this period ought to be allowed to absent themselves from synod when they wished, and not be oppressed by the details of synodical business. My resolution which is now a standing-order, was to excuse those who could show a ministerial record of forty years.

My trip to the Pittsburgh Synod at the invitation to repeat my address on "The Confessional Principle," convinced me that I was really invited for another purpose. The synod met in a country church with few houses in the neighborhood. Dr. Passavant was President. The burning question was Thiel College. No promptings induced me to take part in the discussion. There was a determined effort against the administration of President H.W.Roth. There had been no correspondence with me on either side concerning the possible emergence of the question or any details.

A great change was impending in my work at Gettysburg. Prof. Baugher was worn out by the annoyance attending his constant conflicts, and accepted a call to Omaha, Neb. His vacant Professorship was provided for by transferring the Greek of the three higher classes to me, and relieving me of the instruction of the Freshmen in Latin. I was not consulted concerning the arrangement either before or when it was made. Some days elapsed after the adjournment of the Board before I learned of the action. I had to learn of it first from Rev. Mr. Demarest, the Presbyterian pastor. It greatly increased my work, but I undertook it with genuine pleasure. The reputation which I had as a Professor of Latin was not because I was an enthusiast for my department. From the beginning, I had regarded the arrangement only temporary, and tried to do my best in the position to which, without my seeking, I had been providentially led. But the Greek was to my liking. There was a rich, new field before me, into which I entered

with the greatest avidity. I asked the Board for only one favor, viz. to purchase whatever apparatus I needed up to a certain amount, to be placed in the College library when I was through with it. To this they cheerfully assented. This gave me six hours a week with one class, the Sophomore-three in Latin, and three in Greek. It was the class I had drilled in Greek as Preparatorians. Allen J. Smith, now Professor in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, had been added, and made a close run with the very highest. I stimulated them constantly, and they responded to it; they in turn kept me working. It was by no means an easy matter to plunge at once into work in a new department with the three higher classes, while the most of my old department was still in my hands. But my interest was such that at the end of the years - again without my suggestion of my being consulted - I was relieved entirely of Latin and given sole charge of Greek.

At the General Council at Greensburg, Dr. Krauth sprung an embarrassing surprise on me. I joined a number of delegates at Harrisburg. I shared a seat with the Rev. Mr. Hancher of Tennessee, delegate from the Holston Synod. Mr. Hancher was a man of imposing appearance, tall and proportionally heavy, with gray hair and full beard, the father of two men now in efficient ministerial service. Mr. H. had been raised near Carlisle, and had studied theology with Rev. J. Hoffman!"

The forests were in a blaze of autumn glory, and we looked on them with delight. Dr. Spaeth found me with a message from Dr. Krauth. He had just returned from Europe and would be unable to be present at the meeting. The duty of preaching the opening sermon and opening the Council would devolve on me. I could find no one to relieve me. I had in my valise several sermons carried with me for an emergency, and there was nothing to be done but to select one of these. I took a sermon prepared and preached the preceding winter directly after I had translated Article XI of the Formula of Concord. It was on Rom. 8:29,30,<sup>12</sup> and boldly handled the theme of Predestination, then in controversy in the Western synods, and threatening to disturb the General Council. Among my hearers was Prof. Sigismund Fritschel, the most formidable opponent of Missouri in that controversy. I had a difficulty in persuading the brethren that it had not been especially prepared for the occasion. Dr. Fritschel was very cordial in his expressions of approval. Dr. Seiss asked for the Ms. for publication in "The Lutheran," where it appeared.<sup>13</sup>

I called the Council to order and stated that until the election of President, Dr. Passavant, the Senior Vice-President, would preside. Dr. Spaeth was elected President, Dr. Moldehnke, German Secretary, and I - English Secretary. We completed the Constitution for Congregations at that meeting.

Here it was that Dr. Schmucker proposed that we enter into the work of preparing a Common Order of Service with the General Synod and the General Synod South, upon the condition that the basis be the Consensus of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the XVI Century. Upon the assumption that I knew the men in the General Synod pretty well, I went to Dr. Schmucker, and asked him what his resolution meant. Such an effort cannot succeed, were my words. His answer was that we were amply protected by the provision. We could afford to make such a proposition; but when the General Synod would learn what the Consensus mentioned is, that they would not accept it. The result has been better than our expectation.

Fortunately at Greensburg our hosts were Lutherans. I was with Mr. John Kuhns ( brother of H.W.Kuhns, Sr., D.D.) with whom I had been in College, and at whose house I had been entertained at the meeting of Synod in 1869. The Minutes were again ready within a month after adjournment.

The failure of the firm of Fahnestock Brothers, the largest store in Gettysburg, caused much excitement a few months later, as both brothers were prominent members of College Church. A number of our friends, including my brother Will, suffered from the failure. Dr. Fahnestock left the Presidency of the Gettysburg Gas Co., and I was persuaded to accept it. It might appear very strange that I should accept a business responsibility entirely out of my line of thought and work if the circumstances were not known. My father had been the founder of the company. His interest in it was partially scientific. But beside this, the lights previously used at Gettysburg had been most unsatisfactory. It was a year or two before the war that the company was started. The introduction of coal oil had indeed begun, but it was unrefined, full of odor and the lamps were crude. Lard lamps were widely used. Camphene - a composition of alcohol and turpentine - was also used; but it was highly combustible, and in the hands of careless persons, very dangerous. In my memory a student had been burned to death by it in the College. My father used it, nevertheless, in his study. At night the streets were without lights - a serious matter where the pavements were at places very imperfect. Under these circumstances my father, while on one of our semi-annual visits to Harrisburg, had obtained data from Judge Dack, President ( I think) of the Harrisburg Company, and a member of Dr. Hay's congregation; and on his return had written a series of articles for the town papers advocating the organization of a company, and showing that it would be financially reproductive. The Company was organized. My father was elected President, and the works were erected on the NE edge of Gettysburg. When, therefore, there was a general desire on the part of the

directors that I should take my father's place, I acquiesced, partly because it was continuing his work, and partly because I thought that, in contact with representative business men in a business enterprise, I would learn business methods, and come into closer touch with active life. The compensation was too small for it to have been an inducement. It was, I believe, \$25 per year, which was somewhat increased as the circumstances of the company improved. It required very little of my time; but took me out on a visit to the works when I was tired of my regular duties. I studied the records of the consumption from year to year and month to month; several times a week I learned from the employees how much was being manufactured and consumed. I noted in my walks through town where there were indications of leaks in the mains; had a test metre purchased and subjected the old metres in cellars to tests to determine whether they were still accurate. My chief annoyance was that of adjusting the differences that were constantly arising between the two employees, one being a German, a Republican, and a Lutheran; and the other an American, a Democrat, and a Methodist. The latter was the older and was in a subordinate capacity after years in which he had been in better circumstances, and had exercised considerable influence in political circles. And so they were ever coming with complaints, the one against the other. When my office ceased, we were considering methods for reducing the cost. The price \$4.50 per thousand seems prohibitive to those accustomed as we are in Philadelphia, to \$1.00 per thousand, and expecting a further reduction within a few years. During the war, it had been as high as \$5.00 at Gettysburg. (The battle, it may be remarked, put several holes through the holder, and left the town in darkness.) The meetings ordinarily consumed only a half an hour a month.

During the Christmas vacation of 1880, desiring to consult Mr. Frederick about the Book of Concord, I went to Philadelphia, taking Charles with me to Mr. Grim's. His mother cut off his curls which heretofore had dangled over his shoulders. I was just in time to hear John B. Gough lecture!<sup>14</sup> I heard Dr. Seiss in the Church of the Holy Communion for the first time since it had been built. Communion was administered, Dr. Muhlenberg assisting. Dr. Krauth was absent when I called. The New Year was celebrated at Mr. Wm. J. Miller's. A good portion of my time I devoted to showing Charles the sights. It was a bitterly cold afternoon when we visited the Zoological Gardens.

Before I left, William Passavant arrived. He had gone to Gettysburg to visit me, and followed me to Philadelphia. He explained his plans concerning the publishing of a new Church paper. "The Lutheran" was not meeting the demands of the Church. It was an ecclesiastical-political organ, rather than a paper to nourish spiritual life and edify. "The Workman" was to be more irenic in spirit and practical

in its aim. It was to be popular rather than literary and scientific. I agreed to cooperate although I knew well that in so doing I would annoy Drs. Seiss and Krotel who wanted but one paper for the Church, and would have crushed out every competitor, so far as they could. "The Workman" appeared the next February and during the sixteen years or so of its life was a great success. I was a contributor to it during the most of its existence. The Church was a decided loser when it was afterwards bought out and absorbed by "The Lutheran."<sup>15</sup>

Early that spring (the close of April or beginning of May), Mrs. Rev. A.T.Geissenhainer (formerly Miss Ella Schmucker, daughter of Dr. S.S.S.) died, and her remains were brought to Gettysburg for burial. Her husband and Dr. B.M.Schmucker accompanied them. Dr. Laird came from Philadelphia and officiated. He was at our house for two nights and the intervening day.

A few weeks later the Ministerium met in Pottstown. Dr. Schmucker had recently moved there from Reading, and was installed on Trinity Sunday in the presence of the Ministerium, Dr. C.W.Schaeffer and Rev. A.T.Geissenhainer<sup>16</sup> attending to the installation, while I preached the sermon.

When I returned from Synod I was surprised to find Mrs. Jacobs ill. She grew worse and became alarmingly ill with excruciating pains in the back of her head. Ice bags were applied without giving any permanent relief. For days she had no sleep, and there was frequent delirium. The Dr. pronounced the disease meningitis. We sent for Mrs. Downing. Dr. L.A.Gotwald met her at the station in York early Sunday morning, and my brother Ed drove her across the country behind two of the fastest horses he then kept. Dr. Horner's alarm was very manifest. He was somewhat relieved when Dr. Kemp, Mrs. Downing's family physician, who had come to Gettysburg to attend a meeting of the Seminary Board, was called in and agreed with his treatment. I do not know whether it was the fly blister or her mother's presence that contributed most to her recovery. She certainly began to improve the day her mother arrived. To her credit be it recorded that my cousin, Mrs. Bingham, came from Smithsburg, Md., as soon as she heard Mrs. Jacobs was ill and did all she could to aid us. Well do I remember one bright morning. The sun had just risen, in one of the longest days of the year; the town was asleep but the rays of the sun were gilding the corner of the Wills' home on the Diamond and Carlisle Street as I crossed Chambersburg Street to arouse the doctor, when the case had reached a stage I could no longer manage. It was the most anxious moment of my life. There was so much that was in suspense; and, for the first time, I was losing hope of her recovery.

But she was restored as though from the dead. She came up from that attack slowly. The boys went with their grandmother to Baltimore, and from there to Palmyra, before she was able to travel. We drove out occasionally into the country while she was recuperating, and then joined the rest of the family.

What a summer that was! No rain for about eight weeks. The roads deep with dust. No pure air anywhere. The forest aflame. Heavy blue clouds hanging on the horizon, and smoke filling the atmosphere, robbing the sun of its rays. Wells failing. Furniture and vehicles dried out and threatening to fall to pieces.

The assassination of President Garfield was announced while Laura was still ill. How the country waited, and watched the physician's reports daily for over two months! There were occasional gleams of hope when some relief was felt. But the end came late in September. Charles was alive to all that transpired. How little others know of what occurs in a child's mind! For we learned finally that he interpreted the word "bulletin," as referring to the "bullet" that was "in" President Garfield.

It was in the midst of that intense heat that Mr. William J. Miller came to Gettysburg, and entered his son, Edgar G., as a student.<sup>17</sup> He put him under my special care; and sometime later, when there was need of some particular attention with reference to his disposition, Dr. Valentine, his future father-in-law, said: "Dr. Jacobs must look after him; he is his "Pop."

Dr. Krotel spent that summer in Europe, and I had promised to fill his pulpit a Sunday in September, (Holy Trinity, New York.) I was to leave on Friday. On Thursday evening, a Seminary classmate arrived, evidently expecting to pay me a long visit; but my trip to New York abridged his stay. Annie (my sister-in-law) was there. We saw the Park with the Metropolitan Museum, the Cathedral, etc.. I preached morning and evening, and in the afternoon, heard Rev. Dr. Craven of Newark, N.J., in Dr. William M. Paxton's (Presbyterian) church. I was disappointed in not hearing Dr. Paxton himself.<sup>18</sup>

Returning home on Monday, that night the bells tolled announcing that the President had died. Dr. Demarest excelled himself in the memorial discourse he preached at Gettysburg the afternoon of the funeral. It was a union service. The church was packed. The audience was agitated by one emotion and the preacher was its spokesman.

Dr. Charles A. Stork had just entered upon his duties in the Seminary as Dr. Brown's successor. He had been so often elected as Professor at Gettysburg that the "New York Independent" had noted one of the occasions when he

had received a call and afterwards appended a quotation from Jeremiah 8:7: "The stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times." He had been wanted for the English chair in the College. The Chair of Church History in the Seminary was vacant for years after Dr. Valentine left it to assume the Presidency of the College; and when he declined, as though awaiting his reconsideration, it was only temporarily supplied. One winter he undertook to try the work, and coming up from Baltimore weekly, spent several days at the Seminary. But the pastorate was more congenial to him, until it was believed that his health would be better if his throat were relieved of the strain of frequent preaching. The policy of filling a chair in the Seminary by a man of feeble health is incorrect; and the result was that, after one year of real work, Dr. Stork broke down. The second year he filled very few hours; and he died in December of the third year. Nevertheless, brief though Dr. Stork's career was, it was productive of important results. He was a scholar of wider reading and culture than any other who has filled the same chair. No one would have selected the Department of Dogmatics for him. He would have preferred, I believe, almost any other. His tastes were literary and philosophical. He was an original thinker, with a profoundly meditative disposition, and a fresh, incisive, suggestive speaker. He had little taste for ecclesiastical politics or leadership. He could debate earnestly, but it was for a principle, not for the triumph of a party. He never held any office, if I remember aright, in any synod to which he belonged. He was stronger on the floor than he could be in the Chair. Like Dr. Krauth, he had been raised among books, and continued to devour them. His father and grandfather before him were Lutheran ministers who had labored with distinction, the former as pastor in Philadelphia and Baltimore and College President at Newberry, S.C.; the latter, a German University trained man, as one of the pioneers of the Church in North Carolina. Born in Maryland, raised in Philadelphia, a classmate and roommate and most intimate friend at Williams College, Mass. with President Garfield, under the Presidency of Mark Hopkins, a theological student at Andover under Edward A. Parks, a Professor of Greek at Newberry College, S.C. at twenty-one, for nearly twenty years pastor in Baltimore, his advances were such as few Lutheran pastors had obtained. His struggles for many years with a throat trouble which constantly interrupted his work-sometimes for months-and finally cut his career short- had disciplined a naturally impetuous disposition, and matured him spiritually. He rose above the petty trifles that agitated so many others around him. He seemed to have no ear for gossip and personal rancor. A very few times, his pen was used in severe controversy; but these were rare exceptions to a life that was rather bent on what was positive and constructive.<sup>19</sup>

The coming of such a man to Gettysburg introduced a new spirit there. It was felt by the community in his preaching; but it was intense at the Seminary, where every hour seems to have had the uplifting power of an earnest sermon. The students were turned away from being bitter partisans to an appreciation of the spiritual side of their calling. It is probably that he taught with the shadow of death upon him, and the tremendous realities of the eternal world in full prospect.

I never was intimate with him. Our lives were not thrown together. We were on friendly terms, and interchanged calls; but his time at Gettysburg was too short for more. I remember well the sermon I heard from him in the College Church, in his early ministry (probably in 1867, when he was 29) on the text: "I have come to send fire upon earth," and the deep impression it made upon me. Dr. Wolf in a review of my "Elements of Religion" in the Gettysburg "Quarterly Review" attempts to trace an influence which Dr. Stork evidently had upon me, and the marks of it in my book. As he was intimate with both of us, he could judge. If there was such an influence, it was unconscious. I certainly held him in the highest esteem, and was benefitted by his sermons and writings. He had some of the characteristics that made Phillips Brooks famous.

Just before the beginning of the Christmas vacation, Mrs. Jacobs was called to Frederick, Md., to the aid and comfort of her sister Maggie, whose husband, John H. Brunner, was stricken with typhoid fever, and after a rather brief illness, died in early manhood. I went to the funeral, staying at my class-mate's, Charles V.S. Levy, Esq., and calling on Dr. George Diehl. I stopped at Baltimore, on my way home. Mrs. Brunner, early the next year, took her two older children with her to her mother's in Palmyra, N.Y. Mrs. Downing had preceded her with her youngest child, after a brief visit to our home.

## Chapter Thirty Two - Departure from Gettysburg Impending

In the early part of 1882 Mrs. Jacobs went to New York on a visit to her sister Annie, taking Charles with her and leaving Downing with me. The latter spent the most of the time with me in the study amusing himself with books and blocks. He was four years old. I was very lonely, and out of the depths of my experience, worn with the conflicts at Gettysburg, and uncertain of the future, wrote a sermon on Prov. 20:24: "Man's goings are of the Lord; how, then can a man understand his own way?" It seemed to impress the audience. Dr. Baugher, who after a winter's experience in Omaha, had returned to Gettysburg and was filling a Professorship temporarily in Howard University, Washington, D.C., with his family at home, was present, and said that he had been asking himself the question why he had returned that particular Sunday, but saw afterwards that it was to hear that sermon. Mr. A. D. Buehler said the text was altogether new to him; he had not known that it was in the Bible. Repeating it afterwards in the Presbyterian Church, Hon. Edward McPherson met me on the street, some days later, and thanked me.

Mrs. Jacobs' arrangements to visit New York enabled me to give a prompt and decided answer to a letter of Dr. Passavant concerning Chicago. One of the congregations was vacant (Wicker Park Church) and requested that I preach there with a view to my becoming pastor, and from that as a center prepare the way for the Seminary. I had no disposition to do it, but the time proposed coincided exactly with that covered by the plans of Mrs. Jacobs, and our arrangements for the care of Downing. The letter mentioned that the criticism had been passed upon my preaching that it was rather "stiff," but that he had no doubt that when I was once thrown into the life of Chicago this would wear off, and I would have animation enough. I have passed over in these notes a proposed trip Dr. P. had made for one summer vacation. I was to come at once to "Villegine," his, or rather Mrs. P.'s country residence on the mountains in Fayette Co., and after a short time there, start with him for Chicago, Milwaukee, etc.

The great event of 1882 to me personally was the appearance of Vol. I of the Book of Concord in one large, handsomely printed octavo volume. It received a hearty welcome on all sides except from Missouri. The Lehre und Wehre objected to my translation in one place of the German word, "lassen." It also made the amazing discovery that the German "also" appeared in one place in English as "also." The exception amused me, for I had written it so for stylistic reasons, and not because I was ignorant of the difference between the German words "also" and "auch."

Dr. Wolf told me to get the notice of Dr. A. A. Hodge of Princeton in the "Presbyterian Review," and keep it for perusal whenever I felt low-spirited. I do not think Dr. Hodge meant as much as his language might convey when he referred to the editor with the remark—"than whom no man speaking the English language is more competent." He means clearly competent to prepare an English edition of the Book of Concord. Even Canon Liddon wrote: "Whenever I have been able to compare your work with the original, it appears to me to be very accurately done." Principal Tulloch of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, designated it as "admirable in its completeness." Dr. Parke of Andover wrote: "Such a publication as this reflects high honor on the Lutheran Church. The study of such books gives voice to Christian character." Bishop Hurst of the Methodist Church wrote: "The translation and editing are most excellent. I commend it to all who would become acquainted with the origins of Protestantism." The Leipzig Theologisches Literaturblatt, edited by Prof. Luthardt said: "On every page, it shows the most thorough understanding and conscientious faithfulness and accuracy, as well as complete mastery both of the subject and of the language, thereby giving abundant evidence of the maturity and independence, with which the young English speaking daughter has appropriated the good confession of the Old German Mother Church." Dr. S. Fritschel wrote: "It has rendered the thoughts of the original with such fidelity and precision that this translation will serve the German reader as a faithful commentary," and termed it "the masterly translation, offered to the Lutheran Church of America by one of her most faithful sons." Dr. Schodde of Columbus said: "The present writer has gone to the trouble to compare different portions of the translation with the original, and was more than pleased with the general accuracy, with which the work was done. We did not notice a single instance where we could say that the rendition was faulty or injustice had been done to the original." Dr. B. M. Schmucker wrote: "Whatever expectations may have been entertained, they have been more than realized. Where the difficulties have been the greatest, as in the Apology and Formula of Concord, the clear, precise, elegant version has given the greatest delight. So far as a translation may reproduce an original, it has been done here." The translation of the Large Catechism I put into the hands of my colleague, Prof. A. Martin; but made many changes in editing. I have always regretted I did not work on this myself. I erred in ascribing the translation of the Augsburg Confession used to Dr. Krauth, and of the Small Catechism to Dr. C. F. Schaeffer. The translation of the Augsburg Confession was first published in Hall's "Harmony of the Confessions"—an English book, whose first appearance was at the close of the XVI Century. The printer of Dr. Krauth's edition, set up his type directly from the printed page. The translation of the Catechism is one which grew out of repeated revisions of translations made for over a hundred years in America.

It had not been my intention to publish two volumes. But in my desire to make the edition as complete as possible the matter grew upon me, and the publisher, instead of asking me to condense, printed everything I was ready to furnish.

The chief obstacle to the widest circulation of the work, has been the high price. When published, the price for both volumes was \$10.00, which was prohibitive to a large proportion of pastors.

The meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1882 was most important in its results. The necessity of a removal of the Seminary from its contracted quarters on Franklin Street had been discussed during the winter by the Pastoral Association, and was brought to the attention of the Synod by the Board of Directors. The discussion was very earnest. Dr. Schmucker said we should have grounds where provision could be made for a library of 100,000 volumes. All that he had gathered, he intended should go there. Dr. Krauth made a most eloquent appeal for the removal. His small lecture-room was dark, ill-ventilated, and often filled with the odors of the kitchen (His successor remedied that very soon, by declining to use it; and had a very comfortable room for the last few years on Franklin Street.) Then, the library! Every available space was full. The Seminary had been doubled in its capacity only a few years before. It was useless to be constantly appealing for purely temporary expedients. Then he spoke pathetically of his books—how a great part of his life's thought and time (he might have added: all his money) had been spent in their collection, not simply as individual volumes, but to take their place in the completion of subjects. The library was an organism, and it was cruel to think of separating it. If the Seminary could be moved into the suburbs, a Library Building could be erected, and there he would be glad that his books could find a home as a permanent possession of the Church. Dr. Mann threw all his vivacity into the discussion. I do not know whether it was at this juncture, or later (probably later) that in discussion he declared: "Franklin Street is a most miserable place for the Seminary. The neighborhood is bad. It is full of disreputable people. I live there." Dr. Passavant, who was a visitor, urged the movement. So also did Dr. Spaeth. The action of Synod was taken approving of the recommendation of the Board, which was the beginning of the efforts culminating in the removal in 1889 to Mr. Airy.<sup>3</sup>

At the same meeting, the word "German" was erased from the official name of the Synod, subject of course to a change of charter in due legal form. The opposition to it was feeble. Personally I did not care much about the change. The Ministerium will always be composed chiefly of descendants of Germans.

At an interval during the proceedings of the Examining Committee, Rev. R. F. Weidner, who was a member with me, told me that he was resigning the pastorate of St. Luke's, to accept the English Theological Professorship in the Swedish Seminary at Rock Island, Ill.,<sup>4</sup> and that there was a very general desire that I should become his successor, in order to be able to meet the requirements of the Constitution of the Seminary that a Professor should have had five years experience as a pastor, before his election. I immediately answered that I could not accept a pastorate merely as a stepping-stone to the Seminary, and that a call of that kind should have to stand on its own merits; and that, considering it as such, the time in my life had passed for being a successful pastor, much as I would have preferred it, for many years; and if, therefore, my election to a Professorship were to depend upon my becoming a pastor first, I would dismiss the thought at once. I would not consider it.

My last conversation with Dr. Krauth was on the same subject. We had dined together at Dr. E. E. Sibole's on Brown Street, and from there walked together to St. John's Church. He broached the matter of the vacancy at St. Luke's, and hoped I would not decline entertaining the thought of responding to a call from that source. He spoke of his failing strength and the importance of my being on hand to give him such aid as my other duties would allow, if I should go to St. Luke's. The idea, while new in its relation to St. Luke's, was familiar from a similar effort, made some years before, with respect to St. Stephen's. One evening I had a telegram from Dr. Krauth stating that, unless I could wire back immediately declining to consider it, I would be elected that evening pastor. The plan then was that the work of Dogmatics in the Seminary was to be divided. Dr. Krauth would lecture; and I would drill the definitions and principles into the students. In both of these cases, the plan was to use another position to provide the income needed for work in the Seminary. The congregations could not have prospered while the attention which belonged to them would be thus diverted. I therefore said to Dr. Krauth plainly that I was too old to begin with a large city pastorate. My habits had become scholastic and literary. If I were not serving the Church in the position I was holding, it would be different. But a break with such inducements, I could not make. My new department of Greek coincided with my tastes; the coming of Dr. Stork to Gettysburg had changed considerably the theological atmosphere; my position was more comfortable than it had been, so far as ecclesiastical relations were concerned.

The Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the College, a few weeks afterwards, brought a large concourse of former students to Gettysburg. Our house was full. Dr. Giese formerly Mrs. Jacobs' teacher at Phillipsburg, and principal of Thiel Hall of St. Matthews, New York, where Annie

worked under him, and the college at Newark, where Seiss began his work as teacher, was among them. He unfolded a wonderful scheme to me. In his opinion, German would become the language of the United States. The introduction of German into the Public Schools, particularly in the West, was a straw that indicated whither the current was running. As the German became prevalent, the Lutheran Church would become the dominant denomination. But the Lutheranism would be of a mild type, corresponding to what is usual in the German State Church; this undoubtedly would result in the General Synod absorbing all the other Lutheran Bodies, and a large part of the other Churches. To prepare for this period, the General Synod should train a ministry thoroughly German. The only way to do this would be by finding a place, where English and American influences are the very least, and where European German could be cultivated without hindrance or interruption. From this center, then, the conquest of the country for the Lutheran Church, and particularly for the General Synod, could proceed! We give it as we heard it.

Dr. Muhlenberg made a most admirable address. I gathered as many of my class as I could find around my table, viz. Culler, Keedy, Klinefelter, Treichler, Weaver and Zimmerman, Laura doing the honors. Prof. Richards of Muhlenberg was on hand with a poem he had composed for the Delta Fraternity. I read an historical sketch at the reunion of the Phrenakosmians. The "Pennsylvania College Book" published to commemorate the occasion, under the editorship of Prof. Breidenbaugh, continues to be an invaluable store-house of information, concerning all Pennsylvania College men.<sup>5</sup>

Returning home on the train some weeks later, during the long wait at Hanover, two gentlemen went with me to the hotel for supper. On registering, I found one to be General James A. Beaver, the Republican candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania. His companion was a Col. Wilson, who had been one of his staff during the Civil War. As we sat around the little table at supper, the General was very sociable. Learning that I was a Gettysburgian, he asked me what I knew about a man named John Harpster, who had studied there. He had been a Captain in the regiment of which he was a Colonel. He spoke of him as "a good fellow," and when his name was mentioned, Col. Wilson brightened up, and showed his interest in him as an old acquaintance. "He went to India as a missionary," continued the General; but since then, I have lost all traces of him. I told them something about "John Harpster;" but did not tell them that I was just about marrying him to my sister.<sup>6</sup>

What a wedding that was, sprung upon us all of a sudden, with but a week's notice, after all the arrangements had been made for a trip of my mother and sister

with us up the Hudson! Aunt Eyster was the sole guest. Charlie, who had been very sick, lay on the sofa in his night-clothes. My hand with which I united them had in some strange way a coat of hard oil finish on it, and Laura found as she rode to the train with them, that the dress she wore in honor of the occasion had under it a calico wrapper she forgot to remove. Mother left with us not long afterwards for Germantown, where she remained with her sister at the Orphan's Home, while, with the two boys, we took the trip alone that had been planned. We spent one night at Tarrytown, visiting "Sunnyside" and "Sleepy Hollow," and Major Andre's grave. Taking the boat, we enjoyed the scenery, the boys having the guide-book before them. Another night we spent at Albany, visited the Capitol, Peule's Museum, etc., and enjoyed trolley rides through the city; and at last found ourselves at Palmyra.

Mr. Stohlman, a German publisher in New York City, had put into my hands a translation he had made of the Hanover Explanation of Luther's Catechism. I made a very thorough revision, putting it into good English. The translation was made with special reference to the needs of pastors in New York, where so few of the children in the German churches understood German, as to make a great demand for such a book. A favorite edition is one in which the German and the English are on opposite pages. It was published shortly afterwards, and is widely used up to today.

The Alumni of the Theological Seminary elected me editor of their Review, which had been established the preceding year. Prof. Weidner was about to remove to Rock Island and was unable to give it the time which he had devoted before. He remained, however, on its staff, being with Rev. G. F. Spieker, Assistant Editor. I started on it with great enthusiasm, giving particular attention to the book reviews. The first number (January 1883) had three articles, by Drs. Greenwald, Spieker and Moldehnke, - and 37 book notices. I never had any difficulty in procuring books for notice from publishers. As long as I remained at Gettysburg, the editors of the Review published there could not understand why my applications succeeded where theirs had failed. Neither could I. The notices in that number were classified as belonging to Exegetical Theology, 4; Systematic, 4; Historical, 10; Practical, 9; Philosophical, 3; Miscellaneous 7.

In my conduct of the Review,<sup>8</sup> I was constantly hampered by the demand of the Committee on Publication for short and popular articles. This I regarded outside of the scope of the Review and beneath its standard. My conception of a Review is a store-house of papers of

permanent value of such character, that the back numbers increase in value as years pass on. Its articles should be the fruit of the most thorough study and investigation. It is no place for sermons and addresses and mere off-hand opinions, which may please in their day, but last only as long as their day.

## Chapter Thirty Three - Called To Philadelphia

The news of the death of Dr. Krauth on January 2, 1883, was no surprise. He had for years been holding two Professorships, one at the Seminary, the other at the University of Pennsylvania, either of which would have been sufficient to absorb all of his attention. His University duties gradually increased, as new branches were thrust upon him, and the office of Vice-Provost imposed all the duties of its inner administration upon him. The Seminary at last had to be content with what attention he could give it at five o'clock in the evening. Social engagements broke up his time. Irregular meals and irregular hours and even the excessively long walks he thought necessary for exercise, drained his strength. His home life gave him little relaxation. He struggled on until about Thanksgiving Day. The University gave him a year's leave of absence. It was too late.

The funeral brought a large concourse of people to St. Johannes' Church. Dr. Hay and I were present. The addresses were made by Drs. C. W. Schaeffers and Mann! As the audience filed past the casket, Dr. Spaeth called to me from the sacristy, and asked me to accompany Dr. Schmucker who was to conduct the burial service at the grave; Drs. C. W. Schaeffer, Passavant, Schmucker and I occupied one carriage. Mrs. Dr. Krauth Sr., his step-mother, and his half brother, John M. Krauth, Esq., both of Gettysburg, were among the mourners. Dr. Passavant and I roomed together at Mr. Grim's. That night he said the Chicago project was at an end, and that there was but one sentiment, viz. that I would be called to Dr. Krauth's place. Dr. Baum spent part of the afternoon with us.

In the beginning of February, Charlie was again my companion on a trip, this time to Harrisburg, to marry my brother Will. The wedding took place on the other side of the Susquehanna, at Mr. Merkel's farm, near Shiremanstown. It was a brilliant winter day, the sky without a cloud, and the ground covered with snow, and the temperature just below the freezing point. Charles was the center of attraction, next to the bride and groom. A week or so later, the newly married couple were at Gettysburg, and held a reception. Our home was full of guests.

In March, during a very cold and blustery period, Hon. William A. Duncan and I came to Philadelphia, on business of the Gas Co. I called on Dr. Seiss, and spent an evening with him. He was very cordial, but had much complaint to make concerning the discourtesy shown him, as he thought, in connection with the arrangements at Dr. Krauth's funeral.<sup>2</sup> He spoke of the memoir, at which Dr. Spaeth was already working.

Just before Easter, Mrs. Hewes, the grand-aunt of Mrs. Jacobs, died, in Baltimore. Mrs. Jacobs took the boys with her and remained there for about a week, while I went to Reading to assist Dr. Fry at Easter.

Meanwhile, much discussion was transpiring concerning the vacant Professorship. I was plunging into Greek I had never read before, the Odes of Pindar- the hardest Greek I had ever studied - and the Clouds of Aristophanes. There was some discussion in "The Lutheran" as to the requirement of five years in the pastoral office.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Morris called on me at Gettysburg. "Jacobs," he said, "in your Greek studies have you ever come across the verb

?

Dr. B. M. Schmucker's name was occasionally mentioned. We were natives of the same town, but he was born more than seventeen years before me, and was then over 55. He was a learned man and an accurate scholar, had served the Church faithfully, knew the churches and their pastors and the history of both well, was the leader of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and not very successful in the pastorate. But he had no fondness for Systematic Theology. His reading was in other directions.

The Synod met at Norristown at about as early a date as the Church Year allows. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer was my roommate at Mr. William Stahler's. Revs. Plitt and Schantz were also with us. The action concerning the removal of the Seminary begun in Philadelphia the preceding year, was completed.<sup>4</sup> It was not to be a fixed fact.

The election of a Professor was made the special order for an afternoon. The very finest point was raised by Rev. H. B. Strohdach,<sup>5</sup> who wanted the Ministerium to interpret the language of the Constitution of the Seminary concerning the five years of pastoral service. As matters were becoming rather embarrassing for me, I secretly withdrew, and took a walk along the river. I was content with whatever decision would be made. The Synod soon came to the agreement that the requirement did not necessarily mean that that precise length must be spent as a pastor, and that activity in the ministry, and regular preaching appointments such as I had been having at Gettysburg, virtually fulfilled the conditions. That decided, Dr. Krotel nominated me. Dr. Mann seconded the nomination. I was unanimously elected. Dr. Schaeffer was appointed to inform me, and to bring me into the Synod. But, as I was by the river side, his search was in vain. I telegraphed to Mrs. Jacobs. Mr. Stahler telegraphed to his son, William,<sup>6</sup> at Gettysburg; and in a short time, the news was running through the town. My mother and sister did not look with much favor upon

the election, or my acceptance. But the resolution was made. The election decided that. If it had been adverse, I might have remained the rest of my life in Gettysburg, and have thrown all my energy into developing the Greek Department. I was warned that I could not live in a city on the salary offered, that I had not the physical strength needed for the work, and would soon break down; but it had no effect. Even Dr. Schmucker did not cause me to wince a particle, when he told me that I could subsist in Philadelphia only in one way, and that was by supplementing my salary by serving a mission, for the Synod could not afford to furnish full support for its Professors. It is enough to say that I accepted, and got to work at once to prepare myself for the new duties I was so soon to assume.

Dr. Philip Schaff sent me a note of congratulation. He said: "As a Presbyterian, I should say that you were divinely predestinated for the place."

On my way home, I met Dr. Stork and Dr. Wolf, the former coming from Baltimore, the latter direct from the meeting of the General Synod at Altoona. He announced, what I had not anticipated, that the General Synod had accepted the General Council's proposal to unite in the preparation of a Common Order of Service, upon the basis of the consensus of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the XVI Century. Dr. Stork gave a significant wave of his hand, indicating that he expected nothing from the movement. I can readily understand his aversion to being bound too rigidly by legalistic processes in the preparation of devotional formulas.

My resignation was sent in a few days later. In it I referred to my twenty-five years' connection with the College, nine (four in the Preparatory, five in College proper) as a student, and sixteen (three in Preparatory, thirteen in College proper) as an instructor which, besides the service of my father and uncle, would always make the history and life of the College part of my own. I was afterwards told that the Board received the letter with a very unusual mark of approval - a round of applause. In return, they passed a series of resolutions which I very highly prize. In reading them it must be remembered that in 1869, fourteen years before, this same Board had negatived my nomination by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

Gettysburg, Pa.  
July 6, 1883.

"Dear Dr.

At the recent meeting of the Board of Trustees of Pennsylvania College, the following action was taken after your letter of resignation had been read and accepted.

Upon the motion of Rev. F. W. Conrad, D.D., it was unanimously

RESOLVED that in accepting the resignation of Henry E. Jacobs, D.D., Franklin Professor of the Greek Language and Literature, this Board takes pleasure in bearing testimony to his scholarship, literary and theological attainments, gentlemanly bearing, and high Christian character, as well as to the ability and fidelity, with which he has discharged his duties of an instructor and professor during his sixteen years of service in this Institution.

And while the Board regrets the circumstances which have led him to his resignation, it expresses the hope, that his highest anticipations of both usefulness and happiness, may be fully realized in his new sphere of labor.

It affords me personal pleasure to communicate the above action and express the earnest wish that you may live long to serve the Church you so dearly love, and have already so highly honored. I am

Very Respectfully yours,

John M. Krauth <sup>7</sup>

Secretary."

Another token of esteem, none the less highly appreciated because it was informal, was a consultation which Dr. Kemp and several other directors of the Gettysburg Seminary held with me concerning the arrangements to be made in order to supply Dr. Stork's place, as it was manifest he could not resume his work at the beginning of the next year. Finally, Dr. Baugher undertook the Dogmatics; and then, I was consulted by him as to what books to use and methods to follow.

When I left Gettysburg, therefore, there was not the least friction or ill feeling. It was with the good will of all. Neither could I suppress a deep undercurrent of regret in my own heart. I walked about my familiar walks, and asked myself: "Why must I leave?" I even comforted myself with the thought that, as I had once before broken with Gettysburg, as I thought, forever, and afterwards returned to be Professor in the College, so also, after a

period of years in Philadelphia, the Gettysburg Seminary might yet become so conservative as to want me as one of its Professors, and I might end my days where I was born. Of course this was assuming that the doctrinal standard would be reached that would render such issue possible. One Sunday evening I walked to the empty College and sat in my Professor's chair once more, lost in reflection. The trial was far more severe than my friends ever imagined.

I visited Philadelphia during the summer to get some necessary information, - attended the meeting of the First Conference of the Ministerium, and spent a day with Dr. Spaeth at Cape May Point, N.J.

Dr. Greenwald and his wife spent a week in Gettysburg at this time. He preached in the College church. I accompanied them over the battlefield.

On September 3rd, Miss Winifred arrived.<sup>8</sup> I had, therefore, to arrange for beginning my work in Philadelphia, without taking my family with me.

Dr. Baugher was elected as my successor. His election brought him back to the chair he had resigned, in 1880, when he went to Omaha. He was as anxious to return as he had been eager to resign; and made rather humiliating promises concerning his future course. Dr. J. W. Richard's election was urged by some; and there was a close contest.

Dr. Hay, with characteristic eccentricity, called on me about 10 A.M. one Sunday morning, when it was his turn to preach, with an invitation to fill the pulpit once more, and for the people to hear me. (Of course I declined.)

Before I left home for Philadelphia, Dr. Brown died<sup>9</sup> at Lancaster, whither he had removed some years before.

## Chapter Thirty Four - What I Found In Philadelphia

Philadelphia should not have been strange to me. I had preached in St. John's, St. Mark's, St. Luke's, St. Stephens; in the first named over a dozen times. I had spent nine days with Dr. Seiss in 1870, and three or four with Dr. Krauth in 1886, had attended several meetings of Synod and committee meetings, and the Diet of 1877, and had often been the guest of Mrs. Jacobs' relatives on Sixth Street. Mrs. Jacobs and I each had an aunt residing in the city. I had been in the homes of a number of the people. Nevertheless my knowledge of the Church Life of the city was very imperfect.

German and English ran along parallel lines, as I have seen a river enter the St. Lawrence, and for miles, by the different color of its waters, show how long it takes for diverse streams to completely coalesce. They touched each other only in the common Synodical organization in which they were united, and the common Church work promoted by such organization. The difference between them was not simply one of language; they looked at almost every question from a different standpoint, and treated it in a different way. Each had its peculiar excellences and peculiar defects. As often happens, some of these defects were exaggerations of excellences. In both the standard of general intelligence was lower than I had thought. Our people - even those of means - have put too high a valuation on the purely pecuniary education, and have, as a rule, satisfied themselves with what the Public School afforded. The number of college graduates among them could readily be counted; and if this number be analyzed, a large proportion would be found to have taken a scientific or business course instead of the full arts course. The best educated women among them were Normal School alumni. Their exclusively Philadelphian training gave them a provincial type of thought and prejudice. The greatest difficulty, however, was that the boys had been hurried into business before their schooling had exhausted even what the State afforded.

The proportion of men at Church services was lamentably small. So greatly were they exhausted by the strain of business cares during the week that they urged they must rest (sleep) on Sunday, or nod over the empty Sunday newspaper.

The Church services were marred, and devotion was interrupted by the tawdry display of inappropriate music. Some people who would object to a sermon exceeding thirty minutes in length, would listen with delight to a selection having no religious meaning of twenty minutes. The taste of musical committees was according to the standards

of the opera. Worst of all was the waste of money for this demoralizing luxury. If the educational standard had been higher, the musical standard would have been better.

To see children in church was the exception, and not the rule. Pew rents were too high to think of providing for the attendance of a large family. The habit of Church going not having been formed in childhood, it was easy to explain the skeleton audiences in many of the churches.

The German churches were divided. The Philadelphia Germans, like the emigrants of the XVII Century into Pennsylvania, were mostly Southern Germans, to whom a liturgy was a great offense. Dr. Spaeth had been educated out of this prejudice into an intense advocate of the XVI Century models, almost to the extreme of Romanticism. He was a leader in a liturgical and musical reaction, in which Drs. S. Fritschel and Schmucker, and to a less extent, Dr. Moldehnke, had been his allies. This movement comprised also a revision of the German Hymn Book! There was no question as to the correctness of the standard which they adopted, and the justice of the fate which thereby befell many of the German hymns in current use, some positively pernicious in doctrine, others feeble and sentimental, composed in an age of religious decline. But there was also a literary question at stake. It was well to insist upon the simple vocabulary of Luther and his immediate successors; but the exclusion of the more highly cultivated language of Schiller and Goethe could not be entirely appreciated. A hymn, besides, has a strong hold on the heart. Its defects are overlooked, because of its precious associations. Such hold is stronger upon a German than any one else. The hymns are more often read for edification than they are sung. The Hymn Book stands next to the Bible in the esteem of the German Christian. The many slips of paper in my grandmother Eyster's Hymn-Book; my father's faithful and life-long study of his father's Hymn Book, are illustrations.

When, not only the old book was supplanted, but many of its most familiar hymns were eliminated, and others substituted which were regarded stilted and mechanical in form and strongly reminiscent of archaic tastes, there was naturally danger of a rebellion. The most outspoken critic of the "Kirchenbuch" was Dr. Mann. He said that the principle on which the book was compiled was, "that the Holy Spirit died in the year A.D. 1700." But, at the time when I moved to Philadelphia, he had the largest portion of the German congregations of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania on his side. Drs. Spaeth and Schmucker tried to persuade the Ministerium to suppress the publication of the old book, as to it the plates belonged; but without effect. The reverence of the book was the chief source

of recruiting the Pastors' and Widows' Fund. To the present day, altho' of late years the Kirchenbuch has made great progress, a considerable number of the congregations still call for "the Wollenweber Hymn-Book," so called from the name of its former publisher.<sup>2</sup> There was such a hot discussion between Drs. Spaeth and Mann at Norristown, where I was elected, that Dr. Spaeth spoke privately of course-of the possibility of his resigning and going to the Iowa Synod. If I remember aright, St. Johannis and its "filials" and St. Jacobus<sup>3</sup> were the only German churches in Philadelphia that had introduced the "Kirchenbuch" when I came to Philadelphia.

Still more serious was the isolation among the congregations. All stood apart. The sole connecting links were the pastors; and it seemed to me, they desired that this condition should be perpetuated, and every movement tending to strengthen the feeling of the Lutheran Churches as one community was discouraged. Interest in the Church at large and its enterprises was therefore kept in subjection to the magnifying of the importance of the local congregation. It was difficult for me to become accustomed to this, as all my training, both at Gettysburg and in the Pittsburgh Synod reversed this order.

Contrary, too, to what might have been expected where the Fellowship Question had been so prominent, there was practically no Church Discipline. An excellent custom had indeed been introduced by Dr. Spaeth, viz. the "Anmeldung" before communion, affording the opportunity for faithful confidential dealing with souls. But in most cases, the pastor's knowledge of his people was so very limited. Pastoral visits were confined to cases where pastors were summoned to discharge pastoral duties. The enormous confirmation classes every year made no appreciable increase in the number of communicants, indicating that after the first communion there was little further connection with the congregation.

The English churches were then, and for years afterwards, weaker than the German. Most prominent among them was the then only six or seven years' old Church of the Holy Communion, at the most conspicuous Church site in the city, the S.W. corner of Broad and Arch Streets.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Seiss had carried out the scheme which he had had in contemplation when I spent Holy Week with him in 1870. The church was built before the congregation was organized. It was to be a memorial and center for the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, its "grand cathedral church" as Dr. Mann called it. Subscriptions were solicited from wealthy Lutherans, without regard to the question as to whether or not they would unite with the congregation. It was not simply the location of old St. John's that urged Dr. Seiss to this move.<sup>5</sup> He chafed under its organization,

which excluded the pastor from "the Board of Trustees," and made of him nothing more than the preacher and executive in spiritual matters. He wanted a congregation which would be organized according to his ideal with the pastor's influence unlimited. Succeeding in this, the congregation left more in his hands than he desired. They were content that he should carry all the burdens. Pews were rented at such a figure that persons in moderate circumstances were excluded. There was no congregational life. The congregation was an assembly that met weekly to admire the person and tones and gestures and vigorous English sentences of Dr. Seiss, and to listen to the most expensive music they could command. There was little association of the members with each other, or sympathy between them. Dr. Seiss was without any gifts as a pastor. He was cold, distant, reserved, standing upon his dignity, except in circles of very intimate friends. His severity in the pulpit rendered persons reluctant to approach him. There was little that was tender or sympathetic in his preaching. He had been well trained in a school in which Elijahs and John the Baptists, rather than the Great Galilean, were the models. He showed a great preference for Old Testament texts. In the preparation of his sermons, he could not have studied his people, or aimed at reaching particular individuals who would hear them. He rather had an ideal audience in mind, and a high standard of homiletical composition formed from his study of books, and he looked toward ultimate publication of the fruits of his pen. His hearers might get out of his elaborate discourses what they could.

The congregation seemed to be constantly spending more than its income. The deficit was provided for not by the members of the congregation making it up from their private resources, but by putting mortgages upon their valuable lot, and by allowing arrears on the pastor's salary to accumulate until they ran into thousands of dollars. Occasionally some member would die and leave a considerable legacy, which would be devoted to reducing the debt.

Nothing could have been more discouraging. Dr. Seiss looked back to the crowds to which he had preached on Eschatological themes during his early ministry in St. John's, and which he had hoped to return to him when his pulpit would be planted in the very center of the city. He blamed the change on the discussions connected with the Galesburg Rule. But, at most, that was only a partial explanation. The isolation of the preacher from his people, the isolation of the people from the general Church life, and the isolation of the church from the general religious life and its issues, were factors that should not be ignored. What occurred with the popular Presbyterian preacher, Rev. T. DeWitt Talmadge in Brooklyn, occurred with respect to the Church of the Holy Communion. Rev. Dr. T. S. Hamlin of Washington, D.C., at a dinner at Bishop Hurst's, said, in my hearing, that at Dr. Talmadge's invitation, he had preached the sermon at the opening of

the Broadway Tabernacle. As the two preachers lingered on the platform while the immense audience retired, he spoke to the pastor of the weight of responsibility that must be on his heart for such a multitude. Dr. Talmadge replied that he was personally acquainted with only a score or two of them. It did not take the congregation many years to run its course, notwithstanding the fact that it had been the most frequented church in what is now Greater New York.<sup>6</sup>

We have written the above not in disparagement of Dr. Seiss. His desire to see me as much as possible during the last years of his life as he lay on the bed from which he never rose, and his mentioning my name in his will as the second in his list of his "friends," as he calls them, to whom he bequeathed his manuscripts, publications and library, are sufficient testimonials of a relation that make me very cautious in writing aught that might be interpreted as a reflection on his memory. But, like Dr. Krauth, he undertook to do too much to be able to do everything undertaken well. Nor can we blame either for undertaking so much. In a great crisis, some causes might suffer in order that more important interests be not altogether neglected. The activity of Dr. Seiss outside of his congregations was prodigious; and the Church at large received the benefit, while the congregation suffered. Dr. Seiss' mind was directed to a wider horizon than that bounded by his church walls, and he was so absorbed in planning and deliberating and contending for the general interests of the Lutheran Church in this country, that it was no wonder that he had little time for mingling with his people, and entering into all their joys and sorrows, and making his sermons tell on what most occupied their attention.

The venerable St. John's church never recovered from the prostration occasioned by Dr. Seiss' withdrawal in 1874, and the large number of members lost when the Church of the Holy Communion was organized. It had a sufficient corps of loyal people to maintain the organization, and to develop much activity in various forms of Church work. The General Invitation to Communion still remained, and I think still remains as a relic of the protest against the Galesburg Rule.

In St. Mark's (13th and Spring Garden Streets)<sup>7</sup> a most unfortunate struggle had been in progress for a few years, resulting in aberrations in the Church and Ministerium, which are scarcely yet reconciled. In this congregation the form of organization - an inheritance in St. John's, St. Matthew's and St. Mark's from the Constitution of Zion's - had under the predecessor of Dr. Laird, almost completely suppressed the personal influence of the pastor. The Constitution of congregations submitted as a model

by the General Council, by Dr. Krauth, and advocated by Dr. Seiss, and finally adopted by the Council at Greensburg in 1880, attempts to remedy this abuse by making the pastor ex officio President of the Congregation. In the Board of Trustees of the Council - he may have been the President - was a very restless and active layman, who had been of very important service to the Church, in the organization and various business interests of the Theological Seminary. There is no question as to his devotion to the Church and everything that concerned it. He was a frequent delegate to Synod and the General Council, and his relations had been close and confidential with many of our leading ministers. I refer to Lewis L. Haupt, the son-in-law of Rev. Benjamin Keller, and married to the half-sister of Dr. C. W. Schaeffer. (Rev. C. E. Haupt D.D., of Lancaster, is his son.) He had been the General Ticket Agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Mr. Haupt's influence in the Board of Trustees of St. Mark's had made him the dominant factor there. At Jamestown, N.Y., in 1874, Dr. Kunkleman had complained to me with much feeling, of the humiliation which a pastor of St. Mark's had to suffer. When Dr. Laird came to Philadelphia to St. Mark's from Pittsburgh in 1879, there was very soon a conflict. Dr. Laird was trained for the law, having completed his legal studies training in Philadelphia, after graduation from the University. His thought and procedure, invariably go into legal channels. There is little flexibility or adjustment to circumstances that characterize the skilled physician - who bases his treatment on the study of the varying symptoms - in the lawyer. When the conduct of Mr. H. was believed to be arbitrary and unjustifiable, it was met with unrelenting directness. The details I do not know. The result of acts for which Mr. H. was held responsible, was not only the repudiation of them by the congregation, but when his antagonism continued, his discipline. An appeal was made to the Synod; the Synod referred it to the First Conference. A very strong committee, composed of such men as Drs. Krotel, Mann and Spaeth, and Messrs. Henry Beates and Henry Lehman, devoted many hours to the investigation, and reported, sustaining the discipline against Mr. Haupt. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer protested most vigorously, but to no avail. Mr. Haupt, however had his friends, who were deeply aggrieved, and left the congregation. Among them were his nephew, Prof. L. M. Haupt, and Mr. Charles D. Norton, son of the founder of the Norton Professorship. Mr. Haupt and family united with St. Luke's, and, since his death, the family has gone to St. Matthew's.

This conflict did not stand alone, but was closely connected with another. "The Busy Bee" - a child's paper, published by the association which controlled "The Lutheran," had been edited, at a compensation, by

Miss Kate Schaeffer, daughter of Dr. C. W. Schaeffer. For what they thought sufficient reason,<sup>8</sup> the Board of Ex. Committee, terminated this relation. Among the Committee, were Drs. Seiss, Muhlenberg, Fry and Laird and Rev. G. W. Frederick. Dr. Schaeffer deeply resented this, and cut the acquaintance of all concerned. Dr. Fry very soon made terms, and was restored to Dr. Schaeffer's favor. But years elapsed before, through the efforts of Dr. Mann and Messrs. Beates and Staake, a reconciliation was effected between Dr. S. and the others mentioned.

Unpleasant memories also lingered of a disagreement between Mrs. Spaeth (then Miss Harriet Reynolds Krauth) and Dr. Seiss, with reference to the publication of "Church Song" by the latter, as a rival to the former's "Church Book with Music."<sup>9</sup>

St. Stephen's, of which Dr. Krauth had been pastor, had built a very tasteful chapel at the end of an ample lot to accommodate a church, that had been purchased on Powelton Avenue. The same policy had been pursued, in order to make up the deficits, that had been followed by the Church of the Holy Communion, viz. the piling up of debts guaranteed by a mortgage on the property. The result was the front of the lot had to be sold to clear the mortgage, and houses were built almost to the side wall of the building, leaving no room for future enlargement. Here the pastor, Rev. J. K. Plitt, had recently left, after an unpleasant condition of things in the congregation.

At St. Michael's Germantown, the pastor Rev. F. A. Kaehler,<sup>10</sup> had succeeded Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, and what often happens when an old pastor remains a member of the congregation, was not avoided in this instance. There was an estrangement.

St. Paul's church had just lost a large proportion of its members who went out to found a General Synod church, and also its pastor, Rev. W. K. Frick.<sup>11</sup>

Such was the field in which I was now to labor. It was by no means inviting. It seemed difficult to avoid becoming so identified with the conflicts already occurring, as to lose the friendship of some. But I felt no such apprehensions. I had learned some lessons at Gettysburg by which I hoped to profit.

The leading General Synod pastors, Drs. Baum, Huber, Holman and Albert,<sup>12</sup> I had known long and well from Gettysburg associations. Altho' there was little intercourse between the two wings of the Church, this did not prevent my preaching in their pulpits, and being on friendly terms with them, and some of their people.

Mrs. Jacobs' relatives belonged to St. Matthew's, Dr. Baum pastor.

The conflicts among the pastors in Philadelphia were a constant theme of remark and criticism among the pastors of the Ministerium outside the city. Every cause of the Church was made to suffer for them. Doubtless, in many cases, they were eagerly seized upon as an excuse for not doing what would not have been done even though no such plea could have been urged.

## Chapter Thirty Five - The Philadelphia Seminary

The Seminary arose from the concurrence of a number of factors. The desire of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, that there should be an institution in or near Philadelphia for the training of ministers, is well known. He came at last to regard the neighborhood of Germantown as a suitable site. But the institution which he had in view was a very crude thing, when compared with what has subsequently arisen. He actually contemplated a home for the superannuated clergymen, who would be the teachers in the Seminary; as though it were not necessary that the entire time of men in the vigor of life should be given to the work.

While the exact plan of Muhlenberg was never carried out, the pastors of his old church in Philadelphia, from Helmuth to Demme and Mann, gave instruction to candidates for the ministry, and this kept alive the suggestion which he had made.

The founding of the Gettysburg Seminary in 1826 withdrew the mind of the Church from the Philadelphia project, and for a number of years it ceased to be agitated.

But as Gettysburg became preponderantly English in language, pastors of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, particularly Rev. S. K. Brobst, urged that an institution be established for training German pastors for the Pennsylvania-German districts of the State. This appeal, however, would not have been successful except for the exciting discussions within the General Synod, the admission of the Franckean Synod at York, and the occasion offered by the resignation of Dr. S. S. Schmucker for a change in the leading Professorship in the Gettysburg Seminary.

Conservative men began to ask why the Church should be without an institution in which candidates for the ministry would be trained in the faith of the Church. The constant attacks of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, from his Chair and with his pen, upon the Confessions were met with the determination to submit to it no longer.

Philadelphia was particularly rich in able pastors of the Lutheran Church, representing both English and German elements. These pastors met regularly in an association for mutual conference and the discussion of theological themes. There was ability enough among them to equip a Theological Seminary with Professors; and, for a time, instruction could be given with little or no salary, since their support would come from their congregations.

Rev. Benjamin Keller, mentioned near the beginning of these Notes as pastor of St. James church, Gettysburg, awakened the interest of his son-in-law, Mr. Charles F. Norton, a wealthy coal merchant, in the project; and he generously offered to provide for the support of an English Professor of Theology.

Under these circumstances the Philadelphia Seminary came into existence. The great ability of thought, the habits of prompt decision, the readiness to make sacrifices, as well as the opportunities for the accumulation of money afforded by the Civil War, all contributed to this result. It was a time when our people were ready to abandon their ordinary timid and conservative policy, and to take risks. Such risks were being made every day all around them. The merely local and provincial gave place to schemes projected upon a wide horizon, and looking far into the future. It was an effort of the Lutheran Church to rise to a higher plane than it had previously occupied. It impressed its ideal upon the Church - an ideal, which, while not at once realized, nevertheless has stimulated efforts made not only at Philadelphia, but also throughout the entire Lutheran Church of this country, excluding perhaps Missouri.

Before the Philadelphia Seminary was founded, the theological course was completed in two years. It started with a curriculum of three. Mr. Norton's endowment at once stimulated other institutions to like efforts. Up to that time no one had ever given, according to our best knowledge, so large a sum as \$30,000 for any Lutheran institution. No Lutheran Seminary had ever provided such a corps of Professors - three ordinary, C. F. Schaeffer, German-English, methodical, exact, painstaking, an excellent drill-master, inculcating theological definitions with all simplicity and plainness, bringing an experience as a Professor in two other Seminaries (Columbus and Gettysburg) to the new institution; W. J. Mann, German with wide culture, brilliant gifts and mental processes which, in their rapidity, were a constant astonishment, even to those who knew him longest; Charles Porterfield Krauth, English, as a Professor throwing his chief stress upon elaborate and minute investigation that had in view the preparation of material for the Church at large, and for permanent preservation, rather than the direct training of the class before him. With these were combined two "extraordinary Professors," giving a few hours a week without compensation, (C. W. Schaeffer, a man of warm feeling, high aims and wide experience as a pastor and administrator of the Church's general interests; and G. F. Krotel, the eloquent preacher and accomplished parliamentarian.<sup>21</sup>) Drs. C. F. Schaeffer, C. W. Schaeffer, and G. F. Krotel were graduates of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. C. P. Krauth, of Pennsylvania College,

Gettysburg; and Dr. Mann, of the University of Tuebingen. Drs. C. W. Schaeffer and C. P. Krauth were from the Seminary at Gettysburg; Drs. C. F. Schaeffer and Krotel had been pupils of Dr. C. R. Demme, pastor of Zion's Church, to whom Dr. Mann had been assistant.

The Seminary undertook to provide two parallel courses in theology, one in each language.

It had, however, to struggle under serious difficulties. It was a remarkable undertaking to begin the Seminary within a few weeks of the time it was projected. Indeed, if Dr. Krauth had been elected Dr. Schmucker's successor at Gettysburg, there is little doubt its founding would have been delayed; perhaps, never accomplished. It was the sudden decision of Dr. C. F. Schaeffer - so I was told by Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, as well as by others - that decided the movement. He resigned at Gettysburg, and announced his removal to Philadelphia, before the rest were ready. The funds available were small. The Synod had indeed decided to make up Dr. Mann's salary; but it was like many resolutions of the old Synod, one which made no provision for immediate execution, and the Professor was compelled to look to his congregation for support, and therefore could give the Seminary only part of his time. Dr. Schaeffer's Gettysburg Professorship, it was found, could not be transferred from one institution to the other. Dr. Krauth's income from the Norton Professorship was also inadequate for his full support.

Nor was Dr. Mann particularly successful as a Hebrew instructor. His mind moved too rapidly for his pupils. He could not take account of their dullness and heaviness. His German methods of dealing with students aroused constant antagonisms. His strength became apparent later as a lecturer on Ethics and Symbolics. As long as he lectured, he enlisted interest and imparted information which the students could never forget. But he failed whenever he undertook to examine them. He was too fond of exposing the ignorance of students to the ridicule of their fellow-students. He undoubtedly succeeded in disabusing many a conceited young man of excessive confidence in his own attainments.

Dr. Krauth, on the other hand, took too much for granted; he lectured at first upon the assumption of a degree of preparation the students did not have. He so specialized and analyzed that certain points were treated with the utmost fullness, and the greater portion of his department not touched. It seems scarcely credible, but we have it from Dr. B. M. Schmucker, then Secretary of the Board, that the students complained that he had devoted nearly two years to the one topic of Original Sin. When the Board conferred with him, he explained that it had

been his plan to complete a thorough course in Dogmatics in nine years. Each class would hear one third from him, and would copy the rest from the note-books of predecessors or successors. When the Board requested him to change his method, for some years he translated Luthardt's Compendium in the classroom, dictating it, as he translated; and, the last few years, resorted to the translation of Schmid's Dogmatik, made by Dr. Hay and myself, as a text-book.

As long as Dr. Krauth's lectures were supplemented by those of Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, there was no serious loss. They complemented each other well. But when in 1879, Dr. Schaeffer died, a mistaken policy decided to save for the present the salary of a Professor; and, at the same time, Dr. Krauth's strength began to fail so that, with increasing duties in the University, the Seminary received his attention only at the very close of the day, when he was thoroughly fatigued. He fell asleep in his chair once, while lecturing to his class. "I would dictate a sentence," so he explained the occurrence to me, "and then take a nap while the class was writing it out. Then, I would wake up, and give another sentence. But at last I forgot myself, and slept too long." It was a wrong to him as well as to others that he had to be whipped up to his work in that style.

Dr. C. F. Schaeffer's deafness was another drawback, rendering his personal intercourse with students difficult.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the Seminary grew in students and in the confidence of the Church. In 1873, Dr. C. W. Schaeffer became full Professor on the Burkhalter foundation. Mrs. Burkhalter, who endowed it, was the sister-in-law of Rev. A. T. Geissenhainer, and a member of Dr. Krotel's congregation in New York. The same year, Dr. A. Spaeth became German Professor of the New York Ministerium.

A house-father was appointed several times to have the general supervision of the students. This brought to the Seminary for over a year the Rev. C. F. Heyer, the pioneer missionary to India, who died among the students Nov. 7, 1873, and left an influence that will ever live in the Seminary.

In 1879, Dr. C. W. Schaeffer succeeded his uncle as Chairman of the Faculty, Dr. Mann having become House-father in 1873 on the death of "Father" Heyer.

The Seminary, as I found it, was, and remained for six years longer, on the south side of Franklin Street, between Race and Vine Streets, and directly opposite the square. The view of the square from the front windows,

and the large open space seemed to commend it as an admirable location. It was central and very accessible, being only a few squares away from Independence Hall. One of the main advantages urged for the location of a Theological Seminary in a city being the opportunities afforded for attending various churches, conventions, lectures, etc., the old site was admirably adapted for this end. On the other hand, the neighborhood was malarial. The ground on which the Seminary was built was part of the old graveyard of Zion's and St. Michael's, memorable for the many interments within it during the Yellow Fever Scourge in 1793. Notwithstanding the open space in front, the population on the other sides was most dense. Between the streets there were courts and alleys swarming with people, living in squalor and poverty. Disreputable haunts abounded. It was scarcely possible to walk three minutes from the Seminary in any direction without encountering sights and hearing sounds that were revolting. The entire atmosphere was demoralizing.

The building, originally a dwelling of more than average proportions, had been enlarged as the Seminary grew. The two front rooms were occupied, one by the chapel, and the other by a large lecture hall, which could be divided into two when necessity advised. To the rear was a small room, once Dr. Krauth's, which I soon discarded as too dark and ill-ventilated for our purposes. On the other side, at the end of the hall was a dining-room where the students still dined when I was brought into the Faculty, but, a year later, was converted into a lecture-room for me. The front second story room was occupied by the library. Many of the students' rooms were small and dark; and everything was in a run-down condition, awaiting the decision as to removal.

There were, I think, 56 names on the roll of students. Among the Middlers was Prof. Ramsey, now of the Chicago Seminary<sup>3</sup> and Rev. Dr. Hugo Hofmann of Brooklyn<sup>4</sup>. Among the Seniors were Rev. A. J. D. Haupt, now of St. Paul, Minn.<sup>5</sup>, and Rev. J. F. Beates, now of Wilkes Barre<sup>6</sup>. I found that neither class had actually received any instruction of moment in Dogmatics, as Dr. Krauth had been declining throughout their entire course up to his death. The Seniors, I started in Soteriology, with lectures which I dictated; and, then, after completing the outline gave them a general review. The first year of my Professorship, I had to measure the capacity of the students, and to test methods. It was largely a year of experiments. The Middlers I began with Christology, and took them over part of the same ground traversed by the Seniors, but adhered more closely to the textbook. The Juniors I began with Theological Encyclopedia, which I lectured upon the basis of Hagenbach. In Dogmatics, we spent the first part

of the year with Hutter's Compend, and after finishing it, turned to Schmid. The students responded in a gratifying way. I felt, from the very beginning, that I had their confidence.<sup>7</sup>

I was introduced to the work by inaugural exercises in St. John's, where, before a small audience, in the presence of the Board and the students, Dr. Seiss gave me a charge, and I delivered my address. Both charge and address were published in "The Lutheran Church Review" for Jan. 1884.<sup>8</sup> I went to my lodging, that evening with the "bands" still on my neck, as I discovered when I disrobed for the night.<sup>9</sup>

The Board had met that afternoon, and discussed for a long time the questions of the change of location, and the collection of funds. Dr. Mann's objections to Germantown and vicinity prevailed. "It could not be called 'the Philadelphia Seminary'", he urged, "if it be located in Germantown."

## Chapter Thirty Six - Visiting Other Protestant Leaders

I labored under great disadvantages that Fall. My family I ought to have left in Gettysburg with my mother until the Christmas vacation. Winifred had just been born. The strain of moving early in November was almost too great for Mrs. Jacobs, and, for me it caused too much distraction from my classes. Different localities of the city were canvassed looking for a house. It was a considerable time before I found one. A week was spent in Gettysburg packing. Then came the unpacking, and since we had never been housekeeping before, the purchase of household goods. Before this could be done, the General Council met in New York, and the pressure upon me to attend, and to open and lead in the discussions on Luther's Ninety-Five Theses was so urgent that I felt it my duty to comply. "The Workman" and "The Lutheran" both called for copy; I was editing the "Lutheran Church Review;" and the final proofs of my second volume of my edition of the Book of Concord had to be read, and the index of the volume made. How I came through without breaking down, I do not understand. It was more severe on Mrs. J. than on me.

That my health did not suffer was due probably to the extraordinary amount of outdoor exercise that I had to take. I found a home at 4104 Powelton Avenue, a rather small house in West Philadelphia, most convenient to the street cars, and being almost opposite Kirkbrides<sup>2</sup> with considerable open space in front. I walked frequently from there to the Seminary, following Dr. Krauth's example. But my experience, after awhile, taught me that very long walks instead of recuperating mental strength, only make a further drain. I was within something over a square from St. Stephen's, with which we were connected during over six years in West Philadelphia. Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer<sup>3</sup> had just become pastor. The congregation had been much disorganized, and under his energetic administration, most gratifying progress was made. Among the members were Rev. Drs. F. A. Muhlenberg, and W. J. Mann, my former Gettysburg colleague, Prof. S. P. Sadtler, then of the University of Pennsylvania, and Prof. L. M. Haupt of the same institution; also Mr. C. N. Norton, son of the founder of the Professorship.

The second volume of my edition of the Book of Concord consisted of Historical Introductions, Illustrated Documents, and very minute Indices and Analyses. The documents were those chiefly which were used as the basis for the Confessions, and the others indicating antitheses. As illustrating the Augsburg Confession, I translated and published the Roman Catholic Confutation, Zwingli's "Reckoning of Faith," and the Tetrapolitan Confession. These documents testify more forcible than any other argument to the effect that the Confessional antitheses that

still prevail, were found already at Augsburg. The book was received with wide commendation both within and without the Lutheran Church.

At the meeting of the General Council in New York, I stayed with Mr. O. F. Zollikoffer. On Saturday, Dr. Mann brought me a message from Dr. Schaff inviting me to dine with him. I found Dr. Schaff in his study at the Bible House. Dr. Samuel Macaulay Jackson, his assistant, with whom I afterwards became closely connected was with him. He took me to a restaurant near the Astor Library, kept by a member of Dr. Geissenhainer's church. He was very affable, spoke of his literary work, his life-long friendship with Dr. Mann, his trial for heresy in the German Reformed church, and a recent interview he had had with Prof. Walther of St. Louis. [He had not sent his card. When Prof. W. appeared, Dr. Schaff said: "Guess who I am." The answer came immediately: "Philip Schaff." Noticing Herzog's "Real-encyclopedia" by Prof. Walther's table, Dr. Schaff asked him what he had to do with so heterodox a work. "Oh," answered W., "es ist unentehrllich!"] After dinner, we visited the Astor Library, where he showed me a number of literary curiosities. As we walked the street, he told me of his plans for his Church History, and of his intention to bring it down to the "Peace of Westphalia." "What then?" I ask. "Why, after that, I'll rest."

Dr. Schaff we first had seen in Chambersburg, when I was a little boy. My father had taken me with him to Schryock and Smith's Book-store. Right by the door, some one had introduced my father to Dr. Schaff, who was just coming in. With his customary candor, my father at once expressed his dissatisfaction with certain statements concerning Gettysburg which Dr. Schaff had made in his book, "America, Political, Social, and Religious." I remember that he said: "You must not judge us all by Dr. Schmucker."

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, I had heard him preach in the College Church, Gettysburg, a sermon discussion the question as to whether slavery were a divine institution. Later I had heard him preach in Dr. Hay's church at Harrisburg, as Secretary of the Sabbath Association. He was a very bright and interesting man with a wider range of acquaintances than any minister of his time - or of any other time - has enjoyed. He kept in touch with eminent men of all churches, schools, professions, and countries. I appreciated greatly his encyclopedic stores of information, his practical gifts, and his literary ability. His numerous books as they appeared I commended for all in them I admired, but also faithfully exposed his prejudices, some of which were very narrow. He showed his appreciation of my commendations

in various ways, and was equally sensitive to my criticisms- especially concerning "Consubstantiation." I received letters from him at various times. Only a few weeks before his death, I had one-and I think-several letters concerning his paper at the Parliament of Religions, which he wanted me to criticize. I read a paper to the American Church History Society on "Dr. Schaff and the Lutheran Church," for which his son, Rev. D. S. Schaff, D.D., warmly thanked me, and has quoted several times in his biography of his father. Dr. Schaff, in the last years of his life, made it a rule to spend the last few days in December with his old friend, Dr. Mann, and to commune in Dr. Seiss' church. I attended his funeral in New York, and was invited to accompany the remains to the grave - an invitation which other engagements prevented me from accepting.<sup>4</sup>

The same meeting of the General Council is associated with a sermon which I heard by Dr. John Hall on 2 Kings 20:15; "What have they seen in thine house?" The thought was that during the winter just approaching, many of those who had just returned to their homes would be entertaining guests. What impression will your family life make upon them. "Oh, my!" said my hostess, "this sermon must be for me. Here I am with my guest, and I am asked: 'What have they seen in your house.'" Dr. Hall was an Irish giant. He preached with the greatest simplicity, and with no apparent effort. It was little more than a well-ordered and suggestive talk; but his ponderous weight added to his force. "If Dr. Hall would say nothing more than twice two are four," said Dr. Demarest of Gettysburg, "it would make a sensation!" Well do I remember seeing him, some years later, walking up Chestnut Street towering conspicuously above the crowd.<sup>5</sup>

During my first weeks in Philadelphia, the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church was in session. I visited the sessions one Saturday, and on Sunday heard five or six of their bishops. I was considerably disappointed and doubted whether the same men could have attained a similar position in the Lutheran Church, if their lives had been spent with us. The most impressive figure to me was Bishop Whipple of Minnesota,<sup>6</sup> a much larger man, and yet in some respects, not unlike Father Heyer. Having learned that Bishop Clarkson of Nebraska was to preach in the church at 11th and Mt. Vernon, I went there with the family with whom I was boarding, who belonged to that church. Bishop Clarkson was a native of Gettysburg, a graduate of Pennsylvania College, and in his youth had intended entering the Lutheran ministry. His grandfather had been the Episcopal rector at Lancaster. At the wedding of his parents (his mother was a Miss Harper of Gettysburg) my grand-uncle, Gen. Middlekoff was groomsman. The latter was at

a dinner for the bridal party at Lancaster. The company was invited out to a room and seated at a table at which there was nothing but a roast goose. Mr. Middlekoff, an expert in that line, was asked to carve. But the fowl was so tough, he could make no impression on it. Each gentleman in succession had his turn. "Now let me try," said the host. Plunging the fork deep into the breast, he lifted the object which had defied their efforts from the plate, and, to the astonishment of the guests, carried it to a window and threw it into the yard. Then the doors opened into another room, where the genuine wedding feast awaited them. This was probably a relic of some old English custom connected with wedding frolics. Mr. Clarkson (the son) was a Gettysburg merchant. As there was no Episcopal church the family attended the College church, where Robert the bishop, was confirmed by Dr. Baugher? Miss Mary Grace, his sister, was engaged to be married to Charles Porterfield Krauth; but some youthful estrangement intervened, and she afterwards married his intimate friend, Peter Sauerwein of Baltimore and remained a Lutheran.

The bishop preached a very plain and practical sermon. The most impressive part was an incident in the life of William Augustus Muhlenberg which he narrated. A widow whose husband was in the army failed to receive her regular remittance with which to pay her rent. The landlord was merciless, and ejected her and her possessions from the house. She came to Dr. Muhlenberg in her distress. He found the agent, who said he was compelled to obey the absolute orders of the landlord. Inquiring who the landlord was, he was pleased to learn that he would have to deal with one of his own members. He was courteously received in the counting-room of the proprietor; but as soon as he touched on the question of giving the widow more time, he was given to understand that business rules could not be departed from, even though he asked the favor. Looking towards a pile of gold coins before the man, he said: "There is one way of remedying that. Give me one of those gold pieces, and I will pay the agent with it." The man shook his head. Dr. Muhlenberg bade him good-bye, saying: "On the Day of Judgment, I would sooner take my chances with the meanest beggar on the street, than with you."

After the service, one of the wardens kindly took me into the room, where the bishop and other clergy were disrobing. I introduced myself to the bishop, who was very cordial. "Your father and mother," he said, "were married eleven years, before there were any children. I remember when you were born, and the excitement it occasioned." He introduced me to Dr. Jeffries and other rectors and spoke for a few moments concerning Dr. Krauth, when I withdrew. He lived only a short time afterwards, worn out with labors as a pioneer missionary bishop in the West.

At Crete, Nebraska, my uncle, Rev. W. F. Eyster, was asked by the Episcopal rector to deliver a memorial discourse on the bishop, in the Episcopal Church, which he did.

While I lived in West Philadelphia, I frequently visited Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, generally on Sunday afternoons. Sometimes I went to St. Mary's, Rev. Dr. Yarnell, rector; sometimes to Trinity, Rittenhouse Square, Rev. Dr. McVicker, now Bishop of Rhode Island, rector; sometimes to St. Stephen's, Tenth Street, Rev. Dr. McConnie, rector. Twice I heard the venerable Rev. Richard Newton, D.D. (of the Church of the Epiphany) famous as a preacher to children, and whose home was at Mount Airy, in the yellow house on Allen Lane. Several times I wandered down to Gloria Dei church, and was more occupied during the service with its past memories, and the work done by the faithful Lutheran pastors buried in the grave-yard, and commemorated by flat stones in the aisle, than by what was going on. Once I was at an afternoon service in the venerable Christ Church, with only twenty-five or twenty-eight people present. One hot summer afternoon, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Harpster and I came upon a weird and touching funeral at old St. Peter's.

Among the Presbyterian churches, I went most frequently to Dr. H. C. McCook's, at Chestnut and 35th, the Woodland Avenue church, then under the pastorate of Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, and the First Presbyterian Church, on Washington Square, where I heard Drs. James McCosh, A. A. Hodge and F. L. Patton all of Princeton, and Dr. Charles A. Briggs, afterwards the occasion of so much trouble to the Presbyterian Church. I heard Rev. Newman Hull of England, Rev. W. G. Bluikie of Scotland, and others. When Dr. Patton delivered a memorial discourse on Dr. A. A. Hodge of Princeton, Dr. C. W. Schaeffer and I attended and were given front seats. I heard several sermons by Dr. George Dana Boardman of the Baptist Church in the Chapel of the University. Several times I visited John Wanamaker's Sunday School in the Southern part of the city. Once I heard Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D. of Brooklyn in a Congregational church on Spring Garden Street. The circumstances were peculiar. It was a hot Sunday night in summer. My family were away, and I occupied the house alone. I was at work on Düsterdieck's Commentary on the Book of Revelation. Düsterdieck, while defending the canonicity of the book, rejects the authorship of St. John upon the ground that its style differs so much from the Gospel and the Epistles of John, as well as from the well-known traits of character of the Apostle. Particular attention was called to Rev. 22:8: "And I John saw and heard all these things," as bringing the "ego" into greater prominence than could be thought of, in one

who, in the Gospel, is content to call himself nothing more than "the disciple whom Jesus loved." Strangely enough, Dr. Storrs took this for his text, and noted first the modesty of the utterance. There is an egotism of humility, he maintained, as well as of arrogant pride. "How wonderful that I, the son of Zebedee, that I, the fisherman of Galilee, should see and hear all these things." Here is a contrast between the grandeur of the revelation and the lowly character of him to whom it was made.

I visited also a Methodist Conference, and a Synod of the Reformed (German) Church, both in session in West Philadelphia, as well as a Church Congress of the Episcopal Church, held in Association Hall. I am covering now several years. At this conference I heard Rev. Mr. Hall, now bishop of Vermont, and remarks from Rev. Wilberforce W. Newton, and Phillips Brooks.<sup>9</sup>

Bishop Brooks I heard afterwards twice in Holy Trinity church. I had read many of his sermons with interest and profit. But his delivery greatly detracted from their impressiveness. I heard him on 2 Kings 9:11: "Wherefore came this mad fellow to thee?" It was an apology for liberal thinking, evidently written and memorized verbatim. It was spoken with such rapidity that one had the greatest difficulty following him, and the contracted muscles of the face showed the strain to which the speaker was put in his effort to reproduce what he had written. An address the next evening was delivered much better, but showed his adherence to the possibility of repentance after death.

The Mercantile Library on Tenth Street I found convenient to the Seminary. After my hours were over, I delighted to browse among the books, filling my memorandum books with notes for use. The Philadelphia Library on Locust, and the Ridgway on South Broad, were also visited, generally on Saturdays.

## Chapter Thirty Seven - Some New Ventures

As long as I lived in West Philadelphia, I was a regular attendant at the Pastoral Association of English and German pastors, held on Mondays, generally twice a month. Dr. Spaeth was President when I entered; but at the next election he declined to serve longer, and I became his successor. A strong advocate of rotation in office, I declined a re-election, and at the end of the year handed the gavel to Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer.

The attendance was by no means general. Dr. Seiss was present but once during the six years of which I write; and Dr. Laird, very rarely. We began with an exegetical paper. When I entered the Association, it was studying the Epistle of John in order. I completed them. Ephesians, Colossians, I Timothy, the Passion History, and I and II Corinthians were afterwards studied. After the paper was read, it was discussed. Sometimes this exercise was followed by the reading of a paper on some other subject ordered by the Association. For instance, during that first winter, when the death of the Danish theologian, Martensen, was announced, I was appointed to prepare a biographical sketch and estimate of his work. This was afterwards published in "The Lutheran Church Review." Then came the topic of "privileged questions," under which questions were asked concerning pastoral problems, interpretation of Scripture, doctrinal points, current events, eliciting generally a very interesting interchange of views. In these discussions Dr. Mann shone like a star of the first magnitude. His versatile gifts, his wide reading, his long experience, his extensive travel, his sympathetic nature, his extraordinary celerity of mind -- all were brought into play. Sometimes he came to the meetings considerably exhausted, and feeling a nervous reaction from public speaking. Then his depression colored all he said, and he was pessimistic and captious. Dr. Spaeth, twenty years younger, but better poised and more judicious and of more even temperment, was equally valuable and suggestive.

The conference served undoubtedly to promote a mutual understanding and harmony of thought and action. They stimulated the younger members to study, and to a wider horizon than the narrow limit of their parishes. Though without legislative power or any synodical authority, they prepared the way for action which, when proposed in Synod or Conference, was well matured. The removal of the Seminary to Mount Airy was only one of the results. Once shortly after I came to Philadelphia, I had to counteract a remarkable concession of Dr. Mann. A strong effort was made throughout the city to invite the churches in an evangelistic movement. Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, a few Episcopalians, etc. combined, including some sects whose departure from orthodoxy generally excluded them

from the list of "evangelical denominations." A request was made that our pastors unite with them and was discussed in the Association. It was referred to a committee consisting of Dr. Mann, Rev. J.L.Sibole and Rev. R.M.Zimmerman.<sup>2</sup> Returning to the Association after an absence of one or two meetings, I found it considering a reply which - with a few qualifications - commended the project. I waited for someone to object; but no one did so. Then I told the Association that, in moving from Gettysburg to Philadelphia, I had expected to have freedom from one class of conflicts that had annoyed me there, viz. unionistic revival meetings; and that I could not conceal my astonishment at the report of the committee. Dr. Mann supported my objections. Another committee consisting of Drs. Mann, Grahn, Rev. Zimmerman and me was appointed. Dr. Mann came to the meeting of the committee with thoughts well matured. I made a note of them, and wrote them out at leisure, revising, expanding and modifying them. The paper thus prepared was unanimously adopted by the committee. At the meeting to consider it the room was full, even Dr. Seiss appearing. Here it was again unanimously adopted, and then printed and circulated.<sup>3</sup>

A committee of the pastors representing the movement were received by us in the old chapel on Franklin Street, and conferred with us. Dr. Breed represented the Presbyterians and Dr. Reed the Methodists. The force of our argument was felt and acknowledged. Dr. Breed afterwards wrote a very conservative and interesting letter to Dr. Spaeth testifying to his appreciation of our position, and his general sympathy with it. How Dr. Mann, with his German training and prejudices, had ever been disposed to give the movement a partial endorsement seems very strange. He would certainly have reacted even though I had not raised my protest. He had no leaning whatever to that form of Church life.

The Luther Jubilee exercises of 1883 were among the first fruits of the Pastoral Association. They were made the preceding winter. There was a very largely attended meeting in the Academy of Music - at least 5000 voices supported by the German Orchestra - and addresses by Drs. Krotel and Mann. As my birthday, November 10th, coincides with Luther's, I expressed my gratification that my first celebration of my birthday in the city should be honored in that way. I had accepted an invitation to make an address at Rondout, N.Y. on the next day, Sunday. I accompanied Dr. and Mrs. Spaeth to the rehearsal the preceding evening, and thus obtained some idea of the inspiring character of the music. One thousand dollars were obtained from the proceeds for the Seminary Building Fund.<sup>4</sup>

The district conference of the Ministerium did not have the significance it has since attained. The old "First Conference" comprised what is now included in the Philadelphia English, Philadelphia German, and Norristown Conferences. Two regular meetings were held annually, one

early in the autumn outside of Phila., and another in January in the city. Sometimes disciplinary cases gave the Conference much trouble and protracted the meetings; at other times it was like a court with no cases on the docket. Dr. C.W.Schaeffer told me of a meeting he had attended not many years before at Norristown where, between trains, the Conference organized, and being without business, adjourned.

(A German Pastor, Rev. F. Wischan, once complimented the Conference with the designation of Die fauleste Konferenz in die Synode. This was scarcely just. The explanation was that the boards and prominent committees centering in Philadelphia, absorbed the strength of our men that was left over from other duties. Beside this, the German and English elements checkmated and interfered with each other. Each developed when allowed to pursue its own course.)

The most important subject of consideration that winter was the removal of the Seminary. The Synod had decided that it was to be done. The questions were: "Whither?" and "How?"<sup>5</sup> The Board appointed three committees, one on the site; another on plans for buildings; and another, on collections. But as the Synod had made the condition that the buildings should not be undertaken until the site was selected, and thirty thousand dollars was on hand, the collection of unc. was most urgent. Plans however for the collections waited for the determination of the site. Everything was in confusion. The committee on site traveled around Philadelphia very extensively without reaching a conclusion as to the site to be recommended. The Board laid down the principle that it must be very accessible to the center of the city.

The Muhlenberg College men became fearful lest the collections for the Seminary should interfere with their work. There was a halt. Dr. Fry became alarmed and sent a letter to a meeting of the Board he could not attend, advising the abandonment of the project, and the adoption of measures for the enlargement of the building then used on Franklin Street. The Board unanimously rejected the suggestion. "The Lutheran" had a number of editorials that winter which I wrote, keeping the matter before the readers.<sup>6</sup> At the meeting of Synod in 1884, there was a forward movement. New plans were adopted for raising funds. Over \$7000. were subscribed on the floor. The directors were instructed to purchase a site on George's Hill, West Philadelphia, between the main division of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Skuykill Valley division, near 52nd. Street Station and Lancaster Avenue. This was done that summer. Rev. Dr. R. Hill was appointed Financial Agent, and prepared a plan of operations which was adopted by the Board.

Meanwhile Dr. Krauth's library had a narrow escape. It had been packed in wooden boxes in the fall of 1883, and stored in Heacock's Warehouse in the N.W. part of the city.

I was indignant and kept agitating for its removal in "The Lutheran". Dr. Fry reminded me Sept. 15th, 1906 of an editorial I had written on "Wooden Napkins," which I had forgotten. The thought is of the man who hid his talents in a napkin. The wooden boxes in that storeroom were our napkin. The insecurity of the place of storage was mentioned, and the loss the Church was suffering by having its theological apparatus where it could not be used. Another article I wrote was on "The Limbus Patrum," referring to the editions of the Fathers consigned to the prison walls of the warehouse.

In an article of June 19th, 1884, shortly after the action of Synod directing purchase of West Philadelphia property, I made the following suggestions which found a response twenty years later on another site:

"May there not be somewhere one to build on the new grounds a memorial chapel? Or is it a mere groundless imagination that suggests the thought that someone who owes not only high intellectual, but also spiritual attainments, to the library, as used and applied by its late illustrious and lamented owner, may furnish the means for a separate building to give place and shelter to that which has been to him a spring of eternal blessing? It would seem as though there ought to be a rivalry as to who would have the privilege of providing a Krauth Memorial Library building, or a chapel dedicated to the faith of Luther. We have great expectations. Our hand is to the plough. We cannot and will not look back."

The Board decided to remove the library from the warehouse to the Seminary building. The transfer was scarcely made when Heacock's warehouse and its contents went up in flames. Inconvenient as the new quarters were, and not accessible to the students generally, the books were now within reach of the Professors, who would take the trouble to search for them.

My connection with "The Lutheran" has been incidentally mentioned. Further details may now be given. The beginnings of Lutheran journalism in the English language were made by "The Lutheran Intelligencer" edited by Dr. D.F.Schaeffer of Frederick, Md., and "The Lutheran Magazine" representing the New York Lutherans. The former was particularly significant, and did much to advance the interests of the General Synod during its first years, Dr. Schaeffer (uncle of Dr. C.W.S.) being also for a number of years the Secretary of that body. About the time I was leaving Gettysburg, I had in my hand a letter from my uncle, David Jacobs, to Dr. H.L.Baughner, Sr., then a young pastor at Boonsboro', Md., informing him of a plan on foot to start a journal to supplant the "Intelligencer," and making sundry complaints against its editor. Mr.

Jacobs wrote to Mr. Baugher to secure his cooperation and to tell him that the plan was that the latter should be the editor.<sup>10</sup> It is the only evidence I have ever had of my uncle's participation during his brief life in any other sphere than that of teaching - unless I except a sermon in the possession of my uncle, Rev. Lewis J. Bell of Smithsburg, Md. The probability is that he was acting for Drs. S.S.Schmucker and B. Kurtz, with both of whom he was intimate, Dr. Schmucker being his preceptor at Gettysburg, and Dr. Kurtz having been instrumental in leading him to study for the ministry, and having him as a member of his household while he studied in the Hagerstown Academy.

The particular faults of Dr. Schaeffer mentioned by my uncle I do not know. It is however a matter of history that this active pastor and most useful man fell into habits by taking refreshments in his constant visits to his people that disqualified him from service during the last years of his life. This may have been back of the dissatisfaction with the "Intelligencer." At any rate, "The Lutheran Observer" appeared not long after that, edited not by Dr. Baugher, but by another member of an early class in the Gettysburg Seminary, Dr. John G. Morris.<sup>11</sup> The first number published in 1831 states that the Prospectus had announced that Drs. S.S.Schmucker and E.L. Hazelius were to have been the editors, but that the failure of health of the former, and the engagements of the latter as editor of the German "Magazine"<sup>12</sup> had prevented the plan from being carried out. The "Observer" appeared first, like "The Intelligencer" in pamphlet form, but at the close of the first year was enlarged to quarto size, and then again to large folio. Dr. Morris soon found it impossible to combine the pastorate of his congregation with the growing work of the paper as it was enlarged. Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, formerly pastor at Chambersburg and Hagerstown, succeeded him. He was a man of limited education but of strong character; opinionated, domineering, prejudiced, with editorial gifts and pulpit ability, who for a generation exercised a wide influence, and for half that time crushed out all opposition to his plans of building up an English-speaking Lutheran Church in America, repudiating Confessional requirements and using New Measures to their fullest extent. He was more radical than Dr. S.S.Schmucker, with whom he worked and planned harmoniously.<sup>13</sup>

The reaction had begun with the founding of the Evangelical Review at Gettysburg in 1849;<sup>14</sup> the Lutheran Standard of the Ohio Synod;<sup>15</sup> edited by Dr. Greenwald for many years had offered resistance to Dr. Kurtz' schemes, but from outside the General Synod. Dr. Passavant started a small paper for the furtherance of Home Mission work and pled the cause of Deaconesses and Hospital and Orphan's Home Work, which gradually showed its

dissent and called down the bolts of the "Thunderer." But the more violent denunciations of the Observer, the greater grew the antagonism against it. "The Missionary" became in a few years a large weekly sheet edited with superior ability to the Observer, full of material for family reading, and strengthened by elaborate contributions from the pen of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, then pastor at Pittsburgh, by the side of Dr. Passavant.<sup>16</sup> The Lutheran Board of Publication, then recently organized in Philadelphia, published from 1856 to 1860, "The Lutheran Home Journal," a monthly in pamphlet form. Its scope is indicated by its title.<sup>17</sup> Drs. T. Stork, C.A. Smith, E.W. Hutter, C.W. Schaeffer, G.A. Wenzel, J.A. Brown, M. Valentine, M. Sheeleigh were among its most frequent contributors. It gave way to the semi-weekly, "The Lutheran," edited by Dr. Seiss and Dr. Krauth.<sup>18</sup>

After a life of a year or two, a stock company was organized which, purchasing "The Missionary" of Pittsburgh, made "The Lutheran" a weekly with Dr. Krauth as editor.<sup>19</sup> The capital of the company was largely absorbed in its current expenses. It being impossible to provide a salary, Drs. Schaeffer, Seiss, Krotel and Passavant edited it jointly, then Dr. Seiss had it for a number of years, and then Dr. Krotel. The latter resigned in 1883, and finished his connection with the paper in November of that year. Rev. G.W. Frederick, proprietor of "The Lutheran Book-Store,"<sup>20</sup> who had been for some years the business agent, bought up most of the shares of the stock, and gained control of the paper.

Mr. Frederick has been referred to before - as in College with me, and as my associate when I was licensed in 1866 and ordained in 1869. His health had been failing, and the use of stimulants to relieve his physical sufferings had not been to his advantage. He was a strong partisan of any cause he espoused, and endeavored to gain his points not by the arts of the statesman, but of the soldier. Instead of winning friends he constantly made enemies, and when they were made he did his best to keep them so. While I felt humiliated that such an important and representative organ should be in his hands, when he made a proposition that I aid him as consulting editor and write an editorial a week, I undertook the work, but I was not responsible for much that the editor himself inserted. I knew him so well from College days that I had much influence over him. But he often had written some unkind fling at some body whom he disliked, or some cause for which he had contempt, and had it in print before I could see it. Prof. M.H. Richards of Allentown, another College friend of Frederick, was also engaged to furnish an editorial a week.<sup>21</sup> This arrangement with me lasted for nearly thirteen years, and terminated shortly before

the paper was purchased by the General Council. It was my sphere particularly to deal with doctrinal and confessional questions, and to defend the General Council against its assailants. I availed myself of the opportunity also to plead constantly for the interests of the Seminary, and when I became later a member of the Home Mission Board of the General Council, to urge its claims.<sup>22</sup>

"The Observer" was edited by Dr. F.W. Conrad. He made many professions of personal friendship and was frequently asking me for information, advice and revision of matters which he had written, as well as those he had published. I do not regard him as insincere, but impulsive and vacillating. Hence again and again, my patience would be tried by the appearance of articles that were very surprising, after our frequent confidential interviews. He was half-blind, half-deaf and excitable. I could not, without the expenditure of more time than I could command, influence him by more interviews. He was controlled largely by his younger brother, Rev. Victor L. Conrad, a man who had failed in everything he had attempted: as a minister, a professor, a speculator; and with mind embittered and narrow, he did much of the editorial work, for which his brother, Frederick, was physically disqualified. It was not strange, therefore, that "The Lutheran" was often involved in controversy with "The Observer." I have no satisfaction in renewing those controversial articles, and yet, when I reflect on the situation, I do not see how they could have been avoided.

Indignant as Dr. Conrad seemed to be with his pen in replying to my criticisms, they did not prevent him from returning to me with various requests. His Exposition of Luther's Catechism (1875) I went over several times. He inserted much that I suggested. The difficulty was that his brother, Victor, would make a further revision with additions and changes that made the result very different from what I suggested. I would have my opportunity then, in another edition. My name was never mentioned. I received no credit, and my thanks were continued attacks on the General Council.

As a specimen of Dr. Conrad's lack of independence of judgment, we may note an instance that occurred before I left Gettysburg. His visits there were frequent, a Mrs. Prof. Breidenbaugh being his neice, and he usually called on me for a long talk. On one of these occasions he said that the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper was correct, but that the difficulty with it was that the Formula of Concord had invented the dogma of the Communicatio idiomatum to support it - "a dogma of which Luther knew nothing." "You are mistaken, Doctor," I answered. "Here are the proof-sheets of the Formula

of Concord." (My translation was being set up by the printers.) "Let me read what it quotes from Luther." I read the quotation of several pages from Luther in which he expounds the Communicatio.

About a year later - the afternoon of the last Commencement Day when I appeared as Professor - he called again and took tea with me. "I have solved the problem of the Lord's Supper," he said. "How?" "The Lutheran doctrine is all right, but our theologians have argued concerning it the wrong way. They lay all the stress upon the words of institution. That is all wrong. They should use the doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum as its foundation, and then bring the words of institution, as the crown and shout of triumph!"

In addition to these duties, I undertook, early in 1884, to edit for Funk and Wagnalls the American edition of the Scotch translation of Meyer on Galatians and Ephesians.<sup>23</sup> I compared the translation with the latest German edition and added all the important changes which, in Galatians were few, but in Ephesians more numerous. I also added some pages of notes to each chapter. It was not only congenial work, but was of great advantage to me in helping me to do some systematic study outside of class-room preparations. It was published that fall.

My mother had come to Philadelphia and remained with us until early in the Spring. She seemed to take great interest in everything in the city about us. After Easter I spent several days with her at Gettysburg. For eight years a part of my summer vacation was spent in our old home. My acquaintance with Gettysburg and its people was maintained by these visits until the death of my mother. I preached there occasionally. One summer Dr. Hay and I gave the translation of Schmid's Dogmatik a thorough revision, working in the Seminary library. There were several summer excursions in which we mingled with some of the Professors and their families - one a fishing trip up the old railroad to the mountain and then back to Marsh Creek - another, a carriage drive to the "Narrows," a picturesque pass in the mountain north of the town.

One year after my withdrawal from Pennsylvania College it lost its President. Dr. Valentine was elected to succeed Dr. Stork as Professor of Systematic Theology, and Chairman of the Faculty in the Gettysburg Seminary. Dr. Stork had died in the German Hospital in Philadelphia, the preceding December. While under treatment for his throat he was able, until a week or two before his death, to take walks, and wrote some of the best articles that ever appeared from his pen for the Observer during this period. I attended the funeral services in St. Matthew's Church, and spoke for a few moments to his widow at the Broad Street Station,

whence she was about conveying the remains to Andover, Mass., her home. Dr. Valentine was older than Dr. Stork. Every now and then while I worked on "The Lutheran," we crossed each other's pathway. He was Puritanical in his conception of Christianity, and except on the doctrine of Predestination, Calvinistic in his theology. My position on the Sunday question as published in 1869 was a favorite subject of attack both in the "Review" and the "Observer." I never answered as I could add nothing to what I had then said, and I was aware that by no extent of argumentation could my antagonists be converted.

Once I received a letter from Dr. Valentine, stating that there used to be a copy of the Loci Theologici of Chemnitz in the College Library, but that since my removal to Philadelphia it could not be found. The implication was that I may have had it out of the library, and that, having been mixed with my books, I had packed it up, and taken it with me. Fortunately I was in a situation to give a very satisfactory answer. I wrote by return mail that there never had been a copy of the book in the College Library. I had a copy of my own. But there was also one in the Seminary Library (over which Dr. Valentine then presided); and if he would enter the library by the Northern door, and look in the lowest shelf of the alcove immediately south of that door, he would find there a black folio volume with a green label on which was printed in gilt letters: "Chemnitz's Loci Theologici." I had a prompt acknowledgement on a postal that he had at once laid his hands on it when he followed my directions. I was gratified that I was able to direct the Gettysburg Professors from Philadelphia in the use of their own books. It was nothing particularly remarkable after all; for when Dr. Hay and I were revising Schmid we worked in that corner, and my eye frequently fell on the volume while I was reflecting on some problem before us.

One evening during the preceding or the following winter, two gentlemen called on me in West Philadelphia. They proved to be the brothers of Mr. (now Judge) Henry Harter of Ohio - Michael and Isaac. The former afterwards became a distinguished member of Congress and had a sad death. The latter was a banker at Canton. Their object was to confer with me concerning the congregation in the place. They had two propositions to discuss: one as to the securing a member of our next graduating class, the other the availability of my brother-in-law, Rev. J.H. Harpster, then serving a discouraging General Synod Church in Trenton, N.J.. The result was that Mr. Harpster was called to Canton without having seen the church or been heard in its pulpit, and served it with marked success until he felt justified, my mother having died,

to return to India with my sister.

I should not overlook mentioning a series of articles which I wrote for The Workman under the title of Studies in the Augustana. They furnish a commentary on the first six articles of the Augsburg Confession.\*

\* See The Workman for Feb. 14, 1884; Dec. 31, 1885.

A place in the Church Book Committee having been vacated by the death of Dr. C.F. Schaeffer in 1879, I was appointed to fill the vacancy on motion of Dr. B.M. Schmucker, by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and afterwards by the Council. For some years after my appointment the Committee was not convened. The General Council was clamoring for the preparation of Orders for Ministerial Acts. But Dr. Schmucker, the leader of the Ministerium, and the best liturgical scholar in the General Council, had encountered certain difficulties which led him to adopt a policy of Fabius cunctator. The doctrinal principles involved in liturgical acts have to be settled before the orders themselves can be agreed upon. One difficulty was connected with the Order for Confirmation. It came as a surprise to the most of the Church, when evidence was given to show that this was not a universally accepted rite in all ages of the Lutheran Church. The laity in general and a large portion of the ministry had looked upon it as though supported by Scriptural authority, and attached to it almost sacramental importance. It was regarded not only as the completion of the baptismal covenant - as if Baptism lacked a very important factor if it were not supplemented by Confirmation. Dr. Schmucker prepared the members of the General Council for the consideration of a new Order by an article or two in the "Church Review" of 1883,<sup>2</sup> in which, particularly on the basis of Cnemnitz's Examen Concilii Tridentini, he showed the abuses of the Roman Catholic "Firmelung," and that, instead of being the completion of Baptism, it was really a rite preparatory to the Lord's Supper. The suggestion of Confirmation as preached in the Lutheran Church we found afterwards to have come from Erasmus in the Preface to his Annotations on Matthew, and to have been introduced into the Protestant churches by Bucer. Altho' surviving in Hesse, it became almost entirely obsolete in other parts of the Lutheran Church, and was re-introduced by Spener, but did not gain complete recognition until far into the Nineteenth Century.

Another difficulty was connected with the formula for Infant Baptism. Lutheran authorities in general were agreed that the questions were addressed not to the sponsors but to the child. It is not the faith of the sponsors but of the child itself that receives the blessings offered in Baptism. The questions standing at the very portal to the act of Baptism testify most forcibly that no vicarious faith can benefit the child, but unless by and for itself, it comply with the condition, no grace or blessing can be expected. But in our American churches a change had been made as early as 1749 to conform to the Lutheran custom to that which obtained in the Protestant Episcopal church where again, the influence of Martin Bucer was felt.

The problem was how to persuade the pastors and churches within the General Council to return to the primitive usage on these points. Dr. Schmucker's plan was to provide for the discussion of these subjects at the meeting of the General Council. But as only three or four hours a year could be found for such discussion, the ultimate decision was long deferred.

The time had at last arrived when an advance had to be made. The first meeting of the Committee which I attended was in Dr. Moldehnke's study at the meeting of the General Council in New York in 1883. There the Committee decided to get to work, and a sub-committee consisting of Drs. Schmucker, Spaeth, Fritschel, Moldehnke, and me was appointed. It met the next summer at Cape May Point, N.J. in Dr. Spaeth's cottage. It was with considerable difficulty that I was able to attend, as I had promised to complete my work on Meyer on Galatians and Ephesians by a given time. I was there for probably three days with Drs. Schmucker and Spaeth. The next week after I returned home Drs. Fritschel and Moldehnke arrived. My contribution to the work of the Committee was of no value; but I was initiated into its methods. No preparation had been made for the work except to select a few books. Drs. Schmucker and Spaeth alternated in reading aloud page after page of Kliefoth and Höfling by the hour. In the press of other engagements they had had no time to devote to the subject. This was their rare opportunity.

I do not think that Dr. Spaeth would have proposed such a plan. It was evidently Dr. Schmucker's. He was benefitting by Dr. Spaeth's superior knowledge of German in every difficulty that would arise. After all that was at hand had been read Dr. Schmucker would dictate and Dr. Spaeth act as Secretary, beginning: "The sum of it all is," and then would follow some very accurately framed statements. Richter's Kirchenordnungen of the XVith. Century, supplemented by the Sixth Edition of Loehe's Agenda, and probably by a few original liturgies of the XVI Century, furnished the material. It was not, however, until the next week when I had left and Drs. Fritschel and Moldehnke came, that the most was accomplished.

During the week when the Seminary opened this sub-committee reported to the full committee convening in the Seminary Library. Dr. Schaeffer presided and Drs. Seiss, Krotel, Laird, Kohler, and Welden were present with Drs. Schmucker, Spaeth and me of the sub-committee. Rev. E.T. Horn of Charleston, S.C., representing the Southern Church, was also present as an advisory member, since the Southern brethren had decided to accept the "Orders" prepared by the General Council.

The Committee spent three days in session and prepared a report for the General Council to be held at Monroe, Mich. My attendance was constantly interrupted by Seminary duties. I was still a novice trying to gain an insight into the principles and methods. It was only gradually that I learned both, and gained some knowledge of the inner history of what had been heretofore attained.

The claim has frequently been made that Dr. B.M. Schmucker was very largely responsible for the Church Book as it appeared prior to the preparation of Orders for Ministerial Acts, on which we were then working. On the other hand the claim was made by Dr. Schmauk in "The Lutheran Church Review" for July 1904,<sup>3</sup> that Dr. Seiss was the chief factor in its preparation, and Dr. Seiss himself in his Ms. "Notes of my life,"<sup>4</sup> which as one of the literary executors I have read, makes a similar claim. My opinion is that the truth lies between these extremes.

The foundation work for "The Church Book" was laid in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania before Dr. Seiss entered it. How much was accomplished may be learned from an examination of the English Liturgy of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, published in 1860.<sup>5</sup> Dr. B.M. Schmucker as one of the few English pastors in the Ministerium at once attained prominence in the efforts to provide an English Liturgy, with his entrance into the Ministerium in 1853. He became secretary of the Committee, and diligently collected the literary apparatus, until the Liturgical Library, now in the Seminary, became what it is. He was a minute, painstaking investigator, never content until he had pushed an examination into the most remote recesses of a subject, and always delaying action until material could be accumulated to solve some problem still confronting him. His chief co-laborer in the Ministerium, before the rupture at York and Fort Wayne which brought Drs. Krauth and Seiss into the Ministerium and the Committee, was his brother-in-law, Rev. A.T. Geissenhainer.<sup>6</sup> I am convinced that too little credit has been given Mr. Geissenhainer for labor which he very cheerfully gave the work. He was a modest, unassuming man, very retiring in disposition, with hesitating speech and entirely disqualified for a public presentation of a cause. He had ample private means, and not only purchased whatever could contribute to the work, but had the leisure to make the studies, his pastoral services being generally light and gratuitous. Much of Mr. Geissenhainer's work went into Dr. Schmucker's. They labored together, Dr. Schmucker's practical gifts and closer contact with the Church life of our American Lutheran Church using English not only enabling him to revise Mr. Geissenhainer's work, but also to suggest to him lines of study which were faithfully followed. Dr. Schmucker remained, however, all along the general

director of the movement.

Dr. Krauth's contributions to the "Church Book" were by no means small, as the pencil notes on the margin of books of liturgical sources clearly show.

Dr. Seiss, from a very early period of his ministry had been a liturgical student and had exercised his gifts in liturgical composition.<sup>7</sup> He had published, before entering the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the "Book of Worship," with prayers and orders of Ministerial Acts, and entered into the liturgical activity of both the Ministerium and the General Council with all his heart. No one excelled him in laborious application to the duties imposed on the Committee. But his sphere of labor differed greatly from that of Dr. Schmucker. Dr. Seiss' strength never lay in the study of sources, and mastery of the literature of a subject belonged to Dr. Schmucker. The one was guided more by his personal tastes; the other by close adherence to rule and the weight of historical testimony. Dr. Seiss' strength lay in putting into the very best English such material as was finally decided upon, and in this department he spared himself no pains, writing and re-writing, amending, condensing, polishing until he was satisfied; and then, with great patience, allowing his work to be torn to pieces in committee-meeting, and returning once more in his study to new revisions, incorporating the suggestions of the other members of the committee. The matter however required the close attention of the committee until finally printed, or the personal tastes of the editor would be apt to be manifest. I regard Dr. Seiss' claim too sweeping, altho' much credit is due to him as well as to Dr. Schmucker. I can readily form an idea as to how the work on the public services proceeded, by reasoning from what I saw during the twenty years association on the committee with Dr. Seiss, that followed. During a great part of this time, I was English Secretary of the Committee.

Dr. Schmucker's methods - when he wished to carry an important point - were very adroit. He would bring a large pile of authorities to the committee meeting, and, distributing them, assign a particular part to each member, knowing very well that only two or three were competent to judge the premises. He knew in advance what would be the result, and gathered together with great promptness a summary of the items thus collected.

In the Fall of 1884 I delivered the English Address at the opening of the Seminary (published in "The Workman")<sup>8</sup> We had a large accession from the South, the Seminary at Salem, Va., having closed and its students having come to us, viz. J.E.Berly, J.W.Smith, W.R.Brown, T.O.Kiester and H.A.Trexler to the Middle, and W.A. Snyder to the Junior Class.<sup>9</sup> They added to the Seminary more than mere number. They proved an excellent element

to mingle with our Pennsylvania-German and German students. A peculiar feeling of cordiality has always existed between me and the men from the South. They have been warm-hearted and earnest, loyal to their teachers and the Seminary. The idea that a wall must be built between different geographical sections of the Church, preventing any interchange of ministers, is one with which I have no patience. The Church will be in a better condition when its horizon is extended in this way. The North has an entire right to call from the South men whom it has educated. But the extent to which this has been done has been exaggerated. Of the men graduated from the South in the last twenty years, only ten are serving churches in the General Council. A number of others temporarily in pastorates among us returned to the South. On the other hand, the General Council has parted with some of its most promising young men to the South. Such were Dr. E.T.Horn, for twenty-one years at Charleston, S.C., and his successor, Rev. J.W.Horine; Dr. A.G.Voigt at the Theological Seminary at Mt. Pleasant; Rev. W.A. Snyder at Wilmington; and Rev. C.K.Hunton at the College Church at Salem, Va.

It was probably the next summer that I was instrumental in helping the Southern Church to secure its chief theologian. Rev. Dr. G.W.Holland was at that time President of Newberry College, S.C.<sup>o</sup> He wrote me of the desire of the College to provide for a theological department, but on account of their straightened circumstances, they could ask only for an unmarried young man who, in addition to teaching the theological branches would give instruction in German and French to the College classes. The letter was forwarded to me at Gettysburg. I had learned to know Rev. A.G.Voigt when I examined him for ordination in 1883. I had met him a number of times since. He was present at several of my hours in the Seminary, and occasionally at the Pastoral Association. I formed a very high estimate of his ability and promise for growth. But before sending his name to President Holland, I communicated with Dr. Spaeth, then at Cape May Point, N.J., who had been his teacher. His judgment coincided with mine and Mr. Voigt was recommended, was elected and accepted. Corresponding with me, still at Gettysburg, he arranged to meet me in Philadelphia on a given date. What was my surprise to have a letter stating that, on account of the death of his child, he would ask that the appointment must be postponed! I had recommended him and he had been elected upon the presumption that he was unmarried. If I had known the facts Dr. Holland would probably have found someone else. The Southern brethren I think, are grateful for my ignorance."

## Chapter Thirty-Nine - The Common Service

On May 12th, 1885, the Committee on the Common Service met in the Library of the Seminary on Franklin Street, and continued for several days. It was a gathering of much significance to the future of the entire Church.

The idea of a "Common Service" for the Lutherans in America, suggested by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, repeated by Gottlieb Schober in the preliminary correspondence connected with the founding of the General Synod, urged by Dr. Bachman in the South, and finally proposed to the General Synod and General Council by the General Synod South - since merged into the United Synod - gradually forced its way forward until today it not only has the formal approval of these bodies, but also that of the Missouri and Ohio and Norwegian Synods. A harmony of results has thus been attained in America beyond that which has occurred in any part of Europe.

This result was rendered possible only by Dr. Schmucker's proposal of the Consensus of the Pure Lutheran Liturgies of the XVI Century, as the rule; and where there are differences, the acceptance of what is found in the greater number of these liturgies. If the service had been constructed according to the tastes of the Committee, or of a majority of the different bodies nothing permanent would have been attained, as standards of tastes constantly vary. But going back to historical foundations the Service is one, where the historical antecedents of the people composing our churches unite. The Consensus of the Pure Lutheran Liturgies of the XVI Century is made the standard because there were Lutheran Liturgies in Southern and South-western Germany, prepared largely under the influence of Martin Bucer, which, while in the general sense were Lutheran, were not "pure-Lutheran liturgies." The XVI Century is mentioned because a deteriorating process begins as soon as we cross into the XVIIth., characterized at first by stiff and mechanical processes that introduce dogmatic formulas into devotional language - and, afterwards, corrupted by pietistic influences, preparing the way for the rationalistic liturgies of the XVIII Century.

A sub-committee had met a year before at Charleston, S.C., and prepared the way for the Philadelphia meeting of the entire Joint Committee. But there was more or less anxiety as to the possibility of harmonious action in a committee composed of men so widely different, and some of whom had not met for years. It was the first real effort at cooperation since the break at Fort Wayne, twenty years before.

The General Synod was represented by Drs. G.U. Wenner, F.W. Conrad, A.C. Wedekind, M. Valentine and E.J. Wolf. The Chairman, Dr. Wenner, was the youngest

member but had the most liturgical knowledge. Born and raised in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Bethlehem - a freshman full of College boy pranks at Gettysburg - a graduate of Yale and of Union Seminary, New York, he was a man of cultivated tastes, gentlemanly bearing, and high appreciation of German Church life; but he was testy, petulant, captious, not a strong partisan, but ready to stand as a minority against his own associates when he felt like it. There was no counting upon his moods.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Conrad had for years been writing long articles on liturgical subjects, but knew nothing from personal examination. He had to make use of the eyes of others for his reading, and these eyes were sometimes very defective. And, at other times his dull hearing failed to catch what was read or told him. His sympathies were undoubtedly with the preparation of a very full liturgical service, and personally he was not averse to the service as he had learned to know it in the "Church Book."

Dr. Valentine had no sympathy with the movement. He was Puritanical throughout. It is probable that he expected that the "Consensus of the pure Lutheran liturgies" would sustain the General Synod's formula, or one like it, or still less extended. An intense partisan, he came with the determination of gaining all he could by way of concession from Dr. Schmucker, and of adopting an obstructionist policy.

Dr. Wedekind was a blunt, outspoken German of moderate attainments but liturgical sympathies.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Wolk, my Seminary class-mate, grew in depth of conviction, grasp of principles, and liturgical scholarship as the work progressed. He was very quick to pick up information and to utilize it. He bothered us not a little by speaking on questions before his mind was made up, and reaching his conclusions while speaking; and he asked needless questions thus diverting the discussion from the real issue. His sympathies were for a free service, and he did not flinch when he saw that the observance of the rule adopted, was carrying his committee toward the General Council.<sup>5</sup>

Drs. Horn<sup>6</sup> and Repass representing the South soon took their places in the General Council. Dr. Repass in fact only recorded his presence and left. He had come North to preach in St. John's, Allentown, and being elected, returned a few weeks later to the North.<sup>7</sup>

On the General Council's committee, Dr. C.W. Schaeffer had a very cultivated liturgical taste. His translation of Bogatsky's "Golden Treasure," his volume of "Family Prayers," and his work as a translator of German hymns gave him peculiar facility in public prayer and influence wherever the language of devotion was under consideration. Drs. Laird, Kohler and Welden seemed deeply interested but had very little to say in the discussions. Drs. Schmucker, Spaeth, Horn and Wenner were the liturgical experts, followed by Drs. Seiss and C.W.Schaeffer, as well as by Dr. Wolf.

Dr. Schmucker presided. He stated the Rule of proceeding on which the three General Bodies had agreed. "Now let us see," he added, "if we cannot agree on certain preliminary principles." Then he dictated as Dr. Horn, the Secretary, wrote:

- " 1. It is the understanding of the whole Joint Committee that the result of our labors must be referred to the Bodies we represent.
2. We dare make no service binding upon the congregation, and no part of a service should be used any longer than it serves to edification.

3. We agree to furnish the full Lutheran Service, with all its provisions for all who wish to use it.
4. If at any time or place, the use of the full Service is not desired, it is in entire conformity with good Lutheran usage, that a simpler service may be provided and used, in which only the principal parts of the service in their order, are contained."

Could any series of propositions have been more conciliatory or more reasonable? They were enthusiastically adopted without a dissenting voice. I remember very distinctly that he then laid down the Chief Parts of the Service with equal success. In this enumeration he referred to the Collects, not as such, but to "Prayer before the reading of Epistle and Gospel," etc. By carefully avoiding technical liturgical terms, he suggested to the General Synod men a manner of meeting opposition that was entirely feasible, and at the same time endorsed their order as in its main features in harmony with the best traditions of the Church. He knew well the elements with which he was dealing. With the exception of Dr. Wenner, all the members of the General Synod Committee were pupils of his father, and remembered the latter as an opponent of all liturgies, and yet always engaged in preparing or revising them. With the South he was closely connected; his mother was a Virginian, his father began his ministry in Virginia, and he had followed his father in this particular. The only member of the General Council Committee likely to object to his plans was Dr. Seiss. But he was his college class-mate, and he had been associated with him long, both in the South, and in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The other members of the sub-committee, Drs. Wenner and Horn, had labored with him over the scheme then being considered. The "Church Book" of the General Council was never referred to or even mentioned. With the preliminaries settled, Dr. Schmucker gave attention to a high stack of authorities piled up on the table in front of him, and distributed them to the members of the committee. There was no dissent to the position that the Service proper began with the Introit, or "Psalmody," as Dr. Schmucker first called it, and if the Rule were strictly enforced, the Confession and the Declaration of Grace would have to be omitted. But all were equally desirous that this be retained, and good XVIth. Century authority for this could be found in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order of 1533. The three Bodies were asked to assent to this addition to the service. A translation was made from the old Order, just as though it had not been in use in English for nearly twenty years! There was some slight discussion on the position of the Kyrie, which was not a matter of surprise since the General Council had had the same experience. The objection is raised that, after sins have been confessed, and the Declaration of Grace has been heard, it seems incongruous for another confession to be made, as the Kyrie

implies. The answer is that we should ever be reminded of the need for God's mercy. Even when we have the assurance of forgiveness, as forgiven, we still need mercy, for sin is still present.

In making this review of what was accomplished by the Joint Committee, I cannot separate what was transacted at its several meetings extending over two years. Reference to the Minutes shows that, while considering the Common Service the Joint Committee itself met but twice, viz. May 12th-14th, 1885, and May 22nd. and 23rd., 1887. We have had meetings since, and a meeting is called again for next November, but the "Common Service" was completed in 1887.

The only point in regard to which an agreement could not be reached was one that involved no principle whatever, viz. the relative position of the Lord's Prayer and Words of Institution in the Communion. Good Lutheran usage of the XVth Century could be found for the priority of either practice; but the weight of authorities favored putting the Lord's Prayer first, and this had been the practice in all the liturgies ever used in our Church in this country. In 1887, the resolution was passed:

"That we acknowledge that the authorities for the placing of the Verba before the Lord's Prayer are of great worth; but the authorities for the opposite arrangement seem to us of greater weight."

Yeas: Seiss, Spaeth, Jacobs, Valentine, Conrad, Buermyer, Welden, Horn.

Nay: Wenner."

Dr. Wenner persevered, however, until he persuaded the General Synod on this point, to dissent from the judgment of the Committee as above recorded. The consequence was that a division in the usage occurred even in the General Synod churches. Where the Common Service was not introduced - in the majority of their churches - the practice was harmonious with that of the General Council and United Synod South. The General Synod churches adopting the Common Service were separated in this particular form from all other Lutheran churches in this country, including fully four-fifths of the General Synod itself. All this was because of the pertinacity of Dr. Wenner on a pure adiaphoron.

The meetings of the Committee were held in an atmosphere heavily laden with smoke. Dr. Valentine and I were the only members of the Committee who did not participate in this custom so inconsistent with XVI Century Lutherans. I was proof against the effect from association with other committees where the practice

prevailed, but Dr. Valentine was usually disabled by the time evening arrived.

When the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was in session at Allentown in 1885, a telegram came from Dr. J.B. Remensnyder then attending the General Synod at Harrisburg, announcing that it had unanimously adopted the "Common Service." For the conservative and liturgical element in the General Synod this was a great triumph. But it did not end the struggle which, in spite of the repeated official declarations of that Body has continued to the present day.

The Missouri Synod has simply adopted for its English congregations the "Common Service" as known in the General Council with one change. "We have all your service," said one of its leaders to me, "and one word more." "Yes," I said, "you have 'true' in the formula of distribution." This was not because the Committee had not considered it; but for two reasons: first, it is not a XVith., but a XVIIth. Century formula; secondly, a dogmatical definition seems out of place in a liturgical formula for the highest act of devotion. The word "true" our churches acknowledge in the Xth. Article of the Augsburg Confession. The communicants are presumed to have been tested before their admission, and not to have the theological definition repeated to them at every stage of their course. Beside this, a third argument against it is that our Lord in his words of institution did not use the word 'true.'

I have had considerable correspondence as Secretary of the Church Book Committee, with representatives of other Lutheran Bodies concerning permission to use the "Common Service" without infringing on the copyright. After consultation with Drs. Seiss, C.W. Schaeffer and others, our judgment was that nothing that professed to be a reproduction of the formulas of the XVith. Century could well be copyrighted so as to forbid all use of it by others, and that the copyright applied only to the publication of authorized editions for our own churches. It should be the policy of the Church to encourage its adoption and publication to the very widest extent.

The elaboration of the details of the Service was left to the sub-committee, Drs. Schmucker, Wenner and Horn. They found it impossible to improve upon what had already appeared in the "Church Book," and adopted it.

The book appeared in 1888 in two editions. That of the United Synod South is an exact reproduction of what was ordered by the Joint Committee. Dr. Schmucker as well as Dr. Horn read the proof. The Preface was written by Dr. Schmucker. That published by the General Synod varies in a number of particulars of minor importance.

Instead of the "Declaration of Grace" several Scriptural texts are given, the order of Word of Institution and Lord's Prayer is reversed, etc. The General Council's publication of it did not appear until a revised edition of the "Church Book" in 1892.

Dr. Schmucker was looking forward towards a common book throughout but did nothing hastily. Every step was most carefully considered before it was taken. With this end in view he prepared several articles for "The Lutheran Church Review," one or more on English Translations of Luther's Catechism,<sup>7</sup> and the other on Translations of the Augusburg Confession.<sup>10</sup> His object was to get an historical basis on which the various branches of the Lutheran Church in America could cooperate without being prejudiced for or against current versions. He kept stimulating me to make researches in the same direction. Dr. Morris was also clamoring for more information concerning the connection between the Church of England and the Lutheran Church at the time of the Reformation. "If I lived in Philadelphia and had access to the libraries as you do, I am certain I would solve some of these problems," said Dr. Schmucker. I therefore searched every available source of information, and filled a huge notebook with extracts, references, etc. Then I began to digest the information thus collected by writing results in a continuous narrative which I published in "The Lutheran," under the title of "The First English Lutherans," making about twenty articles." I discovered an earlier translation of the Catechism than I had heretofore known, viz. that of Cranmer of 1548. It is included in Cranmer's "Catechism," which I found to be nothing more than a translation of the "Brandenburg-Nürnberg Sermon to Children" of 1533. My discoveries concerning the Catechism were published in the "Review,"<sup>11</sup> and brought an immediate letter of congratulation from Dr. Schmucker. So did my list of English Lutheran Books of the XVI Century printed in "The Lutheran." Dr. Schmucker was the first to urge that I gather the material into a book and then offered as Secretary of the Church Book Committee to import any books which I saw referred to, but failed to find in America.

We met at Gettysburg that summer (1888) to begin work on the uniform translations of the Small Catechism and Augsburg Confession. The General Council Committee appointed Drs. Seiss, Schmucker and me a sub-committee to represent them; the General Synod was represented by Drs. Valentine, Wolf, Conrad and Wedekind; the United Synod South sent Rev. Dr. Socrates Henkel of the Tennessee Synod. It was the first appearance of Dr. Henkel. Dr. Schmucker remarked: "If years ago someone would have prophesied that there would be a meeting of representatives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania with a representative of the Tennessee Synod

who could have believed that the place would be in the Gettysburg Seminary!" Dr. Henkel was probably in his sixties - a man of decided convictions and firm purpose but from a Synod which had until a few years before been isolated from the rest of the Church, and whose congregations were almost exclusively rural. Next to being a strong Confessional Lutheran Dr. H. was an uncompromising Democrat, and questioned me closely as to the political faith of our associates on the Committee.<sup>13</sup>

We began by making the text of Luther's Catechism of 1545 the basis of our work. Dr. Schmucker distributed various early editions of Luther's German text to the members of the Committee in order that we might trace the varied readings. Dr. Henkel declined to take any of these texts but opened the Tennessee Synod's English translation<sup>14</sup> as the standard according to which he would judge the German copies. We noted the varied readings, and reached a conclusion as to the precise text which in every case we would follow. Then it was decided also that we would make our English translation upon the basis of what was then termed Dr. P.F.Mayer's, but which is in reality older.<sup>15</sup>

For the Augsburg Confession we adopted the Latin in the Book of Concord, and the Editio Princeps, found in Zoekler's "Augsburg Confession", and in the Appendix to the more recent editions of Mueller. Dr. Schmucker had imported Taverner's English translation of the Confession of 1536. This we decided to make the basis of our translation. I remained at my mother's in Gettysburg for two weeks after the adjournment of the Committee during which time I transcribed the text from the XVith. Century black letter, and noted the various readings of all accessible English translations. I also arranged with J.B.Rodgers' Printing House, Philadelphia, to print it, and with the General Synod Board of Publication, to publish it.

The meeting at Gettysburg was very pleasant. It was Dr. Schmucker's old home as well as mine, and he lingered for some days in the homes of his sisters. Dr. Seiss' relatives lived at Littlestown, ten miles away. Dr. Henkel remained over Sunday, preaching in the College Church in stentorian tones, a plain, practical, evangelical sermon. For days we met in the Lecture Room of the College Church where quarters were rather dark and damp. One day we spent at the Seminary in "Missionary Hall," dining with Dr. Wolf. Altho' there was no smoke at this time, Dr. Valentine was not well enough to be with us part of the time.

It certainly was a very peculiar way of preparing for a Joint translation. Several hundred dollars were spent in publishing a text which had little direct influence

on the result. It was Dr. Schmucker's way of keeping every one busy on it and thus enlisting a general interest.

Two months later when the General Council met in Minneapolis, Minn., Dr. Schmucker exhibited an advance copy he had received of the bound volume of Taverner's Augsburg Confession, which I had transcribed and published in the meanwhile.

The Joint Synod of Ohio, the Norwegian Synod through its Faculty at Decorah, Ia., and the English Synod of Missouri signified their willingness to unite with us in the work.

Before anything further could be done, Dr. Schmucker died suddenly about two weeks after his return from the Minneapolis Convention of the General Council, as will afterwards appear.

## Chapter Forty - The Predestination Controversy

The question of the "Common Service" had less significance in the General Council. But another question which had deeply agitated the Church in the West threatened its peace. In 1883 the New York Ministerium asked the Faculty of the Seminary to give its official opinion concerning the discussion on Predestination that had occupied the attention of Missouri on the one side, and of Ohio and Iowa, on the other, and which had divided the Norwegian Synod! The question was as to whether it be correct to say that one is elected in view of faith, or with respect to faith. Ohio and Iowa said: "Yea." Missouri said: "Nay." Missouri maintained that faith is the result of election, and not its condition. There had been controversial papers and tracts by the bushel. Dr. Krauth told me, in the last talk we had, that a man, in order to keep abreast of the discussion, could have time for little else.

Quite early in the school year 1883-1884, Dr. Mann brought to the Faculty a paper which he had prepared carefully balancing the two sides, and stating the difficulties of deciding on either side. Dr. Schmucker having found Dr. Mann's paper on Dr. Spaeth's table, lamented its lack of decision, and insisted on a more positive statement. This prompted Dr. Spaeth to offer one as an appendage to Dr. Mann's paper, drawn largely from Iowa material. Both papers, after being discussed and amended at Faculty meetings, were given to me. I rewrote them, altho' in such a way as to preserve the individuality of the two papers, and prefaced and added material of my own. The real substance of the paper is that the term "with respect to faith" is liable to be misunderstood. Faith can never be<sup>o</sup> meritorious cause of election. But when stated with the qualifications appended by our old theologians, it is not to be condemned. Not the merit of Christ without faith, nor faith without the merit of Christ, but the merit of Christ accepted by faith, or, what is the same thing, faith accepting the merit of Christ, is the ground of election. This paper was taken by Dr. Spaeth to the meeting of the New York Ministerium and was received with satisfaction.<sup>2</sup>

But the constant agitation of the subject in the German papers continued to disquiet the New York Ministerium, and therefore, in 1885, it asked the General Council to make a declaration. There was considerable discussion on the floor of the Council concerning the propriety of making such a declaration, Drs. Mann,<sup>3</sup> Passavant, and Schmucker opposing it, while Mr. Peterson of the New York Ministerium and Mr. Kunzmann of the Pittsburgh Synod urged it. The result was the reference

of the subject to a committee consisting of Drs. Schmucker, Weidner and me. We had a brief conversation. The next day I submitted a statement which was unanimously approved by the committee and was adopted with little, if any, opposition in the Council. It was to the effect that no differences whatever on the subject of Predestination had occurred within the General Council, that there was entire harmony among us in the acceptance of the XLth. Article of the Formula of Concord, that it was unworthy to the dignity of the Council, and to the profound subject, to make a statement without the most full and careful treatment of the theme in all its relations; and that, for this, there was manifestly no time at the convention of the Council. In view of these considerations, it was recommended that the subject be dismissed.

If I were now to prepare a declaration its details would be somewhat different. I would show that the very same difficulties meet us in the doctrine of Justification by Faith as in that of Election in view of faith; that if it be wrong to speak of the latter, it is wrong also to speak of the former. But that while "election in view of faith," means really "in view of Christ received by faith," so also "justification by faith" means only "justification by Christ received by faith." I would further fall back on the Formula of Concord and Luther's Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans to show the order in which Election is to be treated, and that whatever the Gospel declares concerning the Way of Salvation constitutes the contents of the decree of election. All this I have discussed in my "Summary of the Christian Faith." A footnote in my edition of the "Book of Concord" I regret, where I defend the statement that "faith is the instrumental cause of election." It is so liable to be misunderstood that it should be avoided.

Another topic which occupied the attention of the General Council at Philadelphia in 1885 was that of Pulpit and Altar Fellowship. The Michigan Synod complained of the course of Dr. Passavant and Mr. Gerberding in preaching in a Presbyterian church at the meeting in 1884 at Monroe, Mich. The Michigan pastor had asked Presbyterians to entertain these brethren; and then when they preached to the people among whom they were placed as guests, the Synod wanted them censured. I was Chairman of the Committee on Minutes of Synods to which the complaint of the Michigan Synod was referred. Endeavoring to settle the matter privately I had an interview with the Michigan delegates in which I told them their complaint was out of order. The General Council could not deal with individual pastors for their course as a preceding meeting. The matter was one of synodical discipline. If Dr. Passavant and Mr. Gerberding were worthy of censure, this

was a matter pertaining to the Pittsburgh Synod to which they belonged. "You believe then in lawyer's rules," said Pastor Eberhard,<sup>5</sup> the President of the Synod. "To be sure," I answered, "there must be a mode of procedure established by law." "Well, we pay no attention to lawyer's rules," was the answer. The early withdrawal of the Synod was the consequence. It has been of very little account since.

The Iowa Synod also required some attention. Dr. Fritschel was absent. But the attention of the Council was called to certain statements made at the preceding meeting of the Iowa Synod, reflecting on the Lutheran character of the General Council. As the Iowa Synod's place on the floor was entirely one of courtesy, the report which I wrote raised the question as to how long such courtesy could continue, and as to whether, if the Synod had to be so apologetic for its semi-connection with the Council, it might not be just as well for that connection to cease. Drs. Schmucker and Spaeth were both surprised as they had counted on my personal friendship for Dr. Fritschel. But I spoke out. It was deemed better by the Council to omit the admonition.<sup>6</sup>

A prominent feature of this meeting of the Council was the Choral Service under Dr. Spaeth's direction in the Church of the Holy Communion. Dr. Mann had expressed himself as deeply interested in the effect of such mediaeval music as rendered under such circumstances. He was greatly pleased. So was I, and I wrote freely in "The Lutheran," while still under its spell. Dr. Spaeth surprised me a year or two ago by bringing that article forward and reading much of it at a service by the Lutheran Choral Union in St. Mark's. He told me afterwards that it was one of the most eloquent passages I had written.<sup>7</sup> The admiration I felt for much that I heard does not convince me that such music is best adapted for our churches at all times. A proper appreciation of Church Music seems to me to require an acquaintance with it at all its periods, and a proper recognition in the present of what is found in the far distant past. But, in going back to the doctrinal statements and the liturgical forms of the XVith. Century, it is a mistake, I think, to make the music of those days the standard. This means simply to adopt the music of the preceding period when the full blaze of Gospel light had not yet illuminated the heart and put the songs of rejoicing upon joyful lips. "Ein feste Burg," "Nun danket alle Gott," "Mach hoch die Thür," "Wachet auf," "Lobe den Herrn" are melodies that will always assert their power, and grow in recognition. But the Gregorian tones

must be used with great discretion. They belong to the long night of sorrowful waiting. They are not the joyful notes of the bright morning, when the heart proclaims the treasure it has found. Music is in one respect unlike Painting and Sculpture. We must go back hundreds of years to find the models from which the art of succeeding periods is a deterioration. Music was only in its infancy at the Reformation. The service of God's House should appropriate the best fruits of the development of music. Why should the Lutheran Church not freely recognize and assert the new epoch made by the appearance of one her most devout sons, John Sebastian Bach? Why should it not build upon the basis of the changes he effected? With such recognition, the judicious use of what was contributed in an earlier period should go hand in hand. I am not now an enemy to Gregorian tones; but I protest only against the undue emphasis often placed upon them.

Differences in our Faculty never affected the personal relations of its members. Dr. Mann was outspoken, often most severe in his antagonism to what he regarded Dr. Spaeth's "archaic" tendencies. Every now and then, they met each other with much warmth in public. But it ended there. Faculty meetings were hours of the most pleasant interchange of opinions, and promotion of cordiality. When the meeting of the Ministerium approached in 1885, we celebrated Dr. Schaeffer's Fiftieth Annivesary in the ministry by a series of resolutions drawn up by Dr. Mann. After one of the sessions of Synod the Faculty and Alumni tarried, and Dr. Geissinger in his pleasant manner made an address of congratulation to which Dr. Schaeffer responded.<sup>8</sup> Early in the Fall Dr. Mann and I, at the invitation of Rev. Mr. Deck, the pastor,<sup>9</sup> participated in a service in St. Michael's, Germantown, in which we both spoke, and then Mr. Deck in the name of the congregation presented Dr. Schaeffer with a gold watch.

It annoyed us all, however, that Dr. Schaeffer with his many noble qualities still persisted in his antagonism to Drs. Seiss, Muhlenberg and Laird. He would deal with them officially whenever necessary, but otherwise ignored them. Dr. Mann was untiring in his efforts to effect a reconciliation. Mr. Henry Beates, one of the most active members of the Board, was no less in earnest. It was some years after this that some of the prominent lay-members of the Board - Mr. Beates, Judge Staake and Prof. Sadtler, with Mr. Michener, one of our most aged laymen - brought Dr. Schaeffer and Dr. Seiss together in the presence of the Faculty in my room on Franklin Street. It was a hard struggle. Never did Dr. Mann speak with more severity; but when Dr. Schaeffer had accepted Dr. Seiss'

hand, with tears flowing down his cheeks, Dr. Mann rushed forward, threw his arms around Dr. Schaeffer's neck and kissed him.

That winter I enjoyed very much going over Dr. Mann's "Life of Muhlenberg" with him. He read the Ms. and I corrected every glaring English error as well as I could in that way. I enjoyed the closer intimacy with Dr. Mann as much as the very important volume which he had produced.

A still heavier literary task was occupying me at the same time. About the beginning of 1886, Funk and Wagnalls, New York publishers for whom I edited Meyer on Ephesians, asked me to translate Düsterdieck on "The Revelation of St. John" - the final volume of the Meyer series. All the other volumes had been translated and published in Edinburgh, and the editors had simply compared the English translation with the last German edition. In this case however, an entirely new translation was made. The arrangement proposed was that the translation was to be completed within a year. It was a bold undertaking with my limited knowledge of German and the other duties incumbent on me. But I remembered a remark of Dr. Krauth that he knew very little German until he translated Tholuck on John; so I put myself down to the work. I undertook it as a necessary discipline to help me in theological German. The difficulties were increased by the ponderous sentences, sometimes covering half a page, broken by long parentheses with quotations and citations of authorities. In translating I carried the parentheses to the foot of the page, translating all Greek and Latin passages. My English, I soon found, was suffering. Mrs. Jacobs said that while I was translating Düsterdieck, he was in reality translating me. Both in speaking and writing I fell into the habit of using long and involved periods. So much interested was I that by the time the vacation came the translation was completed. My family going to Palmyra, N.Y., I spent some weeks alone in my house in West Philadelphia revising the manuscript and preparing the notes for the American edition. I varied this with studies on my "First English Lutherans." The manuscript was in the publisher's hands within six months instead of a year as promised, from the time the work was undertaken! The proof followed me to Palmyra, to Gettysburg, to Smithsburg, Md., and finally to Chicago, Ill., where I attended the General Council that year.

The visit to Maryland and the neighborhood of Waynesboro' referred to above was greatly enjoyed. I went chiefly to see my aunt, Mrs. Bell, near Leitersburg, who had been disabled by a fall so that she could not leave her chair without assistance. She was probably

85 years old at the time. I went to Waynesboro' on Saturday proposing to quietly study the scenes of my father's youth. But after dinner the inclination to hunt up relatives was too strong to be resisted. Mr. John Harbaugh ( first cousin of Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D. of the Reformed Church, author of some well known Pennsylvania-German hymns) was married to my cousin, Anna Maria, daughter of my uncle Henry, as he had been to her sister, Athalinda, before her. He was then a merchant in Waynesboro' and active in the Lutheran Church.... I visited Jacobs' Church and my father's old home (then occupied by one of the Harbaugh sons) and preached to a large congregation in Waynesboro' that night, people going in from the neighborhood of Jacobs' Church to hear Michael Jacobs' son, for my father was still remembered. I found my mother and sister at Smithsburg - and accompanied them to Leitersburg to see my aunt. Retiring to Smithsburg, I paid with them my first visit to Penn Mar and found many friends among the crowd assembled there.

The canvass for funds with which to erect the new Seminary buildings did not proceed rapidly. There seemed to be a misunderstanding concerning the agency to make collections. The pastors were inclined to throw the responsibility upon Rev. R. Hill, the agent. He claimed that his duty was chiefly to make plans and keep the movement before the minds of the people, while the pastors were expected to attend to most of the canvassing.<sup>12</sup>

Much dissatisfaction became apparent concerning the ground purchased at 52nd. Street and Lancaster Avenue. The site was commanding. The view of the city from the summit was extended. The Park was almost adjoining. The place was readily reached both by rail and street cars. But the sight of it from the railroad was hidden almost entirely by the continuous trains of cars passing over the Main Line of the Pennsylvania R.R.; the wind carried the smoke and soot directly to where the building would have been located, and the hill was absolutely bare of trees or any improvements. Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer in the meetings of the Board, had repeatedly protested against the price paid, while only a few minutes walk after passing the crest of the hill equally desirable property could have been purchased at a great saving. Finally two laymen, Judge Staake and Mr. W.W.Kurtz, carefully examined the locality and were so convinced of its undesirable character that a special meeting of the Board was called. Dr. Seiss very stoutly resisted any change, and was particularly indignant that Mr. Staake should want to reconsider what he so much preferred. But by an almost unanimous vote it was decided to seek for another location.

Mr. Frederick began at once privately to urge a property at Mt. Airy where he was living. He had spoken of it several years before; but no one wanted to consider any Germantown site at that time. Mr. Hill visited it with Mr. Frederick and was pleased. The second time he visited it I accompanied him and was satisfied with the place, altho' not desirous to go so far from the center of the city. Not long afterwards, Dr. Mann came to me with the remark: "I have been making inquiries concerning the Real Estate market, and find that property is continually rising in Germantown and North of it. We might move the Seminary there for about twenty-five years without any loss. Then we might sell out, and go out farther still." We arranged for a trip together, and Rev. C.J.Hirzel, then pastor at Chestnut Hill, meeting us on Allens' Lane, we made a careful survey of the premises. Dr. Mann was delighted. The old barn particularly pleased him as just the place for the Library. From that time on there was a general turn of sentiment towards the Gowen property at Mt. Airy as the site.

The property in question was well-known in the city. It was the center of a large tract owned before the Revolutionary War by Chief Justice Allen, after whom Allentown and Allens' Lane are named. He called his estate Mt. Airy. Here the Battle of Germantown began, Oct. 4th. 1777, the British pickets on the steps of the Allen residence where the Gowen House now stands having been killed by a Delaware regiment leading Washington's advance down from Chestnut Hill. Here for many years a military academy was conducted by Gen. A.L.Roumfort, a West Point graduate and afterwards Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Mayor of Harrisburg. Under him Gen Meade was prepared for West Point as well as Gen. Beauregard of the Confederate Army. Dr. F.W.Conrad and Mr. Horatio Trexler of Reading, one of our prominent laymen, were also students under Gen. Roumfort. Here also was a Manual Training School.

Mr. James Gowen at last came into possession of the place. I remember him indistinctly when, as President of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society, he introduced President Pierce at Harrisburg in 1853. Mr. Gowen was an enthusiastic arborculturalist, and greatly improved the place extending it in his time beyond the Reading Railroad and even further than Grace Episcopal Church. He built his residence in 1848; the barn a year later. His reputation is that of a rough, profane man, proud of his wealth, and surly toward his neighbors. His two sons, James E. and Franklin B. became eminent lawyers. The latter was for many years the President of the Reading Railroad.

Such a strong presentation of the case was made before the Board, and such an entirely feasible way of providing the means for the immediate erection of a dormitory to supplement the mansion for Seminary use, that the project passed the Board and then the Synod without any opposition. Dr. Schmucker, I know, sympathized with Dr. Seiss' objections but he did not make his scruples known when he saw how strong a hold Mt. Airy had gained. His idea was that the Seminary ought to keep in as close a touch as possible with the University.

The new site is described in the Minutes for 1886 as " 432 1/2 front by 538 ft. deep on one side, and 700 ft. on the other, 5 acres, 3 rods, 4 1/2 perches, with stone mansion, stone barn, stone lodge, choice trees, stone wall and brick side walk, the whole length of the front supplied with water and gas. Price. \$35,000."

The survey says: " On the NE side of Germantown Avenue 171 ft. 5 3/4 inch N.W. from the NW. side of Mt. Airy Ave.; thence extending northwestwardly along the lands of John Levering and others 700 ft. 3/8 inch to a corner; thence northwestwardly on a parallel with Boyer Street 410 ft. 6 inches to another corner; thence southwestwardly along land granted to James E. Gowen deceased 538 ft. 3 3/8 inches to the said side of Germantown Avenue, and thence along the same southwestwardly 432 ft. 5 1/4 inches to place of beginning."

The Synod apportioned \$100,000. among its congregations for the purchase of site and erection of buildings. Of this amount, over \$70,000. was raised, and more would have been added if other special efforts had not intervened before the collections were completed. The deficiency and more too was made up from other Synods and benevolent friends.

Mr. W.H.Geissinger was selected as architect. The first plans made with advice of the Faculty and approval of the Board were found to be too expensive. A simpler plan suggested by Dr. Hill was adopted, and the Dormitory erected according to it.

At the meeting of the Synod at Easton at which all these matters were decided, we first met Rev. Dr. H.V. Hilprecht, then a young man of twenty-eight, who had been a Privat-docent at Erlangen and on the recommendation of Prof. Franz Delitsch, had come to America chiefly to assist Dr. Trumhall in editorial work on the "Sunday School Times."

A sudden illness of Winifred kept me from the Synod until the very last train that brought me there in time to make an address on education.<sup>13</sup>

A storm cloud was gathering in the German section of the Ministerium. The lack of German missionaries for the new fields opened by the Home Missionary Board of the General Council in Canada and elsewhere had led it to make arrangements with Pastor Paulsen of Kropp in North Germany to supply them with candidates. Mr. Paulsen undertook the work of establishing a private theological seminary, and relying on the support of the General Council, assumed very heavy responsibilities. For the meeting of these obligations he made most urgent appeals to our German churches and finally came himself to America to enforce them. The members of the Board regarded the General Council morally bound by their action to assume the obligations and to give Mr. Paulsen what he demanded. Those who were not persuaded that this moral right existed, and maintained that the Board had exceeded its powers, had to face a storm of abuse and invective both from the Kropp paper in Germany, and from one or more publications in this country. Drs. Mann and Spaeth were particular objects of attack. The chief champion of Kropp was Rev. F. Wischan, pastor of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. He had come to our Seminary from the Chrishona Institution in Germany, known as the Unionistic missionary seminary,<sup>2</sup> and had spent two years in our Seminary graduating in 1871. Unfortunately for him St. Paul's was vacant and he was virtually its pastor during his Senior Year. Gifted with unusual executive ability, energetic, enterprising, restless, with a clear head, and forcible, fluent, even eloquent in speech, versatile, adroit, persevering in all his undertakings, he had remarkable qualities as a leader. A bitter partisan, he was unscrupulous in his use of methods to establish a point or to discredit his opponent. His methods were those of the political demagogue rather than the model pastor and preacher. Against the use of the English language in German churches, and against the representatives of the Anglicized Lutheran Church, his prejudices were relentless. He waged a long warfare against the Americanization of Germans in this country. His models were always German. Everything here was a deterioration just in the degree that it receded from what was German. Kropp, not Philadelphia, was the place to train German pastors. Candidates for the ministry should not be found in our American churches but imported from abroad.

Drs. Mann and Spaeth, while thoroughly loyal Germans, had too wide an education and too much experience in American life to sympathize with any such exaggerated assumptions. In their practical experience in the Class Room they had learned how hopeless was the task of clinging exclusively to the German language. They were charged, therefore, with being faithless to their trust as German professors, in using the English as a medium of instruction; and the advocacy of the claims of Kropp was accom-

panied with attacks upon the Philadelphia Seminary. The Faculty constantly met these attacks by the reply that the instruction in German was ample for the number of German students, and that if more German were demanded, the way to secure it was by furnishing more German students. The Faculty went so far as to advise, and the Board to recommend to the Synod, that \$1,000 per year be appropriated for the use of Kropp students desiring to take their last year in Philadelphia. However, nothing could placate the Kropp element except the full recognition of its claims. Dr. Spaeth visited Kropp in 1887 and spent a Sunday there without being asked to preach.

The matter came before the General Council and was referred by it to a Joint Commission consisting of the German Home Mission Committee, the Trustees of the General Council, and the Faculty of the Seminary. The first meeting of this Committee, at which Mr. Paulsen of Kropp was present, was held in the Seminary Oct. 14th., 1887. Dr. Seiss presided at the beginning, I at the close. The minutes of this commission contain the following resolutions:

"That having heard and considered the circumstances connected with the question, and contemplating the fact that we receive young men from Kropp to serve our Church in this country, this committee has arrived at the conviction that the General Council has obligations towards Kropp, as it has towards other institutions, and ought, therefore, if possible, grant the material assistance towards the institution at Kropp.

"Finally resolved That this matter be referred to a sub-committee, consisting of members of the three component parts of this Joint Committee resident in Philadelphia, whose duty it shall be to devise ways & means by which the General Council may satisfy its obligations with reference to Kropp, and to report to a future meeting of the Joint Committee, to be convened at the call of the President of the General Council, such call being issued at least ten days before the meeting." 4

This seems to me, writing seventeen years later, to have been a most surprising concession. My only explanation is that Dr. Seiss was absent, and Dr. Mann with his wonderful love of peace gave away everything. But why Dr. Spaeth and I should have been silent, I cannot tell. As I was in the Chair, I may not have been in as critical a spirit as usual.

However this may be this action was afterwards rescinded in a much fuller meeting of the Commission.

Here are the Minutes:

"Feb. 16th.1886 at 3 P.M. in the Seminary Building. The following were present at the meeting: Rev. Drs. A. Spaeth, C.W.Schaeffer, W.J.Mann, H.E.Jacobs, J.A. Seiss, S. Laird and G.A.Hinterleitner, and Revs. J. Steinhäuser, A. Richter, J.Nicum, F. Wischan, F.W. Weiskotten, J.J.Kuendig, J.J.Heischmann and G.C.F. Haas; and W.H.Staake, Esq., J.A.Geissenhainer, Esq., Messrs. H. Lehman, A. Bendel, J.G.Wagner and M. Langenstein.

"The Chairman stated the reason for calling this meeting to have been a request from Dr. Seiss that the entire subject be considered de novo, as he could not, as a Trustee of the General Council, give his assent concerning the relation of Kropp, at the passage of which he was absent.

"Dr. Seiss having himself arrived, explained his difficulty, and moved that Dr. Spaeth, President of the General Council, act as Moderator of the Meeting. Adopted.

"On motion of Mr. Geissenhainer, it was resolved that adoption of the minutes just acted on be reconsidered.

"On motion of Dr. Laird, it was resolved that the whole action taken at the last meeting be rescinded.

"Resolved That what remains of the Minutes of the last session so amended, be adopted.

"The subject of the relation of the General Council to Kropp was reopened. Views on this subject were expressed by Dr. Seiss, Dr. Spaeth, Dr. Schaeffer, Rev. Wischan, Dr. Mann, Mr. Bendel and Dr. Hinterleitner. Dr. Seiss moved:

1. That, in the deliberate judgment of this committee, it is undesirable and impolitic for the General Council to form or continue any official, legal or organic connection or arrangements whatever with the Theological Seminary at Kropp.
2. And That the General Council's German Committee of Home Missions should withdraw further arrangements to obtain pastors from the Kropp institutions.

"The motion was divided, and the discussion on the first part was participated in by Dr. Mann, Rev. Kuendig, Mr. Staake, Mr. Bauer, Rev. Wischan, Mr. Langenstein, Rev. Richter, Dr. Jacobs, Dr. Schaeffer, Rev. Weiskotten and Rev. Heischmann.

"Finally, part first was adopted by a vote of 16 to 4.

Ayes: Drs. Schaeffer, Mann, Spaeth, and Jacobs - the entire Faculty -; Drs. Seiss and Laird, and Messrs. Staake and Lehman of the Trustees; and Revs. Weiskotten, Richter, Nicum, Steinhäuser, Heischmann, Haas, and Messrs. Wagner and Langenstein of the German Home Mission Committee,

Nays: Revs. Wischan, Kuendig, Dr. Hinterleitner and Mr. Bendel. Mr. Bauer abstained from voting; Mr. Geissenhainer was absent when the vote was taken.

"Dr. Seiss was granted permission to withdraw the second part of his motion. Adjourned.

Geo. C.J. Haas,  
Secretary. "

With the statement that "privacy can only do great injury, and with the injunction of secrecy removed by the Commission itself," I published a report of the discussion in the Lutheran.

Dr. Seiss is there reported as saying that the entire plan of a Seminary on foreign soil to train Lutheran ministers for this country was foreign to his judgment, but not wishing to stand in the way of any good which might be done, he had kept his preferences in abeyance hoping that his impressions might be wrong. He entered into the history of similar enterprises in the past, and maintained that a large part of the difficulties of our Church in America was due to the wholesale introduction of men into our synods incompetent to grapple with the questions which meet us here. If godly men, poorly prepared, come to us as individuals from any institution in German, and be ready to work in our spirit, let us welcome them in the future as we have in the past. But the policy of introducing wholesale an element that has so much to learn here is of itself an evil. If there could be any doubts before, there could be none now when the head of that institution sends forth his private circulars to his forces to work dissension among us.

Dr. Spaeth gave the German Mission Committee credit for the energy and efficiency with which they had entered into their work after their appointment in 1882. The roots of their difficulty lay in the indefiniteness of the instructions given by the General Council. For that we are all more or less responsible. In their zeal they had exceeded their powers and had gone to lengths in no way anticipated at the beginning. Germans, better than American brethren, will understand the difficulty of organizing a theological faculty on German soil, unified in the faith and with that clear understanding of each

other necessary for preparing students to encounter the antagonisms which will meet them in this country. Where does the appointing power rest? We all know the care taken here in electing Professors. No one can be elected until after years of service he has become well known throughout the Church. He is every day liable to be called to account by the Board of Directors. But what is the condition of things at the institution referred to? It is Pastor Paulsen's seminary. Pastor Paulsen calls the Professors, and they are responsible to him alone. And yet at least \$20,000. within a few years has been sent from our churches for this institution.

Dr. Schaeffer thought the case so clear that further discussion was useless.

This brought the advocates of Kropp, Revs. Wischan, Kuendig, Hinterleitner and Mr. Bendel to the floor. They stated the personal sacrifices Pastor Paulsen had made, and the blow the proposed action would have upon the progress of the Church.

Mr. Staake looked at the matter from a business point of view. We are a party on the one side. But where is the party of the other side with which it is possible to enter into contractual relations. A corporation lives forever. We are a corporation and as such live forever. But on the other hand, there is only Pastor Paulsen; or, if there be any other, no one can tell us. An organic relation that must not be ultimately embodied in a legal relation, he thought chimerical.

Dr. Mann urged the spirit of forgiveness and conciliation. A great wrong had been done this Seminary and its Professors. But let nothing be done that looks like resentment. If brethren have made a mistake, there may be some other way by which it may be righted.

Dr. Jacobs regretted that he had to differ with Dr. Mann concerning the personal element entering into the decision. We have nothing to do with personal feeling on the one side, or the other. We have received from the General Council a trust which, in the fear of God, we are to administer. The responsibility rests upon us, here and now, of declaring what, from the light of what we have, we consider the proper course with respect to the General Council's relation to a certain institution. If we are convinced that such a connection is harmful to the peace of the Church, and that the work before us can be administered better otherwise, then let us say so. The Church will justly condemn us if, when appointed as its organs, we yield our convictions from motives which are commendable in private relations, but should not be heeded in an official one. Enough has been developed

to show that even a continuance of present relations must be attended with uninterrupted friction and confusion. The only way to peace is, without any personal resentment on the one hand, or personal sympathy on the other, to clearly, openly and unmistakeably cut off all connection whatever with Kropp.

Dr. Schaeffer sustained this statement, and referred to the old rule of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania which required two years residence in America as a condition of admission to membership. Revs. Richter, Weiskotten and Heischmann from the German Home Mission Committee also favored Dr. Seiss' motion.

Not content with the Kirchenblatt as an organ<sup>1</sup> the Kropp party published a periodical in pamphlet form, known as the Kelle und Schwert, of which good, old, simple-minded, unpractical Dr. Hinterleitner was the publisher, but Mr. Wischan was the real editor. Its pages were filled with attacks particularly on Drs. Mann and Spaeth, but also on the Seminary, the English preaching brethren, and every man among the Germans who protested against its course. These attacks would have brought discredit upon any worldly political organ. The strictest confidence was violated in the publication of private conversations, and the adoption of every art was used to sow dissension, and break down the influence of its opponents. To me it was amazing that the Synodical authorities did not sooner call its editors and contributors to account. There seemed to be a general timidity lest the batteries of the Kelle und Schwert<sup>2</sup> would open on anyone who would speak; and, perhaps, any past weakness or indiscretion of the unhappy assailant would be exposed to the Church and the world.

Meanwhile Kropp was sending its graduates not simply to our mission fields, but the most of them into the German congregations of the Ministeriums of New York and Pennsylvania. Wherever a prominent German congregation would be vacant, a young man from Kropp would be recommended if the friends of Kropp had any influence in the field.

At last at the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Lancaster in 1888, the President, Dr. Krotel, brought the attacks of the Kelle und Schwert to the attention of the Ministerium. After introducing the matter, he added: " It seems to me that a Synod ought not to keep in silence when papers published by its own members do what they can to shake the confidence of the people in the institutions of the Synod, and to bring reproach upon men to whom the Synod owes honor and gratitude. I have in my mind particularly one publication called 'Kelle und Schwert' recently commenced by members

of this Synod for the express purpose of furnishing an organ in which men might attack each other in a way that was deemed intolerable in the ordinary Church papers," etc... 9

The Committee on the President's Report had the unpleasantness of proposing action on this statement, and I had the responsibility of being its Chairman. The other members were: Revs. Horine, Geissinger, Darmstetter, Grog, Grahn, and Ochsenford, and Messrs. J.O.Krauss (St. Michael's, Allentown), L.H.Liess (Trinity, Reading), Henry Hemsath (White Haven), M. Langenstein ( Zion's, Phila.) and Wm. Bierly ( Lebanon).

Monday afternoon at 2 P.M. was appointed as the time for hearing the report. For once the Church was full when the afternoon session began; and as I came forward with the report in my hands there was close attention. As I passed Judge Staake, he said so as to be heard by all near him: "Here comes the District Attorney."

The first seven items referred to other subjects. With the eighth we came to the burning question. The resolution laid down the premises in general terms, which, if adopted, carried with it the principle for the final decision. It was as follows:

"We heartily approve of the words of admonition and reproof, in which the President has deemed it necessary to refer to the want of harmony and the conflict of antagonizing interests within the Ministerium. We regret that dissatisfaction with any institution, official or action of this Ministerium, or its representative should be expressed in any other way by members of this Body, than in the most fraternal spirit, and in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, which we have all signed, and to which we are mutually bound. We deplore from our hearts the controversial violence, the partisan bitterness, the personal rancour, which, for so many years, have been the shame and disgust of our Church journalism, and from the guilt and responsibility of which, few of us are probably free, whether by active participation or by silence when manifest wrongs done brethren should have been protested against. We recognize these evils as having attained their ultimate in the controversy to which the President refers, and reached a limit beyond which they dare not proceed, without entirely destroying the confidence of brethren in one another, completely rending our unity and making cooperation with one another impossible. The time has come not only for deep personal repentance, but also for bringing forth fruits meet repentance, by stamping out every root of bitterness, without regard

to the source whence it proceeds, or the quarter where it is found."

There were a few slight objections offered, but they were soon brushed aside and the resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote.

Then came the crisis with the ninth resolution:

"Inasmuch as the Kelle und Schwert, published at Reading, Pa., and extensively circulated both among our pastors and laymen, has given special offense by articles both original and republished from circulars and papers originally issued in Germany, containing most serious reflections and accusations against brethren in this Ministerium with a bitterness and malignity that show no abatement in successive numbers, and by these attacks is committing a wrong not only against the brethren whom it arraigns, but also against the interests which the Ministerium of Pennsylvania has committed to their care, (and) inasmuch, also, as the President has deemed the offense so grave as to report it to this body as demanding special attention and action;

"There is no other way to open than to demand of the brethren responsible for the publication of that journal, to make retraction and reparation for such articles, as full and public as they have been given circulation."

There was a pause. Then the critics began to pick at it. "What good will this do?" "You will not be able to silence such utterances." "The men attacked have their reputations so established that the criticisms of the Kelle und Schwert are harmless." "It is not Christian to retaliate!" I felt secure of the result until Dr. Schmucker made one of his ambivalent speeches in which he was feeling for the sentiment of the Synod and getting ready to take his place with the stronger side. Then Dr. Mann backed down: "Let by-gones be by-gones. Let the past be all forgotten. Let us do nothing to widen the breach," etc.

There was a hesitation to continue the discussion. As no one else claimed the floor, I took it. "What," I asked, "is the use of a Synod, except to protect and defend our congregations and pastors against errors and irregularities? Of what value is its endorsement of faithful pastors, if it have not decision to make a difference between them and those who are well known to be transgressing our rules, and whom no protests and admonitions persuade to desist from their course. It is not for us here to decide whether any notice should be taken or not of the specific offences before us. The President

has brought them to our attention. We will have to decide one way or another. We cannot evade or shift responsibility. We must meet it. The Synod has with substantial unanimity just passed a resolution in which we have declared that silence when brethren are unjustly attacked is a sin. Remember you have just so declared; and now can the Synod be silent? The Synod has solemnly declared its repentance, and pledged that it will bring forth the fruits meet for repentance, by stamping out every root of bitterness, without regard to the source whence it proceeds, or the quarter where it is found. That is our pledge. This is the very first opportunity we have of fulfilling that pledge. If resolution 9 be rejected, resolution 8 must be reconsidered and rescinded, and the course of the President in bringing this to our attention be not sustained."

Dr. C.W. Schaeffer followed supporting me. Then Dr. B.M. Schmucker was at last clear and wheeled into line. All afternoon the discussion continued. The opposition were constantly losing. The Pennsylvania German pastors were at least aroused. We adjourned to meet again at 7:30 P.M. For nearly an hour and a half the discussion continued. Then the Ayes and Noes were ordered. I kept tally, Dr. Schmucker sitting at my side and watching the score. When about twenty men had voted, he whispered: "They are beaten overwhelmingly." The result was the 132 ministers and 26 laymen voted for the resolution; and 18 ministers and 2 laymen against it. Dr. Mann voted for the resolution.

After the roll had been called a tall layman arose in the rear of the church and said: "Mr. President, I am a lay delegate. But my name has not been called. I desire to vote." The Secretary called: "Col. M.H. Horn." He answered: "Aye." It was the only time I ever saw the father of Dr. E.T. Horn.

Ten ministers and one layman were excused from voting. Among them was Rev. H.B. Strodach, who explained his reasons were entirely personal, that he owed Dr. Kuendig such a debt of gratitude for what he had done for him that he could not unite in any vote of condemnation, deeply as he reprobated the entire cause of the advocates of Kropp. Pastors Darmstetter<sup>17</sup> (a member of the Committee who had absented himself from its meetings when the nature of the report became known) and his intimate friends, G.J. Mueller, also were excused. My impression also is that the two Schmauks of Lebanon,<sup>13</sup> asked the same favor.

Dr. Passavant tried to engage me in conversation on other subjects that evening at Mrs. Dr. Brown's where we roomed together; but I could do little else

than review the hot conflict through which I had passed, and recall how a decision which came with such overwhelming force was at one time on a very slender thread.

Rev. W.A. Passavant Jr., who with Rev. W.K. Frick, as visitors watched the proceedings from the gallery, has given an interesting description of the scene in "The Workman" of May 31st. 1888.

While the Synod's disposition of the case was so decided, the President reported at the next meeting that not only had the demands of the Synod not been met, but "other articles even more offensive" had appeared in the journal referred to. The President was embarrassed in his treatment of the case by the absence of Rev. W. in Europe during the summer.<sup>4</sup> The Conference did not meet until January; then there were interviews and delays protracting the case almost to the time of the next meeting of the Ministerium. Finally it took the form of the appointment of a committee "to investigate this entire case as it involves the brethren Rev. A. Spaeth, D.D., Rev. F. Wischan, the editors of the 'Kelle und Schwert' and any other persons connected with it."

Dr. Spaeth was, therefore, reduced to the position of those persons who had fallen under the condemnation of the Synod. This was an entire miscarriage of justice, the effect of which the Synod did not see. Dr. Spaeth's name had nothing whatever to do with the case. It was precisely as though a man had been convicted of picking another's pocket, and a committee were appointed to adjust the differences between the criminal and his victim. Dr. Krotel, the President, proposed the course, and Dr. Seiss as Chairman of Committee on the President's Report in 1889 was responsible for its recommendation to Synod. The Committee appointed - with Dr. Mann as Chairman - was sure to make a compromise. The other members were Revs. Grahn, Darmstetter, Mueller and Pfuhl.<sup>5</sup> Instead of giving it into the hands of a committee consisting entirely of ministers, it would have been better in the hands of a committee of laymen. The result was that Mr. W. escaped with impunity to continue his course until the end of his life. A great deal of the influence of Mr. W. came from the fact that St. Paul's had considerable funds of which he was almoner. When the old St. Michael's and Zion's properties were sold, the money was divided among the German churches. Zion's, St. Johannis, Emmanuel and St. Michael's (Kensington) erected new churches. But St. Paul's laid its share by, affording means for various benevolent works from the income. Mr. W. was always zealous in such undertakings, and the benevolent contributions distributed through his agency counted. Even the Seminary itself was embarrassed by the conditions which St. Paul's imposed for its share of the ground on which the Franklin St. property stood.

In 1886 I was appointed a member of the English Committee on Home Missions of the General Council and served until 1893. It was a discouraging field when I learned to know it. The Board was in debt several thousand dollars to Thiel College. Funds came in so slowly that the salaries of the missionaries were in arrears. The number of missions was few, and they were feeble, and their condition was such as to need investigation. The Committee met every three months in St. Mark's church, nominally at 8 o'clock, but a full quarter of an hour if not more before a quorum appeared. By the time the Minutes were adopted and reports from the missionaries were heard, the members from out of the city were consulting their watches, and little time was left for business. The Committee thought that the meeting could not be held during the day, or at an earlier hour. There was a determination, however, to face discouragements. We used the papers faithfully for appeals and communicating information; and our treasury began to fill. In a year or two we were able to pay off the debt, to meet obligations and actually to accumulate a balance. Dr. Schantz was sent out West on a visitation of the missions. But the need of an executive was greatly felt. Rev. Dr. Schantz was first elected Superintendent of Missions; but the salary offered was too meagre, and we might have seen the declination. Then Rev. T.B. Roth of Utica, N.Y. was elected and declined. Finally on Dr. Laird's motion, Rev. W.A. Passavant Jr., was elected. He accepted on condition that we undertake to plant missions on the Pacific Coast. There is no question as to the progress made under his administration.

I found that my connection with the Committee greatly increased my correspondence. Every missionary who had been my pupil wrote to me at length concerning his trials and work. My judgment was very largely taken in the selection of men for places, and then when they were selected, my acquaintance with them made it important for me to confer with them, sometimes by writing, sometimes otherwise.<sup>2</sup> Of course I was relieved of much of this after Mr. Passavant began his work. When he became Superintendent our house was his home during his attendance at meetings of the Committee as well as when he was otherwise occupied with its work, and we conferred concerning matters to be brought to the attention of the Board. The mission at Newark, N.J.<sup>3</sup> I very frequently supplied.

But I became disheartened with the unbusiness-like methods pursued. The surplus was soon consumed. A debt began to grow. The officers were authorized to give a note, then to renew and increase it, without any effort

to increase its resources. It would often be nearly 11 o'clock before the financial question was reached. I could not remedy matters. Drs. Laird and Seiss had their own fixed ways of attending to Church business and I could hope for no change. Several times therefore I asked to be relieved from being a member of the Committee, but my request was not granted. The General Council reappointed me upon the ground that my knowledge of available men was greater than that of others. In 1893 I made so strong a plea that it was effectual.

I aided Dr. Schaeffer in various missionary enterprises in Philadelphia and the neighborhood. I went often to Chester to preach on Sunday evenings; and to the Church of the Incarnation, Philadelphia, when it worshipped in a hall; and to Atlantic City, and to Asbury Park.<sup>4</sup> Rev. G.C. Gardner consulted me about English services at Roxboro, and the result was the starting of the missions at Manayunk and Falls of the Schuylkill.<sup>5</sup> I was also in the missions started by the Father Heyer Missionary Society at Tioga and in the Southern part of the city (St. James).<sup>6</sup>

When at the meeting of the Ministerium in 1906 it was intimated on the floor of Synod that - while I am "an expert in Foreign Missions," I am entirely out of my sphere when I treat of Home Mission problems, I might have answered: "A Foreign Missionary I have never been; a Home Missionary I have been; the Foreign Mission Territory I have never visited; the Home Mission territory I have visited often. On the Foreign Mission Board, I have served for five years; on the Home Mission Board for eight years.

Early in the summer of 1887, Dr. Laird, who had been impaired in health for some time, was sent by the people of St. Mark's with his wife to Europe. Prof. Richards of Allentown and I supplied the pulpit until his return at the close of October.

That was an autumn (1887) of great celebration. The Centennial of the Constitution of the United States was a great event. I took my boys to a place on Broad Street and bought seats to see the two great processions - the first day, a military procession led by Maj.-Gen. Sheridan and including the Governors of the Original States with their troops; the second, a rather uninteresting civil parade.

The Church was celebrating the Centennial of the death of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. On October 7th there was a large concourse at the Trappe, Pa.,<sup>7</sup> where he had lived and died. The First Conference met there the preceding day. Many others came that morning. Among them were Dr. Conrad, and a number of Muhlenberg descendants. (Among the latter were some of the New York

branch of the family descendants of Dr. Kunze.) I walked with Dr. and Mrs. F.A. Muhlenberg out to the edge of the village to the house where he died. I walked a number of miles that day and came home thoroughly fatigued, to be disturbed by the arrival a few hours later of Miss Marguerite.<sup>8</sup>

Early that summer I had accompanied Dr. Mann to Pennsburg to the funeral of a member of our Junior Class, Mr. F.M. Fox, son of Rev. W.B. Fox.<sup>9</sup> He had died of typhoid fever contracted in Philadelphia. He was a quiet, earnest young man who promised to be very useful. The sermon was preached in German by the Rev. L. Groh. I remarked to Dr. Mann: "That was a good sermon." "Yes," said the Doctor; "but he made the objective case the nominative to his verbs." Dr. Mann excused himself from speaking on the grounds that he had no preparation. Dr. Seip and I spoke, the former concerning Mr. Fox's College career, and the latter concerning the impression made by him at the Seminary.

I had made a trip up the Perkiomen Road earlier to deliver an address at Allentown. I traced some items in the Odyssey that I had found when I read it at Gettysburg with my classes that almost seemed prophetic of Christianity.

The summer of 1887 Dr. Spaeth had spent in Germany. Directly after his return I went to his church one Sunday. He preached on Matt. 9:21: "If I may but touch the hem of his garment." In the sermon he repeated his translation into German of the English hymn, "Nearer my God, to Thee." I had often thought of the lack of any decidedly Christian element in that otherwise admirable hymn. As I rode home to West Philadelphia, the outline of such a revision of the hymn occurred to me. I hurried to my room after dinner, and wrote it out, adding a stanza or two before evening. It was published in "The Workman" for Dec. 1st. 1887. When "The Church Book" was revised several years later, Dr. C.W. Schaeffer brought it before the Committee and wanted it put in the Appendix. Dr. Seiss took the position that the original hymn was so deeply fixed in the minds of the people that it would not be readily omitted, and yet the one proposed was better; the former was the patriarchal, the latter the Christian conception. It would not do to present the contrast in the Hymn Book. Doctor Krotel did not like the expression: "Death is of no account," altho' that is literally the rendering of II Tim. 1:10.<sup>10</sup> I had no desire to press it. Dr. Schaeffer's proposition was without my previous knowledge.

When the Sunday School Hymn Book was prepared, Rev. H.N. Fegley proposed it, and it was unanimously adopted. It was inserted in the "Hymnal", prepared by

the Joint Committee of the three General Bodies, and published by United Synod of the South at the urgent request of Dr. Schmauck.

We transcribe the hymn as it appeared in "The Workman."

"Nearer, My God, to Thee!  
For Advent 1887

'If I may but touch his garment," Matth.9:21.

Nearer, my God, to Thee!  
Nearer to Thee!  
Through Word and Sacrament,  
Thou comest to me.  
Thy grace is ever near,  
Thy spirit ever here,  
Drawing to Thee!

Ages on ages rolled,  
Ere earth appeared,  
Yet Thine unmeasured love  
The way prepared;  
E'en then Thou yearned for me,  
That I might nearer be,  
Nearer to Thee!

Thy Son has come to earth,  
My sin to hear,  
My every wound to heal,  
My pain to share.  
"God in the flesh" for me,  
Brings me now nearer Thee,  
Nearer to Thee.

Lo! all my debt is paid,  
My guilt is gone.  
See! He has risen for me,  
My throne is won.  
Thanks, O my God, to Thee,  
None now can nearer be,  
Nearer to Thee.

Welcome, then, to Thy home,  
Blest One in Three.  
As Thou hast promised, come,  
Come, Lord, to me!  
Work, Thou, O God, through me,  
Live, Thou, O God in me,  
Ever in me.

By the Baptismal stream,  
 Which made me Thine,  
 By the dear flesh and blood,  
 Thy love made mine,  
 Purge, Thou, all sin from me,  
 That I may nearer be,  
 Nearer to Thee!

Surely it matters not  
 What earth may bring,  
 Death is of no account,\*  
 Grace will I sing.  
 Nothing remains for me,  
 Save to be nearer Thee,  
 Nearer to Thee!

\* 2 Tim.1:10. Literally: "Who made death of no account."

This was not my first attempt at verse. In studying the Collects, I had made several attempts at versification that I prefer to the hymn just given.

#### ON THE COLLECT FOR CHRISTMAS EVE

"Deus qui bene sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere; da, quaesumus, ut cujus lucis mysteria in terra cognovimus, ejus quoque gaudium in coelo perfruamur."

"O God, who made this holy night,  
 Past made all radiant with Thy Light;  
 Grant, we beseech, that as we know  
 Its mysteries on earth below,  
 In Heaven above, we all may share  
 The joys of brighter glory there."

( - Lutheran, Dec. 24, 1885.)

#### ON EPIPHANY

"Deus, qui hodierna die Unigentum tuum Gentilis stella duce revelasti; concede propitius, ut qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ac contemplandum speciem tuae celsitudinis perducamur."

"O God, whose star this day  
 Upon the Gentiles shone,  
 And led them through their weary way,  
 Until Thy Son was known;  
 So lead us by Thy grace,  
 Who walk by faith, not sight,  
 Until at last we see Thy face  
 And worship in Thy light."

(Lutheran, Jan. 7, 1886.)

The Latin hymn, "Resonet in Laudibus," from the XIVth. Century, we rendered:

"Sound the praises to our King,  
Zion, let Thy children sing;  
He has come, the Virgin's Son,  
See fulfilled the Angel's word,  
Dust has glory; man, a Lord.  
Hallelujah, hallelujah.

Great the marvel of the deed,  
All occurs as God decreed;  
Like our race he enters earth,  
Of a mother is His birth;  
Yet, unlike us, from above  
Endless ages tell His love,  
Hallelujah, hallelujah!

Every child unite in praise,  
Sing aloud God's wondrous ways,  
To the highest heavens proclaim  
All the glory of his Name.  
Christ has come, our need to share,  
Christ has come, our load to bear.  
Hallelujah, hallelujah!

Loving praise and thanks be given,  
High above the highest heaven!  
Nothing let us fail to bring,  
That may His great glory sing,  
For the songs our lips may frame,  
Cannot utter half His Name.  
Hallelujah, hallelujah.

Angels, from their glory, gaze,  
As of old, proclaim His praise;  
Grace and peace now all their strain,  
To this world of sin and pain,  
"God with man" inspires the song,  
Bursting from the holy throng,  
Hallelujah, hallelujah.

Blessed, Holiest, Dearest Child,  
Swaying worlds, though lowly, mild;  
Men with angels, earth and Heaven  
Share in bliss which Thou hast given!  
Louder, louder raise the cry:  
'Glory be to God on high;  
War is over, peace has come,  
God with man is now at home!  
Hallelujah, hallelujah."

(Lutheran, Dec. 24, 1885.)

We tried to paraphrase Luther's exposition of the Creed:

"My life on Thee depends,  
Each gift from Thee descends,  
God of all love!  
All blessings Thou hast made,  
Each threatening wave is stayed,  
All power by Thee is swayed,  
Beneath, above.

The merits are not mine,  
That bring such care of Thine,  
O Father mild!  
'Tis solely of Thy grace,  
Such goodness crowns my days,  
And starts this hymn of praise  
From Thy weak child.

Guilty and lost was I,  
A culprit doomed to die,  
Satan's bound slave.  
Jesus, Thy Son, appears,  
True God, though Man of Tears,  
He all my burden bears,  
Mighty to save.

Silver and gold are vain,  
To rend the iron chain,  
Helpless I lay.  
His Blood and death alone  
For death and sin atone,  
And raise me to Thy throne,  
To reign for aye.

If Jesus I believe  
And his sure word receive,  
'Tis of Thy power.  
My reason, strength and skill  
Rebel against Thy will,  
And cannot aught fulfil  
Until this hour.

Send, then, Thy Spirit, Lord,  
Come, call me through Thy Word,  
Shed heavenly light.  
Pervade each thought and breath,  
Live in this home of death,  
And grant the fadeless wreath  
Of glory bright."

("Workman," June 14, 1888.)

Here is a New Year's Hymn.

"A Greeting to 1889"

Jesus is the Name we bear  
As we greet the opening year,  
Jesus is the Name we sing,  
Whether joy or grief it bring.

Jesus for us. What can harm  
Under shelter of His arm?  
Who, our Champion o'ercome,  
Or defraud us of our home?

Jesus with us, ever nigh,  
Feels each heart-throb, notes each sigh,  
Clasps our hands, and every hour,  
Sends new blessings, gives new power.

Jesus in us. On we move,  
By the impulse of His love;  
Resurrection life beneath  
Every word and deed and breath.

Should we need one comfort more,  
Jesus treads the way before,  
Bright the path, though black with clouds,  
Where Thy feet have pressed, my God.

Courage, soul, make no delay,  
Care and pain have passed away;  
Time is nothing, with the thought  
Of the treasures Christ has brought.

More or less we do not ask:  
Thine the order, ours the task.  
But, at length, by Thy rich grace,  
Grant that we may see Thy face."

Dec. 29, 1888

("Workman," Jan. 3, 1889.)

A translation or rather paraphrase of Ein feste Burg was made in 1886 with the accompanying statement that Luther's hymn when turned into English ought to be treated with the same freedom that Luther used when he translated the Forty--sixth Psalm into these words. It is not the precise reproduction of each word that is to be attempted, since a particular word is determined by the rhyme or meter.

"A Fortress firm, a Shield, a Sword,  
A Help in all distresses;  
A Refuge strong is God the Lord,  
However danger presses.

The enemy, I know,  
 Maddened with rage doth glow,  
 Boundless the power and art,  
 Back of each cruel dart,  
 Earth never had his equal.

Sure were the field left to my might  
 All would be pure disaster;  
 But I've a Comrade in this fight,  
 Who any foe can master.  
 If you should ask His name  
 It is the very same,  
 Before which angels kneel  
 And at which devils quail,  
 Jesus, True God and Conqueror.

Then let Hell's host flood all the land,  
 With myriads trained to end me;  
 Why should I fear to make a stand.  
 When such strong arms defend me?  
 One moment - and 'tis done,  
 The victory is won:  
 The almighty Prince is found,  
 Judged, prostrate on the ground,  
 The smallest word can fell him.

Ah, then, the Word you'll let remain,  
 A generous foeman surely!  
 While Christ's with me upon the plain,  
 My heart shall rest securely,  
 Come, take whatever you see,  
 There is no loss to me,  
 His Spirit makes me strong,  
 His gifts call forth my song,  
 His Kingdom's mine forever."

The above was prepared while I was conducting a written examination in the Seminary on Franklin Street. It is published in my "Life of Luther." The following Baptismal Hymn I remember was warmly recommended by the paper of the Iowa Synod:

"The Washing of Regeneration"

Here, Lord, another soul we bring,  
 Thy blood-stained Cross to bear;  
 We dedicate him to our King,  
 An offered crown to wear.

A child of wrath, Thy bitter foe,  
 We lead him to Thy stream;  
 Blot out his guilt, remove his woe,  
 Thy promised grace we claim.

Thy white baptismal robe, O give,  
 His native self to hide;  
 In Christ, to die, in Christ to live,  
 With Christ be crucified.

The answer of his conscience breathe;  
 The spark of faith, O light!  
 Come and endow this prey of death  
 With resurrection might!

Thy sacramental pledge we have,  
 We know Thy heart of love,  
 That sends Thy Blood from death to save,  
 And quickens from above.

Lord, let this stream, through all his life,  
 In richest measure given,  
 Console in grief, bear safe through strife,  
 And bring at last to heaven.

Oh! should he from it ever stray,  
 And shun this covenant grace,  
 Turn Thou his heart from error's way,  
 Restore him to Thy face.

With tears of sorrow to lament  
 Each sinful thought and word,  
 To prize again what here is sent,  
 And serve his loving Lord."

(" Workman, "Sept. 5, 1889.)

There are others scattered through "The Lutheran" and "The Workman." To them we add a translation of "O Jesu, du mein Brautigam," based on a translation in the "Psalmodia Germanica." This was made in May 1906.

"Jesus, Thou Lover of my soul,  
 Who gave Thy life to make me whole;  
 And on the painful Cross hast paid  
 Each debt that to my charge was laid;

Conscious of my sin, with shame and fear,  
 Called to Thy supper, I draw near;  
 Famished and faint and worn, I come,  
 O give me at Thy Table room.

Lord, I am weak, O make me sound,  
 Impart Thy grace, and heal each wound,  
 Remove all that offends Thine eye,  
 And needful help and strength supply.

And while I crave Thy guest to be,  
Come, Lord, and be a guest to me;  
Enter my heart; then, all my days,  
I'll keep Thy Law and sing Thy praise.

Until, O gracious Prince of Life,  
Thou callest from these scenes of strife,  
That, then, to Heaven, I may soar,  
And sup with Thee forever more."

Notes and Studies

Chapter Twenty - One

- Page 140 1 A Philadelphia publisher and philanthropist.
- 141 2 July 22, 1870.
- 3 The Rev. Milton Valentine D.D. (1825 - Jan. 10, 1906).  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; W. p. 317; P.C. p. 237 ff.;  
S.G.H. p. ; L.Q. for Jan. 1907; L.A. for 1931.)
- 142 4 Prof. Edsall Ferrier (1831 - ) was Professor of  
English (1866-1873).  
(See P.C. p. 172.)
- 5 Prof. Luther Henry Croll (1834 - ) was Professor  
of Mathematics and Astronomy (1866-1889).  
(See P.C. p. 247.)
- 6 Prof. Adam Martin (1835-1921) was a graduate of Hart-  
wick Seminary. He was a professor at Gettysburg till  
1898. Dr. Martin collaborated with Dr. Jacobs in the  
translation of the Book of Concord, by translating  
the Large Catechism.  
(See P.C. p. 173; Minutes of Min. of Pa. for 1921.)
- 7 The Rev. Henry Louis Baugher D.D. ( 1840-Feb. 11, 1899).  
(See material toward the end of the Memoirs; Min.  
of W. Pa. Syn. for 1899, p. 45; P.C. p. 253; Memorial  
of H.L.B. ( Phila.; n.d.)).
- 8 Actually June, 1867 - Fall, 1870.
- 143 9 Ferrier, Wilken, Conrad.
- 144 10 The Rev. J. Ilgen Burrell ( d. 1877) was a pastor in  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 1875-77, and an organizer of the N.Y.  
and N.J. Synod.
- 11 The Rev. William F. Eyster.
- 146 12 Practical Sermons and Addresses by A. H. Lochman D.D.  
printed at the request of his friends and former  
parishioners. (York, Pa.; 1885, 344 pp.).  
  
Dr. Lochman (1826-36); Dr. Schaeffer (1840-49); Dr.  
Hay (1849-65).
- 13 This hymn of Isaac Watts was number 728 in the General  
Synod book, Lutheran Hymns. The last two verses are:

"O glorious hour! O blest abode  
I shall be near and like my God.  
And flesh and sin no more control  
The sacred pleasures of the soul.

"My flesh shall slumber in the ground,  
Till the last trumpet's joyful sound, -  
Then burst the chains with sweet surprise  
And in my Saviour's image rise."

14 With the death of Dr. Stoeber, the E.R. came to an end. The Quarterly Review took its place. The E.R. had been the chief link between German Lutheran theology and the English speaking Lutheran Church. Under the influence of Drs. Valentine, Hay, etc., the Gettysburg institutions, and the Quarterly Review, their mouthpiece, became more liberal and controversial.

15 The Conservative Reformation and its Theology, as represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, by Charles P. Krauth, D.D., Norton Professor of Philadelphia Seminary (Phila.; 1871).

"... We have endeavored, in this imperfect sketch, to enable the reader to form for himself a judgment concerning the scope and character of the work. A correct idea of its richness, fullness and depth, can only be gained when it is examined for itself. It is a large volume, containing, in a condensed form, a vast amount of valuable truth, and affording material for years of study. Of all the theological works prepared by American divines, this is undoubtedly the most learned and profound. Its discussions compare favorably with those of any work which the Lutheran Church has produced at any period of her history. To the student of the present day, it will prove in many respects of more value than even the masterpieces of the seventeenth century. On some subjects, the author has gone into details which at first may seem superfluous, and presents a mass of evidence much greater than may seem necessary; but this both proves the strength of his position, and affords the defenders of the Church's faith an armory in which they may find at all times weapons effectual against opponents of every class. We predict for the work an influence second to no other that has appeared in this country, in conveying correct views of God's truth, removing misunderstandings, and hastening in Christianity the true union, in the interests of which it is written. It is a book which will be studied, and referred to, and admired and loved, for generations to come.

This masterly treatise creates a desire for more. The Church would hail with joy the appearance of a work from the same author, treating of those doctrines, in which Protestant denominations agree, as this treats

"of those in which they differ..."

-from Mercersburg Review for Jan., 1872  
pp. 61-96.

This review was destined to involve Dr. Jacobs and Dr. Krauth in a painful controversy with Dr. Brown.

### Chapter Twenty Two

1 Prof. Samuel P. Sadtler (1847-Dec. 20, 1923) was the son of Dr. Benjamin Sadtler. He was graduated from Pennsylvania College in 1867, and studied at the Lawrence scientific school at Harvard, and at the University of Göttingen, where he received his Ph.D. Till 1874, he was Professor of Natural Sciences. In that year he became a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, and the rest of his life was spent in Philadelphia as a chemical expert.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; the Lutheran for Dec. 27, 1923, and Jan. 3, 1924; P.C. p. 284.)

2 "...Rev. H.E. Jacobs, having asked for an honorable dismissal to unite with the Pennsylvania Synod on the grounds of his election to the Franklin Professorship of that Synod at Gettysburg, the following action was taken:  
RESOLVED that while recognizing the principles of Church order that makes the request of Prof. Jacobs a proper one, yet we respectfully ask the Pennsylvania Synod that his relation to this Synod may remain unbroken for the present..." (Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1870, p. 13.)

3 W.F. Ulery and H. W. Roth.

4 This was the First English Evangelical Lutheran Church of Erie, Pa., whose name was changed in 1887, the 400th Anniversary of the birth of Luther, to Luther Memorial. J. Lawson Smith was the pastor when Dr. Jacobs had visited there for the Synod meeting. The pastor elected was the Rev. J.R. Groff.

Mr. Henry J. Jarecki (1826-Mar. 11, 1896) was an Erie merchant, and an influential layman and member of the congregation. (See Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record for July, 1896, pp. 100-102.)

5 In 1869, the General Council resolved to set aside a portion of each meeting for doctrinal discussion. Dr. Krauth was asked to prepare a set of theses for publication in the Church papers ahead of the meeting of the General Council in 1870. This discussion on Justification by Faith was started at Lancaster, Ohio in 1870, but the discussion consumed so much time, that it was carried over to the next meeting at Rochester. It continued to be the subject of discussion till 1874. (See O.G.C., p. 380 ff.)

6 The Luther Chapel had grown out of First church, Baltimore, in 1843. It had been known thus until a new building was erected, and thereafter it went by the name of the Third Lutheran church of Baltimore. Drs. Passavant and Brown had served there. Dr. Morris was pastor between 1867-73, when I.C.Burke became pastor.

7 The Lombard Street church was born in a revival in 1840. It was Dr. Krauth's first pastorate. Dr. Seiss followed soon afterward. At the time of which Dr. Jacobs speaks, his friend Dr. E.J.Wolf was the pastor.  
The Rev. D. Steck D.D. (1819-June 10,1881)  
(See W.p.394.)

8 St. Mark's church was a new congregation (1860). Dr. C.A.Stork was the pastor.

149 9 Morris Walter Downing (1844-1908)  
Augustus Seiss Downing (1856-1936)  
Ann Elizabeth Downing ( 1842-1915)  
Margaret Walter Downing ( 1848-1923) married John H. Brunner  
Laura Hewes Downing ( 1852-1936) married Henry E. Jacobs  
Georgianna Downing ( 1859-1915) married Theodore Peinbrecht

10 E.J.Wolf was the best man.

150 11 Never was truer word spoken! Without Mrs. Jacobs at his side, Dr. Jacobs' life might have been far different. In her he had one to whom he could turn over the whole management of the household - and himself - with perfect confidence. Never did he have to worry about these matters. Indeed, the household centered around him, and was run so that he could constantly work on whatever he set himself to. Dr. Jacobs was not unconcerned over the burden he threw on his wife's shoulders, and occasionally protested that he would help. But these protestations were short-lived, as the disasters which would follow his housekeeping attempts would send him to his study convinced that he had better stick to theology.

Mrs. Jacobs' devotion to her husband was without parallel. His forgetfulness required her constant attention. His humility required much encouragement in the performance of tasks that seemed to him impossible. She was constantly on hand to urge him on in the work in which she took a keen interest. At the same time, she realized that good humored darts were necessary to keep her husband from becoming too wrapt up in theological discussion.

After Dr. Jacobs' death in 1932, Mrs. Jacobs was never herself. It seemed as though half of her life was gone with him. She survived but four years.

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- 12 Dr. A. Seiss Downing ( 1856-1936) was for years Deputy Commissioner of Education of the State of New York. He was a ring leader in the performance of college pranks. His specialty was rolling the cannon-balls from the battlefield down the long wooden halls of the dormitory after curfew. It was the duty of the tutors to nab the culprits in the act, and the overzealous proctors would often try and catch the ball before it could be taken in by the boy at the other end of the hall. Dr. Downing and others found that if the balls were placed on small shovels, and gracefully heated over the egg stoves in the rooms, they would raise painful but harmless blisters on the hands of the snoops.
- 13 Edgar Fahs Smith (1856-1928), Dimmer Bicher (1854-1930), Henry W. Harter (1853 - ).

### Chapter Twenty Three

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- 1 See the history of this seminary by H.W.Roth in the Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record for Jan., 1917; by Dr. Jacobs in the same issue, Oct., 1916, with another description of Dr. Wagenhals. The story may also be followed in the Minutes of the General Council.
- The Chicago meeting passed the following resolutions:
- "RESOLVED I. The time has come when the wants of the Lutheran population in the West requires a central Theological Seminary for English, German, Scandinavian....
- II. That the General Council resolves to undertake this.
- III. A Committee of twelve be appointed to prepare a Constitution, Charter, and By-Laws.
- IV. The Committee receive proposals for a site..."
- (Min. of G.C. for 1869;p.16.)
- The year 1870 saw this committee in the same position. Difficulties were met in framing a constitution, and the Charter could not be cleared up until the General Council's relations to the "border synods" were settled. In 1871, because of the confusion after the Great Fire, no report was made. The portions which Dr. Jacobs quotes are from the Akron Minutes pp. 27 and 29. The proposed Constitution is appended to these Minutes.
- 2 See Minutes of the G.C. at Akron, p. 29.
- 153 3 See Minutes of the G.C. at Jamestown, p. 54.
- 154 4 See Minutes of the G.C. at Galesburg, p.47,48.
- 5 Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, prepared by Rev. Jno. McClintock and James Strong (Harpers, New York; 1894; Vol. VI p.53-56 ).

- Page 154 6 See The Lutheran and Missionary, Feb. 5, 12, 19, 26, 1874.
- 155 7 See S.G.H., p.245.
- 159 8 Dr. Schmucker's first wife was Eleanor Geiger of Hagerstown. She died in 1823, and he married Mary Catherine Steenberg two years later. After her death in 1848, he married his third wife, Esther M. Wagner, of Germantown. They had no children.

### Chapter Twenty Four

- Page 160 1 The Rev. Edmund Belfour (1833-1923) was pastor of St. John's from 1868-1874, when he was sent to organize what became the English Lutheran Church of Chicago (1874-1880) Trinity and Wicker Park. (See later.)
- 2 The Rev. Johnston R. Groff (1832-Dec. 30, 1904) was a graduate of the Gettysburg institutions a few years before Dr. Jacobs. He was called to Erie after Dr. Jacobs refused the call in 1872; here he was able to reverse the process.  
(See W. p. 424; Biographical material in Krauth Memorial Library.)
- 3 The Rev. J.C. Baker D.D. (1792-May 1859) studied under Dr. George Lochman, and became assistant of the German congregation in Philadelphia, serving St. Michael's Church, Germantown. For some years he was pastor at Lancaster (1828-1853) and finally at St. Luke's, Philadelphia.  
(See J.G.M. pp. 145-155.)
- 4 The Rev. G. A. Reichert (1795-1877) had been a pupil of Christian Endress. His first work was as a missionary of the Ministerium in West Pennsylvania. He organized many congregations and helped to form the Pittsburgh Synod. A record of his travels is in the Library of the Lutheran Historical Society at Gettysburg Seminary. From 1837 to 1855, he was a pastor at Zion's Church, Philadelphia, and though he returned to Kittanning, he kept his membership in the Mother Synod, despite his congregation's membership in the Pittsburgh Synod.  
(See B.Pb. p. 59; Diaries...)  
The Rev. Reuben Hill was pastor of St. John's Church, Allentown. (See later.)
- 5 1818.
- 6 Dr. Helmuth was 73 years old then, and Mrs. Jacobs was 7.

- 7 The Rev. Jacob Miller (1788-1850) studied under and married the daughter of Dr. F.W. Geissenhainer, Sr. of Goshenhoppen Church, Pa. He was pastor of Trinity Church, Reading from 1829-1850, and as a preacher influential in the Ministerium. His daughter was Mrs. John Endlich, Esq., the mother of Hon. G.A. Endlich.  
(See J.G.M. pp. 92-95; Schierenbeck; M.L.S. in E.R. for ; J.W.E. p. 56...)
- The Rev. Conrad Miller (1798-1852) studied under his brother. His entire pastorate was spent in the neighborhood of the Swamp churches, Pa.  
(See J.W.E. p. 54; Schierenbeck.)
- The Rev. J.P. Hecht (1790- Jan. 1849) was pastor at St. John's Church, Easton for over thirty years.  
(See J.W.E. p. 45; Memoirs in Krauth Memorial Library.)
- The Rev. John G. Schmucker ( see above) was a member of the Ministerium until 1825 when he helped to form the West Pennsylvania Synod.
- 8 The Rev. Adam J. Weddell (1821-1896) was well-known as a preacher of Norristown, Pa. (1867-1887).  
(See J. p. 843; P.C. p. 215; Material in Krauth Memorial Library.)
- 161 9 The Rev. Emanuel Greenwald D.D. (1811- Dec. 21, 1885) was pastor of Trinity Church, Lancaster from 1867-1885. His life has been recorded by one of the young men he trained, Dr. E. Elvin Haupt, pastor of Grace Church, Lancaster, a mission of the mother church.  
(See Emanuel Greenwald, Pastor and Doctor of Divinity, Lancaster, 1889; G.W. Sandt in L.C.R. for Oct., 1918, pp. 445-449; W.K. Frick in J. p. 273; L.A. for 1931-3.)
- 162 10 The Rev. Frederick W. Geissenhainer Jr. D.D. (1797- June 2, 1879) had studied under his father at New Hanover, Pa., and was for years pastor of St. Matthew's Church, New York City.  
(See Nicum, pp. 374-5.)
- 11 The Rev. John Albert (1798-Jan. 3, 1875), a pupil of Christian Endress.  
(See C.S. Albert in Jubilee Volume of the Dansville Conference of the Min. of Pa. , pp. 203-205.)
- 12 The Rev. Henry S. Miller (1801-Aug. 27, 1887) entered the Synod in 1823.
- 13 The Rev. Joshua Jaeger (1802-Aug. 1, 1888) was the son of John Conrad Jaeger. He entered the ministry in 1827.  
(See J.W.E., p. ; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1889.)
- 164 14 See The Lutheran for Nov. 15, 1888 - Memorial Discourse.

15 The Rev. Beale Melancthon Schmucker D.D. (1827-Oct. 15, 1888) succeeded Dr. Krauth at Martinsburg, W.Va. In 1852, he followed J.J. Jaeger at St. John's Church, Allentown, and ten years later moved to St. John's Church, Easton. From 1867-1881, he served St. James Church, Reading, and for his remaining years he was pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration, Pottstown, Pa.

Dr. Schmucker's permanent work for the church consisted of his contributions to the scholarly study of liturgy. He was a principal member of the Church Book Commission of the General Council, and also the Committee on the Common Service.

(See A. Spaeth's Memorial of B.M.S. in the L.C.R. for April, 1889 for a bibliography of his writings; C.P.K.; Dict. of Am. Bio.; H.E.J. -On the Making of the Church Book in L.C.R. for Oct., 1912; G.W. Sandt in L.C.R. for Jan., 1918; J.W.E. p. 61...)

165 16 The Rev. William Julius Mann D.D. (1819-1892) was born in Stuttgart, and attended the University of Tübingen. At the urgent request of his dear friend, Dr. Philip Schaff, he came over to this country as a missionary. For four years he was an assistant in Salem Reformed Church, Philadelphia. In 1850, he became a Lutheran, and assisted Drs. Demme and Reichert at Zion's Church. During this time he wrote regularly for Dr. Schaff's Kirchenfreund. The excesses in the Lutheran Church which resulted in the Definite Synodical Platform, drove Dr. Mann to speak strongly and earnestly on the other side in the Plea for the Augsburg Confession. From this first effort, he was constantly the uncompromising foe of American Lutheranism, and a leader of the Confessional movement.

But throughout his life, Dr. Mann was an individualist. His theology could be poured into no common mould. As pastor of Zion's Church, he was universally loved and respected. His energy in collecting and preparing the records of the Lutheran Church in Colonial times has made this generation most thankful. The Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (Phila.; 1887), and the Hallische Nachrichten show the results of these labors.

(See Dr. Spaeth in L.C.R. for Jan., 1893; G.W. Sandt in L.C.R. for Oct., 1917; T.W. Kretschmann in L.C.R. for July, 1917. Memoir by his daughter, Emma T. Mann printed privately in 1893; Dict. of Am. Bio...)

166 17 The Rev. Hans Heinrich Justus Ruperti D.D. (1833-1899) was the pastor of St. Matthew's Church, New York, from 1873-1876. He had just arrived in this country, and didn't stay long enough to assimilate American Church ways. Dr. Ruperti was closely tied with the German thinking and speaking immigrants who had recently arrived in the Mid-West. His own congregation was also drawn closer to them, so that when he left, a successor was chosen in the person of Dr. Sieker. He took St. Matthew's over into the Missouri Synod.

Upon his return to Germany, Dr. Ruperti became the Superintendent of the Church of Holstein. He wrote his impressions of the Lutheran Church in America, and they were widely circulated in Germany, and colored the minds of many who were about to come to this country.

(See Nicum, pp. 307-310.)

### Chapter Twenty Five

- Page 167 1 This address, entitled The Day of Augsburg may be found in the Thiel College Journal Vol. I, No.1, June, 1875 (Gettysburg). Starting with a description of that first day at Augsburg, Dr. Jacobs applied the principles which the institution was to maintain:
1. It "must be dedicated to the holy work of Christian culture."
  2. It "must assert a positive and decided Christian faith."
  3. It "is dedicated to the assertion of a Scriptural catholicity."
  4. "The great work before this institution is to develop the Christian life of the rapidly increasing Lutheran population of Western Pennsylvania and its adjacent territory."
- 2 The Lutheran Doctrine of the Ministry in the Lutheran Quarterly for October, 1874, pp. 557-596 (as taught by the dogmatists of the Lutheran Church.
- 168 3 Judge William H. Staake (1846-July 30, 1924) was for many years a leading layman in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. He acted as Secretary of the Missionary and Church Extension Society, Treasurer of the General Council, and President of the Board of the Mary J. Drexel Home.  
(See Min. of the Min. of Pa. for 1925, p. 46.)
- 169 4 The Rev. Abel J. Brown D.D. (1817-1894) was often called the Bishop of the Holston Synod.  
(See Min. of the Holston Synod for 1895.)
- 171 5 See account in J.G.M., p. 40 ff.
- 6 The Rev. Charles A. Hay D.D. (1821-June 30, 1893).  
(See W. p. 305; Min. of the E. Pa. Synod for 1893, p. 34; Dict. of Am. Bio.; J.G.M. p. 401 ff. describes his arrest...)
- 172 7 See The Evangelical Review for:  
July, 1849, p. 119 ff. (C.P.K.)  
April, 1858, p. 496 ff.  
October, 1858, p. 214 ff.  
October, 1859, p. 194 ff.

October, 1864, p. 564 ff. (C.P.K.)

April, 1870, p. 299 ff.

July, 1870, p. 321 ff.

Jan. 1868, p. 16 ff. (C.P.K.)

April, 1868, p. 259 ff.

8 The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Exhibited and Verified from the Original Sources by Heinrich Schmid (Erlangen), translated from the 5th. Edition by Charles A. Hay D.D. and Rev. Henry E. Jacobs A.M. (Philadelphia, 1876).

Dr. Morris in the Lutheran for Oct. 29, 1875, had an interesting editorial on the appearance of this work. Schmid's Dogmatik is well known among the students of Dr. Jacobs, for this formidable collection of teachings of the dogmaticians was used until recently as a text in the Philadelphia Seminary (written in 1939). It is not altogether forgotten by those who memorized its contents.

9 "It is designed to present the doctrines of the Lutheran Church as they were held when the faith was purest. Under each head, there is a summary statement of the doctrines of the Church by the author, and in the notes, ample citations are made from the standards and standard authors of the Church, to confirm and illustrate his general view. The arguments for the various doctrines can, therefore, only come in incidentally - the grand object being a display of the doctrines themselves. To those who have no access to the great sources from which these rich treasures are drawn, a work like this will be of very great value...", C.P.K.

### Chapter Twenty Six

1 Johann Friedrich Ahefeldt (1810-1884) was one of the most popular and influential preachers of Germany. For a short time he was a contemporary of Tholuck in the changing University of Halle. The rest of his years were spent at Leipzig. He published sermons on the Gospels of the Church Year, and on Luther's Catechism.

Karl Gerock (1815-1890) was well-known for his fine pulpit oratory and Christian poems.

William Zielthe (1824-1901), as pastor in Berlin, gained fame as a preacher of the Prussian Union.

Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck (1799-1877) was the beloved 'student's father' at the University of Halle. There he bitterly opposed the Rationalism into which he found himself thrust, and he contributed liberally to Hengstenberg's Kirchenzeitung, the foe of Rationalism. Yet Tholuck was no less an enemy of the new orthodoxy. He insisted upon the warmth of personal faith. This influence was very noticeable upon new German pastors who came to America.

Heinrich Müller (1631-1675) came from an earlier period. He was a great preacher of the cold days of orthodoxy. Yet his gifts lifted him far above the scholasticism of his day, and made him one of the greatest of all Lutheran devotional writers. His Geistliche Erquickstunden is a collection of three hundred brief meditations which evidence a warm personal piety.

Karl Ferd. William Walther (1811-1887) was the great founder of the Missouri Synod.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; C.C.)

2 St. Louis, Mo., 1872, 441 pp.

3 Friedrich Adolph Phillipi (1809-1882) was a converted Jew who had been influenced by Hengstenberg to a study of the Lutheran Confessions. Phillipi's theological position might be called a theology of Repristination, or a literal revival of the Seventeenth Century scholastic theologians. It was this conservative swing to the authority of the past that influenced the Lutheran Church in this country through men like Dr. Jacobs. Indeed, some believe that this view should be the last word by which all Lutheran thought, present and future, should be judged today. Scholars today are just beginning to discover how vigorously these German orthodox theologians seized control of the University of Halle, and influenced appointments in those days.

Gottfried Thomasius was Professor of Dogmatics at Erlangen (1802-1875).

Luthardt (1823-1902) was also a professor at Erlangen. Both of these men were influenced somewhat by the experiential Christianity which was represented by Schleiermacher. Their approach to the Confessions of the Church was through the experience of the individual and of the Church, and the authority of these Confessions for them rested ultimately upon this experience. The influence of these Erlangen teachers is evident in the later teaching of Dr. Jacobs, and Dr. Charles Jacobs carried it farther to its logical application in the study of the Confessions.

4 Pastor Brobst started his Church Almanac at the request of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1870. He edited it as the Lutheran Almanac and Year Book for a few years. In 1873, Dr. Seiss relieved him. Dr. Jacobs served from 1874-1877.

5 A list of the Church papers of this year may be found in the Almanac.

176 6 Col. Frederick served with Governor Hartranft at the execution of Lincoln's assassins.

- Page 179 7 There is a little booklet, prepared by the Faculty of Luther College, Luther College Through Sixty Years, 1861-1921 (Minneapolis, 1922). It was in 1876 that Prof. Schmidt moved to the new Norwegian Seminary at Madison, Wis., where he stayed until 1886 when he became involved in the Predestination Controversy. (See later.)
- 180 8 Textbook of the History of Doctrines, translated by C.E. Buch, revised with additions from the 4th. German edition... ed. by H.B. Smith ( New York, 1861-2, 2 vols.). Karl Rudolph Hagenbach was interested in reconciling a humanistic culture with Christianity.

### Chapter Twenty Seven

- Page 181 1 Baltimore, Md., 1870.
- 183 2 In the denominational church college, the Day of Prayer was a normal part of the year's curriculum.

### Chapter Twenty Eight

- Page 186 1 The Rev. Philip Krug (c.1825-May 15,1899) was a native born German. He had been ordained in 1853 by the New York Ministerium, and was serving St. Johannes Church, Newark, N.J. This was the first of his three years as president.
- 2 Pastor Sieker was then pastor of St. Matthew's Church, New York. (1876-1904)
- 3 The Rev. William Busse (c.1841-Nov.12,1899) was then 37 years old. He had been ordained by the Ministerium in 1870, and was pastor at Poughkeepsie, N.Y. till 1874 when he accepted a call to St. Luke's Church, New York City. In 1881 he entered the Missouri Synod.
- 4 The Rev. August Emil Frey (1844-Nov.23,1905) was also German born and was sent over in 1868 to be a missionary to the new immigrants. He was placed in churches along the Hudson at first, but in 1871 he became pastor of St. Mark's Church, Brooklyn. Pastor Frey was one of the leaders in the Ministerium of the group which insisted upon congregational rights against the Ministerium ( Gemeinde Prinzip). He soon found the Missouri Synod more to his liking.
- 5 The Rev. Leo Leonig ( c. - Oct. 13,1919) entered the Ministerium in 1872. After work at Yonkers and Syracuse, he started in at St. Paul's, New York.
- 6 The Rev. Edward Frederick Moldehnke D.D. (1836-June 25, 1904) was one of the brightest men to lead the German portion of the Lutheran Church. He had attended the University of Königsberg, and Halle, and had taught for a time

before he emigrated to Wisconsin. There he became the first Professor of the Wisconsin Synod at Watertown, Wis., and editor of the Gemeindeblatt. In 1871, he was in New York City where he soon became pastor of St. Peter's Church. Dr. Moldehnke was a leader in the General Council, serving as its President from 1895-1898, and was also a leader of General Council committees.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; J.p.525; Neve p. 235.)

187 7 The "Gemeinde Prinzip" was the principle that the congregation is the unit in the organization of the Church. Dr. Walther of the Missouri Synod was suddenly called upon to lead the group of Saxon immigrants to this country. Faced with the problem of providing ministers for these many immigrants and some church order for the establishment of a church, Walther had to re-study the doctrine of the Church. He came to believe that it is the congregation - the group of Christians who band together for their common religious faith - that is the basis of all organization. Through the congregation men are called to the ministry and ordained. In several debates with other Lutheran leaders - notably those of the Iowa Synod who followed Loehe's broader view of the church - Walther clearly defined the position of his body, and estranged many who felt themselves otherwise drawn toward their fellow countrymen in a strange country.

8 The Rev. G.H.Gomph (1843-March 6,1918) spent his whole ministry at Pittsford near Rochester where he became one of the founders and first teachers of what was to become Wagner College.

188 9 The Rev. Theophilus Bassler Roth (1853-Nov.15,1937).  
(See R. p. 95; Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1938.)

10 1894-1907.

### Chapter Twenty Nine

1 A complete description of Dr. Krauth's part in this controversy may be found in C.P.K., Vol. II, pp. 195-249. Dr. Seiss has stated his own case in his unpublished Autobiographical Notes which are in the Krauth Memorial Library ( pp. 593-716).

(See also Minutes of the General Council, p. 22-25; Ochsensford, Doctrinal History of the General Council, p. 207.)

191 2 This was the constant demand of the new conservatives in the Lutheran Church. How much the new conservatives followed the principles of Henry Melchior Munlenberg is open to question. As we look at this period, the influence seems to be coming from Europe, and the conflicts of the hour were merely rough points in a gradual change toward

Confessionalism in which the American Church lagged behind European leadership. So many German pastors realized this and were impatient to hasten the changes already slowly taking place.

3 For a description of this controversy, see the general histories of Dr. Jacobs, and Dr. Wentz; also O.G.C. pp. 328 ff.

4 The Rev. John Henry Sieker D.D. (1838-Dec. 30, 1904) emigrated from Bavaria in 1851. He was ordained by the conservative German Wisconsin Synod, and served in Granville, Wis., until 1867 when he went to St. Paul, Minn. In 1876 he was elected to the pastorate of St. Matthew's Church, New York, which Dr. Rupertus had prepared for his coming. He was directly responsible for taking this oldest Lutheran Church in New York City over to the Missouri Synod. (See C.C.; W. p. 423; Oldest Lutheran Church in America, 1664-1914, New York, 1914, pp. 40-43.)

Dr. Sieker was then President of the Minnesota Synod, and had been appointed to present the "Memorial" which follows: "Whereas, the testimony of the General Council concerning the Four Points has been differently interpreted in different quarters of the General Council; unity in such important questions, however, must be regarded as necessary for mutual cooperation; the Evangelical Lutheran Minnesota Synod begs leave to ask whether the right interpretation of the testimony in question is this, to wit:-

1. Whether heretics and fundamental errorists cannot be admitted to our altars as communicants, nor into our pulpits as teachers of our congregations?
2. Since the so-called distinctive doctrines by which doctrinal opposition between the Lutheran Church and other denominations is expressed, are fundamental, whether the General Council (in No. III, 1., and No. IV, 1, 2, of the declarations made at Pittsburgh) understood by 'fundamental errorists' those who, with regard to these distinctive doctrines, are not in harmony with the pure doctrine of the Word of God, as it is confessed and taught in our Church?"

(See Minutes of the G.C. for 1870, pp. 34, 35.)

192 5 See Minutes of the Akron Convention, 1872, p. 47.

6 Dr. Seiss, in practice, would not have invited anyone of another denomination to his pulpit. Yet he objected strongly to a rule. There always had been room for exceptions in the past, and he could see no reason for any sudden change. He felt that he represented the feeling of the General Council when he spread these views through the pages of the Lutheran.

7 Dr. Kunkleman joined in the fray by asking in the Lutheran exactly what the rule was, and just how it was based on the Scriptures and the Confessions. He was strongly opposed to the rule, or any other such rule.

8 Dr. Passavant, as a leader among the "border synods", was eager for a settlement, but wanted an insertion of exceptions in the rule.

193 9 See the Minutes of the Galesburg Convention, 1875, p. 6.

10 The Rev. Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wynecken (1810-May 4, 1876) was educated at Göttingen, and Halle. It was Tholuck's influence that sent him to America in 1838, when he arrived in Baltimore. For several years he worked here, welcoming immigrants to his more conservative faith. In 1850 he threw his influence with the Missouri group, and soon moved to the Mid-West, where he was President of the new Synod until 1864.

(See C.C.)

The Rev. Wilhelm Sihler (1801-Oct. 27, 1885) was from the University of Berlin. It was Wynecken's appeal to Germany for German pastors to care for the German immigrants that brought Sihler to this country. He quickly joined the Missouri Synod, and started to write for the Lutheraner. For many years he was closely associated with the institutions of the Synod, as professor, and President.

(See C.C.)

11 See the Minutes of the Galesburg Convention, 1875, pp 17 ff.

194 12 See C.P.K., Vol. II, pp. 195-249.

13 See Minutes of the Reading Convention for 1875, pp. 32, 33.

197 14 Dr. Kunkleman in the Lutheran for Oct. 25, 1875 asked just what had been done at Galesburg, and what the Scriptural and Confessional references were upon which the action was based. He wanted actual proof-texts to support the action of the General Council, as he stated in a letter in the issue, December 23. Dr. Krauth answered twice in the Lutheran - Dec. 16th, and Jan. 20th.

(See also C.P.K., Vol. II, pp. 195-249.)

### Chapter Thirty

1 The Rev. John Gottlieb Morris D.D. (1803-Oct. 10, 1895) spent his entire ministry in Baltimore where he served the First English Church (Trinity - 1827-1870), and also, for a short time, the Third Church. His interests lay in many fields. He was librarian of the Peabody Institute for many years, and lectured on all subjects, particularly those of a scientific nature.

1 (con't)

Dr. Seiss in his Autobiography describes him as a scholar, yet too hasty to be careful in his studies. His interests were too wide to provide depth. His real sympathies lay with the General Council, yet because of his Baltimore environment, he suppressed them. He once claimed that his "Lutheranism was a little more demonstrative than theirs." Yet he would not allow Dr. Seiss to violate this confidence, for he said, "It is social death for anyone to be praised by you.:"

(See Dr. Seiss' Autobiography, Chapter on Dr. Morris and the Diets, pp. 826-848.)

Dr. Morris' autobiographical notes are interestingly told in his Reminiscences of an Old Lutheran Minister, Philadelphia, 1896, and his observations on the Lutheran Church of his time stand out charmingly in Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry, Baltimore, 1878.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio. for further bibliography.)

2 The Rev. William M. Baum D.D. was pastor of St. Matthew' Church from 1874-1902.

3 See The First Free Lutheran Diet in America of 1877 - The Essays, Debates, and Proceedings (J.W. Smith, Philadelphia, 1878) pp. 73, 75, 78.

199 4 The Rev. David P. Rosenmiller (1809-Sept. 26, 1880) was a pastor in Central Pennsylvania.

(See W. p. 365; Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1881, p. 44)

Pastor Rosenmiller proposed that all four might unite on the basis of the Augsburg Confession alone without any other standard. Dr. Mann replied that the Small Catechism was also necessary. The Augsburg Confession is only a cloak for unionism. There is much else needed, for example, a doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Pastor Conrad objected to this example of the Lord's Supper, and his brother supported him.

5 The Rev. W.S. Emery (1818-May 1, 1890). See W. p. 390.

6 The History of the Lutheran Church in the United States (New York, 1893).

7 The exact words of the Report are: "There will be one opinion, I suppose, in regard to the value of the paper which has been read. It presents a very clear narrative of some of the most important events in our history, and is just what many will desire to possess." (p. 139.)

8 The Rev. T.W. Dosh D.D. (1830-Dec. 24, 1889) was then the President of Roanoke College (1877-78). From there he went as Professor to the Salem, Va. Seminary (1878-84). He was a leader in the Southern Church, and served as an editor of the Lutheran Visitor, and the Lutheran Home.

(See W. p. 413.)

9 Dr. Diller Luther's paper was on The Interests of the Lutheran Church in America as Affected by Diversities of Language.

Other papers presented were:

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Dr. Seiss      | <u>Misunderstandings and Misrepresentations in the Lutheran Church</u>                             |
| Dr. Mann       | <u>Theses on the Lutheranism of the Fathers of the Church in this Country</u>                      |
| Dr. Conrad     | <u>Characteristics of the Augsburg Confession</u>  |
| Dr. Greenwald  | <u>True and False Spirituality in the Lutheran Church</u>  |
| Dr. C.A. Stork | <u>Liturgical Forms of Worship</u>   |
| Dr. Diehl      | <u>The Divine and Human Factors in the Call, According to the Older Lutheran Writers</u>           |
| Dr. Wedekind   | <u>The Educational and Sacramental Ideas of the Lutheran Church in Relation to Practical Piety</u> |

202 10 E.S. Breidenbaugh was Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1874-1924.  
G.S. Eyster was Assistant in Chemistry (1874-1877).

11 Huber Buehler (1864-June 20, 1924). See G. p. 117.  
William L. McPherson (1865-Nov. 8, 1930). See G. p. 119.

204 12 See Dr. Brown's article in the Quarterly Review for April, 1878 - A Question Touching the Augsburg Confession, pp. 227-233.

13 See Lutheran Monograph No. 1 - A Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession by Charles Porterfield Krauth; A Question of Latinity by Henry E. Jacobs (J.F. Smith, Phila. 1878, 126 pp.). There is a review of this pamphlet in the Quarterly Review for Oct. , 1878, pp. 621-636.

### Chapter Thirty One

1 The boys were Alter Young Schindel (1858-May 8, 1878), and William C. Koller (1852-May 8, 1878). Dr. Koller was then pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Hanover, Pa.

2 The Rev. Charles S. Kohler was at the Church of the Reformation, Rochester (1874-1884), the first English Lutheran church in Western New York State.

3 The Rev. John Muehlhaeuser (1844-May 7, 1922) was the son of the founder of the Wisconsin Synod. He was pastor at St. Johannis' Church, Rochester, until 1884 when he resigned in protest against what he considered unLutheran practices.

- 4 The Rev. Henry Christian Kaehler (1813-Sept.28,1895) was the father of Dr. Frederick A. Kaehler, the late beloved pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Buffalo, N.Y. He was German-born and started his work in the Pittsburgh Synod under which he was sent to Canada as a missionary. For ten years (1874-84) he travelled through Central and Western New York as a pioneer Lutheran missionary.
- (See Schierenbeck, p. 16.)
- 209 5 The Rev. Moses Andrew Hoge D.D. (1818-1892) was then retired from his pastorate at Zanesville, O.
- 6 The Rev. G.F.Moore (1851-1931) left Zanesville in 1883 to teach Old Testament in Andover Seminary. He became a Professor at Harvard in 1902, and for over twenty five years was known as an outstanding theologian, Orientalist, and historian.
- 210 7 See the Minutes of the G.C. for 1879, p. 60 App. B.; O.G.C. p. 190, pp. 192 ff.; C.P.K., Vol. II, p.192 ff.
- 211 8 Groundwork of Lutheran Theology (Phila., 1879, 502 pp.) A review appears in the Quarterly Review for Oct.1879, pp. 669-672.
- 212 9 Book of Concord of the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church with Historical Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Indices ( 2 vols., G.W.Frederick, Phila., 1882).
- 213 10 See Quarterly Review for Jan. 1881, pp. 14-42 - The Confessional Principle and the Confessions.
- 214 11 The Rev. J.K.Hancher (1819-Aug.28,1897) was with his father one of the founders of the Holston Synod. He and A.J.Brown were leading members of this small orthodox group for years.
- (See Min. of Holston Synod for 1898.)
- The Rev. John N. Hoffman ( 1804- July 26,1857) was one of the staunch defenders of Confessional Lutheranism in the early days of the General Synod. He had studied under David Schaeffer of Frederick, and had served as pastor throughout Central Pennsylvania. He was responsible for the attack upon Dr. Schmucker, known as the Broken Platform.
- (See Schierenbeck; J.W.E. p. 49.)
- 12 "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified."

- Page 214 13 See the Lutheran for Nov. 4, 1880 - The Administration of God's Government for the Final Triumph of His Saints.
- 216 14 John B. Gough (1817-1886) was noted for his lectures on temperance at a time when temperance still meant moderation.
- 217 15 It was William Alfred Passavant Jr. who visited Dr. Jacobs. The Workman was edited by the Passavants throughout its life (1881-1897). Dr. Passavant gave up his part in 1887 at the time of his last illness.
- 16 See the Lutheran for July 14, 1881.
- 218 17 The Rev. Edgar Grim Miller (1865-1927) is well remembered today as the late Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Pensions and Relief of the U.L.C.A. from 1921-27. He had previously served as pastor at Middleburgh, N.Y.; Easton, Ashland, and Columbia, Pa.; and for a time was on the staff of the Lutheran Observer. His father, William J. Miller, a Philadelphia druggist, was connected through the Grim family with Mrs. Jacobs. (See W. p. 483.)
- 18 Dr. Paxton was pastor here from 1866-1883, when he became a professor at Princeton Seminary. See below.
- 219 19 The Rev. Charles A. Stork D.D. (1838-Dec. 17, 1883). Dr. Jacobs expressed his appreciation of Dr. Stork in the Lutheran for Dec., 1883. (See The Stork Family in the Lutheran Church by Dr. J.G. Morris (Phila. 1886; J.G.M.; W.p. 322; Min. of E. Pa. Synd. for 1875.)

### Chapter Thirty Two

- Page 222 1 The Rev. George Henry Schodde D.D. (1854-Sept. 15, 1917) was a Professor of Greek at Capital University at this time. He later became Professor of New Testament Studies in the Theological Seminary, and was widely known as a Bible student. (See Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 2 Lists and descriptions of these translations may be found in B.M. Schmucker's article in the Lutheran Church Review for January, 1887, p. 16 ff.
- 223 3 See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1882, p. 49.
- 224 4 The Rev. Revere Franklin Weidner D.D. (1851-Jan. 6, 1915) was pastor of St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia, from 1878-1882. The rest of his life he spent in the Professor's chair, first at the Augustana Synod Seminary, then at the Chicago Seminary. His literary efforts were widely

circulated though they were little more than borrowed ideas from his theological teachers.

(See below; Dict. of Am. Bio. for bibliography of his works; T.E.Schmauk in the Lutheran Church Review for April, 1915; also the Weidner Memorial issue of the Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record, pp. 59-112.)

225 5 The Pennsylvania College Book, 1832-1882, E.S.Breidenbaugh, editor (Phila.;1882).

6 The Rev. John H. Harpster D.D. (1844- Feb.1,1911) studied medicine at the University of Maryland, but changed to the ministry, and after graduating from the Gettysburg institutions, was ordained by the Maryland Synod. Previous to this time he had been a missionary to India, and a pastor in Kansas. The wedding took place August 1, 1882, and after a short stay in Trenton, the couple settled in Canton, O., where Dr. Harpster served Trinity Church.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; L.B.Wolf, Missionary Heroes of the Lutheran Church, Phila.,1911; I.O.Nothstein, Adventuring for Christ, Phila., 1932, p. 235 ff.)

226 7 Dr. Martin Luther's Catechism with Explanations, translated from the German, J.E.Stohlmann (New York,1883).

8 Dr. Jacobs was editor of the Lutheran Church Review from 1883-1896 - from 1886 as Secretary of the Faculty. This was not an official Seminary paper, but a journal sponsored by the Seminary and the Alumni. This was the beginning of the period of Dr. Jacobs' greatest literary activity.

### Chapter Thirty Three

Page 228 1 See the Lutheran Observer for Jan. 19,1883.

2 Dr. Seiss in his unpublished Autobiography explains his reasons for disappointment under the heading, Twin Biographies. The two mens' lives were so much alike. One was born within twenty four hours of the other; both received Litt.D.s from the same college; they served the same four congregations in three different states; and both were editors of the same paper through which their greatest influence was made on their day. The memoir of which Dr. Seiss spoke later turned out into the two volume work by Dr. Spaeth, C.P.K.

229 3 See the Lutheran for March, April, May, 1883.

4 See Min. of Min. of Pa., 1883, p. 48.

- Page 229 5 The Rev. Henri Baptiste Strohdach (1847- Jan. 27, 1900) was the father of Dr. Paul Zeller Strohdach, and was a pastor in the Norristown Conference.  
(See Min. of the Min. of Pa. for 1900; O.M., p.384; R., p.83.)
- 6 The Rev. William Elias Stahler ( 1858 - ).
- 231 7 See the Lutheran Observer for July 6, 1883.
- 232 8 Miss Laura Winifred Jacobs, since June 17, 1907 Mrs. Luther R. Shearer, late of Gwynedd Valley, Pa. ( d. 1966).
- 9 June 19, 1882.

#### Chapter Thirty Four :

- Page 234 1 This revision brought about the Kirchenbuch of 1877. Dr. Spaeth breathed some of the spirit of this reform into an article on Hymnody in the Lutheran Cyclopedia.  
(See also O.G.C., p. 426 ff.; A.S., p.168 ff.)
- 235 2 The so-called Wollenweber Hymn-Book was chiefly the work of Dr. Demme. It was published by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania with the cooperation of the Synods of New York and West Pennsylvania. "Almost one-half of its hymns belong to the period of hymnological decay, and are modern productions of bombastic, unchurchly, and unscriptural phraseology," wrote Dr. Spaeth (L.C., p.238). He did not consider it one step ahead of the book of 1786.
- 3 St. Johannis Church was founded as a Sunday School for the North-West section of the city in 1867. The "filials" were presumably the other German congregations between North Broad Street and the Schuylkill River, now budding under the guardianship of St. Johannis Church - such as Christus Church and St. Markus.  
St. Jacobus Church was organized in 1855 by members of Zion's Church who were eager to follow their members in the rapidly expanding Kensington section of the city. Dr. F.W. Weiskotten was then pastor.
- 4 The Church of the Holy Communion moved to its present site on Chestnut Street between 21st and 22nd Streets when the City of Philadelphia purchased the former site for Rayburn Plaza.  
Originally the congregation was organized as "a mission to care for the West of the City". The first meeting of organization was in 1870 in the office of the Mayor. The new building was dedicated Feb. 17, 1875.
- 5 St. John's Church was located at Franklin Square near Zion's Church, and the Seminary. This was rapidly

becoming an undesirable neighborhood. Old St. John's was a well-known landmark until the Delaware Bridge was built. Then the property of the oldest English church in the city (Lutheran) was sold and a new church was built in Overbrook, a replica of the famous old church.

Dr. Seiss was pastor from 1858-1874, and of the Church of the Holy Communion from 1874 till his death in 1904.

- 237 6 The Rev. T. DeWitt Talmadge (1832-1902) gained tremendous popularity as a preacher, lecturer, and writer. His first charge was the Central Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn. It was not long before a special church, the Broadway Tabernacle, was built for him. His ministry here was carried on amidst many difficulties, among them three disastrous fires. In 1894 he gave up to become pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Washington, D.C.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

7 St. Mark's Church was founded by Dr. Theophilus Stork, and Drs. C. Ph. Krauth (59-61), Krotel (61-68), Kunkleman (68-79) had been its pastors. Dr. Laird came in 1879.

The quarrel is described, for you snoopers, in the History of the Church Troubles at St. Mark's, Phila., 1880-82, by L.L.Haupt, and An Appeal to the First District Conference of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Bridge-ton, Pa., Sept. 1883.

Lewis Leeds Haupt (1826-Sept.17,1898) was one of the founders of St. Mark's. He had taught at a seminary for girls in Gettysburg, and married Louisa C. Keller (see above). After his employment with the Pennsylvania Railroad, he became a coal merchant with C.F.Norton. For years he was the Superintendent of the Sunday School and was interested in the work of the young people. In 1885 he founded a Boys House of Refuge.

(See The New Era - Lancaster for Sept.19,1898.)

Prof. Lewis Muhlenberg Haupt was the son of General Haupt and was then a professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Pennsylvania. Prof. Haupt gained a wide reputation throughout the country as an engineer, and was influential in the planning of the Philadelphia park system.

(See The Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia, for Mar.11, 1937; The Philadelphia Inquirer for Mar.12,1937.)

- 239 8 Miss Kate Schaeffer edited this paper from 1867-1879. Evidently she carried the whole brunt of the work, and when she asked to have the Board of Publication transfer the paper to her - a mere formality - the Board refused. Mistaking her motives, and reading into her request her desire to be relieved of the burden, the Board graciously accepted her "resignation", and paid her,

thereby neatly adding the final touch.

(See Seiss' Autobiography, pp. 848-874; Facts and Documents on the Records of an Unpleasant Episode in the History of the Association for the Publication and Diffusion of Religious Periodicals in the Lutheran Church, printed but not published, Phila. 1879.)

9 The Church Book with Music (1872) was an attempt to provide musical settings for new liturgical literature, published as a private enterprise. It represented the musical settings which were used at St. Stephen's Church.

Dr. Seiss was on the committee which accepted Miss Krauth's book, and praised it. Yet he reacted against some of the severe tunes which were substituted for the more familiar melodies of the American tradition, and was also amazed at the omission of some of the best hymns. He therefore published his first edition of Church Song in 1875. This book appealed more to the English churches and had a wider sale.

Dr. Seiss' high-handed individualism was in evidence here, as when he had brought out his Evangelical Psalmist.

(See Seiss' Autobiography, pp. 576-593.)

10 The Rev. Frederick August Kaehler D.D. (1850-Jan. 24, 1931) was the sainted pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Buffalo, N.Y. for almost fifty years. The ten years after his seminary graduation he spent at St. Michael's Church.

(See Bloomhardt, A Short Biography..., Buffalo, 1937; Min. of U. Syn. of N.Y. for 1931.)

11 St. Paul's was originally organized by the General Synod as St. Andrew's Church, but when the congregation needed more support, it reorganized as a General Council congregation under the new name in 1872.

The Rev. William Keller Frick (1850-Aug. 20, 1918) was the first pastor. He left St. Paul's for the North-West where he spent the better part of his ministry as pastor in Milwaukee, and was connected with the Chicago Seminary.

(See Min. of N.W. Syn. for 1919; R., p. 77; Lutheran for Aug. 29, 1918.)

12 Dr. William Baum was pastor of St. Matthew's Church from 1874 to 1902.

The Rev. Eli Huber D.D. (1834-May 12, 1911) was pastor of Messiah Church from 1876 to 1892 when he became a professor at Gettysburg College.

(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1911, p. 51.)

The Rev. S.A. Holman D.D. (1831-Jan. 31, 1907) is best known today as the founder of the Holman lectureship at Gettysburg College. He was pastor of Grace Church from 1868 to 1873. Then he served Calvary Church till 1897.

Dr. Holman was active as a member of the Board of Publication.

(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1907.)

The Rev. Luther Endress Albert (1828-Mar.6,1908) from 1851-1908 was minister at Trinity Church, Germantown. During this period he was active in the counsels of the General Synod.

(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1908; L.E. Albert, His Autobiography...; Hocker, History of Trinity Church, Germantown, Phila., 1936.)

### Chapter Thirty Five

Page 241 1 When the editor finished these Notes in the late thirties,

we were still waiting for a full history of the Philadelphia Seminary. Perhaps the best account of the influences behind its founding were in Dr. Wentz' History of the Gettysburg Seminary ( see opening chapters on early Theological Education in America), and Dr. Krotel's articles in the L.C.R. for July, 1896, pp.255-267; Jan. 1897, pp. 1-14; July, 1897, pp. 368-385; Oct., 1897, pp.658-668; July, 1898, pp. 294-311; Oct., 1898, pp. 441-453 .

Fortunately a History of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia appeared in 1964 ( Phila.; Lutheran Theological Seminary, 2 vols., second volume Alumni Record). The exigencies of space and the desire to look at the seminary from the inside limit this volume's use as THE history.

Dr. Reed in the Biographical Record (R.) has sketched some of the important events in the history. In his Inaugural Address, The Spirit of the Philadelphia Seminary (Phila.,1939), Dr. Reed has dealt more fully with its history.

(See also Dr. Jacobs' Address at his Fiftieth Anniversary, The Philadelphia Seminary; record of the historian of the Faculty in Krauth Memorial Library.)

242 2 The Rev. Gottlieb F. Krotel D.D. (1826-May 17,1907) had been brought up in the school of Zion's and St. Michael's, Philadelphia. He was graduated from the University, and studied theology with his pastor, Dr. Demme. His important pastorates were Holy Trinity, Lancaster (1853-61), St. Mark's, Philadelphia (1861-68), Holy Trinity, New York (1868-95), and thereafter the Church of the Advent, New York. Dr. Krotel, as editor of the Lutheran, and as a church leader, was widely known.

(See W.M.Horn - In Memoriam ( New York;1908); Dr.

Jacobs in Johnson's Encyclopedia; The Lutheran for May 23, 1907; L.C.R. for April-May, 1917 pp. 139-149.)

- 3 The Rev. Alfred Ramsey D.D. (1860-June 20, 1926) was a professor at the Chicago Seminary from 1904-1917. The early part of his ministry was spent in the Pittsburgh Synod.  
(See Min. of N.W. Synod for 1927, pp. 62-64; R., p. 112.)
- 4 The Rev. Hugo Hofmann D.D. (1863- Feb. 3, 1917) served in Canojoharie, N.Y. and Albany before he became pastor of St. Paul's Church, Brooklyn (1895-1917).  
(See R., p. 111.)
- 5 The Rev. Alexander James Derbyshire Haupt D.D. ( 1859- Sept. 29, 1934) was the son of General Haupt. During his Seminary career he spent his vacations helping out in the North-West, and after graduation he was called to Memorial Church, St. Paul, Minn. The North-West Synod was partly the result of his labors.  
(See Min. of N.W. Syn. for 1935, p. 52; R. p. 109.)
- 6 The Rev. James Frederick Beates (1856- Aug. 26, 1923) of St. John's Church, Wilkes Barre (1901-1909).  
(See Min. of Syn. of N.W. for 1924, p. 62; R., p. 108.)

- 7 Dogmatics is the study of the teaching of the church. Soteriology is that portion of Dogmatics that has to do with the saving power of Christ.  
Theological Encyclopedia corresponds to present-day courses in Orientation or Introduction to Theology.  
Encyklopaedie und Methodologie der Theologischen Wissenschaften von Dr. K.R. Hagenbach ( 10th. edition, 1881).
- 8 Address on Systematic Theology in L.C.R. for Jan., 1884.
- 9 Many a charming story may be told of Dr. Jacobs' forgetfulness when it came down to the small matters of everyday life. Umbrellas, rubbers, tickets, hats, black bags -- all had a habit of straying. The classic item of his attire was - his detachable cuffs. When writing, he carefully removed them and laid them beside him; when he beat a hasty retreat to avoid a bothersome visitor, his forgotten cuffs lay in clear evidence of his presence... Mrs. Jacobs' alibi notwithstanding.  
But Mrs. Jacobs was ever watchful and always took it for granted that forgetfulness was her husband's second-nature. It was very disconcerting to her at the wedding of her son, Charles, to find that her husband had taken the trouble to search for his best suit in the closet and had worn it in triumph, only to hear later from his despairing wife, that his best suit was lying on the bed where she had put it, and he was making his appearance in his old one.

1 This was the quadri-centennial of Luther's birth. The discussions are reported in the Lutheran of Nov. 1, 1883. Dr. Jacobs' part was How Truth Grows As Illustrated in the 95 Theses.

(See the Lutheran for Nov. 8, 1883; Workman for Oct. 25, Nov. 10, 1883.)

2 A mental hospital.

3 The Rev. William Ashmead Schaeffer D.D. (1846-July 27, 1907) was the son of Dr. V.W.Schaeffer. Before he came to Philadelphia, he had been at Easton, Chicago and Wilkes Barre. He left St. Stephen's in 1892 to become the Superintendent of Home Missions of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania where he made his greatest contribution.

(See Memorial Address by H.E.J. in Mss. in Krauth Memorial Library; Proceedings of the Pa. German Soc., Vol. XVII, p. 46; R. , p. 71.)

249 4 The Rev. Philip Schaff D.D. (1819- Oct. 30, 1893) was a native of Switzerland. He studied at Tübingen, Halle, and Berlin. He emigrated to this country and induced his dear friend, Dr. Mann, to follow him. Dr. Mann became a Lutheran; Dr. Schaff held to his Reformed faith, though he became involved in serious controversy with the strict adherents of the Mercersburg Theology. Dr. Schaff was primarily a historian and it was from the historian's point of view that he approached the Confessions of the Church. Dr. Schaff's influence in his own denomination corresponds to the influence which Dr. C.P.Krauth and Dr. Jacobs and their students brought into the Lutheran Church.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; Life of Phillip Schaff by David Schaff (1897).

Dr. Schaff founded the first German theological magazine in America, Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund. Here he strove to apply German theology to the practical problems of the American Church. His History of the Christian Church (1858-1867) for many years only carried one as far as Gregory the Great. After four editions the entire work was revised between 1882-1892 into a seven volume work. America, Political, Social, and Religious was an address delivered before the Irving Society of the College of St. James, Md. (1855).

The paper, Dr. Schaff and the Lutheran Church was presented by Dr. Jacobs at the Schaff Memorial Meeting of the American Church History Society, Dec. 27, 1893.

5 The Rev. John Hall D.D. (1829-1898) was an Irish Presbyterian who was called to the 5th. Ave. Presbyterian Church in New York, and through his "golden mouthed" preaching, built a congregation which became the largest Protestant Church in the city.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio. )

Page 249 6 Bishop Whipple (1822-1901) was 6 feet 2 inches in height and wore his snowy white hair to his shoulders. He was known for his reforms in the relations between the U.S. and the Indians. The redmen called him "Straight Tongue", and were pleased at his love of the outdoor life.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

250 7 Bishop Robert Harper Clarkson (1826-1884) was Bishop of Nebraska.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

251 8 Dr. Briggs offended the conservatives of his denomination when he spoke on the Authority of the Holy Scriptures at his inauguration as a professor at Union Theological Seminary. His views would not be labelled liberal today, yet he did use the results of the new study of Biblical Criticism in his teaching. The heresy trial which resulted was a test case of the Liberal-Fundamentalist battle. The opponents of Briggs were not able to oust him from Union, so the Liberals called it a victory for new thought. Dr. Briggs, however, was not overly sympathetic with those who hailed his victory.

252 9 There have been few leaders in the Lutheran Church who have so interested themselves in the leaders of other Christian communions. We may trace Dr. Jacobs' interest to his native community where Presbyterian and Lutheran mingled freely in society and thought. He himself often pointed back to his experiences in the Christian Commission as a controlling influence in his life. There he met many men who later became leaders in their own churches. These contacts he kept throughout life.

A study of the Lutheran during the time when Dr. Jacobs was a regular contributor brings conclusive evidence of his broad churchmanship. He constantly wrote about movements in other denominations and of men who were before the public eye. Through editorials he hoped to bring others to the same wide interests.

### Chapter Thirty Seven

Page 253 1 See July, 1884, pp. 169-184

254 2 The Rev. J. Luther Sibole (1846-April 25, 1913) was pastor of St. Luke's Church from 1882-1900 when he moved to Buffalo, N.Y. He was a brother of Dr. E.E. Sibole of St. John's Church.

(See the Lutheran for May 1, 1913; Min. of N.Y. and N.E.Syn. for 1913.)

The Rev. Robert Melancthon Zimmerman was pastor of St. Paul's mission from 1884-1890. Soon afterwards he left the ministry for business interests.

- 3 This seems to have taken place during the latter part of 1886 or the early part of 1887. There is an article in the Lutheran for Dec. 23, 1886 which has some bearing on the discussion.
- 4 See A.S., p. 231; articles in the Lutheran for Nov. 15, 22, 29, 1883, the last signed by H.E.J. A report of the Jubilee at Rondout (Kingston) N.Y. appears in the Lutheran for Nov. 22, 1883.
- 255 5 See Minutes for 1883, pp. 47, 48.
- 6 Dr. Jacobs seems to be in error here. The articles from his pen about the seminary are concentrated in the summer of 1884. Starting with July 10, every week saw a new article during July and August.
- 256 7 See the Lutheran, Nov. 22, 1883.
- 8 See issue of August 7, 1884.
- 9 The history of American Lutheran journals is fascinating. The able article by Frederick G. Gotwald in L.Q. for April, 1912, entitled Pioneer Lutheran Journalism 1812-1850 is the best treatment of the early years. Since 1850 the number of magazines increases and the subject becomes complicated. Helpful sidelights can be found in the biographies of men whose pens were always busy: C.P.K.; A.S.; Seiss' Autobiography; J.G.M.; W.A.P....
- The Lutheran Intelligencer (Mar. 1826- Feb. 1831) holds a special place in this history. In its day it never had over 500 subscribers and they were close to Frederick where its editor, Dr. Schaeffer was pastor. Demand for such a journal arose in the General Synod, and a committee of clergymen from the Maryland-Virginia Synod was formed to edit the new magazine. The year of its origin corresponds with the founding of the Gettysburg Seminary, thus the first volumes give us a contemporary view of the new institution.
- Its failure was due to the ever-present conflict of personalities, characteristic of that time and of our frontier life.
- The Rev. David Schaeffer (1787-1837) was one of the most brilliant men among the organizers of the General Synod. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and studied theology under the pastors of Zion's Church, Philadelphia, Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt. His entire ministry was spent in Frederick and he was a pillar of the General Synod. However he represented a much more confessional and conservative position than Dr. Schmucker. Certain habits of his personal life (which, as Dr. Wentz reports, 'would not be possible in this day of Prohibition') set him at the opposite pole from the puritanical Schmucker. The declining support of the General Synod of the Intelligencer was balanced by the rise of Dr. Schmucker's influence and the need for a different magazine. That magazine was

the Lutheran Observer which came out in Baltimore.

The Lutheran Magazine (Feb. 1827-April 1831) appeared in the "far-off wilderness" of New York State at Schoharie. It was edited by a committee of the Western Conference of the New York Synod. Though printed far away, the Lutheran Magazine carried reports on the development of the Gettysburg Seminary and of the Pa., N.Y., S.C., and N.C. Synods, along with discussion of the Symbols of the Lutheran Church. After the third volume the responsibility for this periodical was shoved off on the Domestic Missionary Society, and the profits were "to go to missions, if there are any profits." There weren't; it folded after four years.

257 10 Of this letter Dr. Gotwald speaks in his article. The start of a new paper, so close to Frederick among those who were supposed to support the Intelligencer, is strange when the paper was dying for lack of funds. Moreover, there are extant letters of David Jacobs in which he acts as a personal circulation manager for the Intelligencer.

11 It is interesting that the Observer should be published in Baltimore and not in Gettysburg. Besides the refusals of the Gettysburg Professors to edit the magazine, it was thought inadvisable to put out a Lutheran paper in a town in which both Presbyterians and Lutherans needed to support the new institutions.

(See L.O. for Jan. 1877; J.G.M., p.312.)

12 Das Evangelische Magazin der Ev. L. K. in den vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika, published under the auspices of J.G. Schmucker; J.F. Heyer; W. Yeager, a Committee of the recently organized W. Pa. Synod, a monthly commencing in April, 1829.

In 1830 Dr. Hazelius became the second Professor at the Seminary, and editor of the magazine for three short years. The articles were able and scholarly for their time. The Magazin came to an end when Dr. Hazelius in 1833 accepted a call to teach at the newly founded Seminary for the S.C. Synod at Lexington, S.C. This paper should not be confused with the earlier, Das Evangelische Magazin of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (1811-1817).

The Rev. E. L. Hazelius (1777-Feb. 10, 1853)

(See W., p.302; J.G.M., pp.66-76; M.L.S. in E.R. for Jan. 1856; Dict. of Am. Bio.)

13 The Rev. Benjamin Kurtz D.D. (1795-Dec. 29, 1865) studied under Dr. George Lochman at Harrisburg. He was a man of unusual literary gifts, easily detected by anyone who will read his very interesting letters from Europe when he was touring Europe, collecting funds for the Seminary. Dr. Kurtz was ever ready to use his gifts to support the "American Lutheranism" which he espoused along with Dr. Schmucker.

(See any general history; Dict. of Am. Bio.; M.L.S.)

13 (con't)

in E.R. for Jan.1867; J.G.M.,p.46 ; W.Md., p. 64...)

14 The Evangelical Review was the ancestor of the present Lutheran Church Quarterly, though the ancestry is a little dubious and serpentine. Dr. Jacobs called this the chief link between Lutheran theology and the Lutheran Church of America that used the English language. Dr. Kurtz, upon its birth, remarked that it had already killed itself by its old Lutheranism. Today the Evangelical Review is chiefly prized as the depository of some of the best Lutheran biographies yet written.

15 The Lutheran Standard (1843) was started by Dr. Greenwald in New Philadelphia, O., and soon became the organ of the Joint Synod of Ohio, a conservative body.

258 16 The story of the Missionary is told in W.A.P. (p. 194 ff.) and in our earlier chapters. Though the Missionary had no sympathy with the conflicts of the day, as the Observer continued to become more violent, comments began to appear in Dr. Passavant's paper until Dr. C.P.Krauth became a regular contributor, and then the Missionary showed its conservative sympathies.

17 Before 1855 the religious literature usually had a hazy kind of endorsement by somebody. In response to a request from the Susquehanna Conference of the E. Pa. Synod a meeting was held to consider the formation of a publication society to stimulate Lutheran publications. The Board of Publication which resulted was not set up by the General Synod, but was recognized as having an official status, and two representatives were placed on the Board. "Father" Keller was engaged as an agent to collect funds and a book store was set up in Philadelphia as a depository. For a time the Board undertook the publication of the Lutheran Home Journal, and then merely supported it.

The Lutheran Home Journal (1850-1860) was the parent of the Lutheran, though this ancestry is somewhat uncertain. Someone has remarked that the development of this monthly was towards "more Home and less Lutheran." It was at best a very weak sheet.

18 The semi-weekly Lutheran and Home Journal (July 6, 1860-Oct. 11,1861) replaced the Lutheran Home Journal. Its size was increased to full newspaper size and the tone instantly became strongly confessional over against the Observer.

19 The Church papers were suffering greatly from lack of support. The Lutheran Publication Society had to stop publication of the Home Journal. When it was joined with the new Lutheran, there were great hopes but these were war times and the hopes were empty. Therefore a new company was formed by the sale of stock,

to buy out the three important papers, the Lutheran and Home Journal, the Lutheran Observer, and the Missionary. This company was called the Association for the Publication and Diffusion of Religious Periodicals in the Lutheran Church. The Observer refused to join. The Missionary entered rather reluctantly, but with the hope of a great result. Dr. Passavant continued to write news of the practical work of the Church, but he was overshadowed by the controversial pen of the brilliant editor, Dr. C.P. Krauth.

The new Lutheran and Missionary made its first appearance in the fall of 1861, and Dr. Krauth guided it for five years. Though it had a composite name, the emptiness of the Missionary was evident and it was popularly called just the Lutheran. From 1867-74 an editorial committee was in charge, yet the burden of the work fell on Dr. Seiss who was all tied up in the Stock Co. (See Seiss' Autobiography.)

20 When the Lutheran Board of Publication was no longer available to the new General Council, Dr. Seiss, the President of the new Stock Co. raised enough money through friends to supply a Lutheran Book Store to serve as a depository for sale of General Council Church and Sunday School literature, and as headquarters for the Lutheran. Mr. Frederick became the agent in 1873.

21 Prof. Richards was Assistant Editor from 1884 till his death in 1898.

259 22 No announcement was made of this arrangement in the Lutheran, except the general remark that an editorial board of competent men was in charge. It is a great pity that the articles were not signed in some way. Those who read the articles appearing in the Lutheran between 1883 and 1895 will become impressed with their solid character. There was an attempt to educate and broaden the sympathies of the readers rather than to win victories in controversy.

An attempt has been made in the Appendix to list these articles which come from the pen of Dr. Jacobs. One wonders today whether such frankness and open discussion of fundamental issues would be permitted in our Church organs.

260 23 Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Galatians by Heinrich Aug. Wilhelm Meyer Th.D. transl. from the 5th. Ed. of the German by G.H. Venoble. With a Preface, Translation of References and supplementary notes to the American edition by H.E. Jacobs D.D. (New York; 1884).

Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Ephesians by Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer Th.D., transl. from the 4th. edition of the German by Rev.

Maurice J. Evans, B.A., the translation revised and edited by Wm.P. Dickinson D.D., with a preface, translation of references, and supplementary notes to American edition by H.E.Jacobs D.D. ( New York;1884).

- 261 24 Dr. Harpster had already served five years in India, several years in Kansas, and two years at Trenton, N.J. He was called upon by the pulpit committee of the Canton Church, and the congregation was described in glowing terms as "free of debt and without any poor people." "I accept," was the reply, " and by the Grace of God, we'll go after some poor people."

### Chapter Thirty Eight

Page 263 1 Dr. Jacobs has left us a splendid article, the Making of the Church Book, in L.C.R. for October, 1912. (See also O.G.C., p.410 ff.; E.T.Horn, Liturgical and Historical in L.C.R. for 1896, pp. 115-117; R.M. Smith, General Council Liturgies in L.C.R. for 1917, pp. 492 - 500...)

2 See L.C.R. for April and July, 1883, The Rite of Confirmation in the Lutheran Church ( pp. 89-103; 230-253.)

265 3 See L.C.R. for July, 1904, pp. 619-622.

4 See Seiss' Autobiography, pp.565 ff.

5 Dr. Spaeth speaks of this liturgy in his article, the History of the Liturgical Development in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in L.C.R. for Jan., 1898, pp. 114 ff.)

The Committee had started with the intention of revising Dr. Demme's German Liturgy of 1855. This would have meant a simple return to the Muhlenberg Liturgy. Yet as the work progressed it became more in conformity with the pure Lutheran liturgies, an attempt to compromise with the American development.

6 The Rev. Augustus Theodosius Geissenhainer (1814- Mar. 1882) because of his independent means, spent his pastoral life as a missionary through the territory of the Ministerium. He was Treasurer of the Ministerium for many years.

(See Memoir of A.T.Geissenhainer by B.M.S. in L.C.R. for Oct., 1883, pp. 332 ff.; J.W.E., p. 29.)

- 7 The book to which Dr. Jacobs refers is A Book for the Use of Christians in the Sanctuary, the Family, and the Closet; or Helps and Directions for the Observance of the Rites and Ordinances of the Christian Religion in Public and Private ( Phila.;1860).
- 8 See The Workman for Sept. 25,1884.
- 9 See Reed for biographies.
- 267 10 The Rev. George W. Holland D.D. ( 1838- Sept. 30,1895) was President of Newberry College from 1877 till his death. He had lost an arm in the Confederate Army. His name is entwined in the growth of Newberry.  
(See W.,p.418; S.C.,p.252; J.,p.362.)
- 11 The Rev. Andrew George Voigt D.D. (1859-Jan. 6,1933) was then pastor at Riverside, N.J. His connection with the Seminary was broken by a short pastorate in Wilmington, N.C., and several years at Thiel College, teaching. For years he was Dean of the Southern Seminary and a leader in the United Synod South.  
(See the Lutheran for Jan. 26,1933; Min. of N.C.Synod for 1933, p. 100.; R.,p.108.)

### Chapter Thirty Nine

1 The development of the Common Service is described by Dr. Luther D. Reed in L.C.R. for 1917, pp.501-519, A Historical Sketch of the Common Service; in the Memoirs of the Liturgical Association, Vol.1,pp.9-18, Our Distinctive Worship; and in the L.C.R. for 1901, pp.459 ff., Standard Manuscripts of the Common Service. See also E.T.Horn in L.Q. for April, 1891, Lutheran Sources of the Common Service; Remensnyder in L.Q. for April, 1891, Practical View of the Common Service; M. Valentine in L.O. for Sept. 12, 19, 26, 1890, About the Common Service; G.U.Wenner, Answer to the Liturgical Question in L.Q. for 1890.

See also an address by Luther D. Reed before the United Lutheran Church in America on The Common Service in the Life of the Church - on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Common Service in 1938. See also the various other works of Luther D. Reed.

2 Dr. Schmucker wrote the splendid introduction to the Common Service which was printed in the Common Service Book of 1917. This introduction explains the source material in more detail. Where the liturgies differed, that was accepted which was found in the greater number of those liturgies of greater weight.

3 The Rev. George Unangst Wenner D.D. (1844- Nov. 1, 1934) was a Yale graduate and pastor of Christ's Church, New York for 66 years. From his humble parish in what he described as " the gas-house district," his influence went into many phases of the work of the Church. He was Chairman of the liturgical committee of the General Synod from 1883-1915. What his actual position was is still cloudy for what he fought in his early years he accepted in his later years.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; G.U.Wenner, Sixty Years in One Pulpit (New York; 1928); the Lutheran for Nov. 15, 1934; Min. of U. Synd. of N.Y. for 1935, p.169.)

4 The Rev. Augustus Charles Wedekind D.D. (1824- April 8, 1897) though a native German, was educated at the Gettysburg institutions. His pastorates were in Lancaster and New York City where he served at St. James' (1865-1879), and then at St. John's (1879-1890). In his declining years he moved to California and was active in the founding of the California Synod.

(See Min. of Cal. Synod for 1897, p. 28; G.U.Wenner in L.O. for April 30, 1897; W., p.396.)

5 The Rev. Edmund Jacob Wolf D.D. (1840-Jan.10, 1905) was one of Dr. Jacobs' closest friends, his best man. He had known Mrs. Jacobs well before their marriage, as pastor of the Lombard Street Church in Baltimore. It was from there that he went to Gettysburg to become Professor of History and New Testament Exegesis at the Seminary. He was known as an "Old Lutheran" at Gettysburg, and represented the conservative branch of the General Synod. Dr. Wolf's death in 1905 was a great blow to his dear friend.

(See W., p.320; Min. of W. Pa. Syn. for 1905, p. 53.)

6 The Rev. Edward Traill Horn D.D. (1850-Mar. 4, 1915) was, with Dr. Schmucker of the General Council and Dr. Wenner of the General Synod, a member of the sub-committee and rendered unfailing service as the middle party between two men of positive, opposing views. Though six years younger than Dr. Jacobs, he had become a firm friend. Their acquaintance dated back to the days when Dr. Jacobs was tutor and responsible for a group of restless students among whom was Dr. Horn.

Throughout these Notes his name is mentioned incidentally for Dr. Charles Jacobs knew him only too well as a friend and visitor in their home. With Dr. Wolf, Dr. Horn had a special place in Dr. Jacobs' affections. His son, William married Dr. Jacobs' daughter, Marguerite. At the time when he breaks into these Notes, Dr. Horn was Pastor of St. John's Church, Charleston, S.C. (1876-97).

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; the Lutheran for Mar. 11, 1915 by T.E.Schmauk, and Mar. 18, by H.E.J.; Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, Vol.XXI, pp. 51-56.)

7 The Rev. Stephen Albion Repass D.D. (1838- June 2,1906) was one of our finer pastors. A cultivated Southern gentleman, he served as President of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod South at Salem, Va. for over ten years. In 1885 he became pastor of St. John's Church, Allentown, Pa. and taught from time to time at Muhlenberg College. His son, Rev. Bernard Repass, served for years at Doylestown, Pa.

(See Min. of Pa. Min. for 1906; the Lutheran for June 7, 1906; L.A. for 1929, p. 71.)

269 a 8 A Golden Treasury for the Children of God, whose Treasury is in Heaven, consisting of Select Texts of the Holy Scriptures with Practical Observations in Prose and Verse for Every Day in the Week, by C.H. Bogatsky, transl. from German (1858).  
Translations of German Lyrics in L.C.R. for pp. 1-9.  
Family Prayer for Morning and Evening, and the Festivals of the Church Year ( Phila.;1860).

273 9 See the L.C.R. for April 1886, pp. 87-113, and for July, 1886, pp. 165 - 199.

10 See the L.C.R. for Jan. 1887, pp. 5-38.

11 See the Lutheran from Feb. 24 - April 4, 1887.

12 The Lutheran Element in Early English Catechisms in the L.C.R. for July, 1888, pp. 161-184.

274 13 The Rev. Socrates Henkel D.D. (1823-June 20,1901) was for years pastor of Emmanuel Church, New Market, Va. (See the Lutheran for July 4,1901; J.,p.346.)

14 The Christian Catechism composed for the instruction of the youth in the knowledge of the Christian Religion, by Paul Henkel ( New Market, Va., Ambrose Henkel & Co.;1811).

(See B.M.S. in L.C.R. for April, 1886, p.106.)

15 Instruction in the Principles and Duties of the Christian Religion for Children and Youth ( Phila.; 1816).

See the L.C.R. for April, 1886, p. 105.

Chapter Forty

- Page 275a 1 This controversy takes us back to 1872 when Dr. Gottfried Fritschel of the Iowa Synod maintained that the dissimilar conduct of men had something to do with their final salvation. Dr. Walther answered in Lehre und Wehre insisting that man's salvation is completely dependent upon the grace of God. Dr. F.A.Schmidt, then the Norwegian Professor at St. Louis, turned upon his colleague and termed the Missourians "crypto-Calvinists," in which opinion Prof. Stelhorn of Ohio concurred. This led in 1881 to the preparation of Thirteen Theses by Missouri which insisted upon Walther's position. The Ohio Synod withdrew from all connections with the Synodical Conference and the Norwegians in 1883 severed their connection with Missouri.
- It was natural for the controversy to spread to the East. During these years there was an increasing stream of German immigrants whose connection of language and customs was closer to the foreign-born groups in the Mid-West than to their neighboring American-born Lutherans.
- The Concordia Cyclopaedia has an extensive article entitled, Controversies, in which the day to day progress of these disturbing conflicts can be reviewed.
- 2 See the L.C.R. for July, 1884, p. 223 ff., Concerning the Dogma of Predestination.
- 3 The Rev. Daniel William Peterson (1842-April 7, 1929). (See Min. of N.Y. Min. for 1929, p. 112; also the Lutheran for May 2, 1929.)
- 276 4 See Vol. I., p. 528 of The Book of Concord or The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, with Historical Introduction, Notes, Appendixes and Indexes by Henry E. Jacobs D.D. (Phila.; G.W.Frederick, 1883).
- 277 5 The Rev. Mr. Eberhard (1831-1893) was sent to America by the Missions Institute at Basel. He was the first missionary of the Michigan Synod, a founder of that Synod, and of its first seminary. (See C.C.)
- The General Council's stated position then was that a man may preach providing there is no betrayal of doctrine, and providing he has the permission of the President of the Council.
- 6 The editorial of September 16, 1886, The Iowa Synod and the General Council, is probably from the pen of Dr. Jacobs. It expresses this feeling more fully.
- 7 See the Lutheran for October 29, 1885, The Council's Choral Service; also see A.S. p. 229.

- Page 278 8 See the Lutheran for Oct. 29, 1885.
- 9 The Rev. John Pemberton Deck ( 1852-May 10, 1890) was at St. Michael's till his death.  
(See R. p. 101.)
- 279 10 The Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (Phila.; 1887).
- 11 Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Revelation of St. John by Friedrich Düsterdieck D.D. Translated from the 3rd. Edition of the German and edited with notes by Henry E. Jacobs ( 1887).
- 280 12 The reports of the Rev. R. Hill constantly appeared in the Lutheran. Collections in those golden days went ahead as slowly as today.
- 282 13 See the Lutheran for June 24, 1886.

#### Chapter Forty One

Page 283 1 The relations of the General Council with the Seminary at Kropp have not been thoroughly investigated fairly. One feels that in this matter Dr. Jacobs' prejudices may have warped his usually sound judgment. Yet it is equally certain that there still remains another side--equally unfair.

Many pastors whose names are well-known in the church were graduated from Kropp. The problem of German immigration was making demands on the Lutheran Church in this country which the Americans were neither able nor equipped to handle. Among native Americans there must have been a great ignorance of the magnitude of the immigration. Barriers of custom, language, and religious heritage made the new-comers strangers in this land. It was natural for them to find comrades in German speaking persons.

Dr. Spaeth, being a native German himself, might have been a great help as a go-between in ironing out difficulties. However, by poor planning, or bad luck, Dr. Spaeth arrived in Europe to talk with Pastor Paulsen just as the latter stepped off the boat in this country to tour for support. Dr. Spaeth was bitterly disappointed in Dr. Paulsen and his seminary. Pastor Paulsen meanwhile organized a Hilfs-Verein in this country as a haven for future contributions. Thus misunderstanding was compounded and the ground was laid for years of bitterness and disappointment.

(See thesis of W.F.Herman - The Kropp Lutheran Seminary, 1938, in the Krauth Memorial Library; A.S., Chapter VII, pp. 185-206; the Lutheran for Mar.18, 25, April 1, 1886; for Aug.25, Nov.10, Nov. 17, Nov. 24, Dec. 1, 8, 15, 29, 1887; L.C. by a graduate, J.A. W.Kirsch.)

2 The Rev. Frederick Wischan (1845- April 28, 1905) was the pastor of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, from 1870 till his death. This congregation had been organized in 1840 from Zion's to take care of the rapidly growing "North-East" of the city. Its pastor was very active in support of the Germantown Orphans' Home, and in the Mission Board of the General Council.

(See the Lutheran for May 4, 1905; Lutherische Kirchenblatt for May 5, 1905; A Memorial by Dr. Hellwege in Krauth Memorial Library, 8 pp. in Ms.; Fest Buchlein, St. Paulus (Phila.; 1871), p. 64 ff...)

3 Chrishona was founded by F.C. Spittler, a layman who felt the need for active Christian work. He felt that few men were more qualified to preach true Christianity to the people of the day than laymen who really believed, and who showed their belief in life. In 1840 he took over the old chapel of St. Chrishona outside of Basel, Switzerland, and started to train a male diaconate for Inner Mission work. Soon these men were being sent to America for Christian missionary work among German immigrants.

284 4 The relations between the General Council and the Seminary at Kropp are rehearsed in the Minutes of the General Council for 1887, pp. 14 ff.

285 5 The Rev. Jacob Steinhauser (1850- Sept. 30, 1904) was then pastor of Trinity Church, Kingston, N.Y. From 1888-94 he was President of the new Wagner College at Rochester, from whence he went to St. Michael's Church, Allentown, Pa.

(See R. p. 85; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1905.)

The Rev. Alexander Richter (1851-Mar. 6, 1918) had been pastor of St. Jacobus' Church for several years (Phila.) and was now at Zion's, Rochester, N.Y. He had been an organizer of the Lutheran Pro-Seminary, which became Wagner College.

(See R. p. 95; Min. of N.Y. Min. for 1918, p. 20; J. p. 623.)

The Rev. John Nicum D.D. (1851- Nov. 1, 1909) was pastor of St. John's Church, Syracuse, N.Y. and was to leave soon for St. John's Church, Rochester. Dr. Nicum is best known for his Geschichte des New York Ministeriums (1888).

(See Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record for Jan., 1917, p. 69; R. p. 88; O.M.p. 346; interesting family history in J. p. 548.)

The Rev. Frederick W. Weiskotten D.D. (1842-Dec. 15, 1900) was pastor of St. Jacobus Church, Philadelphia (1882-1900).

(See R. p. 69; Memoir in German in Ms. in Krauth Memorial Library.)

The Rev. J.J. Kuendig (1830- June 17, 1917) was a graduate of Chrishona, and pastor of St. John's Church, Reading, for 57 years.

(See the Lutheran for June 28, 1917, p. 8; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1918; Memoir by J.W.E. in Krauth Memorial Library in Ms. 4 pp.; J.W.E. p. 88; Berks, p. 420.)

- Page 285 5 The Rev. J.J.Heischmann (1858-Mar. 1,1929) was at St. Peter's Church, Brooklyn.  
(See Min. of N.Y. Min. for 1929, p. 110; the Lutheran for Mar. 28,1929.)  
The Rev. George C.F.Haas ( See below.)
- 286 6 See the Lutheran for Feb. 23, 1888.
- 288 7 Lutherisches Kirchenblatt appeared in Philadelphia, Jan. 5,1884, to care for the needs of the new Germans. It was a weekly of about 8 pages, and was edited by Pastor Wischan. The Minutes of the General Council for 1884 state: "That we express our gratification in the appearance of the Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, its favorable reception and rapid circulation. Resolved that the General Council heartily approves of the tone and spirit of the L.K. and cheerfully recommends it to all its congregations using the German language, believing that a wide circulation of the paper will do much to edify, unite and instruct the German Lutherans in this country. " (p.95)  
In 1888 the General Council disclaimed all connection with the same paper.
- 8 Kelle und Schwert - Lutherische Monatschrift für unsere deutsche Mission, Redigiert von Pastor G.A.Hinterleitner. Reading, Pa. This bi-monthly made its appearance in Jan. 1888 with a Forward which revealed its purpose in these words: "Deutsche Männer sind wir und Deutsche wollen wir bleiben." The title, "Trowel and Sword" was to represent its aim in building and defending the German influence in this country. The first line of defense was the Seminary at Kropp. This paper was the mouth-piece of the Hilfs-Verein.
- 289 9 This quotation is from the Minutes of the Min. of Pa. for 1888, p. 21. The report was a review of the entire situation.
- 290 10 See the Minutes, pp. 62 ff.
- 291 11 Col. Melchior Hay Horn ( 1822-Feb. 28,1890) had seen service on Gov. Curtin's staff in the Civil War and was now a respected banker of Catasauqua, Pa.
- 12 The Rev. J. Darmstetter ( 1831-Dec.20,1899) .  
(See the Lutheran for Jan. 4,1900; W.p.418.)  
The Rev. George Philip Mueller (1852-June 30,1900) .  
(See R. p. 94.)
- 13 The Rev. B.W.Schmauk ( 1828-April 4,1898) was pastor of Salem Church, Lebanon, Pa., with his Son Theodore whom we shall meet later.  
(See Memoir in Krauth Memorial Library.)

- Page 292 14 See Minutes for 1889, pp. 20 ff.; p. 70.
- 15 The Rev. John George Pfuhl ( 1838-1911).  
(See W. p. 426; Memoir in Krauth Memorial Library in Ms.)

### Chapter Forty Two

- Page 293 1 The Rev. Franklin J.F.Schantz D.D. (1836-Jan.19,1907)  
served for forty years in the Lutheran Church of Myers-  
town, Pa.  
(See the Lutheran for Jan. 31,1907; Proceedings of the  
Pa. German Society, Vol. XVI, p. 37; O.M. p.266 ff.;  
Memoir by F.S.Mayer in the Krauth Memorial Library in  
Ms.)
- 2 In sorting over Dr. Jacobs' letters, hundreds of con-  
versations in script were uncovered on every subject  
under the sun. Dr. Jacobs had a reputation for placing  
whomever he met, and could always remember family back-  
ground, educational careers, life-history as well as  
possible abilities for specific positions. His judgment  
of men was as nearly faultless as any we have known.  
Through this personal influence upon his pupils, much  
of his greatest influence in the Church can be seen.
- 3 This was Grace Church, Newark, started in 1888.
- 294 4 The Chester Church became Holy Trinity.  
The Church of the Incarnation was a mission started  
by St. Stephen's in 1890.  
St. Andrew's Church in Atlantic City is described in  
the Lutheran for June 22,1893.  
For the start of the Asbury Park Church, see the Luth-  
eran for May 11,1893.
- 5 The Rev. George Christian Gardner (1858-May 25,1899)  
was a member of the Class of '84 at the Seminary, and  
was at Roxboro from 1885-1891. His stay at Grace Church,  
Newark was short, for he soon was called to St. John's  
Church, Quakertown, Pa.  
(See R. p. 109.)  
The Manayunk Church became the Church of the Epiphany  
(1899), and the congregation at the Falls of the Schuy-  
kill - the Church of the Redeemer.
- 6 The Father Heyer Missionary Society was the student  
body of the Seminary organized for mission study and  
mission support for many years. The churches mentioned  
were - the Church of the Nativity (c.1888), and St.  
James' Church, at 19th. and Reed Sts. The latter was  
reorganized many years later in the North-East under  
the same name. Both of these congregations were supplied  
from the Seminary.
- 7 See the Lutheran for Oct. 13, 1887.

- 8 Miss Marguerite Eyster Jacobs married the Rev. William M. Horn D.D., son of Dr. E.T. Horn, in 1908. It seems too bad that Dr. Jacobs should have been annoyed by such trifles as new arrivals in the household. That Mrs. J. was able to carry on without disturbing the ecclesiastical air, remains the greatest tribute that could be paid to the minister's wife, in those days. Of course the story is told that Dr. Jacobs once offered to help with the housework. In wandering through the hall with a rug in his arms, his mind preoccupied with sublime thoughts, he suddenly tumbled down a flight of stairs, and convinced the whole household that his place was in his study.
- 9 The Rev. William Beiterman Fox (1837-May 4, 1905) was then pastor at Sumneytown, Pa.  
(See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1905; W. p.464.)
- 10 II Timothy I:10 - "But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ who hath abolished death and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel."
- 11 The Rev. Henry Neidig Fegley (1848-Jan.21, 1934).  
(See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1934.)

*Memoirs of  
Henry Eyster Jacobs*

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*Volume 3*

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**NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN**  
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Edited and Annotated By  
Henry E. Horn

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NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN

M E M O I R S

of

H E N R Y E Y S T E R J A C O B S

Volume III

Written in 1906

Edited and annotated by

Henry Eyster Horn in 1938

These Memoirs and Notes have been placed in this mimeographed form for the use of the church. In this present form they are the result of several years' work terminated about 1940. No subsequent effort has been made to bring the Notes up to date with notices about books appearing since that time, except those immediate additions which were possible in the typing. It is expected that permissions to use this material will be sought through the editor.

Henry E. Horn  
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September 21, 1974

# NOTES ON A LIFE OF A CHURCHMAN

*As Edited and Annotated By*  
**HENRY E. HORN**

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In reviewing the files of "The Lutheran" and "The Workman" during that period I notice a number of articles to which reference should be here made. I will not follow a chronological order. Concerning the mission of the Lutheran Church in America, an article first published in "The Workman" of April 12th. 1888 under the title "Standing Alone," attracted considerable attention. In it we stated our mature convictions.

"If the Lutheran Church in America is ever to attain that position to which Providence seems to be pointing the way, it must learn to stand alone. By this, we do not mean absolute independence of all Christian, and especially Lutheran life, outside of itself. The child, who is no longer carried, but has learned to walk, may thankfully accept much assistance and many favors from others, down to its dying day. But if it is to live and thrive and be an efficient member of society, it must learn the lesson of self-reliance. How rarely do boys reared amidst wealth and luxury, with the idea constantly before them of a future whose physical necessities will be well provided for, accomplish anything in the world! The best way to teach a lad to swim may be to throw him into the water, where he feels that he must struggle or be drowned.

"For a long period, the Lutheran Church in America was dependent upon the laborers drawn from Europe; and it should always hold in the highest regard the memory of the many faithful, self-denying, godly men, who responded to the cry of need. In later days, it has also received many most valuable accessions, which have left their permanent impress upon the history of the Church. In some few cases especially in the earlier period the experiment was tried of sending students to Germany to prepare for the ministry. But only in exceptional cases was this practicable. Then, as Lutherans became anglicized, the colleges and seminaries of the other denominations were utilized, with results which might have been anticipated, in the introduction of forms of Church life and doctrines antagonistic to Lutheranism. Puritanism or Presbyterianism thus more and more colored the stream as it passed into the English-speaking portion of the Church, until men came forth educated not in Presbyterian institutions, but at the institutions which Lutherans were able to erect for themselves, and who were thus without many of the prejudices against Lutheranism that obtained in the generation preceding them. It was not until the Lutheran Church of America began to stand alone and assert itself that it began to gather strength and to make its voice heard and to command respect.

"For it must not be forgotten that colleges and seminaries are not simply for the impartation of rudimentary instruction, but that a very prominent part of their work is to be found in the cultivation and development of Christian scholarship of the higher order among their teachers, which, through these teachers, is again transmitted to the Church at large. What permanent progress has any cause ever made, especially in these latter days, without provision for centers of influence, which conserve the results and proclaim the teaching of past experience? However aggressive its champions in practical life, back of their activity there must always be the support of resources which can be gathered and made ready for use only in the study. If our work, therefore, is to make any impression in this country, we must see to it that institutions both literary and theological be securely founded and amply equipped, which shall take rank in the thoroughness and width of scholarship for which they provide, alongside of any in this country. Our theological seminaries must not have as their ideals mere missionary institutes, in which students commit to memory such theological definitions as they may most need for future guidance. This, indeed, should not be overlooked; but beyond it, they should be treasuries of as wide a range of the results attained in the various branches, as are comprised in any course of instruction afforded anywhere in the Lutheran Church throughout the world.

"Men who are preparing for theological professorships in the American denominations around us, seek the lectures of Lutheran Professors in Germany. We know that many ridicule us as visionary in the extreme; yet why may we not hope that in a succeeding generation or two, by the assiduous application of the Church to the cultivation of Christian scholarship, the Lutheran Church of America may rise to such a position of dominant influence as to be looked up to with considerable veneration as the guide of those around us, within that sphere, and to be a center of theological education at the same time? To this end we must begin at the foundation and see to it that our colleges also are free from embarrassment in the preliminary training, and that they may not only become as distinguished for the thoroughness of their classical drill as are the German gymnasia, but that their professors have a front rank among the scholars of this country in their various departments, with time and facilities for such literary labors as may stimulate their pupils, influence the development of a high degree of literary culture among our people, and make their impress felt upon the educated mind of our land. We are not firmly rooted and acclimated in this country, until a beginning at least is made, looking towards such wider expansion of

our educational work.

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"The Lutheran literature of America will be unsatisfactory as long as it is only a reproduction of that of Germany. A plant from the very same seed will have a different development in different soil and different climate. The truth taught is always the same, but its relations are so changed! In all that we write and speak and do, proper regard must always be taken of the various elements about us, and their historical connections. Any Lutheran literature that is to live and wield influence outside of as well as within our own communion, must be written upon the basis of a thorough understanding, appreciation and assimilation of what the past of the Lutheran Church has given, and a discriminating regard for what is found also in the Christian life of America, with a warm sympathy for truth wherever confessed, and an apologizing charity for all entangled in error which may be largely due to misrepresentations of preceding generations.

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"The exigencies of the times demand progress, and this cannot be attained until we cut loose from the retarding forces and learn to stand alone, and to do our peculiar work for our peculiar field - to cultivate biblical science among ourselves, to study the history of the Church and appropriate its results for ourselves, to reap the best fruit of what centuries have given our Church in the various spheres of practical work, and yet to dare to make new applications and adjustments as circumstances may demand.

"For this purpose, we must have our own strong institutions - Lutheran in doctrine, but American in spirit; our own scholars, our own learned literature, with its own scientific treatises, having in view the American field, which we purpose to claim for the Lutheran Church. And our people must come up manfully to our help in the attainment of this ideal, if they think that the Lutheran Church of America is worth living and becoming the blessing to this land which it has been in the past to the whole world."

Such was the program according to which we have steadily worked ever since. Dr. Wolk of Gettysburg in the succeeding issue of "The Workman," says, that "it would be of incalculable service" if the article "could be republished in every Lutheran paper."

Another article of that period was prepared at the request of the editor of the New York "Independent."

"Obstacles to Lutheran Reunion in America

"In a paper read before the Lutheran Diet of 1877, we maintained that there was probably a special office for each of the General Bodies of Lutherans in this country to fulfil. This is still our opinion. Their mere independence of one another does not of itself constitute them hostile camps. Common interests may often be far better administered by ecclesiastical bodies, entirely separate and distinct, than in an organic union unable to accommodate itself to the peculiar circumstances of its component parts, except by such general action as, by its very indefiniteness, is unproductive of any valuable results. Even were we to admit that there is an underlying doctrinal unity among all synods in America, this no more determines that there should be an immediate coalescence of their elements into one organic body, than that several congregations of the same denomination in the same place should always merge their separate existence into that of one large congregation, though still retaining, if necessary, a number of houses of worship; or that the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches in Canada should unite with their brethren in the United States.

"Lutheran Church Polity is thoroughly congregational. We are the very lowest of low churchmen in the sense in which the term is generally used. The congregation is the ultimate unit of organization. x x We, therefore, do not place the same stress as many others upon unity of extreme organization; but regard it only as a matter of expediency, to be desired or shunned, to be adopted or rejected according to the degree in which the organization promotes the confession of the common Lutheran faith, and its efficient diffusion and application.

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"If our faith were one, and our circumstances and relations essentially the same, if we had a homogeneity of elements and origin and history, like that which prevails in nearly all of the entirely American communions about us, a union at no distant day could readily occur. The first question, then, is as to whether these several bodies be in the unity of the same faith. Its answer comprehends more than that of such general unity as may be found where the very least amount of the revealed truth necessary for salvation is accepted. The question is not concerning the very least consistent with salvation, but concerning the full acceptance of all that the Lord had charged the Church to teach, conceding nothing, omitting nothing.

It is not concerning unity in the generic Christian faith, but concerning unity in the Lutheran faith. It is concerning the acceptance of distinctive Lutheran doctrines the maintenance of which requires the separate and independent existence of the Lutheran Church, and alone justifies the continuance of the Lutheran name, and distinctively Lutheran institutions and agencies.

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Closely related with this is the question concerning identity in the confession of faith. As in all associations for mutual cooperation, there must be a clear and explicit statement of the terms of the union, so also here. Confessions of faith, like all other articles of agreement, are to be subscribed in such a way that there can be no ambiguity concerning what is understood as their meaning. We must have identity not only in the document recognized and endorsed as the Confession of Faith, but also in the interpretation put upon the document. The value of the Augsburg Confession is not in its words, but in the doctrine which its words are meant to teach. Any agreement to receive the very same words, and then to disagree concerning that which the words are meant to convey, can give no assurance of unity in the faith. It is not enough that the various Lutheran Bodies hold to the one Augsburg Confession, but the questions back of this are, as to whether there is divergence in the understanding of this Confession, and then, as to whether this divergence is so serious as to render mutual cooperation impossible. That such divergence exists no one denies. Some understand their subscription to apply only to the fundamental doctrines contained in the Confession, and then leave the question open as to what are and what are not fundamentals. Such subscription is apt to be construed by the individual as meaning whatever he does now receive is non-fundamental. Others profess to receive the entire Confession, but differ in its interpretation, some insisting upon its historical sense, as shown by the history of the formulation of its Articles, the records of the controversies which occasioned them, and the interpretation of its composer, his colleagues and the concurrent testimony of approved Lutheran teachers for centuries; and some even claiming that every individual subscriber may attach to it his own interpretation, and that to question this is to assail the right of private judgment. Some maintain that all its Articles are to be received; others that the Articles "On Abuses," are not to be required. Some maintain that agreement concerning the main heads of doctrine contained in each article, is sufficient; others go to the extreme of drawing assent even to illustrations, arguments, etc., and still others to inferences de-

duced from the Confessions, even though they be not confessionally stated. If there is ever to be any union, all these questions must be definitely settled at the very beginning. To leave them in indefiniteness means only to give occasion for numberless misunderstandings and controversies.

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"Yet even when sufficient unity of faith and confession for mutual cooperation has been attained, unity of organization may be for a long time delayed. Were we all of one nationality, or had the process of Americanization progressed equally, the question would be much simplified. But as the Lutheran faith is almost cosmopolitan, and as the ends of the earth are meeting in this land, our Lutheran elements are of many nationalities.

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Almost every year has added its new layer to the original stock.... Those longest in this country have caught its spirit; in some respects for the better, in others, for the worse, and their religious life, mode of thought and ideas concerning Church operations, have been more or less colored by what they have learned from the more influential denominations around them.

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"Besides this, the successive waves of immigration have brought with them the peculiarities of Church life prevalent at the time in the Lutheran Churches of other European countries. For there is no other bond of unity between Lutheran Churches throughout the world, except that found in the possession of the one, common Lutheran faith. Hence, there is every variety of Church government, episcopal, presbyterian, consistorial, congregational; of orders of worship, with a full liturgy in some lands and with Puritanic simplicity in others; and with various details of internal regulation, whose divergences reappear here all the more prominently because of the contrast. The union of Church and State in some Lutheran countries has determined a Church polity in utter violation of consistent Lutheran principles; and though its evils are recognized, and their new freedom here to administer their churches according to the Gospel is lightly appreciated, there must necessarily be a period of experimentation, characterized by occasional extremes, in reaction from the old bondage, until ministers, congregations and synods have fully adjusted themselves to their new relations. Nor are

nativisms so readily relinquished. National antipathies and jealousies reappear even when the native land has forever been forsaken.

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Yet none of these obstacles are absolutely insurmountable. Nor do any of these considerations prove that ultimate organization, as the true expression and result of an inner unity on the basis of a clear confession of the Lutheran faith, is not to be devoutly wished and earnestly prayed for. The greatest danger is, lest in anxiety for such a consummation, men, by their precipitancy, retard the very object in view. No true union can be forced by man's arts and efforts. If it is to be enduring, it is the work of decades, and not of years or months. It must be brought about by the silent and gradual working of God's Spirit, in the calm and prayerful study of His Word, and through that love to the brethren which is ever present where there is true love to Christ. Such fraternal love must necessarily precede all efforts for organic union, and render it possible for each to respect the convictions of the others, even though for a time they dwell apart."

This paper was printed in "The Lutheran" of June 2, 1887.

A few months later, a discussion in the Pastoral Association led to an inquiry on my part why the Lutheran pastors of Philadelphia of both the General Council and the General Synod could not come together occasionally to discuss the Augsburg Confession, on which they professed to agree. The idea took form. Dr. Mann became enthusiastic over it. He proposed the formation of an "Augustana Association," and public meetings at which an address on an article would be delivered, followed by remarks. A Committee was appointed to digest a plan, and, if expedient, confer with the General Synod pastors.

As I was responsible for the suggestion, I wrote out my thoughts which I had on the spur of the moment opened up in the Pastoral Association. The paper was in my drawer when an appeal came from Mr. Passavant for an article. I sent it, and it appeared on Jan. 12th. 1888, under the title "Is an understanding attainable?" It was the beginning of considerable discussion on the part of "The Lutheran" of Feb. 9th. "The Observer" showed great sensitiveness, and deprecated the possibilities of friction that might arise from such conferences. The result was that I did not call the committee together. If the very discussion as to whether such meetings should be held caused strife, what might be expected from the meetings themselves? The time was evidently not ripe for such a movement.

In the spring of 1888 my mother-in-law, Mrs. Downing, and her daughter, Miss Georgie, moved from Palmyra, N.Y. to our home. This rendered a larger house necessary. We moved from 4104 Powelton Avenue to 4303 Walnut Street. It was a large and beautiful house. My study was spacious. The house was well and economically heated. We had a number of pleasant neighbors. Dr. Muhlenberg's house was separated from ours by only one other. I was so at home there, that when the call came 18 months later to move to Mount Airy, I regretted very much the necessity of the change.

On Oct. 15th, 1888 on a Monday morning, Dr. Schmucker hurried to catch a train at Pottstown on his way to consult with Dr. Seiss concerning a new edition of "The Church Book." By his haste he had strained his heart. He became ill on the train and changed cars to have better air, but growing worse, he was taken from the car at Phoenixville dead or just breathing his last. It was a great shock and a great blow to the many interests in the Church which he was serving. I went with Dr. Muhlenberg to the funeral at Pottstown, which was largely attended. A second service at Allentown the next day was also a fitting testimonial to the high estimate placed upon his services and the regard personally felt for him. A few weeks later I preached the memorial sermon to his former congregation at Pottstown. This was published in "The Lutheran." When a tablet was afterwards put in the church at Pottstown, I prepared the inscription.

His death not only brought to the Seminary the Liturgical Library of the Ministerium which he had been collecting for years, but his own personal books were offered to us. By appointment of the Faculty I spent a day at Pottstown with Mrs. Schmucker and his son, now Prof. Samuel C. Schmucker of West Chester, selecting such volumes as were not duplicates and packing them for shipment.

The presence of the Liturgical Library in the Seminary led me to set about devoting all the time I could find to the study of Liturgics in which, up to this time, my knowledge was very limited. I read Kliefoth and Schoeberlein most diligently, and plunged in medius res in the examination of the Reformation Orders, as well as of the Pre-Reformation material. The "Excursus on the Lutheran Chief Order of Service" found in "The Lutheran Movement,"<sup>2</sup> was outlined at the time, and given to the Class of 1889, by whom it was mimeographed. My work on "The Lutheran Movement" was now assuming a more definite form. The articles on "The First English Lutherans" in "The Lutheran," were collected, arranged and enlarged. New clues were

followed. The liturgical section of the work was begun. Because of my absorption in such studies, the winter of 1888-9 has not left as vivid an impression on my mind as most of the periods before and after. My brother-in-law, Dr. A.S. Downing, was with us for about a month in early spring. My brother Ed spent the whole winter with us, going daily to Wanamaker's where he had employment. Master Charles fell in his room and broke his arm; and later mangled his thumb at the "dumb waiter."

The Joint Committee was in session once or twice while we lived on Walnut Street, Dr. Horn staying with us. Mr. Passavant was also on hand frequently, pushing forward the Home Mission work.

In the Seminary everything was awaiting the great change which was to occur in the coming Fall with the removal to Mt. Airy. There was a general understanding that I was to move thither as soon as arrangements could be made, and become Housefather. The Board had so decided at the Spring meeting. But a house was yet to be provided. Up to within two or three weeks of the opening of the year, I expected to remain in West Philadelphia, and go in and out daily. But the Committee of the Board finally decided that it was absolutely necessary for me to live near the grounds, and promised to rent a suitable home. Mrs. Jacobs went with me to canvass the neighborhood, and examined such houses as were available. We finally found a house just built next to the corner of Boyer and Mt. Airy Streets; and thither we moved about two weeks after the Seminary had opened for 1889-90.

We delayed the opening for a week that year because the arrangements for furniture, moving, etc. could not be completed earlier. This enabled Dr. Mann who had been in Europe to be on hand when we began.

The greatest confusion in moving was with the library. I had arranged to have the books packed by students on Franklin Street into properly marked boxes, keeping the classification complete. Dr. Hill procured a Germantown carpenter for a quarter or so less per day than a workman in the city, tore all the books from the shelves, and took the shelving away. The result was that it was over two years until the disorder thus made was righted. Several hundred dollars were spent in reclassifying. The books were carried into cars and wagons, packed promiscuously, and carried in this way into the Mt. Airy building. After a few weeks had passed I interested the students in the work; and Mr. Andrew Blum, the one most interested, became our librarian. I began myself to arrange the books according to the order in Wuer's Theological Handbook, and soon found Mr. Blum an apt pupil. He worked on it all through his middle and senior years, and in vacations.

After graduation he became the assistant rector of the Mary J. Drexel Home, and spent a day or two a week for a year completing what he had begun. We had to use the attic of the Gowen Mansion for library purposes - a very inaccessible, perilous and, in summer, burning-hot place. The Liturgical Library was placed in a room at the end of the hall-way.

The Dedicatory Services<sup>4</sup> brought together a very large concourse of people. They occurred on October 4th., just twenty-five years after the Seminary opened on Franklin Street. Drs. Seiss, Krotel and Spaeth made the morning addresses. Drs. Schaeffer and Mann were dissatisfied that they were not included among the speakers; and yet they had spoken at the Corner Stone Laying the preceding year! In the afternoon the addresses were all made by Alumni.<sup>5</sup> The day was as propitious as one in October could well be. The sun shone brightly all day; though, except in the middle of the day, the atmosphere was chilly. It was also an interesting incident that it was also the anniversary of the Battle of Germantown, which began in 1777 at the very spot where the exercises were held.

Seventeen years have made considerable change in the place and its surroundings. There were no cars on German-town Avenue nearer than the "car stable," three quarters of a mile south of us. A round trip to the city on either the Pennsylvania or the Reading R.R. cost 35 cents (now 17 on the latter and 8 1/4 by trolley). The trees and bushes had not been trimmed for years, and formed a regular wilderness. Where the new library building is now rising, there was a dense forest with blue bushes and much undergrowth, and masses of leaves and other rubbish almost knee deep. Back of the old barn there were piles of stumps and trees and other material. The barn was in bad condition, the floor being entirely away in one place. The roads were deep with mud whenever it rained. Only a pathway through the old orchard of gnarled trees, overgrown with poison ivy, led to Boyer Street, where several native cedars stood as sentinels to the entrance of the grounds. A row of closely-set Arbor vitae trees hid the door of the Gowen Mansion from the street, and an old fashioned pump gave the promise of good water which it never kept. The floors of the Gowen Mansion as well as those of the hallways of the Dormitory were all bare, as we found them. A stone lodge greatly delapidated stood on the NW corner of the grounds, until demolished in the Spring of 1896.

The Seminary had to become accustomed to its new environment, and to modify and adjust many of its old customs and regulations. In assigning the rooms, I abolished the former system of casting lots, and introduced that of giving preference, first, according to the class, and then, according to age.

The rule at the old Seminary was to lock the building at 11 o'clock every night. We tried it for a week or two, and found it entirely impracticable. A Senior who was out preaching at Chester came to the door on Sunday night after that hour, and without using much force, got in. But as the bar of the lock was bent Dr. Hill complained so that I heard it rumored that the students were so disorderly that they came in at all hours, and if the door was locked, broke it open. Young men at the Seminary stage of course could not be treated as little boys. Even Professors having evening engagements in the city, cannot be expected to be always at home by the time the clock strikes eleven.

Morning prayers were held in the city at 6:30, a warning bell ringing at 6 A.M. This was also found out of the question in the new building. It was a relic of the German custom according to which the entire evening was devoted to recreation, and then work begun very early the next morning. American students do much of their work at night. It was no wonder that on Franklin Street there was a constant struggle between Dr. Mann and the students concerning their attendance at prayers. Another bell rang at ten minutes of eleven warning students that the lights were to be extinguished. We had a very indignant protest against this from a neighbor. We found also that there was danger attending the nightly turning off of gas. Some forgot to turn the keys at the burners, and when early the next morning it was again turned on at the meter, the rooms were full of gas. The amount of saving by this practice was so small that after a few years it was abandoned.

According to the Franklin St. usage, the student conducting worship announced a hymn, read a chapter and made an extemporaneous prayer. I sent to Columbia, S.C. for the Common Service as issued by the United Synod of the South, and introduced the Matin Service. The Seminary organist was Mr. A.H. Steimle, and too much praise cannot be given him for what he contributed to the success of this change. Before the winter was over the students were divided into two sections and chanted the Psalms and Te Deum antiphonally. All objections to liturgical services gradually gave way before this practical exhibition of their value.

At first we were at a loss concerning Church privileges. The Seminary stood between St. Michael's, of which Rev. J.P. Deck was the pastor, and Chestnut Hill (Christ's), Rev. C.J. Hirzel, pastor. I suggested to Dr. C.W. Schaeffer that we begin services in the Seminary Chapel (then the former parlor of the Gowens - now the Hill Memorial Room). "Let us begin next Sunday," I said. "Do you really think so?" asked Dr. Schaeffer, exhibiting a little doubt. "Certainly," I said. He consented and a movement was begun against which there were soon protests. The Faculty

endorsed it, the services being alternately in English and German. Beside the Faculty and Dr. Hill, Dr. Grahn, Rev. G.C.Gardner, Prof. M.H.Richards of Allentown, Dr. G.F.Spieker, Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer and others participated in filling the appointments. One year we held the service in the afternoon, and I did most of the preaching.

I came into the closest contact with the students. My life became a repetition of that which I had lived when I was tutor at College - only it was far more agreeable. It was an extraordinary set of young men we had that year. Before the year was over, a case of Scarlet Fever frightened off the Southern students just on the eve of examinations. Mr. Passavant engaged no less than seven of the men in the Home Mission field. Mr. Gebert went to Fargo; Messrs. Grahn and Hoffman to Minnesota, Mr. Murphy to Wisconsin; Mr. Reck to Rockford, Ill.; Mr. Bond to Toledo, O.; and Mr. Steimle to Newark, N.J.<sup>7</sup>

An interesting episode was the initiation of the entire Seminary to St. Stephen's Episcopal Church ( 10th. Street) one evening, where we met the Professors and students of the Divinity School in West Philadelphia, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., the Reformed Episcopal Seminary on 43rd. and Chestnut, W. Phila., and the Reformed Presbyterian Seminary in the Northern part of the city. Rev. Dr. S.D.McConnell, the Rector, received us with much cordiality, and, after refreshments, Dr. Schaeffer and representatives of other Seminaries spoke in the church. Our contingent was about as large as all the others united.

Shortly after this, I had accepted an invitation to a dinner at one of the hotels near Broad and Walnut, of representatives of various denominations to confer concerning Bible Study. The invitation had been given me evidently at Dr. Hilprecht's suggestion. Drs. Mann and Spaeth were also there. Prof. Harper, then of Yale University, was the central figure. After he had spoken, and one or two followed, I was called unexpectedly to the floor. Prof. J. Rendel Harris, now of Cambridge, England, Mr. R.C.Ogden, Dr. McConnell and others spoke. An Executive Committee<sup>voted</sup> to organize courses of lectures consisting of Prof. Harper, Drs. Bartlett and Batten of the Divinity School, Dr. Beckley of the Baptists, and me. We arranged a series of lectures on the Old Testament that winter by Prof. Harper. They were delivered in Holy Trinity Church, Rittenhouse Square, to large audiences. The course was not spoiled by the attempts to exploit the new criticism. The next year we arranged for another course by Dr. Harper on the Old Testament; and one on the New ( the Gospel of St. John) by Dr. Spaeth,<sup>7</sup> delivered in two places: Holy Trinity Church and the Oxford Presbyterian Church in the Northern part of the city.

Dr. Spaeth's lectures have been published as his contribution to the Lutheran Commentary.

My meeting Dr. McConnell and my frequent visits to his church led me, after having preached in the morning, to go to his service in the afternoon at which he was preaching a series of discourses on the History of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Fortunately or otherwise, I came at a time when he reviewed the German immigration to Pennsylvania and spoke in the most disparaging terms of the founders of our Church - the Muhlenbergs excepted. I replied in "the Lutheran" on "Guessing at History."<sup>6</sup> The article was reprinted in "The Workman." Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer had it printed on slips, and sent a copy to every Episcopal clergyman in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. When, in spite of my criticisms, his statements were published in book form, Judge (now Governor) Pennypacker also attacked his statements in an address before the Pennsylvania German Society. I met Dr. McConnell several times afterwards. He was cordial, and several years later commended my "History of the Lutherans;" but no mention was made of the topic on which I had attacked him.

I had not anticipated attending the meeting of the General Council at Pittsburgh in 1889; but on the day of the dedication of the Seminary, Dr. Krotel and Judge Staake had so urged me to be present, that I wrote the Secretary recalling my declination which had already been sent. The meeting was looked forward to with great anxiety because the Fellowship Question - which had been disquieting the General Council ever since its formation - was to again be brought forward. A prominent place in discussion had been assigned to me which was entirely contrary to my wishes. It was a perpetual annoyance to me that at every meeting of the General Council I was expected to take a leading part in the discussion of a subject that I thought had already received disproportionate attention. I had no interest whatever in the constant agitation of the question of Pulpit and Altar Fellowship. The principles of the General Council had been clearly stated." In my opinion this was enough; and the German synods that kept pressing them, in my judgment, should have been informed that if dissatisfied with the General Council, it might be just as well for them to withdraw. I was opposed to doing anything further to conciliate their favor.

The General Council at Minneapolis had resolved to discuss at Pittsburgh the question: "How does preaching in the pulpits of other than Lutheran churches, especially during the Synodical conventions, agree with the declaration of the General Council made in Pittsburgh in 1868?"

The President of the General Council ( Dr. Seiss) appointed me Chairman of the Committee " to bring this

matter in proper form for discussion," and associated with me Drs. Weidner and Belfour. Our report is found in the English Minutes (Pittsburgh 1889) pp. 11-15.

Not having expected to be present, I had prepared a long paper on "The Fellowship Question" for the October number of the Church Review in which I had expressed my mind freely and without reserve on the entire question in its relations. This I had rushed through the press for publication so that it was in the hands of our pastors by the first of October. I refer to it here as the mature expression of my position.<sup>12</sup>

When I was urged to go to Pittsburgh, I went determined to maintain unflinchingly all that I there asserted. The discussion on the Theses was a mere skirmish. There was a general interchange of opinion without any result.

But the strict constructionists had another line of attack at hand. The New York Ministerium and the Canada Synod were clamorous for a more explicit statement of the Council's position. This was referred to a committee of which I was Chairman. As I passed out of the church, Rev. J. Petersen,<sup>13</sup> one of the most clamorous of the New York men, tapped me on the shoulder, and said: "Only concede the principle and we will make it easy for you." My answer was: "I ask no favors."

Meanwhile poor Petersen had violated the very principle for which he had been criticizing the General Council. A Rev. Dr. Pick was at the time serving a German Presbyterian church in Allegheny or Pittsburgh. On Sunday Mr. Petersen preached for him; whereupon Dr. Belfour<sup>14</sup> wrote him a note stating that his preaching in a Presbyterian pulpit was in violation of the rule of the General Council which requires the approval of the President of the General Council and the pastor loci, in all cases of supply of pulpits of other denominations at the meetings of the Council. Dr. Belfour had him in a tight place. He added that as sure as Mr. P. would take part in the discussions he would be exposed for his inconsistency, to the entire Council. Mr. P., although one of the most loquacious debaters during the first days of the sessions, had nothing to say after this note from Dr. Belfour reached him.

The sum and substance of the report which finally passed the Council almost unanimously, was that "the present position of the General Council is to be understood and interpreted in such a manner that neither the amendment and further explanation at Galesburg, nor the original action at Akron be overlooked or ignored; both of which remain in full force and mutually interpret and supplement one another." Thus the question was finally settled that exceptions to the Rule are possible.

The debate on this question, including that on the theses, lasted several days, and required considerable parrying. The final decision, as above stated, was an amendment to the Report agreed upon by a Committee of Conference composed of Drs. Seiss, Spaeth and me. Of this the Minutes contain no reference.<sup>15</sup>

While Mr. Petersen's words, above quoted, give an insight into one side of the question, a hint as to something on the other side is found in the advice of one of the most prominent and generous members of the First Church, Pittsburgh, to the effect that the laity were regarding the decision of the question with the greatest concern, and would not bear any more concessions to the extremists. The advice did not affect my attitude on the question since it was precisely what I had advocated in the article just then published.

Another question which pressed for consideration was that of the Chicago Theological Seminary. I stayed at Dr. Passavant's; and when Dr. Weidner came we roomed together.

I had been instrumental in bringing Dr. Weidner to Dr. Passavant's attention as a proper person for Chicago. Dr. Weidner had called on me while I was living on Walnut Street in the summer of 1888, and told me that he could remain no longer at Rock Island where he had been Professor since 1882 in the Theological Department of Augustana College. The climate at Rock Island did not agree with Mrs. Weidner, and he had nothing to do but to seek a place elsewhere. He therefore asked me to use my services in securing a call from the Chicago Seminary. He thought that he could influence the Augustana Synod to move its Seminary to Chicago. There had been considerable correspondence afterwards as to how this might be consummated. Dr. Weidner had finally come to Pittsburgh with a proposition. The Board of Trustees of the General Council' Seminary should erect a building on the land donated by Dr. Passavant. Another tract of land directly adjoining this should be secured, and on this another building should be erected for the Augustana Synod with funds which Mr. D.L. Moody, as a friend of Dr. Weidner, would collect. The students of the Augustana Synod would have only to cross the fence to attend lectures and recitations in the other institution! The relation of Mr. D.L. Moody to the transaction was to have been kept confidential. Dr. Weidner erred, however, in thinking that there had ever been any inclination within the Augustana Synod towards such a movement.

I did all in my power towards disposing the Council favorably towards the Chicago Seminary. The Minutes state:

"Rev. Dr. Jacobs read a paper on the same subject, whereupon the whole matter was referred to a special committee," viz. Drs. Seiss, Passavant, Jacobs, Weidner, Lindahl, Spaeth, Steinhauser, Richter, Messrs. Staake, Moller, Potteiger, Langenstein, and Kaercher.

This committee afterwards reported action looking towards a plan for the early establishment of the Seminary.

At this meeting it was thought desirable that the President of the General Council, Dr. Krotel, should be a member of the Board of Trustees. I cheerfully surrendered my place to him.

There are some incidents of that Pittsburgh meeting which I can never forget. Among them was the delightful steamboat excursion on Saturday afternoon, and the pleasant conversation I had with Judge Slagle of the Pittsburgh Court who claimed relationship with my mother.

Returning home on "The Day Express," with the sun shining in its glory, and the mountains ablaze with autumnal tints, Dr. Seiss expressed his great gratification with the results attained at the meeting and gave me the credit of having contributed largely towards them.

One Sunday afternoon that autumn I was teaching my two boys in my study at the Seminary when there was a knock at the door. When it opened who should stand before us but Dr. Morris? He was 86 years of age, and being in the city over Sunday, he came out to see us. He was full of life and animation, and was in fact agile, and wanted to see everything. I took him to our home on Boyer Street, where Mrs. Downing - whom he had confirmed - was staying. On bidding me good-bye at Mt. Pleasant station, he expressed himself as having had a most profitable afternoon. It was not his last visit to Mt. Airy.

( Other leaders of the General Synod have been here at various times: Drs. Wolf and Wenner, often as members of the Joint Committee, and the former on other errands; Dr. Valentine, twice; Dr. Hay, once; Dr. Richard, probably a half dozen times; Dr. Butler, once; Rev. P. Anstadt, once; Rev. H. Baker, once; Dr. C.S. Albert, often; Dr. H.L. Baugher, three times; Drs. Singmaster, Billheimer, Owen etc... Dr. W.M. Baum, Sr., a number of times; Dr. S.B. Barnitz, twice . The latter two came out to see me shortly before Dr. Baum's death. Drs. Bauslin and Ort have also been here. A large number of my former Gettysburg pupils have called.)

While in the process of moving, I wrote the Preface to Dr. Wolf's book, "The Lutherans in America."<sup>16</sup> I had read the manuscript chapter by chapter as he wrote it, and made suggestions and even insertions by his special request. About the same time a book called "That Undis-

covered Country"<sup>17</sup> appeared edited by Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon. Its plan was to give a number of papers on eschatological subjects by representatives of various churches both in America and Europe. At Dr. Bacon's request I made a contribution to it. I had previously procured Kliefoth's "Christliche Eschatologie," and written a notice which covered an entire side of the "New York Independent" in its former quarto size. A student shortly afterwards referred to the enterprise of "The Independent," in noticing such books, contrasting it with the indifference and perhaps inability of our own writers in this regard. He was surprised when I told him that I wrote it. Some years later Dr. Schmauk expressed his admiration of an editorial on "The Lutheran Church," he had read in "The Ledger." "One of our own men could scarcely have done any better," he added. "Have you read it?" "Yes", was my answer, "I wrote it."

That was a remarkably mild winter. Violets were gathered on our grounds every month. On Christmas Day the heat was such that I was glad to carry my overcoat on my arm as we came from the service at Chestnut Hill. My mother spent the first part of the year at Harrisburg, and came to us on February 15th. 1890. The day was so warm that when I met her in the city and brought her from Germantown Junction by way of the Sixteenth Street Station of the Reading Road, I had no overcoat. I took a risk and did not suffer.

On Ash Wednesday the first Seminary Communion was administered. Mr. Gebert, who had been a carpenter, converted a Professor's desk into an altar. This service was continued, and is recognized as a very important feature each year. Princeton Seminary, we notice, has also provided for such a service.

In May the Ministerium met in Bethlehem. I preached the Ordination Sermon in Grace Church.<sup>18</sup> I stayed with the pastor loci, Rev. E. Smith, the President of the Ministerium,<sup>19</sup> Rev. Dr. Krotel being another guest. The Board was instructed to erect a Professor's house on the grounds for my home. Nearly three thousand dollars (\$2993) were subscribed on the floor of Synod. During the summer the ground was broken and work on it begun. Except in the matter of locating the house and particularly determining its front line, we had little influence on the plans; Dr. Hill determined everything. Work on the house was suspended at times until the needed collections for it were made. We moved into it in the fall of 1891, just as the Seminary was opening.

In the early fall my "Lutheran Movement in England" appeared. It received very cordial approval from all parts of the Lutheran Church,<sup>20</sup> and also very unexpectedly to me, from both sides of the Episcopal Church. Its recognition also spread to England. A few copies had been

sent at my suggestion to prominent liturgical scholars abroad and, through them it reached others. Among those who wrote me very soon after its publication was the Rev. Henry R. Percival, Rector of the Church of the Evangelists in the Southern part of the city. Dr. Percival wrote me a most emphatic letter of approval pronouncing the book the best commentary on the Book of Common Prayer published in this country. He informed me also that he was the great grandson of the Rev. Dr. J.C.H. Helmuth, formerly of Zion's Church, and a leader of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. He had some interesting documents of his ancestor he would be glad to show me if I would call upon him. I answered appointing a time for my call. He lived on Spruce Street, nearly at Eleventh, in a large handsomely furnished house, and with a large library of valuable books. He was known as the leader of the High Churchmen of the city and as one of their most scholarly representatives in America. I made the acquaintance of a tall, thin, very nervous man, about forty years old, with piercing black eyes, in very infirm health, so that he did not venture from home except as he was driven in a carriage. He was a bachelor and his mother and sister lived with him. For a few minutes his manner was very much constrained. He seemed uncomfortable, and calling a servant, he apologized for taking a cup of beef tea and a cracker to calm his nervousness. "It is so strange," he said, "that you and I should be here together." His allusion meant that extreme High Churchman as he was, and hostile to Luther and Lutheranism, his friendly interview with a Lutheran professor was a remarkable episode. He had a trunk full of manuscripts of Dr. Helmuth brought in by a servant. He told me to select what I wanted, and he would have the rest burned. I begged him not to do so. But lest his thought might be executed, I went away carrying in my arms as large a package as I was able. When I reached home and the next day assorted my treasures, I was delighted with my capture. I announced my trip and its results to Dr. Mann who readily consented to go with me on another visit. So I wrote to Dr. Percival and we called one afternoon during the next week. Dr. Percival had become more composed in the presence of representatives of his great-grandfather's Church. Dr. Mann did his best to be gracious and succeeded admirably. (Dr. Mann to Percival on leaving, "If more of your clergymen had your erudition, I would have more respect for your denomination.")

Dr. Percival became very generous and gave us about everything of Dr. Helmuth he possessed except a letter of Gen. Washington to the Corporation of Zion's and St. Michael's, in answer to their congratulations on his election as President. This he transcribed for me, and I published it several times.<sup>21</sup>

Dr. Mann some Sundays later visited the Church of the Evangelists. He spoke favorably of the sermon. The

rector had him detained and showed him some interesting ecclesiastical objects he had gathered, among others a very handsome chalice studded with gems. "Truth is stranger than fiction," exclaimed Dr. Mann one day. "Only look at this." He held out a letter to Dr. Helmuth, found among the Percival papers, which was signed in a bold hand "J.G.Mann." "There," he said, "is the signature of my father!" Dr. H. had applied to a Bible Society at Stuttgart for German bibles, and Mr. Mann answered as one of the officers.

At the beginning of the next year, Mr. Percival wrote me that among the chief grounds for thanksgiving were the new friendships he had formed.

I called on Mr. (shortly afterwards Dr.) Percival quite often, and learned to know him well. We had most earnest discussions in which we unreservedly criticized each other. I found him well versed in Mediaeval Theology and Liturgics, a fluent reader of French as well as Latin, but utterly deficient in knowledge of German, and knowing Lutheranism entirely from its Roman Catholic critics. He was decidedly Romanizing in his theology, but hostile to the Papacy. His attitude towards the various Protestant denominations was once expressed thus: "I regard you a true minister. There is an historical justification for Lutheranism and for Presbyterianism. But what object a Methodist or Baptist serves, I cannot tell." Nevertheless, he was probably stretching his attitude towards Lutheranism to the very utmost in making the admission. A copy of the parish paper published by St. Mark's Church, Locust Street, was put in my hands by Dr. Spaeth, in which there was a most violent attack upon Luther, repeating charges made by Audin, Baring-Gould and others? Mr. Percival was the author. I at once wrote George Wharton Pepper, Esq., the editor of the paper, expressing my astonishment at the publication of the article, and to Mr. Percival telling him that my friendship with him must cease if such were his deliberate statements. He replied immediately that if he were not such an invalid, he would hasten to Mt. Airy that we might have a talk over the whole matter, and he begged me to come and see him. When I called, I found a distinguished English prelate, Benson, a son I think of the former Governor of India, and other high church clergy in the house, just finishing dinner. Mr. P. came at once into the parlor, begged forgiveness, and said his guests would leave in a very short time and we could talk over our difference. I consented to go to the table and meet his friends. Then I went with him to his bed-room where he rested while I talked with him. This room was his workshop as well as infirmary. There was no carpet on the floor. An old rusty stove furnished the heat. An old fashioned high post bedstead, with an uncomfortable looking bed - it may have been chaff - was his resting-

place. Here he studied lying on his stomach. Everything else was in keeping. "There he lives," said a Low Churchman to me, "in luxurious poverty." All the rest of the house indicated wealth. He had coachmen and horses.

Twice I dined with him. We cooperated in a singular way. The Low Churchmen or rather the Broad Churchmen, were coquetting with the Swedes. Percival was an uncompromising opponent of the recognition of the validity of Swedish Ordination, and wanted to thwart all efforts made for union between the Swedish Church and the Episcopalians. He told me of a plan that was in contemplation for making an impression upon the Swedish Lutherans in the West. A Swede had been appointed or was being appointed to a position in the General Theological Seminary in New York. Application had been made to authorities in Sweden to send young men to the Seminary to be prepared for work among the Swedes in the West, who, in this way, were to be won for the Protestant Episcopal Church. The scheme Dr. P. regarded as dishonest, and asked how it could be checkmated. My course was very simple. I related the whole matter to Dr. Passavant. He communicated with the Professors at Rock Island and they, with the authorities in Sweden. The plan failed.

Mr. Percival was frequently sending me liturgical questions for examination in our Liturgical Library. I, in turn, obtained just as much information from him. Through him I became a member of the "Henry Bradshaw Society" - a liturgical association in England, and a subscriber of "The Guardian." Later when "The Christian Literature Company" was seeking someone to edit the volume on their Patristic series on "The Councils," and asked me to suggest an editor, I recommended Mr. P., and he prepared the volume. It fairly reflects the man, with his mediaeval learning, his aversion to anything German, his one-sided culture, and his deep prejudices. His "System of Christian Doctrine," used as a text-book at Nashotah<sup>24</sup> and elsewhere among the High-Churchmen is a curiosity! His "Theology of the Book of Common Prayer" in which he successfully maintains that not the XXXIX Articles but the Prayer Book is the proper Symbol of the English Church is much the better.<sup>25</sup>

Through Mr. Percival, I formed the acquaintance of several of his friends, Rev. William McGarvey, a scholarly man,<sup>26</sup> and Rev. Mr. Robinson; also Rev. Frederick Gibson of Baltimore, a liturgist, who visited me at Mt. Airy, and spent half a day in the Liturgical Library, and among the collection of Bibles, obtaining information which was afterwards acknowledged in the Preface to a Revision of the Text of the American Prayer-Book.

Notwithstanding Percival's professed admiration of my book, the High Churchmen did not let it pass without a reply. Prebendary Burbudge of England,<sup>27</sup> a liturgical

scholar of repute, was called to review it in an Episcopal theological journal published in Utica, N.Y.<sup>28</sup> I reprinted his article and answered it point by point,<sup>29</sup> and, as a reward, had a most interesting letter from the author thanking me for the new sources of information I had opened. His rejoinder, however, questioned the ability of any one who had not lived in England or studied in the British Museum to speak authoritatively concerning the Prayer Book.

Singularly enough, almost contemporaneously with my book, a book appeared in England by two Roman Catholics, one a Benedictine father, and the other a lawyer, Gasquet and Bishop on "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer." They agreed with me in tracing to Lutheran sources much of the material. It strengthened greatly the impression made by my book; and when Prebendary Burbidge spoke so emphatically concerning my inability to judge without having studied in the British Museum, Mr. Bishop wrote me a long letter endorsing and commending my book; he assured me that my conclusions were accepted by at least some of the scholars who had studied there.

The book was not intended to be an attack upon the English or the American Episcopal Church. It was a complete vindication of the Lutheran Church in its use of liturgical forms similar to the liturgical forms of these churches, from the charge that we were imitating them. It was also a complete answer to the criticisms of the Common Service made by some Lutherans in this country. Under the title of "The Lutheran Movement in England" I was able to defend and expand our service; and in such a way as not to arouse antagonisms among us. It was in a sense a defense of the General Council over against the attacks made almost weekly from the radical element in the General Synod.

The large liturgical correspondence which I conducted that winter was varied by a little excitement which swept over the Seminary. Dr. Spaeth - an enthusiastic musician - undertook to give a dramatic entertainment with what was known as a "Lutherspiel" by Herold. Dr. Spaeth believed it would bring Luther more to the attention of the public than previously. He found his chief actors among the students, supported by the choir of St. Johannis' Church. Rehearsals were held weeks beforehand. Having scruples concerning its propriety, I first consulted Dr. Mann; but I found him exceedingly reticent and unwilling to assume any responsibility. Later as the arrangements approached completion he became excited. "The idea of a Professor of Theology being a stage manager, etc!" was one of his exclamations. "Jacobs, you are a good fellow. I think a great deal of you. But you have one great fault. You are just a little soft! You let that man Spaeth take advantage of you too much."<sup>30</sup>

This was rather ungenerous, seeing that when the time for action had been present, he was unwilling to support me.

Finally Dr. Krotel as President of the Ministerium interfered. But this was at the very last moment when the arrangements for the play could not be interdicted. I did not attend. Some of the students who had rehearsed withdrew. A note I wrote Dr. Spaeth he did not open until after the Second Part had begun for fear that it contained positive orders from the President. Dr. Spaeth never could understand why dramatic performances of this kind which were approved and applauded in Germany, not only would not be popular in America, but instead would prejudice and array the religious community against us. The author afterwards demanded a royalty for this performance, and by his importunity, gave Dr. Spaeth considerable annoyance.

During that winter the Joint Committee was in session on the Catechism and the Augsburg Confession. Dr. Matthias Loy of Columbus stayed with us<sup>31</sup>. One night we entertained also Dr. Wolf, and at meals Rev. Mr. Tressel of the Joint Synod, then at Washington, D.C. We had the entire committee in attendance at dinner one noon, including also Drs. Wedekind and Wolf. Dr. Loy, for one who had the reputation of being exclusive and narrow, was very agreeable and conciliatory. While he was with us, the Magazine of his Seminary edited by Prof. Stellhorn<sup>32</sup> came to hand. I read with great pleasure his review of "The Lutheran Movement," and expressed my great satisfaction to Dr. Loy, however with the qualification that his colleague had paid no attention to the liturgical part of the work. "That is easily explained," said Dr. Loy. "Prof. Stellhorn knows nothing of Liturgica."

Dr. Loy expressed his desire that the General Council and the Joint Synod might stand together, declaring that they had no difficulty with us in the East, and that if we were in Ohio we would have the same difficulty with the District Synod that they had. It was an old wound. When the Reading Convention met in 1867 to prepare the way for a new General Body, the delegation of the District (English) Synod was admitted alongside of that of the Joint Synod to which it then belonged. This the Joint Synod regarded a great irregularity, and the feeling had been maintained. The District Synod, as is well known, shortly afterwards left the Joint Synod and united in the formation of the Council while the Joint Synod stayed aloof.<sup>33</sup>

The Spring brought a wedding to our house. Mrs. Jacobs' sister, Georgie, was married directly after the close of the Seminary year to Mr. T.W. Reinbrecht of New York. Mr. Reinbrecht was a native Saxon, his father having been Superintendent of large foundries not far from Dresden,

where the Luther Monument at Worms was cast. He had been a member of one of our Lutheran congregations in New York, and had formed the acquaintance of Georgie through her sister, Annie, then living at New York, and boarding in the same house. Mr. R. came from a good family. Mrs. Hilprecht was acquainted with his relatives, and my son, Charles, visited his sisters in 1903 who conducted a Young Ladies Seminary at Bonn. His brother had been for years a surgeon in the German Army. He was a man of good education, having a German Gymnasium training; and he had a remarkably fine appearance.<sup>34</sup> The ceremony was performed by Dr. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer. Our two little girls were maids of honor. The house was decorated with wild flowers in profusion gathered from the neighboring fields. My uncle, William (Rev. W.F.E.) was present. He had come East as a delegate to the General Synod, and spent about a week with us. Mrs. Jacobs' eldest brother, Morris, came to the wedding, but her brother, Seiss, was absent. Not long after the wedding, Mrs. Downing made a trip to Western Pennsylvania and spent some time with her sister, Mrs. Passavant, at Villegini on the mountain near Uniontown.

My mother had spent about ten days with us early in the Fall, and went to Canton, O. with my sister and Maria for the winter. The church which had been building for some time was completed during that period; and I received an urgent invitation from Mr. Isaac Harter, as well as from Dr. Harpster, to preach the dedicatory sermon. It would have been a great satisfaction to my mother if I had accepted; but my engagements were so numerous that I could not undertake it. The General Synod afterwards met there. Dr. Passavant was a visitor - the first time since the break at Ft. Wayne - and the guest of the Harpsters. My uncle, W.F.E., was a delegate.

My mother who had been failing all through the winter, was very weak during the meetings of the General Synod, and grew weaker afterwards, so that at the time of Georgie's wedding, I was prepared any any time to be summoned to Canton. She rallied, however, and some weeks later I met her and Julia at Harrisburg and accompanied them to Gettysburg. I spent some weeks that summer there, among other occupations, writing a series of articles "Whence, Where, Whither?" afterwards published in "The Lutheran."<sup>35</sup> My mother was so feeble that she kept me with her as long as my duties in connection with the opening of the Seminary and the arrangements for moving allowed.

All was confusion for some weeks in the fall of 1891, because of our moving to the Boyer Street Professor's house. Mrs. Jacobs was considerably hampered in her movements by a sprained ankle, and afterwards on a brief and final visit to my mother at Gettysburg with Marguerite, by an outbreak of poison on her face.

My cousin, Dr. Luther Jacobs of Emporia, Kansas, sent me his daughter, Mame. I was to enter her, if possible, in Bryn Mawr, or if that were impracticable, in any institution which I would select. The former had to be at once dismissed; that the girl could not pass the examinations was quite evident. After much time spent in searching for schools, she finally was entered at "The Walnut Lane School," Mrs. Richards, Principal, to be followed afterwards by my two daughters. She remained through the school year. Her father and mother came for her, and purchased her wedding outfit at the same time, as they gave up fighting against the inevitable.

Right in the midst of my moving embarrassments, Rector Cordes of the Mary J. Drexel Home called, with a very urgent request that I prepare a paper for a conference to be held in the beginning of October in connection with their anniversary. The subject chosen was "The Female Diaconate of the New Testament." Altho' the time was short and nothing could be more inconvenient, I undertook it. When it was read the call for its publication was so decided that I elaborated it still further. It appeared in "The Lutheran Church Review" for January 1892, and an edition of separately bound copies was also widely circulated.

Meanwhile changes of importance had occurred within the Seminary. Dr. Mann had long been looking towards Dr. Hilprecht as his ultimate successor. Dr. Spaeth had also been desirous that he become a member of our Faculty. My relations with Dr. Hilprecht were very close. Mrs. Hilprecht and Mrs. Jacobs were good friends.

A movement had been begun which rendered us apprehensive concerning the attainment of what we desired. Dr. Hilprecht was entirely without pastoral experience. Beside this, Dr. Weidner had proposed himself to confidential friends (me among them) as willing to accept the St. John's Professorship, and live upon the meagre income which it yielded. His particular department at Rock Island was that then covered by Dr. Mann at our Seminary.

Dr. Mann, then 72 years old, was not willing to give up his connection with the Seminary, altho' he was very willing to transfer the teaching of Hebrew to some one else. The Faculty, accordingly, at his

instance, recommended the Board to provide for the establishment of a "Professorship of Old Testament Language, Exegesis and Theology." When this came before the Board and at last reached Synod it was modified. The statement appears in the Minutes of the Pottstown meeting<sup>2</sup> that in view of the fact that Dr. Mann desired to be relieved of the teaching of Hebrew, it was resolved to elect an "Assistant Instructor in Old Testament Theology," and that Dr. Hilprecht was so designated. The Synod never elected him as a full member of the Faculty, altho' he was at once treated as such.

At the same meeting the delegate from St. John's, Philadelphia, speaking for the Board of that congregation, urged that its Professorship be at once filled. Various names had been suggested. Dr. Seiss declined it. Dr. Krotel had deliberated on it and had declined. Finally Dr. Seiss said on the floor of Synod that he had a name in mind. As the income of the Professorship was insufficient to command the entire time of a Professor, arrangements might be made with one of our most practical pastors to fulfil the duties of the chair which would be occupied with the teaching of the practical branches of Theology. He nominated the Rev. Dr. Jacob Fry of Reading.<sup>3</sup> There was a pause showing the surprise with which the nomination had taken the Synod. Rev. Dr. J. Kohler, one of the oldest and most judicious members,<sup>4</sup> ventured to suggest that the Synod should not be in haste, but should take time to deliberate. Mr. Wolfe, the lay delegate from St. John's urged immediate action. St. John's had waited long for just such action as Dr. Seiss proposed. The congregation would have to insist on its rights. Opposition was partially disarmed by the prospect of the economy of getting a Professor whose salary was provided chiefly by his congregation; and the motion of Dr. Seiss was carried with acclamation. When the hour for reflection came there was great dissatisfaction. Dr. Seiss evidently was moved to make the nomination by a desire to preserve the balance of languages in the Faculty. The election of Dr. Hilprecht, a German, required in his opinion the election of an American; so that the Faculty would stand:

Germans: Drs. Mann, Spaeth, Hilprecht.

English: Drs. Schaeffer, Jacobs, Fry.

The two new Professors were duly inaugurated in St. John's, on an evening at the beginning of the session, and delivered their inaugural addresses. Dr. Fry spent two days a week at the Seminary from 1891 to 1896, spending the night in the Dormitory. Dr. Hilprecht attended to his duties in connection with those assigned him at the University. He had scarcely begun his work when there was trouble. He had no patience with the students, and his domineering and dictatorial ways repelled them. Every day

he would come to me with a list of young men he wanted me to call to account for irregularities. Once he sent a student into my office with the announcement that he would dismiss his class and leave unless I would send an absentee to his room. University appointments frequently crossed those of the Seminary. When the time for Seminary Communion on Ash Wednesday came, altho' he had accepted the appointment to preach the German Sermon, he sent a note excusing himself - to attend a dinner at Mr. Harrison's. In some respects his presence was beneficial. He stimulated many men. Among other things he formed a Hebrew Club which met weekly and made astonishing progress in the language.

A crisis came when he announced that he had been invited to Hartford Theological Seminary, and he asked what he should do. The Faculty ( in the absence of Drs. Mann and Spaeth) and Dr. Seiss, the President of the Board, were at first inclined to urge that his salary be increased so that we might have him full time. I felt that there would be constant conflicts as long as he remained. My advice was approved by the Faculty and Dr. Seiss. It was that it would be well for Dr. Hilprecht to accept the Hartford Professorship, and at the same time annually deliver a course of lectures in our Seminary. I took the ground that it was a waste of time for a specialist of the rare attainments of Dr. Hilprecht to be occupied with teaching the rudiments of Hebrew. He could be of more service to us by giving us yearly the results of his investigations, than by drilling the students in the Hebrew paradigms. This gave great offense. Dr. Hilprecht disclaimed being a "specialist," and professed to be a universal scholar. Unfortunately, Mr. Frederick, as at other times, took occasion to notice the case in "The Lutheran." He announced Dr. Hilprecht's invitation, and simply added three words: "Why not resign?" This Dr. Hilprecht said came from me, as I was editor of "The Lutheran" - which, of course, was an error.

Dr. Spaeth had been disabled by asthma and catarrh to such an extent that he had leave of absence from the Seminary for that year. Taking most of his family with him, he had sailed for Europe in October, and, leaving them in Esslingen at his home, he went to Italy and spent the winter in Capri near Naples. He returned in time to take his classes after Easter. The Faculty and students gave him a welcome back one afternoon in the chapel.

Dr. Mann was taken ill after the Seminary had been in session about one month. He had risen early and worked as usual before breakfast, had a short interview with Mr. Plitt who had called for advice, and then was attacked by faintness at the breakfast table. He was carried to his room apparently unconscious, altho' he afterwards told me he knew all that occurred. He gradually improved,

but never afterwards taught in the Seminary. His resignation soon came, going into effect Jan. 1st, 1892. He was able to resume work on the notes to the Hallesche Nachrichten, visited Atlantic City for some weeks, attended Pastoral Conferences. Late in one Spring at one of the Conferences, he astonished us by an eloquent address on "The Jews." We afterwards found that he was reproducing the substance of an article he had written years before in the "Zeitschrift." His last visit to the Seminary was for the purpose of having a private talk with me concerning his successor. The break with Dr. Hilprecht had occurred and he was out of the question. Dr. Mann wanted the Rev. Theodore Schmauk<sup>5</sup> to succeed him, and asked me to use my influence in that direction. "How will the Germans regard it?" we asked. "You take care of the English-American side, and I will look after the Germans," was his answer. It almost seemed as though Dr. Mann had had a premonition of what was coming. I found him, before the illness that disabled him, standing in a revery at the head of the stairway of the Gowen Mansion. "Who would have ever thought it?" he asked, "That our Synod should ever have a Seminary like this!"

Drs. Spaeth and Mann, then being absent, our force was numerically no stronger than it had been before while one half of the Faculty was new to the work.

Two of our students gave us much concern. The week before Seminary opened a Finnish clergyman from San Francisco came to my house on Boyer Street one evening shortly after supper. He spoke English with considerable difficulty. He was thirty-seven years old and had come to the Seminary to perfect himself in English. As he had been travelling for days I had some supper prepared before taking him to the Seminary. When he sat down to eat our mulatto girl stood back of him to see that he was served. He asked the blessing in broken English and prayed for "the sister" who had been so attentive to his wants! In further conversation with him in my office there was so much that was strange that I wrote to Dr. C.W. Schaeffer, Chairman of the Faculty, to come up next morning, as I did not want to bear the responsibility of the presence of so doubtful a case among us. The Doctor was greatly amused and interested, but detected no evidence of insanity, altho' the pastor told him he was Bishop of the Church of North America, and sang a tune he had composed to accompany a poem he had written addressed to the American Flag! The Faculty met a day or two later. Its members interpreted the seeming vagaries of the man to his lack of acquaintance with the language and people with whom he was dealing. "If Dr. Jacobs had seen me trying to make myself understood in Palestine, he would probably have regarded me also as deranged," said Dr. Hilprecht.

It soon became apparent that the Seminary was no place for him. What he wanted was English instruction, not Theology; and he sought that by entering his name among the boys at the Penn Charter School in the city. He came frequently to our Sunday morning services. Several times he called on me afterwards. He had received a letter from home in Finland from his parents urging him to get married. As he despaired of finding any suitable American girl, the only proper bride would be a German princess; for he made no false claim, I think, in professing to be of the nobility. He wrote a letter accordingly to Prince Bismark, asking him to interest himself in arranging a match with a sister of the German Emperor; and brought it to me before sending it. I tried to reason with him concerning the folly of the proceeding; but to no purpose. Then I told him of the break between the Emperor and the former Chancellor. He declared that it made no difference, and that he would always be true to Bismark. A week or so later he brought me a letter he had written to the Emperor William, beginning by saying that he had first written to Bismark, but that Dr. Jacobs told him that they had had a "fall out", and so he would address him directly. I left the room before he finished reading.

One morning I was interrupted in one of my lectures by the appearance of a boy with a telegram. It was from this man, announcing that he was leaving for Thiel College to study English there. "The Ledger," a day or two afterwards, contained a dispatch concerning a Finnish nobleman, stopping at one of the Pittsburgh hotels, on his way to Thiel College to study English, who claimed to be Bishop of North America. His course at Greenville was brief. I heard of him next at Princeton, N.J., where he made an impression on Dr. Green who gave him a room in the Seminary. Next he announced his intention to marry the daughter of John Wanamaker, and began writing letters. As he incidentally mentioned my name, Dr. Paxton wrote me for information. Then he was heard from - from New York whence Dr. Wenner asked about him. In February he appeared again in Mt. Airy, evidently growing worse, roaming the streets at night, and ringing my bell repeatedly, altho' none of us heard it. He was finally arrested by the police and taken to Blachley, whence he wrote me. After some months he was discharged and returned to San Francisco. He was richly and tastefully dressed and never seemed to lack money. When arrested, he had several hundred dollars with him in a satchel.

The same year a Swede entered the Seminary. He suddenly disappeared about a week later leaving his books and clothing in his room. After waiting for a week I informed the Department of Public Safety concerning his disappearance. The public press throughout the whole country noticed it. I learned that he had sailed for Sweden. Dr. Schaeffer received a letter stating that he

had heard of the illness of his mother, and had hastened to Sweden without returning to the Seminary for his things. On returning to America he made several applications for admission, but was promptly refused.

At Christmas the Reinbrechts were with us. My mother had come from Gettysburg with Julia and Maria early in November. Julia, after several days stay, had returned to Canton. My mother occupied the front room of the new house into which we had just moved, and enjoyed it greatly. She was particularly pleased with the view from the window. Here one day she entertained Mr. Isaac Harter of Canton, who had called. Mrs. Dr. S.S. Schmucker, then living in Germantown, called to see her shortly after her arrival. She was very weak, and I carried her upstairs from her meals. She had had at least one painful fall.

She spent Christmas with us below stairs, greatly enjoying the day. Up to that time her mind had been occupied with providing presents for all her family. Uncle William's Christmas letter came and she heard it with interest.

The next morning we found that she had been taken sick during the night. While at first the attack did not seem serious, she had little strength to lose, and gradually grew weaker and weaker. The last day of the year she began to sink and we sent for Julia and Will and Ed. As the New Year was ushered in by the ringing of bells and blowing of whistles, she wished us "A Happy New Year." Ed was at hand that evening and returned next morning. Will travelled through the night and reached Mt. Airy about 6 A.M. She knew him and asked him about his family. We took turns in holding her hand. Towards noon she sank into a sleep, and passed away peacefully about four o'clock in the afternoon. For the details see the article I wrote for "The Lutheran,"<sup>6</sup> on the Sunday while her remains were still resting with us. Julia did not arrive until several hours after all was over.

On Sunday afternoon, services were held by Dr. Hill and Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer in our house. It was vacation; but such students as were at Mt. Airy were present.

On Monday (Jan. 4th.) we took her remains to Gettysburg. Mrs. Jacobs injured her ankle on the way. We met Dr. Harpster at Lancaster. The funeral was from our old home. She rested in it once more. Drs. Hay, Baugher and Wolf conducted the services at the house; Dr. Martin, at the Cemetery. Uncle Al and Aunt Alice from Harrisburg, and Cousin Lewis Bell from Smithsburg, Md. were with us. The snow was falling fast as we buried her.

Laura and I remained with Julia the rest of the week. I returned to Mt. Airy on Saturday. Will and Romaine, and Ed. and Mame were there the most of the time. It was a peculiarly cold season and the house was damp; but we had to take what time we had in disposing of the effects and arranging for the future. Laura and Julia remained over Sunday.

The Church of the Epiphany, New York, being vacant on account of the resignation of the Rev. F.F. Bjermyer,<sup>1</sup> I took temporary charge of it, sending students to preach and instruct the catechumens three Sundays while I officiated one Sunday a month. The catechetical class numbered nearly twenty. I confirmed them. Shortly afterwards Rev. J.W. Knapp became pastor.<sup>2</sup> The church at Newark, N.J., being again vacant, I went thither several times during this period, staying with Dr. Lawrence.

The new edition of the Church Book with its supplement of hymns appeared.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Seiss rewrote and reconstructed the Preface prepared by Dr. Schmucker, which appears now in the Common Service Book of the United Synod of the South.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Seiss, as well as Dr. Krotel, was not ready to make the Church Book conform in all its particulars to the Common Service. This they regarded only as a general guide. It was affirmed in meetings of the Church Book Committee that the Vesper Service could not be widely introduced into our English congregations. A half dozen congregations might use them, but this would be the limit. Those who made the statement did not understand our people. Their extensive adoption of the Vesper Service - in the country as well as in town churches - disproves it. The Ministerial Acts were also revised by Dr. Seiss in such a way that in some places the liturgical principle is lost sight of. The order of Confession and Absolution before Communion is distorted, and a wrong conception of the ministerial office is suggested by the change made. The Pastoral Association which had hitherto met at the Mary J. Drexel Home changed the place of meeting to the Seminary, in order to have the presence of the Professors, and be able to question them concerning liturgical matters. Dr. Ohl<sup>5</sup> conducted a Vesper Service participated in by the students in the Seminary Chapel at which there was a large attendance of the Pastoral Association.

About the middle of February 1892, I spent a Sunday at Princeton Theological Seminary. The Rev. William M. Paxton, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Homiletics and Church Polity, and previously pastor in Pittsburgh and New York, was raised in Gettysburg,<sup>6</sup> was a pupil of my father and an intimate companion of my uncle (David Eyster). His father and mother I had known. His aunt (Nancy Miller) had been with us through the days of the Battle of Gettysburg. At his invitation I went to Princeton to preach at the Seminary. Three of the Professors had only recently died, viz., Drs. C.W. Hodge, Magill and Aiken,<sup>7</sup> and the institution was very much crippled. Princeton had then scarcely 2000 inhabitants. The walks and roads were rough and muddy. Nothing was inviting except the University and Seminary buildings. Dr. Paxton enjoyed talking

with one who knew the scenes and many of the associates of his youth. He was a tall, dignified man, who in his prime had been remarkably handsome with his piercing black eye and coal black hair which had now turned white. He was not a scholarly man and made no such profession. As a preacher he had been eminently successful, and still more so as a congregational administrator in securing funds for Church operations. He had been a Moderator of the General Assembly, and a prominent member of Church Boards. We visited Princeton's chief places of interest in the afternoon, driving also into the country; and in the evening we called on Dr. Warfield whom I have always found very cordial.<sup>8</sup>

The next morning I preached in Miller Chapel, a rather primitive building; attended a conference in the afternoon conducted by Dr. Worden of the Sunday School Union;<sup>9</sup> and in the evening accompanied Dr. Paxton to an Episcopal Mission (Revival Service). Of the latter I gave a description in "The Lutheran"<sup>10</sup> which was copied into "The Living Church" of Milwaukee. It was an undignified performance throughout. I met Dr. Green, who had preached that morning in the College Chapel.<sup>11</sup> I told him that I remembered him from my Seminary days, when as a student I had pored over his Hebrew Grammar. "Were you too bored by that old thing?" was his answer. He told me of his high appreciation of Dr. Krauth. He spoke of Brigg's Controversy, and prophesied that the Lutheran Church could not continue to have the freedom from controversies on the Destructive Criticism it had hitherto enjoyed. "You will import some man from Germany some day and he will give you trouble."

The next morning Dr. Paxton at the train introduced me to Dr. C.W. Shields.<sup>12</sup> "The author of 'The Final Philosophy'?" I asked. "No," he answered, "not that; but of the book with the title 'The Final Philosophy.'"

Dr. Paxton was full of reminiscences of Gettysburg. "The statement has sometimes been made that the Lutheranism at Gettysburg was modified by Calvinism. I never could trace any such element. The current of Arminianism seemed to sweep everything away there." He lamented the scholastic temper prevailing at Princeton. "This place is like Athens, wholly given over to idolatry, i.e. the worship of Scholasticism." And yet his Homiletics, as he explained it to me, was thoroughly scholastic. No one could have been a more diligent student of sermons than Dr. Paxton. He had arranged and classified the sermons of the leading English, Scotch and American preachers, so that he knew the precise class of sermon to which each belonged.

About a week after returning from Princeton, we were shocked by the death of Mr. Charles F. Kuhnle, the husband of my mother's sister, "Aunt Lou." Mr. Kuhnle

had been in College with me. He was a Sophomore when I was a Senior. He was a Würtemberger, and had been preparing for the ministry at Gettysburg, but had been diverted by the war, having enlisted his Sophomore year. He rose to regimental quartermaster (1st. Lieutenant, I think). When he left the army, he became clerk in Government offices, finally serving under Hon. George Eyster (my mother's cousin), United States Treasurer in Philadelphia. When he was out of a situation for several months and had been in great distress, my recommendation with that of others gave him position as Superintendent of the Orphans' Home at Germantown, from 1876 to 1891. He had moved to a farm in New Jersey on the road to Atlantic City, on which Dr. Harpster had taken a lease - or rather made a payment in purchase. Here he proposed to raise sweet potatoes, cranberries, etc., and had great expectations concerning what he could accomplish. On Feb. 22nd. he suddenly was seized with an attack which left him unconscious and dying some hours later. The blow was startling. The family had nothing except what could be saved from the Life Insurance Policy since there were some creditors. Dr. Harpster was destined to lose the investment he had made to give Mr. K. some employment. Mrs. Jacobs hastened to the place as soon as possible and I followed the next day, and returned afterwards to conduct the funeral services, and accompany the remains to Ivy Hill Cemetery, Mt. Airy. The family returned with us a day or two until they could form some plans.

When the funeral was over, our attention was called to Winifred who had been complaining for some days. When the doctor was summoned, he found that she was suffering from Scarlet Fever. Mrs. Jacobs and she were isolated from the rest of the family for about two weeks. Charles who was attending the University had to sleep in my office, and was allowed only in the dining-room of our house. Downing was kept home from school. The case was light, and the patient soon recovered.

A hurried visit was paid to Gettysburg to look after the final disposition of our effects.

The celebration of Dr. Seiss' fiftieth anniversary of ministerial service was an interesting event that Spring. The attendance from all parts of the country was a great tribute to his influence and popularity. Attending the reception in the afternoon, I found Dr. Morris on hand - then 89. A venerable clergyman about 80 was just greeting Dr. Seiss. Dr. M. turned to me and said: "How terrible that old fellow looks! One would think he had just been resurrected. He ought to go to the dentist's and get a new set of teeth." In the evening at the public service Dr. Morris made the first speech. He told the audience that in Dr. Seiss's first year in the ministry he had received only \$50 and a pair of socks, and on that he kept a horse. "Wonder how he fed the animal? He must have given it the socks." The service was rendered tedious

by the long musical selections. There being some delay in beginning the selection just before I spoke, he called across: "Jacobs, go ahead. Don't wait for that music." I spoke on Dr. Seiss as an author. Dr. Remensnyder spoke on Dr. Seiss as a preacher. Dr. Fry presented the greetings of the Seminary, and Judge Staake, those of the congregation.<sup>14</sup> Calling on Dr. Mann the next day I said that his Jubilee ought to be celebrated. "No, I do not desire it. I was several years in the Reformed Synod, and haven't reached the Jubilee point as a Lutheran minister."

The program for Commencement was changed. The addresses made by prominent clergymen had, as a rule, been failures. An old ordination sermon was sometimes repeated, or even at best, the distinction between an ordination service and a Seminary Commencement was not observed. The change to addresses by students was followed by a new interest. Instead of a handful of people present as before, the church (St. Michael's) was generally crowded. The students however thought they must declaim, and prepare orations to be committed. This in time brought abuses. The audiences were distressed by frequent lapses of memory. In 1906 we changed to an address; but in so doing, endeavoring to secure a scholarly clergyman with a scholarly address instead of what is mainly hortatory.

The Synod met that year in Reading. As at several previous meetings, I stayed with Dr. C.W. Schaeffer at Mr. Horatio Trexler's. Mrs. Jacobs was with her cousin, Mrs. Bunker. The President being disabled, at his request, I preached the Synodical Sermon which was afterwards printed in "The Lutheran."<sup>15</sup> I went to Pottstown the preceding night, staying at the hotel, in order to be entirely alone for a time before going to Synod. Dr. Spaeth was elected President.

On Friday afternoon I occupied a full hour in reading a paper on "The Office of Oversight," which I had prepared for the Faculty at the request of the Ministerium.<sup>16</sup> It entered into a long discussion of the history and principles of Lutheran Church organization both in this country and in Europe. It is printed in the Minutes for 1892<sup>17</sup> and was also published separately. The historical and theoretical discussion was only preparatory to certain practical conclusions. The need for certain changes in the organization of the Ministerium was urged. The Synod had outgrown the provisions of the organization then in force. This was supported by the declaration made by the President in his report the preceding year (1891). Several schemes proposed were examined and rejected, such as the division of the synod, the constitution of district synods, and the permanent Presidency. Six suggestions concluded my paper:

1. The division of the Conferences. They then numbered five. 25 pastors were suggested as forming a convenient union of division.
2. A Mission Committee, composed of representatives in an equal number from each Conference, with a Superintendent of Synodical Home Missions.
3. The entire readjustment of the System of Beneficiary Education. The establishment of scholarships was recommended as a substitute for the plan then, and still, current.
4. The separate incorporation of the Theological Seminary.
5. The constitution of an Executive Committee composed of the President of the Ministerium and the Presidents of Conferences.
6. The holding of the synodical sessions annually in some permanent place.

The paper was not fruitless. The Ministerium decided to hold a special meeting in January 1893 to consider these suggestions. At this special meeting the President of the Ministerium ( Dr. Spaeth) having proposed that I prepare a plan of action, I offered the resolution, immediately on its organization, that the Report of the Faculty on Oversight be considered in the following order:

"a. Is the Ministerium ready for a division into two or more synods?" '8

This was answered in the negative by a large majority. This was followed by a resolution that the Ministerium is not ready to divide into District Synods.

"b. Is the Ministerium ready to make provision for carrying into efficient execution what our present Constitution prescribes concerning the office of oversight?"

After discussing this question its decision was postponed until the next question was settled.

"c. Is the readjustment or multiplication of Conference Districts necessary, desirable, or a sufficient means for securing a more efficient administration of our Synodical resources?"

This was answered in the affirmative, and a committee was appointed to carry out its provisions, by proposing a readjustment. Then the second question (b) was also answered in the affirmative.

"d. Are our present arrangements for the organization and superintendence of our Home Mission Work adequate to the large proportions it has gradually assumed, and the constantly increasing demands that are made for its extension?"

This led to a resolution for the desirability of the appointment of one or more Superintendents of Missions.

"e. Are our arrangements for beneficiary education capable of being adjusted so as to furnish better results?"

It was referred to a Committee consisting of the Executive Committee and the Faculties of Seminary and College. The item concerning the separate incorporation of the Theological Seminary was referred to a committee to report at the regular meeting in 1893.

The ultimate outcome was: 1. The division of the Ministerium into ten conferences which went into effect Jan 1, 1894.<sup>19</sup>

2. The Constitution of a separate Mission Committee. My plan, however, which provided for the representation of each Conference on the Committee was changed by the influence chiefly of Dr. Laird. A committee to be elected by Synod without regard to Conference relations was decided upon. This has probably been the weakest feature in the reorganization.

3. A reorganization of the System of Beneficiary Education. Here again my plan received modifications which in my opinion weaken its efficiency. I wanted the Committee to be composed in part of Professors of the two institutions. But Dr. Seip, showing an unexpected sensitiveness on this subject, and a jealousy of the influence of Professors, as though they could not be unprejudiced, prevailed.

I subsequently presented to the Philadelphia Pastoral Conference a scheme for the distribution of the functions of the old Executive Committee, which was officially endorsed by the Philadelphia English Conference, and resulted, according to my recommendations, in an Education Board, a Home Mission Board, a Board of Presidents, and an Executive Committee - which would have been better termed a "Board of Ways and Means."<sup>20</sup> The interjection of a disproportionate number of laymen in the last Board, on motion of E. Augustus Miller, Esq., has not added to its strength. If we could find nine laymen able to attend meetings regularly, who are as intelligent in regard to Church matters as Mr. Miller himself, the case would be different. The separate incorporation of the Seminary was supported by the Board of Directors, and was passed by a large majority, although for a long time there were objections to it raised.

The scheme proposed was a rather bold one and many of the most experienced men in the Synod did not regard all its features with favor. Drs. Seiss, Fry and Schantz

contended against it and the breaking up of the old Executive Committee; but it went through and has proved very serviceable.

The same afternoon in 1893 when I read my paper on "Oversight," Dr. Hilprecht occupied over a half hour in a very severe criticism of the Seminary and the Faculty. The next morning when the question came up in order, there was a great expectation that there would be a reply. There was none. Then Rev. Theodore Schmauk pressed to the front and made a characteristic speech expressing his great astonishment that such statements were passed by without any answer. I replied by expressing the greatest regret that I was forced to answer. But in reply to Mr. Schmauk, I begged leave to read certain letters addressed by Dr. Hilprecht to the Faculty which would explain themselves and interpret the situation. The paper of Dr. Hilprecht and the declamation of Mr. Schmauk made no further impression. The former had hoped that the Ministerium would have censured the Faculty for not having expressed its regret that he should consider a call to Hartford. "He is a fine fellow," said a lay delegate, "but he is still a young man, and has a swollen head." In his remarks, he professed to be the master of, I think, twenty-eight languages, and to have taught sixteen! "I don't like that," said a plain Pennsylvania-German delegate, "it sounds too much like bragging." When it is recalled that Hilprecht had been nothing more than "Assistant Instructor," his presumption was amazing.

Only about two weeks after this important meeting of Synod adjourned, Dr. Mann died in Boston.<sup>21</sup> On his way to a summer resort on the Massachusetts coast he was taken ill on a Sound Steamer, and on reaching Boston took to his bed at the Hotel Traymore, and after an illness of less than a week, passed away. Zion's Church being in process of repair, the funeral was held in the Church of the Holy Communion, which was crowded with large numbers standing who could not be seated. It was a singular coincidence that while Dr. Krauth had been buried from a German church, Dr. Mann was buried from an English church. Drs. Seiss (in English) and Spaeth (German) made the addresses. I made the concluding prayer in English. Revs. Nidecker<sup>22</sup> and Wischan also officiated. Dr. C.W. Schaeffer had conducted a service at the house. I had urged Dr. Seiss, the President of the Board, that provisions should at once be made to fill Dr. Mann's place. I had done this months before when Dr. Mann's resignation was announced.<sup>23</sup> But he took the ground that our finances would not permit it. So Dr. Mann's branches were divided among the other Professors - a stroke of economy which was destined to give more trouble than it avoided.

The year 1891-2 had been particularly trying to me. The sickness and death of my mother, the death of Mr. Kuhnle and anxiety for his family, the illness of Winifred, the

death of Dr. Mann, the disablement and absence of Dr. Spaeth, two cases of insanity to deal with, the conflict with Dr. Hilprecht, the settlement and sale at Gettysburg, with extra work caused by the absence of professors, had worn me considerably. On the morning of Dr. Mann's funeral I had a fainting spell which warned me to rest. Dr. and Mrs. Harpster had arranged to spend part of their vacation on the New England coast. We had learned something concerning those resorts through Rev. H. Reck, then in Boston. It was finally arranged that Mrs. Jacobs and I should meet the Harpsters in New York, and go with them to the place they had selected. We met in New York, but took different lines of steamers. When we met again in New Bedford, we were not satisfied with the conveyance sent for the Harpsters, and thought that it indicated accommodations such as we did not care to have. Mrs. Jacobs and I went instead to Nantucket, and have never regretted the days spent in that primitive place. The houses with observatories upon them whence the families would look towards the ocean to welcome the return of the husbands and fathers, and many of the old houses - going back over two hundred years - were especially interesting. We took a trip to Sconset on the other end of the island, a fishing village, notable chiefly for the sharks we saw lying on the beach.

We never forgot the service at the Congregational Church on Sunday evening, when hymns were sung, where the congregation turned its back on the minister and pulpit, and faced the chair at the other end of the church. It was a large frame building with a capacity of from 800 to 1000, but with primitive stoves and long iron pipes radiating all through the room. Nor have we forgotten the Communion Service at the Episcopal Church, where the officiating rector drank all the wine that was left, and besides this water sufficient to thoroughly wash the inside of the chalice - a performance so remarkable that we were simply astonished at his capacity.

Returning from Nantucket to New Bedford, we went to Boston, staying at the Traymore, drove over to Cambridge and took a look into the grounds of Harvard, saw Bunker Hill Battle Monument and the Public Library, the Old South Church, and the Botanical Gardens. We took a steamer to Provincetown spending five or six hours in a trip to the very extreme point of Cape Cod. If we were looking for variety we found it there. The peninsula is a bank of white sand, much of it barren, and about Provincetown this sand was piled up in enormous dunes probably two hundred feet high, unrelieved by any foliage. The town was laid out in alleys, rather than streets, and was inhabited chiefly by Portuguese. Fishing was the chief industry. The atmosphere was pervaded with the odor of the craft. Frames were prominent, where at the highth of the season the fish were dried. At Provincetown

we met Dr. and Mrs. Lutta whom we had known in St. Stephen's Church. We went along the axis of the crooked peninsula of Cape Cod in the train, stopping overnight at Yarmouth, a place Mr. Reck had recommended. Here we found a private family whose name was entered by the Railroad Company as ready to entertain guests. Our stay with them overnight afforded us an insight into the life of the people. The family consisted of a bachelor and two maiden sisters, all not far from fifty. The brother kept a little store where the rarity of purchases gave him abundant leisure to talk. The sisters entertained us with stories of the sea and the adventures of their friends. They were of the Mayflower stock, and descendants of Peregrine White.

Thence reaching the mainland, we sought yet Plymouth, stood on the rock where the Pilgrims landed, looked out over the beautiful bay, visited the historic cemetery, and, in Plymouth Hall, examined relics of first settlers, as well as the library of their books found there.

We returned greatly benefitted by our trip.

## Chapter Forty Seven - History of the Lutheran Church in America

At the close of the vacation the Joint Committee were in session at Wernersville! Dr. Horn of Charleston came home with me, and by invitation of the Faculty, addressed the students. Dr. Spieker, having brought his oldest son to the Seminary,<sup>2</sup> followed.

The vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. Hilprecht was filled by Dr. Elofson,<sup>3</sup> a member of the graduating class, who had taken charge of the Swedish congregation. Dr. Elofson was a graduate of Yale and Rock Island, and at the former institution had approved himself to Dr. Harper, afterwards President of the University of Chicago. His health broke down after a few weeks and the Rev. T.W.Kretschmann, Ph.D., of Chestnut Hill,<sup>4</sup> Class of '91, was called to take his place. He did it with credit to himself until Dr. Spieker took the Hebrew in '94. He succeeded Dr. Spieker in '95 and continued some two or three years more.

The regular order of the Seminary was interrupted by the sickness of Mr. H.W.Runge of North Carolina,<sup>5</sup> a member of the Senior Class. For nearly a week it kept me fully occupied until I appeared before court and, through Mr. Staake, obtained an order from Judge Bregy to take him to Norristown. This I did myself, a number of students accompanying us.

I accepted an invitation to preach a sermon at the dedication of the church of Rev. W. Hoppe at Pittsfield,<sup>6</sup> Mass. It was February and the ground was covered with snow, but the sun shone in all its glory that day. Pittsfield I had known much of because my sister had attended school there in 1864. From my room at Mr. Gimlich's I looked out on the mountain some miles distant, called, if I remember aright, "Old Graybeard."<sup>7</sup> I preached in the afternoon before a congregation in which were a number of representatives of other denominations.

I had been elected a Vice President of the Pennsylvania Bible Society, and often attended the meetings of the Board. The Secretary, Dr. Morrow, I learned to know well. He often visited Gettysburg, and knew of my mother's activity in the society. At my request he delivered two lectures on his recent European and Palestinian trip to our students. Drs. L.Y.Graham and G.D.Baker of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. Wolle of the Moravian, and Dr. James Crawford of the Reformed Church, with Dr. Baum and Dr. L.E.Albert, whom I had known from childhood, Mr. Rhoads, the Agent, and Mr. W. Beaumont Whitney, were among those whom I used to meet monthly at the Bible House.

When Spring came it brought with it Dr. Schaeffer's 80th. birthday. We celebrated it in a novel way. The Doctor came to the Seminary expecting nothing. We invited him to go into the Chapel where the students were gathered. Dr. Fry made a prayer; Dr. Spaeth delivered an address. I read the resolutions of congratulations passed by the Faculty, and containing an account of what Dr. Schaeffer had accomplished, and this called the students - first Mr. Whitmore in English, and then Mr. Roeder in German, Mr. Silligan in Norwegian, Mr. Sigurdson in Icelandic, Mr. Mekler in Russian, Mr. Baehnish in Bohemian, and a seventh in another language. Turning to Dr. Schaeffer I said: "Now is your turn!" "In what language?" was his answer. Beginning with: "Well, I will try it in English, he proceeded to make a very touching address and referred to his connection with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and how his memory extended back to when, as a little child, he had seen the procession of carriages entering Harrisburg containing its members, from the other side of the Susquehanna where it had formed. Reference to the Minutes shows that this was in 1818 when he was five years old!

Through the winter I was gradually accumulating material for my "History of the Lutheran Church in America." Probably five years before I left Gettysburg "The Lutheran Board of Publication" (General Synod) had proposed that Dr. Hay and I should cooperate in the preparation of a book. I had no inclination to do so; for I felt that my freedom would be hampered. Besides, while Dr. Hay and I always cooperated most harmoniously as translators, it would be quite a different question when we would undertake to be joint authors. Neither did I care that if I should write such a volume, that house should publish it. I declined repeatedly, and the Board in spite of my declination, continued to publish that the book would ultimately be undertaken - as the reports of the Board to the General Synod show.

The proposition now came to me from another quarter. Dr. Schaff had founded the "Society of American Church History" chiefly for the purpose of providing for a series of denominational histories. A committee for this purpose had been appointed consisting of Dr. Schaff, Bishop Potter of New York, Prof. Fisher of Yale, Bishop Hurst (Methodist) of Washington, Dr. Wolf of Gettysburg, Drs. Vetter and Crozer and Dr. Samuel Macaulay Jackson of New York? Dr. Schaff corresponded with both Dr. Mann and Dr. Spaeth before the committee selected the Lutheran representative. The choice fell on me and I accepted. The accumulation of responsibilities that crowded upon me ever since my appointment had given me little time for deliberate reflection. I consoled myself for, as my volume was fourth on the list, the pressure was not too great for me to bear. I had arranged to spend the summer of 1893 upon it, and get it thus well under way for completion early the next Spring or Summer. In May I had already written five

or six Ms. pages of the Introductory Chapter. Mr. Bugbee, President of the Christian Literature Society which published it, wrote that he was coming to Mt. Airy on urgent business. When he came he told me that they were in great difficulty. The men engaged to write the earlier volumes had disappointed them. They were worn out or sick, and would have to recuperate all summer. Dr. Carroll of "The Independent" would have the first volume ready before very long, but not in time to meet their obligations to their subscribers. He begged me to come to their help and prepare my volume that they might have the Ms. that fall. He offered some extra compensation as an inducement. I was startled by it but promised to reply in a day or two. I said to Mrs. Jacobs: "I cannot do it." Her answer was: "To be sure, you can." I wrote that I would try."

As soon as Synod was over I got to work. To be secluded as much as possible and yet in reach of the Library above stairs and the Archives beneath, I shut myself up in the Liturgical Library for the most of the summer. Every week I had to write an editorial or two for "The Lutheran." Dr. C.W. Schaeffer frequently called upon me and spent part of a morning with me "to prevent me from working too hard." My correspondence had to be attended to, and there were frequent calls upon me. But I steadily worked ahead. The day I divided into three parts; and every day I worked through two of them. Occasionally I was at my table between five and six in the morning. If I worked all morning and afternoon, I rested in the evening; or if I walked out in the afternoon, I worked after supper until between nine and ten. Part of the time I carried an arm chair on to the veranda and wrote there. When the heat was intense in the afternoon I dispensed with superfluous clothing. The result was that I surprised myself with my progress. I laid down my pen some time in July to go to the New York Ministerium at Canajoharie, N.Y. as delegate of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Early in August the most of the Ms. was ready and I carried it to Gettysburg to submit it to Dr. Wolf, under whose censorship, as a member of the Committee, I had understood that my Ms. was to go - altho' I think my inference was incorrect. Before August was over the printers were setting up the first part. There was some delay because of change of printers, and it was early September before the proof came steadily. By Oct. 1st., I had completed everything except the Index. On December 17th., a bound copy was in my hands. It was the first of the series, and received warm commendations.<sup>12</sup> Everything had been done within six months. The volume has 539 pages.

The explanation of this achievement is that the paper I read before the Diet in 1877 is the outline of the book. For four or five years I had delivered a series of free lectures to the students on the history of our

Church in America. The material I collected for this purpose was in mind. I had on hand note books with entries made at various times. As Archivist of the Ministerium I had at my control its records and papers. The material collected by both Drs. Mann and Schmucker for the notes to the Hallesche Nachrichten was available. I knew also where to look in the City Libraries for illustrative material. I felt no strain. My pen rushed ahead without constraint, and I paused at times less from fatigue, than from prudence.

In writing the book I tried to be impartial. It was not written in the spirit of compromise with a view to the market, but with the sincere desire to be just to all. The General Council did not escape without criticism. The General Synod was not without praise. We spoke plainly where we believed historical facts carried lessons that should be heeded.

The book was not without its critics. The radicals of the General Synod in the Observer stamped it as a partial contribution. Some time afterwards when Dr. W.M. Baum, Sr., at the request of Dr. S.A. Holman,<sup>3</sup> proposed my name to the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg as Holman lecturer, Rev. P. Anstadt<sup>4</sup> referred to a passage in this book in which I spoke of the rudimentary character of the theological course at Gettysburg in its earliest years, as indicating my hostility to the Seminary, and on this basis, defeated the wish of the man who had endowed the lectureship.

The Rev. F. Wischan and others for years kept attacking the book, because it maintained that the Church could not be finally established in this country so as to enter upon a successful development until the majority of its ministers would be separated from their mother countries by several generations of descent. However often and severely attacked, we still maintain that we are right.

The Swedes were dissatisfied because while so numerous, they thought they had not been properly treated. Dr. Forsander attacked me in an article in "The Independent."<sup>5</sup> The mistake of these brethren was that they forgot that the Augustana Synod was scarcely forty years old, and that the great bulk of Swedish immigration had come to this country within a period which could not be regarded historically. When in 1904 I visited Rock Island, Dr. Forsander, upon being introduced to me after I had preached in the English Lutheran Church, Rev. Hoftsad pastor, looked me in the eyes and said: "If I had known you as well as I do now, I would never have written that article." He repeated that to me the next day, and in the Swedish-English Theological Journal he edits has shown himself in various ways to be my friend.

The latest attack was at the meeting of the New York

Ministerium in 1905 where the graduates of Kropp brought forward as a grievance the use of the word "pressed," in a passage in which I said that while the intention of the General Council in arranging with Kropp was to secure missionaries to do pioneer work, the result was that the Kroppers "pressed into" vacant congregations in the East. Of course I did not intend to pass judgment as to whether this pressure was by the use of illegitimate means or not. The historical fact cannot be denied that many well-established vacant congregations, one after another, were filled by graduates of Kropp. I did not say or imply that they forced themselves in.

One of my best friends who is also one of my best critics, has given it as his opinion that this history is the most important contribution I have made towards the progress of the Church.

The book received considerable attention in Europe. Dr. Ruperti attacked it because of what he regarded its unjust criticism of Germans, and Prof. Zöckler of Greifswald defended it.<sup>16</sup>

The "History" was not my only literary publication in 1893. The General Synod's Board of Publication published a small volume, "Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States." Dr. Loy wrote for the Joint Synod of Ohio, Dr. Valentine for the General Synod, Dr. Fritschel for the Iowa Synod, Prof. F. Pieper for the Synodical Conference, and I for the General Council. My Chapter covering 32 pages is chiefly an examination of the General Council's "Fundamental Principles of Faith," followed by a consideration of the "Four Points," Predestination, the Language Question, the Liturgy, etc.<sup>17</sup>

Before the vacation and the writing of the "History," and in the same month as Dr. Schaeffer's 80th. Anniversary, we had a visit from the Right Rev. G.H. von Scheele, Bishop of Visby, Sweden,<sup>18</sup> accompanied by some representatives of the Swedish Augustana Synod. Drs. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer and E.E. Sibole met them at Germantown Junction, and drove them to our house where they dined. The bishop was a tall, courtly-looking man, formerly a theological Professor. He spoke German fluently, and English with difficulty. Notwithstanding the rain, the chapel of the Seminary was crowded at the formal service of reception. He carried in his hand a hat shaped like an ordinary silk hat, but with cloth covering and fluted. Dr. Grahn was distressed that he had to carry this in his hand, and offered to relieve him. "By no means," said the Bishop, "it is my insignia of office." At the reception in the Faculty Room he put on his episcopal robe which he told me he disliked. He said also that he advised Swedish ministers in America to wear the German, instead of the Swedish robe,

which he pronounced very unsightly, and said had been introduced when the Swedes were at war with Germany. He was driven through the Park into the center of the city where another reception was given by the Lutheran Social Union. While with us, I took him hastily through our buildings. He admired our recitation rooms, and pronounced them better than those at Cambridge (England).

Dr. Percival asked me whether it could not be arranged for the bishop to dine at his house with a number of prominent Episcopal clergy. I answered that we would have to claim all of his time. He asked that I submit to him certain questions. He wrote them out. I handed them to the Rev. Mr. Abrahamson in the bishop's presence who promised that they would be answered. Mr. A. afterwards sent me the reply. The principal question was as to whether the Swedish Church acknowledged the validity of ordinations in the Swedish Augustana Synod. The answer was that it was not for him to say what the Swedish Church would do. He could only say that pastors ordained by that Synod had taken charges in Sweden without being re-ordained.

My mother's death having removed the last obstacle to Dr. Harpster's return to India,<sup>20</sup> he resigned at Canton. After about a week with us, Mrs. Jacobs and I accompanied him and my sister to New York where we spent some hours with them on the vessel, and finally saw them off. We met Dr. and Mrs. Hamma, Dr. Remensnyder, Drs. Scholl and Pohlmann, and Dr. Day<sup>21</sup> who was on his way to Africa. Dr. H. kept a Log Book of the trip across the Atlantic Ocean which interested us greatly. Julia suffered all of the time from sea sickness - even when the vessel was moored at Brindisi. I began to read a great deal concerning missions in India, the country, the climate, the people, the religions, the progress of the work.

Dr. Krotel having broken down, I preached for him the next day, and on Monday attended the funeral of Rev. Dr. Schaff.<sup>22</sup> It was not two weeks before that I received from him a copy of his essay before the Parliament of Religions at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago - accompanied by the request that I should communicate any criticism that I had to make. I received about the same time a copy of his Propaedeutics.<sup>23</sup> The Parliament of Religions I had declined to attend or to allow my name to be used as an officer. Dr. Schaff exhausted his strength on his essay, and died probably from the effect of his exposure. He sat on the platform when his paper was read by someone else. At his funeral I met Drs. McCracken and Baird<sup>24</sup> with whom I entered church, Dr. Samuel Macaulay Jackson, Dr. Briggs, Mr. Barr Ferree and others.<sup>25</sup> The addresses were made by Drs. Hasting and Gerhart. The former was a beautiful written and tender tribute; the latter was polemical. Dr. Gerhart's outline was as follows:

"Dr. Schaff was a believer; he was no sceptic. He was a Protestant, not a Catholic. He was Reformed, not Lutheran." The students sang two hymns selected by Dr. Schaff for his funeral, viz. "Art thou weary, art thou languid?", and "Ein feste Burg." It is the only time we have known the latter to be used as a funeral hymn. The family sent me a special invitation to accompany them to the grave; but I had other engagements. I was surprised to find Mr. Adler, the sexton of Dr. Krotel's church at the funeral. A note from him some time afterwards explained that he had been Dr. Schaff's amanuensis, and asked whether I could give him such employment!

A dark cloud was gathering at the Seminary. Mr. Preston P. Rodenberger, a mature man who had been serving for several years as a College Professor in Iowa before entering the Seminary, became ill shortly after the beginning of the session. The physician pronounced the case one of Diphtheria; he was removed to the Municipal Hospital where he died.<sup>26</sup> His family being very anxious to have his remains, and the law forbidding the transport except with special permission, I went to the hospital and put the case in the hands of an undertaker who was also President of the Board of Health. When the railroad authorities refused to take the casket because of the character of the death certificate accompanying it, he was at hand at the depot to secure a withdrawal of objections.

Shortly after this a movement was begun on the part of the students which transformed our old barn into a Gymnasium, preparatory to making it a chapel; this however did not protect it from demolition when the "Krauth Memorial Library Building" began to rise by its side.

The congregation at Boston was vacant, and I looked after its supplies for several months, sometimes sending pastors - as J.L. Sibole and C.J. Hirzel - but more frequently students.

During the Christmas vacation the American Society of Church History met in Washington, D.C. and I attended.<sup>27</sup> The first paper I heard was an excellent examination of Ritschlianism by Prof. Mead of Hartford.<sup>28</sup> At the Arlington where I stopped I saw a great deal of Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers of New York, whom I found a very interesting man. He had taught at Princeton, Union and Lane - a man of wide and varied rather than deep attainments.<sup>29</sup> With Dr. Briggs and his theology he had no patience, and told me of the private dissent of his colleagues at Union. I learned to know Drs. Mead, Mitchell and Walker.<sup>30</sup> The first had been a classmate and intimate friend of Dr. Charles A. Stork at Andover. Prof. Walker was to prepare the volume of the "American Church History" series on the Congregationalists. Dr. Jackson, Dr. Wolf, Dr. Noneros of Carlisle, Dr. Tennis S. Hamlin, Prof. Fisher of Yale,

Drs. Rankin and Ewell,<sup>31</sup> Dr. Carrol of "The Independent," were also present, as well as Mr. Barr Ferree. Bishop Hurst presided and entertained the association at dinner in his handsome home. With the exception of the paper of Dr. Mead, the papers were not strong, but the interchange of opinion, and the social side of the meeting were delightful. I returned to Philadelphia in company with Dr. Jackson, the Secretary, and Mr. Ferree, the Treasurer. I was, I believe, one of the Vice Presidents.

With the opening of 1894 I began a new book. I felt hampered by the scholastic rigidity of Schmid's Doqmatik, and felt that I could aid students and others to a knowledge of Lutheran theology by treating it in a less formal and technical way. Hence I wrote currente calamo<sup>32</sup> a plain exposition of our doctrine, paying little attention to books as I proceeded, altho' giving the substance of what all my life I had been gaining from books. After completion I illustrated it with supplementary notes, indicating to a certain extent, the scientific basis on which it rested. This I published in the Fall as "Elements of Religion." It met with a warm reception. The ordinary controversial attacks were for once silent; and the book was praised where my preceding efforts had not met with favor. It became a very convenient text-book to give a general outline of our theology and was helpful to educated laymen and women as well as students and pastors.<sup>33</sup>

When the Cunarder which carried Dr. and Mrs. Harpster pulled out of New York Harbor, Dr. Hamma, who was standing alongside me at the wharf, arranged with me for a meeting of the Joint Committee of the General Synod and General Council to adjust differences at an early date. The committee had been appointed by both Bodies. This meeting was held accordingly some time afterwards in Philadelphia. Drs. Hamma, Baum, Henninghausen, and Lenker<sup>34</sup> represented the General Synod; Drs. Jacobs, Repass, G.C.F. Haas and Rev. L.G. Abrahamson the General Council - the last, however, was not present when the action was taken. This Joint Committee had its origin in a proposition made by the General Synod for "a conference of Committees, to be appointed by the General Lutheran Bodies of this country, for the purpose of an interchange of views on the possibilities of practical cooperation."<sup>35</sup> The General Council at Fort Wayne in 1893 accepted the proposition, with the condition attached "that the committee" (i.e. the committee from the General Council) "be charged in all its consultations to act in strict accordance with the Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity laid down in the Constitution of this Body."<sup>36</sup>

When the Joint Committee came together in Jan. 1894, it found itself hampered by the terms of the appointment. The two Bodies were separated because of Confessional differences, and the committees were prohibited from any action that would change the doctrinal attitude of either

Body. I was able to participate only by assuming that, in professing to accept the Augsburg Confession, the General Synod could be regarded as standing also on the basis of the other Confessions, even though they be not expressly mentioned.<sup>37</sup>

The result was the formulation of certain propositions concerning mutual non-interference in mission work. It was the beginning of the movement that led to the ultimate exchange of delegates, and to the holding of three General Conferences for the discussion of doctrinal and practical questions.

I had nothing whatever to do with the action at Fort Wayne, not having been present. Dr. Swenson, however, was pleased to appoint me Chairman of the General Council's Committee. From the time of my appointment, I felt that I was charged with a commission of a judicial character, and endeavored to refrain from all public utterances that would interfere with a conciliatory policy by the Joint Committee.

The Christian Literature Company were so well satisfied with the reception of my "History of the Lutheran Church," that its officers urged upon me a still larger enterprise. I was asked to edit a Lutheran Commentary on the New Testament, to select the authors, and have the superintendence of the work. After consulting Dr. Spaeth and others I consented. The arrangement of the corps of authors required considerable correspondence. For St. Matthew I secured the manuscript of a completed commentary that had been left by Dr. C.F. Schaeffer, and was in the care of Rev. Dr. Reuben Hill, his son-in-law. I invited Dr. Valentine's cooperation. He was the only one asked who declined. The corps arranged according to General Bodies was:

General Council: Schaeffer, Haas, Spaeth, Jacobs,  
Swenson, Spieker, Weidner.

General Synod: Baugher, Wolf.

United Synod South: Horn, Voigt.

Joint Synod of Ohio: Stelhorn.

It began to appear in 1895, and was completed in 1898, comprising twelve volumes. I prepared the Commentary on Romans and on I Corinthians. I had originally reserved II Corinthians for myself; but handed that over to Dr. Spieker, in order that I might concentrate on the "Life of Luther." The months I spent on my part of the Commentary were most highly enjoyed. Nothing could have more interested me. I had always had a deep interest in Romans, and I was greatly profited by being able to reduce my study of it to writing. The most of the work was done during the summer of 1895. I had intended at first to prepare the volume on the Pastoral Epistles, as I had prepared

full notes on them for the students. But I made a sacrifice in yielding to Dr. Wolf's importunity which impelled me to undertake a book on which I had not yet written. When Dr. Stelhorn asked for Romans after I had undertaken it I felt that I had yielded sufficiently.<sup>38</sup>

During the winter of 1893-4, I aided in establishing the mission at Mt. Vernon, N.Y. Rev. F.W.Kohler gathered it. After his first Sunday I went over to New York three Saturdays in succession, going to Mt. Vernon and preaching in order to maintain interest until he could move himself and his family into the new field.<sup>37</sup>

In the fall of 1894 the foundation of the house now occupied by Dr. Spaeth was laid. It was in process of building through out that winter. While the cellar was being dug, I had a visit from Dr. Wenzel of the Pittsburgh Synod, then over 78 years old. He spent a day and two nights with me. He died about fifteen months later.<sup>40</sup> (Maria was called to Gettysburg by the death of her husband about the same time.)

October 4th, being the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Seminary, was duly celebrated.<sup>41</sup> It was the first of the so-called "Seminary Days." The rain prevented an open air celebration and rendered the brass band Dr. Spaeth had hired for the occasion of no use. Sufficient means was raised for the repainting of the main building. There was a deficit in the Seminary treasury, and Dr. Hill, to whose office it belonged, was not able to make sufficient collections - so he enlisted the services of the Faculty. I wrote a brief appeal on a "folder," stating the facts.

The endowment was then	\$ 128,000.
It is today ( 1906)	209,166.66
The debt was then	57,000.00
It is to-day	10,000.00
We have additional buildings	80,000.00

With the folder I wrote a letter and had responses amounting to nearly \$700. Dr. Fry came next, Dr. Spaeth next. This must have been before Christmas (1894) or early in January. We secured all that was needed.

The meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1894 was one of rare excitement. To understand what was involved we must go back somewhat in our narrative. The issue at Philadelphia in '94 was grounded in an occurrence that had happened at the Ministerium of New York in '93 at Canajoharie where I had been the delegate of our Synod.<sup>42</sup> The extreme German element had for years been attacking Dr. Spaeth because he used English as well as German in his lectures in the Seminary. They claimed that as the German Professor of the Ministerium of New York he had no right

to use English, and that its use was a flagrant violation of duty. There had been a spirited debate one evening at Canajoharie in which I had taken part. While I was treated with the highest respect, and no severe action proposed in my presence, no sooner had I turned my face homeward the next day than a vote of censure on Dr. Spaeth was passed.<sup>43</sup> Dr. Spaeth had already endured much from the Ministerium he had undertaken to represent in the Seminary. Its conduct towards him was marked by a succession of broken pledges. The salary they had promised to pay was only partially made up; and on one occasion a considerable sum in the treasury for him had been appropriated to another cause. It was certainly remarkable that a Synod against which he had such just grounds for complaint should undertake to pass a vote of censure. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was annually paying a good portion of his salary. Under these circumstances Dr. Spaeth decided to be subjected no longer to such humiliation. Accordingly he resigned the Professorship of the New York Ministerium. In consultation with Dr. Krotel, who had had much to do with the history of both German Professorships, it was decided that the effort should be made at the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to have Dr. Spaeth elected to the German Professorship that had been vacated by the death of Dr. Mann. When the Seminary Board met no other result was deemed possible. Dr. Spaeth, having resigned the German Professorship of the New York Ministerium, was of course to be returned to the Seminary Faculty; and this was possible only by electing him to the German Professorship of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

In entire ignorance of this plan and of Dr. Spaeth's severance of his relations with the New York Ministerium, a movement had been industriously worked up from Allentown as a center, to force an election to Dr. Mann's Professorship whether the Seminary Board favored it or not. The election of Dr. Fry, or rather the bold way in which Dr. Seiss had triumphed, rankled in the minds of the Pennsylvania-German element. They had been taken advantage of once; but it should not be the second time. If Dr. Seiss had the man of his choice in the Faculty, they must be allowed to have theirs also! Their candidate was Dr. Spieker, my former class-mate, room-mate and for years my most intimate friend. No one knew better - and few as well - Dr. Spieker's qualifications and disqualifications for the position. His qualifications were his love of study, his fondness for books, his interest in Hebrew, and continued attention to its study throughout his ministry, his equal familiarity with German and English, his irreproachable character, his amiable and sympathetic nature, his personal popularity, his purity of doctrine, his American education combined with German Church training, his twenty-seven years experience as a Pennsylvania-German pastor. But this formidable list was offset by his lack of College education - his preparatory course being

that of the Baltimore High School - and his studies in later life being not such as contributed to remedy this defect; his lack of a disciplined mind, manifest in his atomistic treatment of topics, and inability to grasp them in their relations or to outline their salient features; his rambling and desultory modes of thought; his inability to concentrate either mind or will on a given point; his utter failure as a teacher both at Gettysburg and Allentown. He had none of the qualities of a leader. The Ministerium contained probably a score of men having equal claims to the Professorship. He was conspicuous chiefly because, with a high ambition he had kept studying what no one else cared about, and what he never put to any practical use - his Hebrew. Beside this, a year or two before, he had had a serious illness which disabled him in months from preaching, and from which, it has seemed to me, he never fully recovered.

Under these circumstances, warmly attached to him as I was personally, I could not have favored his election even if the circumstances had differed.

Dr. Spaeth was President of the Ministerium, and had to view from the chair the contest upon which his continuance in the Seminary seemed to depend. It opened when the report of the Board of Directors of the Seminary was under discussion. Rev. Charles J. Cooper<sup>44</sup>, the Financial Agent of Muhlenberg College, took the floor and nominated Dr. Spieker. In doing so he declared that he stood for 70,000 people - the Pennsylvania-German element of the Ministerium - who demanded their rights, and would not be turned aside from obtaining them by any argument. The country clergy had their headquarters at the St. Elmo Hotel where they could consult and decide their program, and they laughed at the opposition. The rain poured all day in torrents. Dr. Krotel was sick and absent. Dr. Seiss was too infirm to brave the weather. Dr. Laird lost his grip in his surprise and indignation. I realized that the responsibility of saving Dr. Spaeth's election lay on me. My first effort was a resolution to hold an extra meeting of Synod during the Christmas Holidays, to consider the Professorship with other important questions pending. At first this was regarded favorably, but at length the tide swept it away. Then I struggled almost alone for referring the question to the Board of Directors, with instructions to nominate one or more candidates, and report at a given hour next day.<sup>45</sup> This prevailed. The Board met next morning, unanimously nominated Dr. Spaeth, and the Synod confirmed the nomination. The opposition was preparing to abandon one line of attack in order to use another. They saw that if Dr. Spieker could not be elected the German Professor of the Ministerium, he could be made Burkhalter Professor.

The resignation of the Burkhalter Professor of Church History by Dr. Schaeffer had not been anticipated except by the Faculty, and also lately by the Board. Dr. Schaeffer was now in his 82nd. year, although still retaining his vigor. But he desired to be relieved of the obligatory work, while giving a few hours' voluntary gratuitous instruction. There was in my mind only one person who should have been thought of in his place. That was Dr. E.T.Horn of Charleston, S.C., a man whose scholarly attainments were universally recognized throughout the Church, and in other Churches, at that time the recognized leader of the United Synod of the South, as he probably was its founder. The Board of Directors was asked to nominate a successor to Dr. Schaeffer. For a number of ballots there was a tie between Dr. Horn and Rev. Theodore Schmauk. Dr. Horn's candidacy labored under the disadvantage that - while a child of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, born and baptized in one of its congregations, and a graduate of the Seminary who had kept in close contact with it - he was a stranger to a large part of the Synod as he had been living out of its bounds for eighteen years. Dr. E.E.Sibole, who had been voting for Dr. Horn, in order to break the tie, changed his vote to Mr. Schmauk. When the Board reported their nomination of Mr. Schmauk to Synod, Mr. Cooper was on his feet and nominated Dr. Spieker. It being ruled that any other nominations might be made, Dr. Sibole nominated Dr. Horn. A ballot was then taken, and Dr. Spieker was overwhelmingly elected. He had something like 160 votes to Mr. Schmauk's 68 or 69, and Dr. Horn's 37 (we quote from memory and the exact figure may vary slightly). The result was due entirely to the determination made with respect to the other Professorship, and not because of Dr. Spieker's adaptability to the place for which he was elected. Dr. Laird then raised a protest. The Burkhalter was an English Professorship. Dr. Spieker was a German. The election was unjust, and in his opinion, contrary to law. It might be thought advisable to appeal to the courts for an injunction to prevent Dr. Spieker from entering that chair. Dr. Spieker, he said, he most highly esteemed, and loved as a brother; but he would be out of place in the Burkhalter Professorship. I followed in a different vein. I said that although Dr. Spieker had been my most intimate friend, at the sacrifice of inner feeling I had felt it my duty to oppose his election. But as the Synod had so decided, I thought we ought to accept that decision. Dr. Spieker, I continued, was not without qualifications that would make him very useful to the chair. I spoke of my thirty years acquaintance with him, and my knowledge of his character and attainments, and moved to make his election unanimous. I was appointed to inform Dr. Spieker of his election, and to bring him into the Synod. This I did.<sup>46</sup>

Drs. Seip and Richards together called me aside and disclaimed all responsibility for the result. Mr. Cooper's course was his personal act, and the men most active in

Muhlenberg College had nothing to do with it. They both had voted for Dr. Horn. A few months before, Prof. Richards warned me of what was coming, and expressed his opinion against the election of the Allentown pastor.

The very department which Dr. Spieker was supposed to have so thoroughly mastered that it determined his election, was found to be beyond his ability. After a year's trial, the Hebrew was taken away from him; and the Seminary has been compelled to pay the salary of a Hebrew instructor ever since! His experience throughout the next year showed that the Seminary had been burdened with a man in infirm health, who had not been in a condition to serve his congregation. In later years Dr. Spieker has improved in health, and no one can charge him with indifference as to his work.

Dr. and Mrs. Horn were with us during part of the week; but not when the heated contest occurred.

On November 10th., 1894, my completion of the first fifty years of my life was duly celebrated. We invited the students to a reception. They surprised me with a bronze statue of "The Angelus."

At the meeting of the American Society for Church History in New York during the Christmas vacation, one evening was devoted to a Memorial Service for Dr. Schaff, its former President. I read a paper on "Dr. Schaff and the Lutheran Church." Other papers were read by Drs. Chambers, Tiffany, Bishop Hurst, and Librarian Richardson of Princeton. Dr. D.S.Schaff, his son, thanked me for the presentation, and in his biography of his father has quoted several times from it.

In the Seminary after Christmas, I organized a class which has had very important results. Up to that time there had been no regular instruction in Liturgics. For several years I had been having free talks at extra hours, chiefly on Wednesday evenings. Having been petitioned by the students to have such a course in 1895, I made a new proposition. Instead of talking to them, I asked that they prepare papers according to an outline which I would furnish. We met once a week when the topic assigned the week previously was discussed upon the basis of the material which the Class had gathered from the literature which I had put in their hands. The work, it is true, became too heavy for the majority. But three men kept at it diligently, viz. Messrs. L.D.Reed, George Drach, and T. O. Sigurdson.<sup>3</sup> Mr. F. Dierr stood next them in diligence. Messrs. Reed and Sigurdson could not get enough; but studied day and night, led on by fascination of some real discoveries that they had made. Sigurdson's health failed, and he died the next year after an operation for a chronic trouble. Mr. Reed, on entering the ministry, organized "The Liturgical Association"<sup>4</sup> for a similar course among pastors. This was the beginning also of the movement which ultimately procured for the Seminary and the Church the Krauth Memorial Library Building. Mr. Reed's experience in the Library gave him an interest which enabled him to plead for it, and to gain from his and our friend what we so much needed and desired.

On Sunday afternoon, March 3rd.1895, a message came from Mrs. Dr. R. Hill that her husband had fallen on the floor and she needed help. Charles and I hurried to the house nearly two squares away, and found him unconscious and breathing his last, as we raised him on a couch. Dr. Hill I had known from my childhood. He graduated from the College at Gettysburg, when I was eight years old. I remember him afterwards as pastor of St. James' Church, Gettysburg. In his earlier ministry he was regarded as affording much promise. He succeeded Dr. Krauth at Pittsburgh. He was pastor of St. John's, Allentown

for eleven years. He was slow and deliberate but persevering. He never entirely grew out of ideas and prejudices in which he had been trained in the General Synod. He had endeavored to create a place for himself in the Seminary. for which there seemed to be no need and which caused considerable friction with the Faculty. It was difficult to draw the line between his work and mine. He superintended the buildings and grounds and I, the students. When the former, in his opinion, were invaded or abused, then I was expected to detect or punish the offender. There was constant annoyance but no actual break between us. Upon his death I assumed all his duties, and found that my work was not materially increased. He left a life-estate to his widow, and divided his funds between the Church Extension Society of the General Council and Susquehanna University ( Gen. Synod). The latter institution, in which his brothers-in-law and nephews-in-law were professors, it is believed, received the share which the Seminary would have gotten if the position he desired had been accorded.

About this time I was summoned with Dr. Spaeth to a Church trial at Easton. I was kept there nearly a week, having been sent home once by the court for documents from the Archives. The case involved was that of the Cherryville congregation in Northampton Co. Dr. J.W. Richard of Gettysburg appeared for the other side. Former Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, Kirkpatrick, was the leading lawyer of the side opposed to that for which I was witness. Russel C. Stewart ( later President-Judge of the Northampton Co. Court) was the lawyer of the latter. The case was not a clear one. The Conference had not acted with entire discretion, and probably had transcended its authority. But on the other hand the champions of Mr. Reitzs' side made some strange claims. Prof. Richard's testimony was that of a man rejoicing to detect any possible flaw in any claim put forth by General Council organizations or men.

Dr. Krotel seemed to be breaking down at Holy Trinity Church, New York. I assisted him on Good Friday and Easter, and preached at other times. He was deliberating concerning securing an assistant from the Senior Class. Mr. Drach was with him more frequently than any one else. When the Church reopened in the Fall he was no better, and sent in his resignation committing the care of the congregation, meanwhile, into my hands. Of this the Church Council approved, and the President of Synod also assented. So from Sept. 1895 to April 1896, I was virtually pastor. No one preached except by my invitation. All letters were referred to me. I preached once a month. Rev. Mr. Kohler, then at Mt. Vernon, N.Y., instructed the catechumens. I was careful not to influence the congregation for any one, but to have only such persons preach as would be suitable for the place. The most men sent were not available. My desire was that they should elect

Dr. Horn; but they missed their opportunity. They first settled on Dr. Kaehler of Buffalo, and then on Dr. Smith of Pottstown.<sup>5</sup> Finally when I feared that they would make a great blunder, I used a little strategy to induce Rev. C. Armand Miller of Salem, Va.<sup>6</sup>, to come North and preach. He did so thinking that Dr. Smith was to be the pastor. He at once pleased the people, and came over to Mt. Airy greatly surprised and perplexed by the course things had taken. I preached his Installation Sermon on "The Open Door in New York," which was printed in pamphlet form. The President of the Ministerium, Rev. Dr. Seip, installed him, Rev. J.I. Miller, D.D. of Virginia,<sup>7</sup> participating in the service. This was done in June 1896.

The resignation of Dr. Spaeth as the Professor of the New York Ministerium was followed by the nomination by that Ministerium of the Rev. J.A. Dewald of New Brunswick, N.J.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Dewald was an Alsatian who was born and raised in the neighborhood whence my father's grandfather came, Preusdorf. He was a man of some scholarly attainments, but of narrow culture - more of a pedant than a scholar. He could read his Hebrew Bible, and had some general acquaintance with current theological literature; but he had little knowledge of Church relations in America. His prominence was that of a microscopic critic of whatever transpired, not that of a leader or organizer, or defender of what was established. He had been particularly severe in condemning Dr. Spaeth for using English in the class room. His nomination had been brought about by his own activity and the use of political methods by his friends. I was astonished, and was reluctant to believe that the New York Ministerium could propose him as the representation of its best scholarship. Economical considerations seemed to have had some weight, as Mr. D. had been serving a weak congregation at New Brunswick on a very meagre salary, and being without children would not require the support which others would expect. While he was unobjectionable as a man, and if elected might have been brought into harmonious cooperation, I felt that the standard of scholarship in the Faculty would be lowered still more. I at once openly opposed the confirmation of the nomination; but was surprised that there was a strong disposition to confirm him in quarters where I had relied for support. I found that the Rev. J. Steinhaeuser of Allentown, who had come from the New York Ministerium, had industriously and very successfully advocated his election among the pastors in that neighborhood. Even Dr. Repass was non-committal and thought me unduly prejudiced.

Some criticism which I had made of the nomination in "The Lutheran" having excited the "Lutherische Herold" and many members of the New York Ministerium I proposed a scheme to the Faculty of a conciliatory nature. The plan was to have Mr. Dewald deliver a course of lectures on Old Testament Literature and Theology. This was approved by the Faculty and the Executive Committee of the Board

as well as the Ex. Committee of the New York Ministerium, which agreed to give suitable compensation. Mr. Dewald met with the Faculty and Dr. Seiss and finally undertook the work. It was a fair test of his ability as a teacher. The result was unsatisfactory. He failed to interest the students, and at the close had, it is said, only beneficiaries of the New York Ministerium left, even the other Germans deserting him. Altho' he told me that he realized the importance of using some English, and would do so permanently in charge, Dr. Krotel told me that he denied this.

When the Board met Dr. Krotel, to my surprise, advocated the confirmation of the nomination. Dr. Seiss opposed it, but, being President, he could not take a leading part. I had to do most of the speaking in opposition. Dr. Seiss, however, encouraged me. Dr. Spaeth spoke against the confirmation, but guardedly. Drs. Fry and Spieker were silent, altho' both were with me in sympathy. When the vote was taken, Mr. Dewald had ten votes out of the nineteen cast, one member also declining to vote. Rev. Dr. J.D.Schindel told me that he had voted for confirming the nomination by the Board, but that, as a member of Synod he would vote in the negative, and that, as others had done so, the nomination would be rejected by Synod. The result in Synod was: For Confirmation:110. Against:125. Blank ballots: 5. It was a remarkably close vote considering the issue that was at stake. This was due partly to the activity of Mr. Steinhaeuser, and partly to the fact that some regarded the action of the New York Ministerium as a virtual election which the Synod ought to approve. Rev. T.E.Schmauk in the "Review" used to label articles as written by "Prof." Dewald,<sup>9</sup> although the illegality of such a title was patent. This final decision was not reached until 1897, some preliminary negotiations concerning the rights of the Ministerium of New York first requiring settlement. Since then the New York Ministerium had made no other nomination. The Seminary had been relieved of the constant attacks which that Synod made upon its courses and policy, while it paid a fraction of the support of a Professor.

The General Council in 1895 met at Easton and I was able to attend. On the Tuesday afternoon before it met I received a telegram from Dr. Seip, one of the Vice Presidents, stating that Dr. Swenson could not be present, and I should provide the Opening Sermon. I could find no one at Mt. Airy to undertake it. To secure a member of the Philadelphia delegation would require me to visit the men at their homes - as telephones gave us no aid then - and even then the results would be uncertain. So, dismissing my classes for Wednesday, I shut myself up to the work of writing a discourse on Rom.1:16, according to a scheme that was suggested while I was working on my Commentary on Romans. I went to Easton on Wednesday evening, and was ready by next morning. I have twice

preached the Opening Sermon of the General Council on the briefest notice, viz. at Greensburg in 1880 and Easton in 1895, both in Pennsylvania, and both on a text from Romans. This sermon was printed in the "Review." <sup>10</sup>

The "Philadelphia Press" had made a special request that I send a telegram of about half a column every evening during the meeting. I did not realize at the time the influence I was able to exert by this means. The dispatch was published over my name. I generally made an estimate of the action taken and a forecast of that for the next day. As "The Press" was in the delegates' hands at breakfast time, this had its effect on the action. The negotiations with the General Synod were in my hands, and our recommendations went through, although not without long discussion. Dr. S.W.Owen was recognized as "Official Visitor" from the General Synod.

One matter concerned me personally. As before stated, I had for years been writing editorials in "The Lutheran," often also for "The Workman." Rev. G.W.Sandt<sup>11</sup> had been quietly agitating the question of securing "The Lutheran," "The Workman" and "The Church Messenger,"<sup>12</sup> combining them into one paper, and editing it as an organ of the General Council.<sup>13</sup> There was undoubtedly need of a very radical change in "The Lutheran." Mr. Frederick ought never to have had it in his control. He was at this time often entirely unapproachable because of an infirmity which his best friend lamented, but could not remedy. We were mortified beyond measure that we had to bear the disgrace. But I was never in favor of Church ownership of newspapers. Complications were involved that are very serious. The best plan I believed to be that the editorship should be in the hands of approved representatives of the Church whom the synods would hold to strict account for what they publish. I had declined some years before to accept an appointment made by the General Council on the Publication Board, and afterwards, an appointment to the same Board made by Dr. Krotel, then President, to fill a vacancy. My position was that the Church, as a Church, should have as few entangling secular operations as possible, and not go into business. In the same way, my judgment concerning the College has been that it should be managed by a corporation having the moral support of the Church, and responsible to it for the Lutheran character of the institution, but that the members of the corporation should not be elected by the Synod, but chosen from its members by their predecessors. When, prior to the meeting of the General Council, Dr. Sandt opened the matter with me, I freely stated that I was not in sympathy with the movement to edit "The Lutheran" or any other paper as the organ of the General Council. Nothing but the official action of the Council

should be received as its utterance. This would manifestly be impossible in regard to questions arising every week.

A strong movement had been organized by his influence which finally prevailed at Easton, after the condition of the gathering of a guarantee fund which many regarded as prohibitive had been attached to it. The program was carried out as pre-arranged. Dr. Sandt was elected "Managing Editor," and I, "Editor-in-chief." In the entire discussion I was silent; partly because of my necessary prominence during the earlier days of the session when matters with which I had been specially charged were discussed; and partly because of my personal relation to the movement which I had had no agency in determining. While it was still against my judgment I was willing to try to comply with the prevailing opinion of the Council. I served, therefore, as Chairman of the Committee which nominated the permanent committee which was to carry the resolutions of the Council into effect, and the names reported were my suggestion.

When after the adjournment Dr. Sandt came to Mt. Airy and explained his plans in detail, my doubts returned. I apprehended that my being "Editor-in-chief" was not for the purpose of putting the full control of the paper in my hands, but to secure - in part - the use of my name. I saw that to carry out what I believed was the action of the Council in appointing me, would demand an expenditure of time which would seriously interfere with my Seminary work. My attention had already been too much distracted from it by the claims of the general work of the Church. I had constantly felt the conflict, throughout twelve years, when I had to tear myself away from my preparations for my classes to write editorials. This scheme would increase the burden.

I was also much disturbed about the manner in which Mr. Sandt had schemed in order to make a place for himself. While his motives may have been unselfish, it was not in accordance with the principles of our Church to seek an office; the office ought to seek the man.

When I objected to the interference with Seminary duties, there were promises that provision could be made for relieving me of a part of my Seminary duties by the establishment of another Professorship. This decided the question. It was not relief from the Seminary that I wanted. It was the opportunity to give myself wholly to what was comprehended in my call. When I declined, I was begged not to announce it for the time, as the announcement would discourage the movement. I was told that the Church meant that I should accept, and that serious consequences would follow if I would not accept. I was asked to accept the title of "Advisory Editor" if I could not take that of "Editor-in-chief." It seemed

as though I could not make the committee understand that my purpose was fixed. To make the matter clear and final I printed a statement in "The Lutheran."<sup>14</sup> An unintentional injustice was done to me in the report to the General Council in 1897, in which it is said:

"In Jan. 1896, the Committee held two sessions at Harrisburg, and after adjournment learned with regret of Dr. Jacobs' withdrawal from the Chief Editorship."<sup>15</sup>

I had given ample time to the committee before I published the letter. The truth is that the scope of the paper was entirely too narrow to be satisfactory. My thoughts were fixed on a wider horizon than the mere General Council. I wanted to devote the rest of my life to the entire Church. I was convinced that the General Council had made mistakes, and for these I could not defend it. Dr. Krotel at once accepted the editorship, altho' in previous years he had been opposed to the plan of synodical organs. I had hoped that "The Workman" would maintain its separate existence; but it too was swallowed up in the vortex.

"The Church Review" which had hitherto been printed by the James B. Rodgers' Printing Co. in the city, was transferred about this time to a cheap house in Norristown. The change compelled the editor to do much of the proof reading for which the Rodgers had employed an expert. The "Review" was set up in forms of 8-16 pp. at a time, printed and distributed, before another form would be undertaken. I could not afford the time for such labor and withdrew from its editorship.<sup>16</sup>

A notable occurrence of this time was the 350th anniversary of Luther's death, February 18, 1896.<sup>17</sup> The Academy of Music was packed that night, over 3000 people being present, at a Joint meeting of the General Council and General Synod churches. Dr. Spaeth spoke in German, and Dr. Charles S. Albert and I in English, while a large chorus drilled by Dr. Spaeth led in the singing of inspiring hymns. I never faced such an enthusiastic audience. The Rev. W. Hudson Shaw, an Anglican clergyman, and a popular lecturer had severely attacked Luther a few days before. So I devoted part of my remarks to the statements he had made. The audience was in a responsive mood, and applauded vigorously at every thought which I made. I changed the tone of the meeting from that of a funeral to one that, in appreciation of Luther's life, was ready to laugh and cheer, altho' this was not foreseen or intended by me.

In the summer of 1895 the Dormitory was recalcimined, the money having been sent at my request from those who had furnished rooms. Mr. Hugo Meyer,<sup>18</sup> one of our students formerly a lieutenant in the German Army, had brought with him to America a fondness for the study of Herpeto-

logy, and caught snakes for this purpose. I gave him the use of the old lodge - a delapidated building which was soon to disappear. Here during the summer he collected and had on exhibition over 400 specimens. His expertness in detecting the presence of serpents, and in capturing them was a matter of constant surprise. In his pocket he carried a muslin bag. As he walked about the roads he could detect at a distance the whereabouts of his prey by movements of the grass, and would at once have them in the appropriate receptacle. One evening he went to service at St. Michael's, and while awaiting the hour for beginning, strolled into the graveyard, captured and bagged his specimens, and sat through the service with them in his pocket. By his enterprise, a thicket in the rear of our grounds was cleared during my stay in Easton at the General Council. I had given permission to make some changes, but was horrified to find how radical they had become. Dr. Seiss, however, was greatly pleased, and that was enough.

During the summer, the Seminary received large accessions to its funds.

The Singmaster bequest came originally from a gentleman who afterwards gave his property to a nephew, Mr. Henry Singmaster of Stroudsburg, Pa., who felt throughout his life that the original purpose of his uncle should be complied with. Both were descendants of the pioneer Lutheran pastor buried in the graveyard at North Wales, the Rev. Jacob von Buskirk.<sup>9</sup> The Singmasters were under the pastorate of the Rev. John Kohler, D.D. whom they consulted as their adviser, and who directed the gift to the Seminary. However, as a concession to the rest of the family who might otherwise have shared in the inheritance, Mr. Singmaster was induced by Rev. John A. Singmaster D.D., his grand-nephew, now President of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, to divide his estate equally between the two institutions. Mr. Singmaster died childless, leaving a widow, a member of the Presbyterian Church, and giving her the use of the estate during her life. Altho' Mrs. Singmaster protested that not only the entire estate but all she would legally obtain from it during the remainder of her life should go to the two Seminaries, it was deemed best to institute proceedings preventing any diversion of the funds during Mrs. Singmaster's lifetime. This was effected at considerable cost to the two institutions. On the death of Mrs. Singmaster, it was found that she had faithfully kept her promise, putting at the command of the two institutions funds on which they had no legal claim except by her will. The amount which the Seminary obtained in this way during 1895 amounted to \$53,553.

Another gift was from Miss Elizabeth Schaefer<sup>20</sup> of the Church of the Holy Communion. Miss Schaefer had been

left the sole heir of a large fortune by her brother, Mr. William L. Schaefer, President of the Girard National Bank. Mr. Schaefer during his lifetime was an active and interested member of our Church, and for a time a member of the Board of Directors of the Seminary. He had been offended because since his attendance at the meetings was very irregular, his name had been dropped. I met him once at his bank and he asked me as to the number of students in the old Seminary. I told him that there were 56. His answer was: "It is strange that we cannot fill the building." When I replied that the building was more than full, he said: "No. That cannot be. When it was enlarged, we were told that it had a capacity for 60." This showed a critical spirit towards our institutions which wanted to find excuses for not contributing towards the progress of the work. It was a disappointment when his will was found to be without benevolent bequests. He transferred the responsibility for his large estate to his aged sister, who was unable to discharge it. In her home on Arch Street near Twelfth Street, she lived in great simplicity and economy. She called in Dr. Seiss, her pastor, as adviser, and gave him to understand that she accepted his distribution of her property, and made him her executor. After her death it was discovered that she had subsequently called in another adviser, A Mr. Cummings, who had long been associated with her brother, and had succeeded to the Presidency of the Bank. Mr. Cummings, an Episcopalian, dissuaded her from leaving much to the Lutheran Church, and persuaded her to devote the bulk of her estate to City Charities. An incident, however, led to a gift to the Seminary independent of her will.

When the publication of the Seminary Catalogues fell in my hands, I changed their form and appearance, and had illustrative cuts made in order to interest the friends of our cause and enlist their more vigorous support. Previously the catalogue had been a very plain pamphlet, containing the lists of Professors, Alumni, Students, and Rules of the Seminary, printed every three years in editions of 300, and not even generally distributed to the pastors or alumni. The Seminary was poor; and \$70 every three years was all that could be afforded, Dr. Schaeffer probably paying expense for postage from his own pocket. I published a catalogue of 1000 copies at considerable cost, and sent it wherever I thought it would be most welcome. Among others, a copy was sent to Miss Schaefer. When Dr. Seiss called on her some time later, she told him she had received a "handsome pamphlet" from the Seminary, and had read it over twice. She asked him to call later as she had something she wanted to give for the Seminary. When he went according to appointment, she surprised him with a check for \$30,000, to be devoted to any purpose connected with the Seminary that he would designate. It was accumulated interest which she did not

know how to use. Upon reflection Dr. Seiss decided that the most difficult object for which to secure money for the Seminary would be for erection of Professors' houses. The first house was only partially paid for; for the second, the Seminary was entirely in debt. For some years in "The Lutheran" I had been insisting upon having all the Professors resident on the grounds, and devoting their entire time to the Seminary. This seemed to make the plan feasible, particularly when the Singmaster Bequest was added. When a few years later Miss Schaefer died, Dr. Seiss was greatly distressed to find that she had not been candid with him, and in her weakness, she had changed her will, giving about \$700,000 to the Pennsylvania Hospital which did not need it, distributing about \$40,000 between the Seminary, Muhlenberg College, Pastors and Widows Fund of the Ministerium, the Church Extension Society, General Council Home Missions, the Germantown Orphans' Home, and the Germantown Hospital, and leaving her home to the Church of the Holy Communio.

Dr. Seiss having decided to apply Miss Schaefer's money to the erection of two Professors' Houses, there was a warm discussion concerning the location. The site which he preferred was ultimately adopted; but the protests were numerous among the Directors, Alumni and students. "The Lutheran" published several articles against it, one especially from E. Augustus Miller, Esq." Both the Schaeffers and Drs. Spaeth and Spieker opposed it. The general impression was that it was for Dr. Fry's especial benefit; that the ground used for that purpose would be needed for a chapel, library, and another dormitory; and even if not so used, the students would be deprived of the ground for recreation. On the other hand it may be said that in his original plan when the ground was purchased, Dr. Hill located Professors' houses precisely where they now stand. There was a plan to purchase the house next to Dr. Spaeth's, but this fell through as the building upon examination was found not to amount to much, desirable as though the addition of the grounds would have been to us.

The program of Dr. Seiss was that Dr. Fry should occupy one house, and I the other, in order to have the grounds and buildings under my constant supervision.

Dr. C.W.Schaeffer was much incensed about the site for reasons which could afterwards be inferred, but which at the time he did not make known. The last sight I had of him was from my window, as he was going over the plot staked off for the new houses with Mr. Hetzel, the builder. He had just left my room, consulting me I think upon his asking the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania to confer a degree- probably that of D.D. - on Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk. That afternoon he suffered from an attack - not severe - of indigestion; he remained

in the house, feeling weak, but seeing visitors the rest of the week, nevertheless rendering his family anxious as he did not seem to be gaining but losing strength; on Sunday after service his son told me of his anxiety concerning his father, and about an hour later, a messenger came announcing his death.<sup>22</sup> He died while his son was talking to him on his return from the Seminary. He was almost 83 years old.

Dr. Schaeffer is associated with most of my life. My earliest recollections go back to the church in Harrisburg where he was pastor of my grandparents. I can still see him in the pulpit through the eyes of a little boy whose feet did not touch the floor, and who looked with great difficulty over the top of the high-backed pew in front of him. He was a vigorous, whole-souled, generous hearted, cheerful man, who carried sunshine and smiles wherever he went. I often saw him at Gettysburg through all the stages of my career there. He officiated at my father's funeral. We stayed together and roomed together at Synod several times. For thirteen years we were in the Seminary Faculty together. He enjoyed dropping in on me at my work, and having a good long talk, always full of instruction. His heart was in the Seminary, and everything connected with its progress. The summer before he had said with a twinkle in his eye: "It was a happy thought for you to call the lodge a "herpetarium"; it would have startled people to have said 'a snake house'. He delighted in Meyer's acquisitions and like a little boy ran up and down the ricketty steps to see his exhibition. He grasped a beam in the Gymnasium and swung with the alertness of an athlete. He was interested in sitting by and watching games of ball by the students. He even stretched himself on the grass under the trees as he took a good smoke. He could be stern and dignified when necessity demanded; his prejudices were strong and his feelings deep; but back of all was the simplicity and generosity of a child. His strength was not as a scholar, altho' his general culture was wide, and his association with cultivated men gave him a freedom and happiness in conversation, and in addresses on festival occasions that made him a favorite. He was a good preacher, and particularly happy for the feeling and unction of his prayers. He had translated Bogatsky's "Golden Treasury", and written a volume of "Family Prayers," and translated hymns to such an extent that he was a master of devotional expression. He lived with the conviction that he might suddenly wake up at any time in the eternal world; and yet, he thought it possible that he might live ten or fifteen years longer. He expressly repeated his great desire to live so as to be present at the Jubilee of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania ( its 150th. Anniversary) in 1898; "but if I am called away before that, I want you to give the brethren present my regards. Please remember to do this." This

message having been committed to me several times, my very first words in opening my address on our grounds on that occasion were to communicate this message.

According to his known wish there were no addresses at his funeral. At the house I read his favorite passage of Scripture, the concluding verses of the eighth chapter of Romans. In St. Michael's Rev. Elwin Haupt, his nephew,<sup>23</sup> Dr. Luther E. Albert, for years his nearest Lutheran ministerial friend, Dr. Ziegenfuss,<sup>24</sup> his pastor officiated. At the grave Dr. Ziegenfuss and I were in charge, my part being to read the prayers. The rain poured in torrents all through the service, but as we stood by the grave and the casket was let down its sides covered with evergreen, the sun came out in its full glory. Dr. Krotel had come from New York, and Dr. Gilbert, from Dr. Schaeffer's old church in Harrisburg where he had officiated only a few months before. The students, Gongaware, Erbes, Melhorn and Wackernagel, Chally and Pfatteicher were pall-bearers.<sup>25</sup> A few months later, just before the meeting of Synod, a memorial service was held in St. John's Church. My mature estimate of Dr. Schaeffer's character and work is found in the discourse which I then delivered, and which was published in the "Lutheran Church Review."<sup>26</sup> Drs. Spaeth and Krotel both spoke, but their addresses were delivered without having been written and were not published.

This allusion to Dr. Schaeffer's death affords the occasion for introducing some reference to other men who had been friends of mine from my youth and had recently departed.

While I was working on my "history" in the summer of 1893, Dr. Hay of Gettysburg died very suddenly. He had written me some months before concerning translating Nebe's book on Luther on the Pastoral Office. I gave an estimate of his character and work in "The Lutheran," which was reprinted in "The Lutheran Observer".<sup>27</sup> His last years were embittered by conflicts at Gettysburg. His lack of efficiency as a teacher became more marked as he declined and his resignation had already been forced before his death. I was considerably touched by an evidence of his personal attachment to me in the copy of my "Lutheran Movement" in the Library of the Historical Society at Gettysburg, of which he was librarian. There occurs on p. 14 the following passage:

"William Tyndale was a quiet and retired scholar, who wrought diligently in his study with a fixed end in view from which he never swerved, and which required his withdrawal from the intimate associations and the wider spheres of discussion, in which others felt called to promote the same cause."

On the margin there is in Dr. Hay's handwriting:  
"Ecce Jacobus ipse!"

Dr. Passavant died a year later directly after the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1894.<sup>28</sup> I had a postal card from him only the preceding week.

Dr. Morris died while the General Council was in session at Easton ( October 10, 1895). His grandson, the Rev. Charles R. Trowbridge,<sup>29</sup> sent me a telegram which I gave to Dr. Seiss as a former close associate to read to the Council. A committee was appointed which reported suitable resolutions. Every Spring shortly after Easter for at least three years, he had gathered quite a number of Lutherans - mostly pastors but also some laymen, representing both General Synod and General Council - to a meeting in Dr. Seiss' church for reading of historical papers and their discussion. He presided and spoke with great vigor. In 1894 he came to see me all alone. He found Drs. C.W.Schaeffer, Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer, and Ziegenfuss in my study. He recalled his visit in 1889, and said he had spoken to others about having found me instructing my boys on Sunday afternoon. Such a diligent writer to the papers was he that several of his letters to the "Observer" appeared after his decease. He had continued to write until he took his bed.

About ten days before Christmas 1895 I had a very trying week. I had promised to address the Lutheran Social Union on a Thursday evening. On Monday afternoon a telegram informed me of the death of my classmate, Charles V.S.Levy, Esq., of Frederick, Md., and contained a request from his widow and children that I take charge of the funeral. His relations with his pastor had been unfortunate; and altho' for years the Superintendent of the Sunday School, he was an alien from his own congregation. I felt I could not refuse the appeal. His wife was the daughter of the Rev. W.D.Strobel, D.D.

Returning from the funeral on Thursday at noon in bare time to get ready for my engagement with the Social Union, I found that my uncle Alfred had died at Harrisburg. I went to the funeral on Saturday morning and was driven hastily from the cemetery to the depot to take a train for New York where I was to administer the communion to the Church of the Holy Trinity on Sunday. On my way to New York I read in the evening papers the sad news of the death by accidental poisoning of the Hon. Edward McPherson of Gettysburg.

## Chapter Forty Nine - A Trip to the South

During the summer of 1896 the two Professors' Houses opposite the dormitory were erected. Their foundations were laid during a period of unprecedented heat for the season, the thermometer ranging near ninety for almost a week in April. Dr. Seiss himself superintended their erection, unwisely saving architect's fees. The houses were planned after the model of the parsonage of Trinity church, Reading, which Dr. Fry had erected after the model of the parsonage he had occupied at Carlisle. We moved about the middle of September. Dr. Spieker was so anxious to get into the house we left that we were considerably hurried in our arrangements.

During the latter part of October (1896) I delivered a lecture at Union Theological Seminary, New York, on the Lutheran Orders of Service. Singularly I had to wear the gown of the Rev. Dr. Briggs. Dr. Hasting presided and I found him a very pleasant gentleman. The two Profs. Brown, Prof. McGiffert, Prof. Fagnani' and others were present; also Revs. J.A.W. Haas, S.S. Weiskotten, and Steimle, with whom I dined after the lecture. I had delivered the lecture to the students of our Seminary a few days before. Dr. Seiss was present and approved it. It was afterwards published in the volume entitled "Christian Worship," edited by Prof. Briggs and issued by Charles Scribners' Sons.<sup>2</sup>

A week later, I was on my way to Charleston, S.C. to deliver the annual Reformation Address. A Luther League Convention was appointed for Charleston for the preceding day. Dr. Baugher of Gettysburg was to address it, and we arranged to travel together. I met him in Washington, D.C. where we took the train for the South. We awoke the next morning in North Carolina, and for the first time I saw cotton fields. Women were busy picking the cotton balls. Compared with my expectations it was very diminutive. I carried with me the Journal, written by my uncle, Rev. David Jacobs, on his trip of 1830, and found myself passing on the train through the very country which he painfully rode through on horseback - in the midst of frequent rains and almost impassable roads, pressing ever onwards towards the North in order to be at Gettysburg at the opening of the session, and at last dying within a day's ride of his destination.

At the depot at Charlotte, N.C. we met the Rev. J.W. Rumble,<sup>3</sup> one of my first pupils in the Preparatory Department at Gettysburg. At Columbia, S.C., Hon. J.C. Seegers, father of Rev. J.C. Seegers<sup>4</sup> - then of Albany, N.Y. but now of Easton, Pa., was waiting for us. He drove us to his home on the edge of the city.

We dined there and after being driven through some of the principal streets of Columbia and visiting the home of Mrs. Habenicht, his daughter who was very ill, we took the train at 4 P.M. for Charleston. I was fortunate in having a very intelligent gentleman alongside of me, an intimate friend of Col. Holloway, a zealous Lutheran who had given my seat-mate much correct information concerning our Church. He gave me the Southern side of the Negro question, and was not hopeful concerning the manufactures of the South because of the utter unreliability of their help. When a holiday or some celebration comes, he said, the work was deserted no matter how important it might be. Nor did the negro care for remaining long in one place, etc. When I expressed my surprise at the small height of the cotton plants, he said: "That is all nigger cotton. They work it and get all the strength out of the ground without putting any in."

At the depot in Charleston Dr. Horn was waiting and took us to his home where, with his family, we found his father-in-law, Col. Chisolm, a very cultivated and entertaining gentleman. How well we remembered his name in connection with the flag of truce sent to Fort Sumter at the first engagement of the great Civil War!<sup>5</sup>

We walked on Saturday morning to chief places of interest in the city. The traces of the great earthquake were very apparent.<sup>6</sup> The most imposing part of the city was the Battery overlooking Charleston's magnificent harbor. The warm climate and short winters render verandas particularly important parts of the houses. We heard a little of the proceedings of the Luther League in which Dr. Horn was not particularly interested. The afternoon was spent on Sullivan's Island where Fort Moultrie was the chief object of study. In the evening we were with Dr. Holland. Preaching for Dr. Horn Sunday morning, I spent the afternoon in his study. The air was raw and chilly, and there being no heater available for service, I wore an overcoat. It was a disappointment to find such cool weather so far South. In the evening the Church was filled with the United Congregations. Two prominent and aged Presbyterian clergymen were present, one of them (Dr. Vedder) having been a classmate of Dr. Fry at Union College. My<sup>7</sup> discourse was published in "The Lutheran Visitor." The next day we drove to the Cemetery where we found the oaks hanging with the tree-moss most attractive. Dr. L. Müller of the German church, a brother-in-law of Mr. Laurent of Mt. Airy, entertained us at dinner. We left Charleston on Tuesday morning. It was a visit which will always be the source of the most pleasant recollections.

On our way home we went from Columbia to Newberry where my old pupil, Rev. Junius B. Fox, Ph.D. was waiting for me, and we drove to the college.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Fox had graduated at Gettysburg while I was there. He was a brother of Rev. L.A. Fox, D.D., of Roanoke College,<sup>9</sup> and during the year which he spent at Gettysburg was more frequently with me than students generally. He had lost his wife only a few months before under very painful circumstances. She had been taken ill on the train and died at the railroad station at Newberry.

The foundation of the new church was just being laid. We drove past it. Dr. Fox shortly afterwards removed to Staunton, Va., and after a brief pastorate died there.

Newberry<sup>10</sup> was associated in my mind with the names of Dr. Brown and the two Drs. Stork, and the promising future of the College had been interrupted and blighted by the breaking out of the Civil War. At the College, the President, George B. Cromer, Esq., LL.D., welcomed me. He is a tall, modest man, who is recognized as among the very best of the influential lawyers of South Carolina. A devoted Lutheran, he accepted and for about ten years continued to administer the Presidency at great personal sacrifice. I have met him on two occasions since, and last summer spent half a week in the same house, and have learned to know him well."

Dr. Voigt then took me into his care, announcing that he expected me to fill the next hour for his classes. Altho' I protested I had no preparation and would have to talk at random, there was no help. Those seven men I remember well. There were three of them by the name of Rizer, one Risinger, Ritchie, Shenk and Matthias. One of the Rizers afterwards came to the Seminary, another I met in Virginia, with Ritchie I spent over a week in 1902 in North Carolina, Shenk I have met twice, and Matthias at least once since. The students tarried and I had an interesting talk with them individually. I dined with Dr. Voigt and had a few moments conversation with him as to his successor.

Dr. Voigt had been recommended by me to the place he occupied. He had become discouraged under the pressure of the work and the small number of theological students. He taught German and French in the College, as well as all branches of Theology in the Seminary - about 20 hours of lectures and recitations a week. He had resigned and was for several years at Thiel College, first as Professor of German and then acting President. But the Southern Church had called him back to Newberry and he had gone. The experiment was not satisfactory. He had again resigned, and was

afterwards to become pastor at Wilmington, N.C., and then to assume a theological professorship for the third time at Mt. Pleasant, S.C. I very strongly recommended the Rev. J.A. Morehead, then in the ministry for four years, first at Burke's Garden, Va., and afterwards at Richmond, Va. He is now President of Roanoke College.<sup>12</sup>

Dr. Fox accompanied me on the train from Newberry to Columbia, pointing out the Lutheran churches along the way. The road ran through what is known as the "Dutch Fork," formed by the junction of the Saluda and Congaree Rivers at Columbia, S.C. The name indicates that the settlers were Germans. The country reminds one of Eastern Pennsylvania, contrasting greatly with other parts of the same State. The ground shows the results of careful tillage, and barns and houses have a peculiar mark that identify them. Here our church is almost as strong in proportion to the white population as in Lebanon, Berks, or Lehigh counties, Pennsylvania. It was the day of the Presidential election. We traveled all night, and at Washington the next morning papers recorded McKinley's triumphant election. If Pennsylvania had been in doubt, I would have returned the preceding day. The men in the South with whom I had spoken on the subject did not want to see Bryan elected.

Ten days later, on a Saturday, I went to Gettysburg. The Fiftieth Anniversary of the organization of the Ladies Bible Society was to be celebrated. My mother had been the Secretary for about forty years of that period. The ladies desired me to speak concerning the history of their society, while Dr. Morrow took another topic. I found my data in the file of printed reports at the Pennsylvania Bible House, to which, as a Vice President, I had access; and I supplemented what was thus gained by personal recollections. As a little boy I used to be my mother's companion to the annual meetings of the Society, generally on the sharp, crisp, starlighted nights of early November that ushered in the winter. The annual sermon preached the Sunday evening before in a Union meeting of the Protestant churches was a prominent event in the religious life of the town. The managers - ladies from the various churches - held several meetings a year and made collections which were faithfully recorded by my mother. I often assisted in the work.

I stayed with Dr. Baugher who was at the depot to meet me. There was also a committee on hand of the Young Mens' Christian Association of the College urging me to address them that evening. This I declined to do altho' they seemed unwilling to accept an excuse.

Dr. Martin spent the evening with us. Again I found myself in an atmosphere where the prevailing spirit was one of complaint and faultfinding. My sympathies were, of course, on the side presented. But, as when I lived among them, my methods of reaching the end desired would have been very different. Dr. Baugher was no longer in connection with the College. We will tell the whole story farther on, if we reach the proper place. The break had created such feeling that neither he nor his family had been in the College Church since. The congregation being without a pastor, Mr. Eckart had written to me asking that I should fill the pulpit on Sunday morning. Dr. Baugher accompanied me to the church- the first time he had been there since the break. Dr. Valentine had been engaged to conduct the service. But Dr. Baugher and Dr. Valentine were not then on speaking terms, or if they were, only in the most distant way. We had scarcely been seated in the chancel before a large number of students came in with their scholastic robes and seated themselves in the front pews. The organ had been shifted from the place in the gallery over the vestibule, where I had known it to have been ever since the first organ was presented by Hon. George Smyser in 1851 or thereabouts, to the rear of the platform known as "the pulpit." After service, Dr. Valentine invited me to take supper with him that evening; but I candidly told him that as I was staying at Dr. Baugher's it would give offense to the Baughers if I would leave their home to dine with the Valentines, "seeing that the Baughers have no dealings with the Valentines." So carefully had I to steer between the President of the General Synod (Dr. Baugher) and the head of the Theological Seminary (Dr. Valentine). I made an appointment, however, to meet Dr. Valentine the next morning. Dr. Bikle called on me that afternoon. In the evening the College Church was crowded. Miss Alice Baugher once more had the organ - it was a new one - and the singing was inspiring. Every now and then, the impression of the singing of the hymn on that occasion: "A glory gilds the sacred page," occurs to me.

The gowns worn by the students were explained to me. The Seniors appeared robed only on special occasions; and the wearing of gowns that Sunday morning was intended to be a token of esteem to the preacher! But if the preacher had brought a robe with him and had preached in the garb to which he was accustomed when delivering his sermons! We had no criticism whatever to make. The Gettysburgers, on both sides, had been as cordial as though no break with them had ever occurred. In the pulpit and in private intercourse I felt completely at home. I think that in the ardor of delivery on Sunday evening, I possibly went too far in referring to the Gettysburg Seminary as "our Seminary."

Trinity church, Reading had become vacant by the removal to the Seminary of the Rev. Dr. Fry. Immediately after my return from Charleston, I received a letter from Hon. G.A. Endlich, Judge of the Courts at Reading, on behalf of the Church Council, asking me to suggest names for their consideration. That I thought of Dr. Horn, whom I had just left, and whom I had tried to have brought first to the Seminary, and when that failed, to New York, was very natural. But on reflection, I felt that, after having been so kindly treated by the people of St. John's, Charleston, it would be dishonorable for me to immediately aid in taking away the pastor to whom they were so deeply attached; and, in the second place, I feared the great tax which such a large parish as Trinity church would impose, would deprive the Church of Dr. Horn's services as a scholar where he was so greatly needed. My hope all along had been that the way would be open so that Dr. Horn might be in the Seminary. In answering Judge Endlich, my impression is that Dr. Horn's name was not mentioned; if it was, it was only casually. I did recommend Rev. J.A.W. Haas, now President of Muhlenberg College.<sup>13</sup> He declined considering a call, and would not preach, but recommended his brother, Rev. G.C.F. Haas.<sup>14</sup> After the congregation had heard Revs. Haas, W.J. Miller and Kunzman and were still drifting, Judge Endlich wrote me the third time, asking me my opinion of Dr. Horn, and my judgment as to whether he could be secured. It seems that the proposition of his name had been made by the Muhlenberg family, Dr. F.A. Muhlenberg having moved to Reading and connected himself with Trinity Church. Dr. Horn was accordingly invited to preach, and accepted, coming North by sea, and stopping with me on his way to Reading, as well as on his return. Dr. Fry was in Reading that Sunday in his old church while Dr. Horn preached. The next day (Monday) he came back and declared with much delight that there was no doubt that Dr. Horn would be his successor. Rev. George Drach, now General Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, had been Dr. Fry's assistant for a year; and, after Dr. Fry's removal, had been engaged to fill the place until a successor would be elected. He was an extraordinarily good preacher for such a young man and made an impression on the congregation. There was a decided feeling on the part of some that he should become their pastor as they had grown attached to him. Such a choice had once before proved to be a great injustice to the young man put in the responsibility of such an important position. This was the only element that had to be overcome. Judge Endlich called on me and discussed the situation. While he expected the election of Dr. Horn, he was anxious lest some demonstration against it might be made at the last moment. He spoke of the difficulty of counting on the Pennsylvania-Germans. They made up

their minds silently and kept their peace until the decisive moment. He illustrated this by a Democratic convention which had unanimously made a nomination, and then the very men who had voted for the candidate in the County Convention defeated him at the polls. No such calamity occurred in this case. Dr. Horn was elected with substantial unanimity, and soon thoroughly united the congregation. Mr. Drach was called to St. Stephen's, West Philadelphia.

At Charleston, Dr. Horn informed me, there was much feeling against me as I was blamed for having determined his call to Reading. Nevertheless immediate measures were taken to secure a successor, as nearly representing those under which Dr. Horn had been called twenty-one years before. I was asked to recommend a young man with a few years' experience in the pastoral office from among our General Council circles. Rev. J.W. Horine came the nearest to meeting the conditions. Asked to send him the very next Sunday to preach for them, I telegraphed him to call on me that evening. He did so. I told him the situation. He promised to be there on the Sunday named, and was elected almost before the Church at large had learned that Dr. Horn had resigned. Dr. Horn came North, and Dr. Horine went South in the Spring of 1897.<sup>15</sup>

Mr. Horine left the church of the Incarnation. The congregation clamored for a suitable successor. My recommendation of Rev. N.R. Melhorn was promptly elected. This gave some offense to some of the members of the Joint Synod of Ohio, who declared none of their students should henceforth go to Mt. Airy if they could help it - a promise which they have probably kept. I preached the installation sermons of both Dr. Horn and Mr. Melhorn, one on one Sunday, the other the next.

On Feb. 16th., 1897, the tercentenary of the birth of Philip Melanchthon was duly celebrated in the Seminary. The General Synod pastors desired a joint celebration as at the celebration of the death of Luther the year before. Dr. Spaeth opposed this because he feared that Melanchthon would be set over against Luther. Separate celebrations were, therefore, held. The Seminary exercises were suspended for the day. Dr. Spaeth was appointed to deliver a German and I an English address. To prepare myself for it, I began during the Christmas vacation to make a careful study of Melanchthon's works, and filled a large Note Book with excerpts, chiefly from his correspondence, but also from his books. My address was prepared with more care than I have been able usually to give to such compositions.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Spaeth was disabled with a severe cold. I had, therefore, a free field, and spoke for just one hour. The students sang Melanchthon's

Hymn on Angels in Latin. Dr. Seiss was present, Rev. A.S.Fichthorn, and R.D.Roeder of Norristown and other General Council ministers, also Drs. W.M.Baum, L.E. Albert and S.A.Holman from the General Synod. At Dr. Albert's request, I repeated the address in his church, about ten days later, although it was scholastic in its treatment. I repeated the substance of it, in a popular way, at Chester, Pa., for Rev. I.C.Hoffman.

Taking time only for a hurried lunch, Drs. Fry and Spieker, and Rev. I.C.Hoffman and I hurried to Princeton, N.J. to attend the Melanchthon celebration in the Theological Seminary. There being some time at my disposal after arriving there, I called on Drs. Paxton and Warfield, and had interesting conversations.

Dr. W.H.Green presided, I was called upon to read the Scripture lesson, Dr. Green offered the prayer, after which Dr. DeWitt, the Professor of Church History,<sup>7</sup> made a much longer address than even mine at Mt. Airy. I took tea with Dr. Paxton and returned with my companions. Dr. De Witt's address was able and appreciative. It was afterwards published in the "Presbyterian Review" and separately. The students sang a translation of Melanchthon's hymn, and of Luther's "Ein Feste Burg."

My hands were full of literary undertakings. "The Lutheran Commentary" was being issued regularly and required my supervision. A Memorial Volume for the 150th. Anniversary of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was in process of preparation. The editorial committee consisted of Drs. Spaeth, Spieker, and me. Dr. Spieker did absolutely nothing, and Dr. Spaeth very little. We employed Mr., now Rev., W.A.Lambert for two summers to translate documents in the Archives.<sup>8</sup> We prepared a collection of the Minutes and all Mss. accounts we could find in Muhlenberg's Journals and elsewhere, of the meetings of the Ministerium, from its organization in 1748 to 1823. Very little of this had been printed before. As the work drew to a close, Mr., now Rev., F.E.Cooper was called in to do some additional translation,<sup>9</sup> and my son, Charles, to make the Indexes. These Indexes are extraordinarily minute, and render the book a great store-house of readily accessible information concerning the history of congregations and individuals, as well as of the Synod itself. The book also puts into the clear the previously obscure history of the Ministerium between the death of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the organization of the General Synod. It shows that the statements often made concerning the indifferentism and lack of confessional fidelity of that time are exaggerations. The Confessional obligation indeed disappeared from the Constitution of 1792, but the reason of this is

to be found in that then lay representation was introduced.

Provision was also made for continuing the work by the translation of illustrative documents, and Mr. Cooper was employed on this for a summer; but the sale of the Jubilee Volume did not justify the publication of a second.<sup>20</sup>

My chief literary task was the preparation of the "Life of Martin Luther" in the series of "Heroes of the Reformation," edited by Dr. Samuel Macaulay Jackson, and published by the Putnams.<sup>21</sup> It was a work of love and required no great effort. Luther's Works were constantly at hand and afforded the chief source of information. The Erlangen, Walch and Weimar editions were all called into service. The unabridged Koestlin, Kolde, Burk and Rade were the chief German biographies that helped me to thread my way through the material, and to arrange what I had collected. I had constantly to guard against the tendency to dwell on details and to enter into extensive investigation, which was not expected in a popular work. The book was well received. One of the best tributes to it has been its use as a text-book in Bryn Mawr College and Yale University. It is recommended by the American Library Association in its lists for Public Libraries, and is generally found on their shelves. Charles gave me no little help in the final revision of the copy.

Contemporaneously with the "Life of Luther," the "Lutheran Cyclopaedia" was under way. The Christian Literature Co. urged me long before I would consider it. I called in Dr. Spaeth as my adviser, and he was very urgent that I should undertake it. I felt that I could not give it the time which would be demanded, and proposed to take Rev. J.A.W. Haas in as Associate Editor. He was not unwilling to do this, but under financial conditions the publisher could not guarantee. I had taken it for granted that he had abandoned the thought, and went to New York with the intention of taking full responsibility by having my son, Charles, look after the details - when I found that he had waived his objections. My general work was to advise and guide and decide. Dr. Haas did the actual editorial work. We prepared a book whose value has not been appreciated but whose influence will live. If I had been the sole editor, with Charles' aid, the work would have been more American in its scope and form. But it is a correct presentation of the stage of development our Church had attained.<sup>22</sup>

I had almost forgotten, and have passed over the work done several years before as Assistant Editor of Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia, my particular depart-

ment having been all topics pertaining to the Lutheran Church. My articles are all signed and are quite numerous, and some of them long. Beside these, I secured writers for the publishers, as Prof. Zoekler's revision of the article on "German Theology," and Prof. Thiele's article on "Religions." My articles are not all on Lutheran topics. Among others, I wrote the article, "Wiclif."<sup>23</sup>

The Pennsylvania German Society through its President, Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk, asked me to prepare a paper on "German Emigration to Pennsylvania," for its meeting at Lancaster in 1897. I attended the meeting and read it. When published in the "Proceedings," extra copies were printed and published separately in book form.<sup>24</sup> At the meeting I met a distant relative, Dr. S.P. Heilman of Heilman's Dale, Lebanon Co., from whom I afterwards secured interesting data concerning family history. My father's grandmother was a Heilman from that stock. The banquet of the Society I did not enjoy, and on reaching home, was taken sick and remained in bed several days as a consequence of the fatigue, exposure, excitement, late hours and the dainties. I have not attended any of the banquets of the Society since then, and only one of the meetings. Mr. Julius F. Sachsse<sup>25</sup> whom I have learned to know well through the work of the Society, has been of much service to me in historical investigations.

In the Seminary, the plans we were arranging for the completion of collections for the removal to Mt. Airy, were interfered with by the constant clamor of the College for more funds. A scheme was proposed to Synod for raising a large amount to commemorate the close of the XIX Century, and to be divided between College, Seminary and General Synodical Fund. When this came before the Synod, I criticized the purpose of celebrating the close of the XIX Century, and proposed instead that the Sesquicentennial of the Synod in 1898 be celebrated. This was adopted. The ordinary mode of procedure would have suggested that I should have been a member of the committee; but my name was passed over, and when later the committee itself asked the President of the Ministerium to enlarge it by adding my name and that of another, he declined to do so. He feared probably that I might favor a somewhat wider scope to the celebration than that of simply raising money. I was not offended. Upwards of \$20,000 were deducted from the Synod's debt on the Seminary grounds by the Jubilee collections. The main celebration was at the meeting of the Ministerium in 1898. One evening was devoted to a German historical address by Dr. Spaeth; another, to an English address of the same character by Dr. Seiss. On Saturday afternoon there was an open air meeting on the Seminary grounds with addresses

Dr. Schanta, Dr. Seip and me, my theme being "The Seminary." The addresses were subsequently published in pamphlet form.<sup>26</sup> The permanent memorial of the Jubilee is the volume mentioned above.

In the fall of 1898, Dr. Kretschman having removed to Buffalo, N.Y., Dr. Carl A. Blomgren, a graduate of both Harvard and Yale, and pastor of one of the Swedish churches in the city, succeeded him, and continued in this work until 1905, when he was called to the Professorship of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Ill.<sup>27</sup>

## Chapter Fifty - At the Seminary and Elsewhere

At the meeting of the Board of the Seminary in 1896, I was charged with a special commission by the Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer, to make an offer to the Board of the erection of a Church Building on the Seminary grounds as a memorial to his father and mother. The offer was gratefully accepted by the Board, and was fittingly acknowledged in a formal resolution of the Ministerium.

The necessity of a Church on or near the Seminary had become apparent for some time. The services begun in the chapel of the Gowen Building by Dr. C.W.Schaeffer and me had been regularly maintained. A congregation had been formed under the pastorate of Rev. R. Hill, and was afterwards served by Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer. The attendance was such that often the room could not contain the audience, and the hallway was crowded as well. Various ways of enlarging the room had been considered, but were found impracticable.

A Mr. James Elder of Atlantic City, formerly a hardware merchant at the NE. corner of Market and 13th. Streets, had consulted me concerning his will. He had been in childhood a Sunday school scholar of St. John's, his mother being a Lutheran, while his father was an Episcopalian. He proposed to divide a sum of money equally between the Episcopalians and the Lutherans. His contribution to the Lutherans he wanted devoted to a Memorial Church, somewhere in Philadelphia, and it was proposed, and he concurred with the suggestion, that Mt. Airy be the location, either in or near the grounds. Mr. Elder, it may be remarked, had been all his life an Episcopalian, but he had become dissatisfied with the ritualism and High Church tendencies of their church at Atlantic City, and was attending our church regularly. In the recommendation of Rev. Dr. Kunkleman as pastor of that place, regard was had as to the importance of having an experienced man there, who would be acceptable to Mr. Elder and others similarly situated. Dr. Kunkleman afterwards visited me concerning the project. But, in time, as Mr. E. grew feebler, his Episcopalian daughters dissuaded him and the will was changed.

Nothing was lost by the change. Dr. Schaeffer had had his plans in mind even before Mr. Elder. It is generally understood that his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Fry Ashmead Schaeffer, had left some lots of ground near Queen Lane Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, with the provision that they were to be sold, and the proceeds devoted to the erection of a church building somewhere in the city. Dr. C.W.Schaeffer evidently was influenced by this consideration in his opposition to the use of the ground opposite the

Dormitory for Professors' Houses. The gift was in mind, and I am inclined to think that the place referred to had been preferred.

The execution of the plan of Dr. Schaeffer was delayed by circumstances which he could not control. The country was passing through a financial crisis, and Real Estate was depressed. There were actually no offers whatever for the lots that were to bring the money. For five years no further move was made. Meanwhile Dr. Schaeffer became Synodical Superintendent of Missions, and resigned his charge of the Church of the Ascension, and Dr. Fry, who had removed to Mt. Airy, was elected Pastor pro tempore, an arrangement which has continued for ten years.<sup>2</sup> The tension of the crowded room, not only for Chapel services, but for every public occasion of the Seminary became so great that I became convinced that some change must be made. The church might be far in the distance, and beside that, even though it would soon be built, provision must be made for the wants of the Library.

The old barn was a very substantial stone building. It had particularly attracted Dr. Mann's admiration when we visited the grounds together. He had said that here was a building which could be readily converted into a Library building. Dr. Loy, on his visit, expressed surprise that it was not utilized. The students had raised some funds which enabled them to change the hay-mow into a good-sized, well-lighted room for Gymnasium purposes. The men most active were Messrs. Gongaware, Reed and Bieber.<sup>3</sup> It became the dining-hall for Alumni Day and Seminary Day. The students on one occasion held a concert there; and Dr. Clay had lectured on Assyrian Excavations.

One morning I went to see Dr. Seiss, and proposed that we change the barn into a chapel for the present, and, as soon as the chapel was no longer needed, convert it into a Library building. The idea pleased him. He thought it could be carried out. He instructed me to confer with Mr. Hetzel, our carpenter. I had an estimate before the meeting of the Board in 1898. They approved the plan. The Alumni contributed the money in their treasury. Some other gifts were made. Dr. Seiss offered to advance whatever other funds were needed as a loan. The work was done that summer, and the new chapel was occupied when the Seminary was opened. It was a very attractive room, seating 250 people, well lighted and readily heated in cold weather. It was carpeted with carpet from the old Church of the Holy Communion, Broad and Arch Streets, after the congregation removed to its new home on Chestnut Street. The side windows to the North commanded the most picturesque part of the campus, beautiful in

its green robe in summer, and in white in winter. A handsome oil painting of Luther ( a copy of Cranach) hung on the wall. Altar, Reading Desk and Pulpit were on a high platform. The associations of that room are of the most sacred and pleasant character. Beneath it was an equally well lighted Reading Room. There was also a room for the Infant School, and for Gymnasium purposes below stairs; and a large long kitchen, used as a robing room above. The Janitor had a small room on the first floor. This building served a good purpose until the completion of the church in 1902, and continued to be the dining-room for the large Seminary Family until 1906, when it was used for the last time at the Commencement Season. It was demolished during the last few weeks. I had named it "St. Barnabas," since it had been a barn.

The repairs to that building will always be associated in my mind with the Spanish-American War. It was while the building was in progress, that the events of the war occupied our minds. On July 4th. 1898, Dr. Seiss spent the day at Dr. Fry's. That evening the particulars of the great naval battle at Santiago came. The historic background in my mind will always be the uncovered rafters raising themselves toward the sky, against the gray dusk of nightfall, while the rain fell, and we were startled with the tidings of the completeness of the victory.

The close of the Spanish War is associated with a trip to Western Pennsylvania in response to an invitation to address a Luther Reunion at "Idlewild," in Westmoreland County near Ligonier. We met a large number of ministers and former acquaintances of both the General Council and the General Synod. My address was printed in pamphlet form by Dr. Yount of Greensburg.<sup>4</sup>

When the War was over, the Peace Jubilee in Philadelphia occupied two days. Our family was kindly invited to the house of Rev. E.R.Cassaday, on South Broad Street, whence we saw the military procession of the first day, and President McKinley, Lieut-Gen. Miles, Maj. Gen. Wheeler, Admiral Phillips, Captain Hobson and others. At another occasion, viz. the opening of the International Exhibition in West Philadelphia, I saw Admirals Sampson, Sigsbee, Chadwick, etc. Years before Admiral, then Commander, Sampson was one of my audience when I filled the Presbyterian pulpit at Palmyra, N.Y. I did not witness the parade of the second day, but the rest of the family did.

Early in November we learned of the illness of Dan Bishop, a soldier, in the Germantown Hospital. He was the son of my cousin, Alice Besore, of Smithsburg, Md., the great grandson of my Aunt Eyler. His two

sisters, Miriam and Gertrude, were with us for weeks, until he was able to be moved. U.S. Senator Wellington about a year before had kindly offered to serve me at Washington if I ever needed anything there. I had never thought of claiming the fulfillment of this promise until the young man was ordered to report to his regiment in Georgia without returning home to see his mother. I wrote to Mr. Wellington, who secured the desired furlough for him, which reached Philadelphia just as he was starting Southward.

A General Conference between the representatives of the three General Bodies of our Church was held in Philadelphia that winter, during the closing days of December. The committee to arrange it consisted of Dr. S.W. Owen of Hagerstown, Md., for the General Synod, Rev. W.H. Shealy of Staunton, Va., for the United Synod of the South, and me.<sup>6</sup> We met at Blue Ridge House, near Pen Mar, on the mountain above Waynesboro', Pa. Mrs. Jacobs accompanied me on the trip. We spent several days at Harrisburg and Gettysburg. We visited the familiar scenes at the latter place. Some of our friends called at the Eagle Hotel, among them Miss Alice Baugher. Mrs. Croll gave us a drive over some of the Battle-field Avenues. Dr. Wolf introduced me to Dr. W. Hayes Ward of the New York "Independent,"<sup>7</sup> who had been sitting opposite us at the hotel table. We found the Maryland Bar Association in session at the Blue Mountain House. Among the prominent lawyers present was my former pupil, Harry Clabaugh,<sup>8</sup> now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, then Attorney-General of the State of Maryland. We heard a vigorous discussion on the wearing of official robes by Judges, Mr. Clabaugh advocating it, and Judge Bond of Washington bitterly opposing it. The next morning, Hampton L. Carson, Esq., of Philadelphia, now Attorney General of Pennsylvania, delivered the annual address, which was both able and eloquent. I had met him once before, and had a brief talk with him in the hotel office.

The work of our committee was over that night, but we waited the next day to be present at the Pen Mar Lutheran Reunion, about a mile distant. There were from 10,000 to 15,000 people present from all over the borders of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the neighboring part of Virginia. Senator Wellington was the chief speaker. I spoke for about five minutes, simply to indicate my appreciation of the invitation. We met many friends. I found the Bells and the Bishops there.

Charles we left at home recovering from an illness that he had received while supplying the pulpit of Rev. C. Armand Miller in New York. I had gone to New York,

filled one of his appointments, and brought him home the preceding Sunday.

The day before the first of the Peace Jubilee, Dr. Owen came to Mt. Airy, and we completed the program.

However, before the Conference assembled, a Convention of Luther Leagues throughout the United States was held in Mr. Miller's church in New York. Having been invited to read a paper, I went over and found every place in and about the church crowded. The confusion was too great for any close attention to any subject or speaker. Whatever benefit could be derived from such a convention was purely social. A young man had embarked with seemingly great enterprise into a business scheme for circulating Lutheran literature, and had a very respectable exhibit in a neighboring building. He also undertook the publication of a periodical called "Lutheran Literature." I feared that he was not counting the cost; and so it proved. The journal did not survive its second issue. I contributed to the first number an account of the Seminary Library.

Before Christmas we were saddened and shocked by the death of Dr. Matthias Richards of Muhlenberg College.<sup>9</sup> He was an inveterate smoker and took but little outdoor exercise, and readily succumbed to the attack of disease. Our entire Faculty was at the funeral from St. John's, Allentown. I had been one of his groomsmen at his wedding, and was intimately associated with him while he was Tutor and theological student at Gettysburg. We always remained good friends, but our paths separated, and we could scarcely be called intimate in later life. He was very gifted, but did not concentrate, and his habits as a smoker led him into reveries, which all his industry at other hours could not make up. Prof. Richards had accepted a place on our program for the General Conference, but he died before it met.

The Conference began its sessions in St. John's, Phila., Dr. Seiss delivering the sermon. My opening remarks were kindly received. There was a large attendance, much interest was manifested and a good spirit prevailed. The members of the Committee presided in turn, I on the first and Dr. Owen on the second, and Mr. Shealy on the third day. In assigning of subjects we had in view the presentation of important topics in due proportion. There was no evasion of controversial points, but we tried to avoid having them absorb all the time. Drs. Krotel, Spaeth, Horn, Schmauk and Haas and Rev. W.A. Passavant, Jr. were among the General Council representatives; Drs. Wolf, Bauslin, Bell, Ort, Koeler, Wenner, Dunbar and

Dunn, among those from the General Synod; Drs. Painter and L.L.Smith, with papers read in absentia from Drs. L.A.Fox and Voigt, the United Synod South." At the reception given by the Luther League Union, Judge Staake urged me to confer with Dr. Seiss concerning the decline of the Church of the Holy Communion, and the importance of his securing some younger man "like Mr. Fichthorn of Norristown" as his assistant. Five years later this very plan was carried out. Of course, I could regard it within my province to give any such advice. It was a matter between Dr. Seiss and his congregation.

The condition of Dr. Baugher at this time was very distressing. It is a sad story and takes us back a number of years. His entire caste of mind and temperament put him generally in the minority. He was critical by nature, and outspoken. When a young man in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania he contended against conservative forces, and almost split the church at Norristown, leaving it in a disturbed condition from which it required a quarter of a century to recover. At Gettysburg he was a steady advocate of conservatism over against radicalism and the extravagances of revivalism. He was a born agitator, and was not satisfied with protesting, but was always determined to force a conflict. His sarcasm was burning; his treatment of opponents brusque and irritating. As a Professor, he was a strict disciplinarian, and insisted upon a high standard both for entrance and for continuance in the College classes. This brought him into conflict with those who wanted to enroll the largest number of students, and to make special concessions to beneficiaries. The pulpit performances, the pastoral policy followed by Dr. Hay were particularly offensive to him, and stirred up his indignation. When he became a member of the Seminary Board, Dr. Hay's continuance as Professor became a matter of doubt. Dr. Valentine also felt his criticism. Dr. McKnight, the President of the College, was considerably his junior, and - a bitter partisan himself - called forth Dr. Baugher's antipathy.

Dr. Baugher's strength lay in his unquestioned ability as a teacher, and his gifts as a preacher, as well as in the fact that he represented the best traditions of the College. There was considerable opposition to his reelection when he was called to succeed me, and he had to subscribe to humiliating conditions, such as had not been exacted previously of any Professor. He was repeatedly warned not to wander in the Class Room beyond the branches pertaining to his own particular field. He was informed that he was to confine himself to the teaching of Greek, and not to intrude Theology. This - as one called to the position as a part of his ministry - he declined

to accept. An effort was made to declare the College an undenominational institution. This he resisted with all his might. He maintained that it was established by Lutherans for Lutherans, and had its endowments and patronage largely on this plea. As President of the General Synod his words were more serious than if he had been only a Professor."

One evening a prominent lawyer of a General Synod congregation in Philadelphia, a lawyer and alumnus of the College, called on me to ask me to intercede with Dr. Baugher to make some concession to his opponents, as they were bent on his removal. This I could not do. I was not a party to the contest, and Dr. Baugher had not asked for my advice.

The blow at length fell. He was summarily dismissed from his Professorship. It stunned him. He could not believe that it was possible. With his ability and standing it might have seemed as though he would have been called very soon to some important place, either as pastor or teacher. But no call came. He had previously been supplanted in his position as editor of the Augsburg Lessons. His sources of income failing, he had to live on his savings of former years. I received blanks from the Fisk Agency in New York, to be filled up, certifying to his competency as a teacher. Even then no invitation came. The case was so serious that even his opponents were troubled; they had not intended to deal as severe a blow as he had received. For a time he edited "The Lutheran World,"<sup>12</sup> but was not successful here financially or otherwise. It was a pathetic sight that met me one Wednesday evening as I was speaking at service in the Seminary. At first I did not recognize the rapidly aging man before me, but at last I saw it was Dr. Baugher. I had arranged to go to New York that night; but I had an interview with him. He asked me to try to find a charge for him in the General Council. I was sorry I could not give him much encouragement; for there were no vacancies he could have filled that would have given him a support.

At last, early in the Spring of 1898, he was elected the First Professor of Theology in the Seminary of the United Synod South, just about being removed to Mt. Pleasant, S.C. in Charleston Harbor. After some weeks' indecision, he came to Mt. Airy from Gettysburg in order to confer with me about it. I found him terribly despondent, and thoroughly distrusting his ability to meet the requirements of the place. He consulted Drs. Seiss, Spaeth and Fry, and all advised him to accept. Finally he told me he was afraid he was losing his mind. "The first thing, then, is to consult some physician who can decide this question and advise the proper treatment," was my answer. He

asked me to recommend and arrange an interview with some one. By telephone, Charles made an appointment with Dr. Henry Beates. The Doctor gave him an examination and interview of fully an hour. I was present. He told Dr. Baugher he was suffering from "mental inhibition." He had been under a great and long strain, and his mind was thoroughly fatigued, like a man who had run up a steep hill, and, on reaching the top, could only pant. "What you need is complete rest and absolute change of scene and thought. First, make up your mind to leave Gettysburg. You cannot get well there. Association constantly suggests your troubles. You cannot walk the street without being repeatedly reminded of them. Then, when you have so decided, go to some place on the sea shore where you can rough it - no fashionable place where you must be dressed and have regard for appearance, but where you can have absolute freedom from care. A couple of weeks will make you a well man physically. Then go to the theological doctors, and get their judgment as to your acceptance of the Professorship in the South."

Encouraged, he went home the next day; shortly after he left for the seashore, returning in a day or two; then he left home again with his wife. The crisis he had dreaded came, and he was taken to the Frankford Sanitarium in the suburbs of Philadelphia. His sister wrote me of it, expressing the desire of the family that I should learn the progress of the case from time to time. On calling at Frankford, the physician in charge called me by name. It was Dr. Chase, formerly of the Norristown Hospital, and under whom I had put Mr. Runge about five years before. On my next visit, I saw him. He recognized me but could communicate nothing. I was pained to note his emaciation. I went again, and was taken to his room. He had become violent. My presence brought on a paroxysm of grief. His cries filled the house, so that I had to leave abruptly, fearing that the other inmates would be excited.

Dr. Chase telephoned to his family that I had seen him, and Miss Smith, his sister-in-law wrote for information. Mrs. Baugher wrote asking me to see him as often as I could, and directed Dr. Chase to send for me in case of any collapse.

The summons came one day at the beginning of February, 1899. Dr. Chase telegraphed that he was rapidly failing. I found the violence all over. He was exhausted. I saw no trace of recognition. That was on a Thursday. Another telegram called me Saturday. On leaving the train, Dr. Baugher's nephew from York introduced himself to me. We went to the Asylum

together. I could see that the end was near. I sat at the foot of the bed; his nephew was by the head. His mind was wandering. Occasionally he would cry: "Fire! fire!." Softly and slowly I repeated the Twenty-third Psalm, and then knelt and, in a few simple sentences, prayed. It seemed to be useless, and yet who could tell what might reach his mind? The Doctors came in and looked over our shoulders. After-while, there was a look of intelligence. "Uncle, do you know Me?" said Mr. Heiges. He nodded assent. "And do you know Dr. Jacobs?" "Oh, yes." "Doctor," I said, "the Lord is with you." "Oh, yes," came the answer, "the Lord is my shepherd." Then the cloud fell once more and all was dark.

The night was falling. A storm was raging out of doors. I could not well stay longer. I left, to return the next day if I were needed. He died about two hours' later, Feb. 11, 1899 at 8 P.M.

I promised Mr. Heiges to go to Gettysburg to the funeral. The great blizzard which tied up the railroads intervened. On Monday I waited all morning at the Broad Street Station, but the road was impassable. I was fortunate in getting back to Allen Lane. But the wind was blowing a gale, and the snow was up to my knees. I several times feared I could not reach Germantown Avenue. I would pause, and recover strength by turning my back to the wind. Before attempting to cross the street, I thawed out in Mr. Geyer's Grocery Store. It was Wednesday afternoon before I could leave. Remaining with my brother overnight, I reached Gettysburg the next morning before noon. I lunched with Dr. Barnitz at Dr. Wolf's. Only a few of the Professors were at the funeral. Rev. Mr. Alleman, pastor of the family, read the lessons,<sup>13</sup> and Dr. Barnitz officiated at the grave. The snow was piled up everywhere. The wind was driving it rapidly. Some few flakes were falling, as we laid him in his grave. On the background of the grave where I had so often been, and in the lot, rose the marble cross with the inscription to his father which he had written and I had revised. Our grief was mingled with no little indignation.

Spending the night at Dr. Wolf's, I sat in his study and looked out over the wide expanse of snow now glazed with ice, as it shone in the bright moonlight. We traced the train as it traveled a mile or two towards town. Retiring to my room, I could not at once lie down, but sat gazing Southward towards the dark summit of Round Top rising against the sky out of the brilliant ground. At home once more, and yet not at home! Why must one who loves these scenes above all others, be forced from them like an alien?

I do not know whether that night I thought of it, but I have often thought about it since, viz. of the strange turn events had taken. Over thirty years before, Dr. Baugher, Sr. had threatened to see that my father should be deprived of his salary as Professor Emeritus because of my attitude - which he misinterpreted - to the College. It had been my lot to kneel by the bed of his son, cast out of the same institution by the same persecuting spirit which was then directed against me. It has been without any resentment that I have thought of this. For the Father's memory, notwithstanding that injustice, I have always had, and will always retain the highest respect and the warmest affection.

My address at the funeral is published in the Memorial Volume that appeared nearly a year afterwards.

As I stayed on Seminary Hill, I called early next morning on Drs. Valentine and Richard before leaving Gettysburg.

Recurring to the Fall of 1898, mention should be made of the lectures of Prof. Casper Rene Gregory, D.D., of the University of Leipzig, on Palaeography, at the University of Pennsylvania, a number of which I attended. Dr. Gregory delivered two in our "St. Barnabas," one on "The Present State of Theological Science in Germany," and another on "The German University Life." Apart from seeing and hearing and conversing with a real German University Professor, we were disappointed. He did not strike us as a man of eminent ability. Dr. Gregory is a Philadelphian - in his boyhood he often played on our grounds as a schoolmate of Rev. J.L. Miller. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and Princeton Seminary, and was a favorite with Dr. Krauth. In Dr. Krauth's library, he collected much of the material published in Hodge's "Systematic Theology," having been in Dr. Hodge's employ to assist in preparing his copy for the press. One evening before his Seminary lecture, I dined with him at Dr. Spaeth's.

Two or three days after Thanksgiving Day, I had a remarkable experience. At the invitation of the Rev. E.F. Keever, I went to Boston to preach at the anniversary of the founding of the congregation there.<sup>15</sup> On Saturday, as I left Wayne Junction, a slight snow was falling, and it followed me through New York and New England, until night fell. On reaching Boston I was surprised to find the streets without any trace of the storm. Not a particle of snow was visible, altho' Mr. Keever said: "Doctor, I am afraid that you have brought snow with you." While at supper table the

storm broke. It was a gale accompanied by snow and low temperature. All night I heard the snow against the windows. In the morning we found the streets completely blocked. Two horses caught in the blizzard had frozen to death within a square of Mr. Keever's. Getting into a pair of rubber boots, Mr. Keever attempted to go to the church. I was ready to follow if an audience would appear. Three persons beside the pastor managed with difficulty to reach the place. The snow continued all day, although abating its fury. I spent Sunday morning writing out an article for the New York "Independent," on current issues in the Lutheran Church, which prompted Dr. Valentine to write me a most cordial letter, declaring that he thought if we two had the power independently of others, to settle the points in dispute among us, it would rapidly be done. That day I had a taste of the evils of an apartment house. Some one on the floor above was playing a Dead March, morning, afternoon and evening. It seemed as though the monotone would never end. It was no sooner finished before it was begun again. On Monday morning, I was shut up in the city. No trains were running for any considerable distance. We spent the morning very profitably at the Boston Public Library, examining William of Occam, John Gerson and other matters of interest. Among other things, I found my great-grandfather Eyster's military record as a Revolutionary soldier. Late in the afternoon, the road was clear, and I was on my way back, after my fruitless errand.

Looking back from the new place of worship to which we had moved in the Seminary, we may now review the development of the service in the Seminary. The Matin Service had been introduced shortly after the Seminary came to Mt. Airy. For several years it was held at 7:40, lectures beginning at 8 A.M. Much, we found, depended on the organist. Our first organist, A.H. Steimle, was very efficient; others were not.

Wednesday evening Vespers soon attracted an outside audience. Matins were held at first every morning, Saturdays and Sundays inclusive, and the roll was called. This was finally dispersed with as foreign to the spirit of worship. For a year or two, the Matins were transferred to 10 A.M., not a bad arrangement. But it was objected to, as the day did not then begin with public worship. Every Friday afternoon, for some years, we held a Vesper service, which I personally conducted, with reports from various committees of students charged with different duties. In Lent, we began to use the Passion History, and lecture on it, if not the first, at least the second year in the new premises. There being a large number

of students remaining during the Christmas Vacations, the early service on Christmas Day was introduced in 1893 or 4. The success of this service depends on the character of the address. A sermon makes it heavy and tedious. Dr. Spaeth's addresses on this occasion have been models. Dr. Spieker once preached fifty minutes. The sun was high in the heavens when we left the service, and the arrangements of the audience generally were disturbed. Dr. Fry will preach a regular sermon, and substitute inappropriate prayers for the collect at the close.

For years we held Vesper Services on Sunday afternoon at which I made an address, and which were well attended. They were at length abandoned several years after we moved into "St. Barnabas," chiefly because of the inefficiency of the organists. Such a service is a success with an organist like Steimle, or Bosch;<sup>6</sup> it is less successful with an interested organist who loves to make personal idiosyncrasies; but one who thinks he knows everything, and that he has only to open a tune book and play at random is like a violin out of tune with the orchestra. We had other reasons for discontinuance beside this. The strain upon me had broken me down one summer; and I felt I ought not to continue to speak extemporaneously every Sunday, in addition to other duties. The number of students was not great, and the attendance on their part scarcely warranted it. I had no call to conduct such service for the congregation which formed the main audience.

I had occasion in the Spring of 1895 to repel a most unwarranted attack on the Seminary for its lack of Prayer-Meetings. The attack was made in the "Lutheran Observer" by Rev. Sylvanus Stall, its editor.<sup>7</sup> Stall had been a pupil of mine at two periods at Gettysburg, first in the Preparatory Department, 1866-67, and then in College, 1870-72. He was a very shallow student, with a record which put him near the foot of the class, altho' personally he was always courteous, and I rather liked him. As editor of "The Observer" he was an intense partisan, and constantly sought to diffuse prejudices against everything connected with the General Council. His attacks I could have passed by unnoticed, but Rev. Dr. Swenson, then President of the General Council, wrote me a letter asking me whether the statements were true.<sup>8</sup> In "The Lutheran," I printed Dr. Swenson's letter, and my reply. I answered that all our religious services were Prayer-Meetings - that with fourteen or fifteen such services provided for it would be difficult to introduce more - and there could be no objection to any such service if any one felt that what was already in use was not sufficient to supply his spiritual wants. I read

Mr. Stall a lecture on the sin of being busy in other people's affairs. The article commanded considerable attention. Dr. C.W.Schaeffer told me he read every word of it twice. Mr. William J. Miller, altho' warm as a General Synod partisan, expressed his satisfaction that I had answered Mr. Stall, whose course in other matters pertaining to his editorship he condemned. For a number of years, I heard the article referred to. In fact, Mr. S. never cut much of a figure as an editor afterwards. He abandoned the editorial chair and the work of the ministry, to write sensational books for the sake of money - books of very doubtful propriety.

During the winter of 1988-9 we had an interesting number of lectures in "St. Barnabas," beside those delivered by Dr. Gregory. Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson lectured on "The Hand of God in American History," Dr. Crouter on "Deaf Mutes," Dr. Ohl on "Inner Missions," Dr. J. Duncan Spaeth on "Early English Literature," and Prof. Haupt on "The Nicaraguan Canal." / Mr. Wilder gave a most interesting and inspiring talk on Foreign Missions. The next year, on the anniversary of Father Heyer's death, I spoke on the first missionary activity, having derived my material chiefly from Ms. material.

Downing graduated at the University in 1899, and was almost a wreck when he finished. He required heroic treatment from the doctors. We sent him to the Adirondacks to be with his Uncle Seiss a few weeks, and he returned greatly improved. Charles had supplied at Holy Trinity, New York, two summers. I could not press his name for a vacancy; so his turn came among the last. With the beginning of Advent, 1899, he took charge of St. Peter's church, North Wales. During the Christmas vacation I installed him there. Rev. C. Armand Miller preached the sermon, and all our family were present.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania held an extra session in St. Mark's church, just as the year 1900 opened. One evening was devoted to a service commemorative of the transition from the XIXth. to the XXth. Century. Dr. Schmauk spoke of the prospect for the XXth. Century, and I made a retrospect of the progress of our Church in America during the XIXth. My address was first published in "The Lutheran,"<sup>2</sup> was reprinted and published as a tract, and translated into German and appeared in Luthardt's paper in Leipzig.

A few weeks before this I had paid a hurried visit to Pittsburgh, and delivered a commemorative discourse on Dr. Passavant, in Dr. Geissinger's church on a Sunday evening.<sup>3</sup> In the morning, I heard Dr. H.W. Roth in St. John's. I tarried in Pittsburgh over Monday, calling on Mr. Weyman and Mr. W.W. Wattles, and conversing with Dr. Belfour and Rev. L.D. Reed, who visited me at Mr. Critchlow's, where I was sojourning.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Passavant was getting ready to move with William to Milwaukee, the house was in confusion. I spent an hour with her and "Aunt Ria" on Sunday evening. On Monday, she and William attended the funeral of the father or mother of her former betrothed at Baden. He returned home in time to see me to the train. Riding all night, I reached home in time to participate in a meeting of the Joint Liturgical Committee of the three Bodies.

A short time afterwards I was summoned to Frederick, Md., to bury Mrs. Levy. I had performed a like office for her husband, at the very same time of the year, three years before. While there I spent the evening with the President Judge, Hon. John A. Lynch, a former pupil of my father, and uncle of the much lamented, Rev. Dr. Charles A. Stork.<sup>5</sup> I stayed with Mrs. Helfenstein, the eldest daughter of the Levys. I called also on Mrs. Keefer, on Mr. Carty, father of Rev. A.C.Carty, and on Dr. Kuhlman.<sup>6</sup> A Rev. Mr. Myers, now a General Synod pastor in Philadelphia, assisted at the grave.<sup>7</sup>

On New Year's day, 1900, we dined in Germantown with Preston K. Erdman, Esq. His brother, Hon. Constantine J. Erdman of Allentown, and wife, and Mr. and Mrs. S.F. Freeman, with Dr. and Mrs. L.E. Albert, were present. Only a few months later Mr. C.J. Erdman, once my room-mate and fellow-tutor at College, was stricken with apoplexy. He has survived the attack now six years, altho' greatly disabled.

A very spirited controversy was now agitating the General Synod occasioned by the revision of its Ministerial Acts. The question involved was that of Infant Faith. Drs. Valentine and Richard of the Gettysburg Seminary denied its possibility. Faith, according to Dr. Valentine, must always be a conscious act, and could never be a habitus or attitude, temper, or disposition. Hence infants being unconscious can have faith neither before, nor at, nor immediately after baptism; but they are baptized upon the faith of their sponsors as the ground of their admission to baptism. The awakening of faith comes later, when the Word is heard and reflected upon. My friend, Dr. Wolf, took the opposite position that, because of Christ's redemption, all infants are born with faith, and continue believing, until by a conscious act they put the grace of God from them. Dr. Charles S. Albert, who received his theological training in our Seminary, took an intermediate position, and came out several times to confer with me concerning it. As usual in the General Synod, much feeling was excited by the discussion. Dr. Wolf brought a paper to me and read it one night for my approval; but it was impossible for me to assent to his position, as to Dr. Valentine's.

An examination of the authorities which I made for Dr. Albert's benefit, resulted in the collection of a large amount of material, which I arranged and published in "The Review."<sup>8</sup>

This led to an unexpected attack on me by Dr. Gerberding of the Chicago Seminary,<sup>9</sup> which, without

informing me, Dr. Schmauk published and expected me then to defend myself in a reply. This I absolutely declined to do. As Dr. Gerberding's article was actually an attack on the Church Book as already in use, the "Review" had put itself in a singular position. Dr. Gerberding's article was respectful enough towards me. It repudiated all sympathy with Dr. Valentine's position;<sup>40</sup> but it argued that the questions addressed the child presupposed a capacity for faith prior to Baptism. My position was that it is idle to attempt to decide the precise mathematical point at which the Holy Spirit begins to work at Baptism, and that the value of the questions lies in their introducing the solemn declaration that there is no vicarious saving faith; if a child is to be saved, this must be done through its own personal appropriation of the grace of God, and renunciation of the devil, and not by that of its parents or sponsors. As Baptism, moreover, is not for the mere moment of its administration but for all of life - and all the blessing is repeated as often as the heart returns and contemplates this divine institution, the questions stand as solemn warnings that no good is received except as faith - and that the faith of the child baptized - appropriates it."

The preparation of a Common Book of Worship for all Three Bodies had already begun. Dr. Seiss had anticipated any action by himself preparing a hymnal, which, at the expense of hundreds of dollars, he had printed for the use of the Committee as the basis of their work.<sup>41</sup> The Ms. he had put in my hands, and I suggested a number of additions to his list which he included in his collection. We began this part of the work at Atlantic City during the Easter Vacation. We met in St. Andrew's church, Drs. Seiss, Krotel, Laird, Horn, Ohl and Schmauk and I were present from the Council; and Drs. Wolf, Wenner, Singmaster, C.A. Albert and W. Fischer from the General Synod. Dr. Voigt was there from the South.

I had spent weeks in a very minute study of all the hymns in Dr. Seiss' collection. I had taken about 20 of the best hymn-books, and noted the usage. I had besides Prof. Thompson's hymnal compiled upon the basis of the common usage, and I noted other sources. In another book I had collected the usage in the Lutheran hymn-books of all classes and sources. I could readily show that the Lutheran books had retained many hymns from Calvinistic and Arminian sources that had ceased to be used in the denomination in which they were composed. We cut out a large part of Dr. Seiss' selection; but he submitted with a very good grace. Others were added. In time, he suggested and offered new hymns and translations; so that when

the book was completed, only two writers, I think, had more hymns included than Dr. Seiss. The services of Drs. Horn and Ohl were very valuable. Dr. Schmauk's critical faculty was brought into service. The number of hymns by Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley was reduced. Many German hymns, or rather translations from the German, of very unusual metres, were omitted, and other translations substituted; so that, if anything, the proportion in the new book is somewhat larger than in our "Church Book."

The United Synod South proposed to accept the work of the Committee as its own, and to publish the Hymnal for its own use, and to provide for printed proof copies for the other two General Bodies. This was regularly approved by both the General Council and the General Synod. The book appeared about Easter 1906. Some changes will probably be made by the General Council and the General Synod before it is finally settled. After all his labor on it, Dr. Seiss did not live to witness its completion.<sup>13</sup>

When the Committee assembled in St. Andrew's church, the Rev. Dr. Kunkleman,<sup>14</sup> the pastor, met the Committee, and announced that he had arranged for a service on Wednesday evening, and that it was generally expected that one of the members of the Committee was to preach. When every member of the Committee had in turn protested his inability to preach at such short notice, a resolution appointed Dr. Singmaster to undertake it.<sup>15</sup> He had not yet arrived. On arriving, he kindly consented to do so. He preached, Dr. Krotel reading the service. His sermon from John 2, "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it," made an impression on Dr. Seiss, who wrote and published a sermon on the text, very clearly based on what Dr. Singmaster had preached. It is included in the volume published directly after Dr. Seiss' death.

As Spring approached (1900) I found myself very much run down. A cold I had taken in December in coming from Pittsburgh had clung to me all winter. It was particularly annoying as Lent opened, and it interfered greatly with my address on Ash Wednesday, when Rev. Slorejohann was present and spent the night with us. I found preaching and lecturing exhausting. I could scarcely drag myself through examinations. One day I remained away from Synod during its sessions. Little things annoyed me. The Sunday after the adjournment of Synod, I preached at Kimberton, Rev. E.H. Trafford, pastor. On Sunday afternoon as we drove through the mud, the horse threw a ball from his heel directly in my eye, closing it as completely as though the operation had been intentional, and giving

me annoyance and irritation for some days. I was preparing to take our two girls to Utica, N.Y. to Mrs. Reinbrecht's. But a spell of faintness prostrated me. Charles took them to New York, and I was left on my back. I was scarcely conscious of pain or sickness, only of a sense of collapse. Some slight pains I had in my back. The Dr. pronounced my trouble Rheumatism, altho' I could not believe it. In a few days, I got down stairs, and into the hammock under the trees. There I would rest all day. Nothing seemed needed except more strength. I did not dare study, or attempt to read what pertained to my ordinary work. I plunged into fiction, particularly Thackery and Balzac; then into biography and history; then I undertook to study French, and to write exercises. In a few weeks I was well enough to visit Myerstown, where Dr. Schantz was very kind.

One day we spent with my distant cousin, Dr. S.P. Heilman, at the home of some of my ancestors, Heilmansdale, Lebanon Co. I saw the Paper Mill they had built, and went to the "Hill" church, where they worshipped. A nearer relative, Rev. S.S. Miller - my second cousin - was with us. We dined one evening with his family.

Another day we visited another Mr. Heilman - no relative - but a Lutheran - of Sunnyside Mills, who had a large library of Pennsylvania German books. He took us to the mill owned by himself, where Rev. John Casper Stoeber once lived, and where he died Ascension Day, 1777, while administering confirmation to a class of catechumens.<sup>16</sup> Mr. Heilman told us that he had heard the details of this event from his aunt, as a young girl, who was in the audience.

One Saturday afternoon we drove from Lebanon into Berks Co., where Dr. Schantz had a funeral, and a disagreeable experience with a drunken man who insisted upon accompanying him to the grave and singing off of his hymn book. I did very well in preaching twice on Sunday, and attending a service of my host at Mt. Aetna in the afternoon.

This trip undoubtedly improved me. Still the regaining of my former weight and strength was slow; but when I reached that point, I went beyond it. When the season was over I weighed 128, instead of a maximum of 118 before. My habits, modes of life, and diet were greatly changed from then. I no longer attempted to work under pressure. I threw aside pen or book whenever tired. I slept whenever I was sleepy. I became a steady walker, roaming in the Wissahickon Valley, and all over the neighboring county roads. My diet had been chiefly beef and bread before. Henceforth, I ate all kinds of fruits and vegetables. When the Seminary resumed, I undertook

chiefly to care for my health that winter. I soon found that I was accomplishing just as much as before. Since then, I have made the date of my sickness the dividing line between two periods, "Before and After my illness."

Reference to this would be incomplete without recording the attentiveness and kindness of Dr. Spaeth during the crisis. During the period of my weakness, he would call every Saturday no difference how intense the heat, to inquire concerning me and cheer me with his conversation.

A part of the time as I was convalescing, Mrs. Jacobs was alone with me. We took long rides, explored various places, and one day had a long stay in the Park.

## Chapter Fifty Two - With the Board of Foreign Missions

My relations to the students have not been confined to the period of their stay in the Seminary. Many of them continued to freely consult me concerning their difficulties and their perplexities long after they have been in the ministry. I even receive such requests from former students at Gettysburg.

This has sometimes involved me in conflicts which otherwise I would have escaped. I have learned in my experience to appreciate St. Paul's words: "Who is offended and I burn not?"

Early in the Spring of 1900 I had a difficulty with respect to the Home Mission Board of the General Council. Rev. Arthur C. Carty, who had graduated the preceding year, had been sent out by Dr. Kunzman, the Superintendent of Home Missions, to La Crosse, Wis. Mr. Carty had come to us from the General Synod, his home being at Frederick, Md. and Pennsylvania College being his Alma Mater. He had reacted from the antagonisms to full liturgical services among those with whom he passed his youth, to taking an extreme position in regard to what he regarded liturgical propriety. His zeal has awakened considerable criticism while he was a student.<sup>2</sup>

As a rule for the house worship of the Seminary, I greatly preferred the person officiating should, when leading devotions, turn in the same direction as the audience. It was a misnomer to call this "orientation," and a great error to connect it with the idea of any special reverence for the altar towards which we turned. If a minister addresses the people, the natural mode is for him to face them. If he pray to God for them, or lead them in their prayers, the natural attitude is to kneel in front of them with the face turned in the same direction. On the impulse of the moment, when entering with deep feeling into an Opening Service of the Seminary, when Dr. Spaeth had delivered the address, I had broken the way; and has since remained the practice of the Seminary. I was, nevertheless, most explicit in my directions that when the students were called upon to officiate, they should always conform to the practice of the pastor or the congregation.

Mr. Carty was one of a band of young men who were determined to make reforms in the general practice of the Church in this particular, if it could be done.

The mission at La Crosse was among Missouri Lutherans and Scandinavians, who were accustomed to turn in prayer towards the altar. For the English Lutheran church there to turn the opposite direction was an innovation. The Rev. E.A. Trabert,<sup>3</sup> a graduate

of the Chicago Seminary, had been the first pastor of the church, and had conformed to the practice of the neighboring Lutheran churches. Mr. Carty did not know that a difficulty with the President of the Synod of the North West, Rev. W.K. Frick, on this account, had led to the resignation of Mr. Trabert. He heard of this only when out West and on his way to La Crosse, and decided that he would not introduce the change which Dr. Frick wanted. Upon this, Dr. Frick declined to install him. Mr. Carty appealed to me for advice, and I wrote Dr. Frick that, in my judgment, he was guilty of a usurpation of power by a Synodical President which, so far as my knowledge went, was unparalleled. Mr. Kunzman used every effort to force Mr. Carty to yield. The result was a formal resolution by the Board of Home Missions forbidding its missionaries to turn towards the Altar. The anxiety of Dr. Kunzman was occasioned by the antipathy of Mr. J. A. Bohm of Minneapolis to the custom. Mr. Bohm had had a difficulty with his pastor the Rev. A. Ramsey on this subject, and contributing largely to the support of the congregation, undertook to force Mr. Ramsey to yield by withholding his contributions. Mr. B. had also invested a considerable amount of money in the grounds upon which a number of our mission churches were built and for this he was receiving a good rate of interest. It was understood also that he contemplated an important gift to the Chicago Seminary. His prejudices were strong, and as a man who had gained wealth as a railroad contractor, he was accustomed to enforce obedience. I took the ground that it was left to the liberty of the congregation to decide which way a minister should face, and that the passage of any rule by the Board was outside its functions, and a violation of Lutheran principle. Mr. Carty held out. The change has not been made at La Crosse, unless very recently. Dr. Frick was left off the delegation to the General Council by his Synod, and lost the English Recording Secretaryship because of his exceeding his powers as President. Drs. Ohl and Trabert<sup>4</sup> were anxious that I should personally protest to the Board; but I had done enough. The principle of Christian Liberty had been asserted and maintained. The Board, as far as I know, never reported the question to the General Council for its decision.

I became still more deeply involved in the affairs of the Board of Foreign Missions. My interest in Foreign Missions goes back to my earliest childhood. My father was a subscriber and regular reader of "The Missionary Herald," published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, and the numbers were bound from year to year and on the shelves of my father's library. The so-called

"Monthly Concert of Missions," was utilized chiefly by Dr. Baugher, Sr. and my father for an address on missionary history or progress one Sunday evening every month. The book on the pioneer missionary to the South Sea Islands, John Williams, I never grew weary of reading. Other books on missions in the "Ladies Library of Christ's Church" were eagerly read. I remember the departure of the Rev. G.J. Martz<sup>5</sup>, a student who had been intimate with our family, as the third Lutheran missionary from America. Later my two tutors, Rev. E. Unangst and A. Long went as missionaries.<sup>6</sup> When I was tutor, the widow of Mr. Long spent some time at our house, and loaned or gave me a Telugu grammar which I put in the hands of a pupil who had come to Gettysburg to prepare for the Indian mission, Rev. B.B. Collins (who afterwards went to Africa and had to return)<sup>7</sup>. I became intensely interested in Brown's "History of Missions." Still later I learned to know Father Heyer.

When I came to the Seminary, there were two students in attendance from our mission field, both Eurasians, Messrs. McCready and Hudson<sup>8</sup>. Mr. McCready graduated and had entered our service. The going of the Harpsters in 1893 put me in still closer contact with India. But I heard also from Mr. Kuder<sup>9</sup> of the Rajahmundry field, and took an interest in the sending out of Mr. Baehnish (1893), Mr. Mueller (1896) and Messrs. Matthews and Neudoerffer (1900)<sup>10</sup>. Rev. Dr. L.B. Wolf, "a former pupil, Principal of the Watt's Memorial Cottage, Guntur, had visited me several times. Mrs. Jacobs was active in the Women's Missionary Society, and my attention was called thereby to various problems.

While not a member of the Board, I was kept well informed as to what was transpiring at Rajahmundry. My pupils write me ~~freely as~~ to its difficulties. Rev. C.F. Kuder, coming home about New Year, 1899, surprised me by announcing that he and Messrs. McCready and Mueller had resigned. The aim was to bring the Board to terms, and to force the dismissal or resignation of Dr. Schmidt. I expressed my disapproval of the course adopted, convinced as I was from all the evidence at hand that they had just cause for complaint. At the General Council in Chicago in 1899, the Board was practically sustained, and in the succeeding summer, Rev. F.W. Weiskotten was sent as Inspector to the field. It was generally believed both in this country and in India, that if he had returned, his report would have sustained the side of Dr. Schmidt over against the other missionaries.

The controversy continued. Miss Schade<sup>12</sup> returning during the summer of 1901 and appearing before the

General Council - in addition to Rev. R. Arps,<sup>13</sup> summoned from North Germany where he was spending his furlough - intensified the opposition to Dr. Schmidt and to the Board, in so far as it justified him, and led to the demand by the General Council that Dr. Schmidt be recalled, that the Board be reorganized so that one half of its members might be entirely new.

During this agitation I received many letters; and after sifting the evidence, reached my own conclusions. When this was done I sought to reach the Board directly, approaching Dr. Schaeffer and Rev. Bielinski,<sup>14</sup> and finally writing a formal letter to Dr. E.E. Sibole. Dr. Schaeffer complained that charges circulated through the Church were never brought to the attention of the Board. When Dr. Sibole, therefore, as editor of the "Foreign Missionary," said in an editorial that it was lamentable that while the Seminary was graduating so many students, none were willing to go to India, I wrote him that there was a reason. I spoke of the general feeling of dissatisfaction, and said that, after careful consideration, there was at least some ground for it. I then cited the case of the Head Master of the Rajahmundry Central School - Paulus - concerning whose frequent drunkenness there could be no doubt, as the evidence had come from several reliable sources. The result was the prompt dismissal of Paulus. This, however, was only one symptom that was treated. Dr. Schmidt was absolutely without qualification to direct the policy of our mission in India. I could not attend the General Council at Lima, O. in 1901; but I put into Dr. Horn's hands a large package of material, that he might have the benefit of all the information I had collected. As Dr. Horn was made Chairman of the Committee to investigate the subject, it probably had something to do with the result.

At the close of February, 1901, Dr. and Mrs. Harpster left Guntur, India, for America. We heard from them at different stages of their journey, from Ceylon and Jaffa and Jerusalem and Port Said and several points in Germany. I went to New York in May to meet them as they disembarked from the "Deutschland." How eagerly I watched the crowd coming down the gangway. In eight years time, I thought it not improbable that my sister's hair had turned white, and her form become stooped. I was scarcely prepared, however, for the change as I thought I recognized her in a decrepit woman who was carried along by the procession. But I found that I had made a mistake. Dr. and Mrs. Harpster came right back of her, and my emotion found expression

in the juvenile soliloquy - for there was no one with me - "There they are!" - uttered so loud that it attracted the attention of both. I was able to shake hands with my sister through the railing, and then had to wait a couple of hours while the disgraceful ransacking of baggage by the Custom House officials proceeded. By train and trolley and after sitting for nearly a half hour in the Germantown Car Barn we reached Mt. Airy after one o'clock one morning, completely borne down by the pieces of baggage we carried.

Our house soon had the appearance of a shop of some Oriental merchant, filled as it was with a large number of articles which the Harpsters had brought with them. They made our house their home during their stay in America from May, 1901 to Oct., 1902, altho' traveling much in the meantime. Shortly after their arrival, we had a reception to which all the students were invited. The house was filled up with Oriental hangings and other articles they had brought with them.

A trip to Lebanon to preach the Dedicatory Sermon of the new Parish Building of the church of Rev. Dr. Schmauk; a trip to New York, to preach on Ascension Day evening an Anniversary Sermon for the English General Council churches of Brooklyn; the preaching of the Synodical Sermon at the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Allentown, and the Baccalaureate Sermon at Irving College, Mechanicsburg, kept me busy that Spring.

The mention of these engagements recalls the fact that I have omitted to mention in the proper place, the preaching of two Dedicatory Sermons the preceding year (1900), one at Quakertown, and the other at St. John's, Hagerstown, Md., Rev. Dr. S.W. Owen, pastor. At the latter place, I stopped with my former pupil, Mr. John S. Kausler, and called on another, Dr. J. Walker Humerichouse. I spent a day at Smithsburg with Cousin Lewis Bell, calling at the Bishop's, and driving into the country near Leitersburg, to visit Cousins Julia and Lydia.

I returned home by way of Gettysburg. In an interval of about 45 minutes, I called at the Horner's and Buehler's Drug Store, walked up Chambersburg Street, and through the Diamond up Baltimore Street to High, retraced my steps, met Mr. Schick on the Diamond, and conversed with him, went to our old home, looked around, had a talk with Otto (Maria's brother), walked out to the College, watched a game of ball, and when I reached the depot, had five minutes to spare to exchange words with Rev. Dr.

Huber and Guyon Buehler. The town had contracted, and distances seemed of no account.

During the summer of 1901, my brother Ed and his family came from Denver, and, with the Harpsters, we had our house so crowded that I had to find a place to sleep in the Seminary.

On his visit to Canton, a month or two after his return, Dr. Harpster was most cordially received by President McKinley, spending the summer at his old home, who came to the gate to meet him as he saw him approaching, and then took him through his house to show him the improvements he had been making. At a second visit, while waiting at a corner one night for a car, a group of gentlemen came up. It proved to be the President and some friends out for a walk. The President stopped, introduced Dr. Harpster to the Secretary of State, Hon. John Hay and others, and invited him to accompany him. This was just a week before the President was shot in Buffalo. The President died just as the Seminary opened. We held a service in the Seminary of the afternoon of the funeral. I conducted it and made the address.

A few weeks later the General Council met at Lima, O., where the Foreign Mission question was thoroughly discussed, and, upon the report of the Committee of which Dr. Horn was Chairman,<sup>5</sup> the recall of Dr. Schmidt was ordered by an overwhelming majority. A week afterwards Rev. R. Arps called on me, and gave me the first tidings of my election as a member of the Board. Dr. Grahn, the former President, was not elected as a member of the Board.

When the Board met the second week of November, for organization, I was chosen, on Dr. Horn's motion, President to succeed Dr. Grahn. I did not feel at liberty to decline. Action was immediately taken to carry out the General Council's instructions to recall, and to forward \$1000.00 to Dr. Schmidt to bring him and wife and daughter home.

A brief review of the situation in India up to the time I became President of the Board seems desirable.

The Mission of the General Council with Rajahmundry as its center is very closely connected in origin and history with the mission some 85 miles to the South with Guntur as its center. The latter was founded by Father Heyer, who in 1841 went to India, by the appointment of the Missionary Society of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. About a year after Heyer located at Guntur, the North German Missionary

Society sent a Rev. Valett<sup>o</sup> as missionary to India who corresponded with Heyer, and by his advice and cooperation, made Rajahmundry the starting-point of their work. In course of time the churches of the General Synod cooperating with the Society of the Ministerium, and the Ministerium itself uniting in 1853 with the General Synod, the two missions were also united. The North German Society transferred its field, its property, and its missionaries, Heise and Groening to the General Synod. This mission passed through a period of decline during the Civil War in America. The mission comprising both fields of today was held by only one missionary, my former tutor, Rev. E. Unangst. The break in the General Synod by the events at York and Fort Wayne still further diverted interest and contributions. The General Synod's Board despaired of looking after the entire territory, and finally entered into negotiations with the Church Missionary Society, resulting in the transfer to that organization, through the Rev. Mr. Alexander, of the field acquired from the North German Society.

Father Heyer was in Europe and learned of the transfer. Returning hastily to America, he obtained a commission from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, secured the approval of the General Synod's Board, and returning to India, received the mission back from Mr. Alexander.

On his return, after about fifteen or eighteen months spent in reorganizing the Mission (there was little left to organize), Father Heyer left in charge of the Rev. H.C. Schmidt. Mr. Schmidt was a young Dane, known to the veteran missionary, Groening, whom Mr. Heyer took with him to America, with a view to his being sent to India. He served for a year as pastor of the German Lutheran congregation at Carlisle, and went to India in 1870. Mr. Schmidt's knowledge of the Lutheran Church in America was confined, therefore, to his attendance at the meetings of the Ministerium, his brief pastorate at Carlisle, and his visits to the churches during two furloughs. He could not be regarded as a true representative in India of the congregations and people, over whose mission he was placed. His models of Church Government were those of European, not of American churches!'<sup>7</sup>

The Mission, when the troubles arose, was a singular medley of elements of various nationalities:

Denmark: Dr. Schmidt  
 Sweden: Rev. H.E. Isaacson  
 Germany: Rev. R. Arps

East India: Rev. F.J.McCready  
 England: Rev. G.B.Matthews  
 Canada: Rev. E. Neudoerffer  
 United States: Rev. C.F.Kuder

Beautiful as the mingling of these diverse nationalities was in theory, in practice it could not work. There has to be a certain community of national and local interests to cultivate unity and harmony among persons closely associated.

Dr. Schmidt , moreover, had lived so long in the mission that he repelled all suggestions and advice from recent additions to the force. He could not become accustomed to innovations, whether introduced or simply demanded by the stress of sentiment in the Church at home. The Zenana sisters and Dr. Woerner,<sup>18</sup> the Medical missionary, were not welcomed by him.

Mr. John G. Haas of Lancaster, Pa., a well-to-do German, had been a parishoner of Dr. Schmidt when the latter was pastor at Carlisle, Pa. Interested in missions, and having full confidence in his old pastor, Mr. Haas gave him about \$8000. With part of this Dr. Schmidt was to erect two churches, and the rest he was to invest in lands, from the income of which native pastors were to be supported. The gift was intended to be confidential. Dr. Schmidt was not placed under any obligation to render any account of the disposition of the funds.

Before very long, It became evident to the other missionaries that Dr. Schmidt was devoting much of his time to Real Estate transactions, and that he was handling what seemed to be a considerable amount of money. As Dr. Schmidt was at the same time the treasurer of the Mission, the inference was as natural as it was unjust that Dr. Schmidt was using the funds of the Mission in Real Estate speculations. The rumor once started - spread to America and gained speedy and widespread currency.

A great mistake undoubtedly was made by both Mr. Haas and Dr. Schmidt in surrounding the gift with such secrecy. It is true the members of the Board had at last been admitted into the secret; but not the other missionaries. Dr. Schmidt had also the unfortunate habit of defying opinion that was arrayed against him, and throwing darkness around his course when he could readily have explained all to the satisfaction of his opponents.

The ordination of a native pastor added fuel to the fire<sup>19</sup> Mr. Kuder agreed with Dr. Schmidt as to the desirability of the plan and worthiness of the

candidate. But the other missionaries dissented, chiefly because Dr. Schmidt desired it, and William had been his protege. Over against their protests, the Board ordered the ordination, and censured those who did not participate. Mr. Kuder accepted the decision of the majority, altho' personally favoring William and protested against the usurpation of power by the Board, according to which no attention was paid to the preferences of the majority against his own position. The general judgment of the Church was that the Board had acted unwisely in forcing the ordination. The deference paid to the Senior missionary to the disregard of the rest was unAmerican. But the resignation of Kuder, McCready and Mueller was not justified. There was no reason why the mission should be troubled by the withdrawal of its missionaries. The cause was too important to be subjected to such additional suffering...

Increased interest in the cause had come through the establishment of Women's Missionary Societies. Their members clamored for information. The Rajahmundry Mission held the attention of the Church as never before. This carried with it growing dissatisfaction with Dr. Schmidt and his administration. Miss Schade, on furlough, contributed to the result by the information she gave, and the conferences she had with influential pastors and laymen.

When I was elected President, the Mission force consisted of: 1. Dr. Schmidt, about to be recalled, Mrs. S. and Miss S. 2. Rev. C.J. Edman, M.D. <sup>10</sup> a Swede who lacked administrative ability. 3. Rev. H.E. Isaacson, suffering from malaria and greatly needing a furlough <sup>11</sup> and Mrs. I. 4. Rev. E. Neudoerffer, a young man, who had gone to India only the preceding year. 5. Miss Woerner, the Medical Missionary, then two years in service. 6. Miss Weiskotten, who had gone out in 1900, but was in doubtful health, largely due to the shock of her father's death. <sup>22</sup> 7. Miss Stremper, seriously ill. <sup>23</sup> Besides these there were on furlough: 8. Rev. R. Arps and Mrs. Arps, who spent the winter with their children in Northern Germany, and 9. Miss Schade, Principal of the Girl's High School. Her furlough lasted only a few more months, as she was unable and unwilling to leave her pupils for a longer time. She reached America early in the Spring, and sailed again for India in November.

In the field, therefore, there were the Senior, who had been repudiated by the General Council, another missionary (Edman) who did not have the confidence of the Church and was especially criticized by his own Synod (the Augustana); a third (Isaacson) partly disabled by malaria, but at best, while well meaning, not very efficient; and a fourth (Neudoerffer) a mere novice, and not yet able to use Telugu. None of them was

qualified to assume the leadership. Misses Stremper and Weiskotten were in such frail health that it was a question whether they should not return at once.

Beside this, the so-called "Superintendency" of Rev. John Telleen<sup>24</sup> was giving almost as much dissatisfaction as the undue power of Dr. Schmidt in India. The title "Superintendent" which he had been conceded and concerning the use of which he was very particular, did not designate the duties of his office. He was only an agent or collector of funds; or, rather, one who made missionary addresses in congregations and at Synods and conferences. He was rarely at a meeting of the Board, and was not in close touch with what was occurring. The Board always met in Philadelphia. Dr. Telleen was nearly a thousand miles away in Rock Island, Ill. The German portion of the General Council had long protested against his employment. He could not reach their people. The Anglicized portion of the Council had become weary of his stereotyped phrases and methods. He had been chosen with special reference to his adaptability to awaken interest among the Swedes. But we found that the Swedes were disaffected towards him. An inquiry made of the Conference Presidents of the Swedish Augustana Synod by Dr. Blomgren showed that only one strongly favored the continuance of the office. Another regarded it as serviceable for Anglicized Americans, but not for the Swedes. The others gave their opinion that the office was accomplishing nothing so far as their Synod was concerned.

The need of a Secretary to give all of his time to the work of the Board, meeting with it, attending to the correspondence, assisting in editing the papers, and acting as the Board's representative by reason of his thorough acquaintance with all that was transpiring, was very apparent. This, however, was a position Dr. Telleen could not fill.

The new Board, therefore, had the delicate task of recalling Dr. Schmidt and dispensing with the services of Dr. Telleen by abolishing his office.

But this was not all. The pulling down was only preparatory to building up. The General Council had given directions as to the kind of a man who should be sent to reorganize the work in India. The Rev. C.F. Kuder had hoped to be reinstated and assigned this work. Many of our General Council pastors urged his appointment. The party which had contended in India against Dr. Schmidt was exultant, and thought that a change, like that which follows the inauguration of a President of the United States belonging to the opposite party from his predecessor - should follow.

But Mr. Kuder, while having undoubtedly strong qualifications in some directions, had united in a conspiracy in the concerted resignation of the four missionaries ( Mr. Arps withdrew his name later). In the opinion of many of those who believed him right in that for which he was contending, this was so serious a mistake as to disqualify him from future service in India. A general who will lay down his commission while a battle is raging, even though there be justice in his quarrel with an administration, ought never to expect to be with an army again.

The Brecklum Missionary Society had loaned our mission for some years the Rev. E. Pohl, who had proved himself very capable. But Mr. Pohl had taken the part of Dr. Schmidt in his contention.<sup>25</sup>

Under these circumstances the Board turned to Dr. Harpster, then on furlough, and living in my house on the Seminary grounds. Dr. Horn is responsible for the suggestion which was unanimously approved by the Board. The Board resolved to ask the General Synod's Board to loan us Dr. Harpster for a period of at least three years, and appointed Dr. Horn and Dr. Schaeffer to accompany me to Baltimore to lay the matter before that Body officially.

Dr. Harpster, when informed of our action, was startled, and at once said that he could not undertake the work; but as the matter did not come before him for decision until his Board had acted on it, he said nothing more.

The three representatives above mentioned went to Baltimore, and were cordially received by the other Board. Rev. Dr. Luther Kuhlman, one of my former pupils, presided.<sup>26</sup> Drs. Gilbert, Studebaker, and Bell, Theophilus Stork, Esq., Mr. Oliver Lantz and the two secretaries, Revs. G. Scholl, D.D., and M.J.Kline, were present. There was strong pressure brought to bear on the Board to refuse our request. The Ministers Association of Philadelphia was particularly active in this respect. We scarcely expected a favorable answer; but it came. Dr. Harpster had decided to make the consent of his Board determine his decision. There were of course those among us who were dissatisfied that we had gone to the General Synod for one to reorganize our mission.

The Board also called Revs. J.A.W.Haas, D.D., now President of Muhlenberg College, and Rev. W.A. Snyder, now of Wilmington, N.C., as missionaries. The idea of the Board was that, in the emergency, a man like Dr. Haas could go to the field for eight or ten years, with a view after that to resume work in America. Miss Schade, who had seen and heard Dr.

Haas in the General Council at Lima, O., and was particularly anxious that he should be appointed. Both declined for sufficient reason.

Dr. Schaeffer leaving about Christmas time for Florida, I assumed all the foreign correspondence of the Board. What a time I had! First from this country came the persistent efforts of Dr. Telleen to be reinstated. I had to answer letters from various friends whom he had influenced to write to the Board, such as Dr. C.A. Swenson, Dr. G.A. Andreen and Dr. Trabert of Minneapolis - even Judge Staake. Then came the correspondence with Dr. Schmidt. He resented the action of the General Council, and treated the communication of the Board as though his dismissal had been decided by the Board. My letter announcing his recall was criticized by him at the time, and afterwards before the Board as "cruel," because it contained no tribute to Dr. Schmidt's past services or words of regret. But as we were acting for the Council, how could we accompany its action with terms that would have somewhat modified its force? We could only do what we had been instructed. At first, Dr. Schmidt was defiant and averse to making any terms. Since the ground on which "Riverdale" was built had been presented to him by the Mission, but never transferred, he was disposed at first to decline to make the transfer.

The opponents of Dr. Schmidt in India were just as hard to manage. They imagined that it was their business to take the reins, and guide the mission. Dr. Edman, without any authority from the Board, went to Dr. Schmidt, and formally demanded the surrender to him of the property of the Mission. Edman regarded himself the successor of Schmidt as Senior. When Miss Schade returned she also felt the responsibility for the general conduct of the Mission pressing on her shoulders.

The natives became excited. The ordination of William and the dismissal of Paulus as headmaster in the school awoke Hindu jealousies. Paulus was of higher standing, and had been humiliated. William, socially underneath him, had been elevated above him. Paulus was a man of unquestioned ability, an adept in intrigue and of marvellous perseverance. Petitions began pouring in on the Board from India, which continued to come for about two years, and when unheeded went to the individual members, and to the officers of the General Council and the President of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The burden of these petitions was the reinstatement of Paulus, more severe action against Dr. Schmidt, and, finally,

after Dr. Harpster reached India and was conciliatory towards Dr. Schmidt, complaints against Dr. Harpster. But through all this confusion the Board kept on undeterred in its course, and with the manifest confidence of the churches of the General Council.

That summer and autumn, Bishop von Scheele of Sweden made his second visit to the United States. He had been at Lima, O., on the very day when the Foreign Mission difficulties were under discussion. He came to Philadelphia about the close of November, or the beginning of December. Dr. Laird gave a dinner. Drs. Seiss, Spaeth, Fry, Harpster and I were among the guests, as well as Mrs. Jacobs and Mrs. Harpster. In the evening "St. Barnabas" had its most brilliant hour. The Lutheran Social Union gave a reception there. An address of welcome was made by the President, Mr. William J. Miller, which was replied to by the Bishop. Dr. C.A. Blomgren and Dr. Spaeth also spoke. Dr. Wolf of Gettysburg, Dr. and Mrs. Hamma of Washington, were present with others.

I travelled all night in order to be home in time, having preached that Sunday in Boston. There was no snow this time to imprison me.

As Christmas approached Dr. Harpster purchased a gramophone whose lively tunes resounded often through the house.<sup>27</sup>

New Year's Day, Dr. H. wrote, was a day of unrestrained mirth. Aunt Lou, Carl and May were out, and all were again children, John being, however, the leader in the frivolity. Charles was also at home part of the day.

The Luther League of Buffalo offering with the aid of some congregations to support a missionary, the Rev. Th. Posselt was called, and came to Philadelphia ready to accept.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Aughey however advised that he was not sufficiently mature physically, and we had to abandon the proposition.

A few months later the name of the Rev. A.S. Fichthorn of Norristown was under consideration. Rev. R.D. Roeder,<sup>29</sup> then of the same place, had written to me that, if called, Mr. Fichthorn was ready to accept.<sup>30</sup> Mr. F. had been a pupil of mine at Gettysburg, and had once entered our Seminary, but had returned to the former place. His pastorate at Norristown had been most successful. The congregation was united and harmonious as it had never been before. The church was always well attended.

His influence in the community was far-reaching. Anxious as I was to secure a man for India, I felt averse to losing Mr. Fichtorn. Then I knew that he had had a nervous trouble at Luthersville, and feared that, under the fierce climate of India, it might return. I never would have proposed his name. The Harpsters, however, were at the table when I opened the letter from Mr. Roeder telling me of Mr. Fichtorn's feeling towards the mission. They at once decided that his call was essential to the success of the reorganization, and pushed the matter through.

Dr. Aughney, after the medical examination, advised against it, not on the ground of anything detected at the examination, but of his past history. Dr. Harpster, with his persevering following of trails, traced Dr. Aughney's acquaintance with Mr. F.'s history to Mrs. Croll. She had sent Morris to the Doctor to insure an unfavorable examination. The Board, therefore, decided to send Mr. F. to another physician of another Board having missionaries in tropical climates. I wrote to Mr. Speer of the Presbyterian Board in New York, but he was away from home and my letter was delayed in reaching him. Before a reply came, I had sent Mr. F. to the physician of the General Synod's Board in Baltimore, who passed him. Dr. Kemp who had attended him while at Lutherville, expressed his confidence in his entire recovery.

The ice-storm of February 22, 1902 deserves mention. Rain fell and froze on the trees and wires, breaking them down. All night we heard limbs and entire trees coming down with a crash. The desolation was like that of a field of battle. We lost about twenty trees. The street was unsafe because of wires charged with electricity lying on the ground, or hanging so low that it was difficult to avoid touching them. A shepherd dog was also shocked into unconsciousness by a live wire, and lay apparently dead for a long time. For months it avoided that part of the street, and would make a long circuit to reach its destination rather than pass the spot where the charge had been received. Two days later, on Sunday morning, the sun rose without a cloud. Our grounds were like the garden of an enchanter. The long pendants of ice reflected all the colors of the rainbow.

The loss of the trees resulted in my receiving permission to replace them by others. The campus received a large reinforcement - Sugar Maples, Norway Maples, Elms, Ash, Oaks (Red, Scarlet, Pin), Sour Gum, Sweet Gum, Beech, Plane, Apple, etc.

## Chapter Fifty Three - Back South Again

During the Spring of 1902, the second General Conference was held in Philadelphia. The attendance was even greater than in December, 1899. Drs. Fry, Repass, Armand Miller, Geissinger, Berkemeier, and Gödel were among the General Council representatives, and Drs. Richard, Singmaster, Young, Knubel, Harpster, Hall, and Ruthrauff, of the General Synod. Drs. L.G.M. Miller and J.B. Greiner<sup>2</sup> represented the South. Drs. Hamma, L.L. Smith and I presided.

A few weeks later, I went to the dedication of Hamma Divinity Hall at Springfield, O. Dr. Wolf met me at Harrisburg, and we traveled together. At Springfield, I was entertained by Prof. Breckenridge, who was ordained by the Pittsburgh Synod at Rochester, Pa. in 1866, when Frederick and I were licensed. We were, therefore, examined together. Dr. Breckenridge, at the time of the separation in the Church, had been a most ardent advocate of the General Synod, and had been prominent in the Leechburg Church Trial. In connection with the case, he had been summoned to Philadelphia. He had lost the address of the place where the examination was to occur, and knowing that Dr. Krauth was to appear on the opposite side, he called the Seminary to obtain the needed information. Dr. Krauth's treatment of him was so kind that it removed many prejudices. From that time he began to study the Book of Concord, and his sympathies were drawn towards Conservative Lutheranism.

It seemed very strange to me that I should be a guest at Wittenberg College. In my childhood, I heard of it as the chief rival of Gettysburg. It was the center of the more radical, while Gettysburg was that of the more conservative wing of the General Synod. The sides had changed. Dr. Samuel Sprecher himself, for many years the President and the leading Professor in the Seminary, had progressed very materially towards Conservatism; and altho' he had had no connection there for years, his influence was still great.

Dr. Ort had vacillated until at last he had fallen on the conservative side. I had once been somewhat severe with him. When in lack of material with which to attack the General Council, he had taken several pages of Lichtenberger's "History of Theology in the XIX Century," criticizing certain tendencies in Germany, and inserted the General Council where the author had other names, and then, without a word of credit to the author, published it as an editorial in the "Lutheran Evangelist"

Dr. W.M.Baum died in February. At the funeral in his church, I was asked to make the prayer. The family afterwards requested the manuscript, as I had written it out. Drs. Valentine and Charles Albert made the addresses.

which he was then editing. I simply printed Lichtenberger's work and the editorial in parallel columns. Dr. Wolf, for once, was provoked with me, and feared Ort was permanently estranged.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Bauslin has always been outspoken in his advocacy of Lutheran conservatism.<sup>4</sup>

A singular trial had occurred at Wittenberg about ten years before when Dr. L.A. Gotwald was actually tried for his fidelity to the Augsburg Confession! He was triumphantly vindicated, but an apoplectic stroke followed the anxiety, which disabled him for a long time before his death.<sup>5</sup>

The Seminary is only the theological department of the College. Up to this time, it had occupied rooms in the College building. Rev. Dr. and Mrs. M.W. Hamma had provided a separate building for the Seminary - neat, comfortable, convenient, but contracted when compared with our quarters at Mt. Airy.

Three days were devoted to addresses. Dr. Schodde of Columbus had delivered an address the night before. Dr. Dunn of Selinsgrove spoke the morning we arrived;<sup>6</sup> Dr. Hiller of Hartwick, in the afternoon;<sup>7</sup> and Dr. Wolf of Gettysburg, in the evening. The next morning, I spoke; in the afternoon, Dr. Ruthrauff and others, at the dedication; and in the evening, impromptu addresses by various friends. Other speakers, representing chiefly the Alumni, were also heard, in connection with the addresses above mentioned.

I was well pleased. The campus seemed to me to need attention, and the old college building looked delapidated. I regretted I could not spend more time examining the German and Latin books in the Library, many of which are thought to have been the property of the pioneer New York pastor, Kocherthal.<sup>8</sup> Among others whom I met, I had a conversation with Hon. J. Warren Keifer, formerly a Major General U.S.V. both in the Civil and Spanish Wars, and a Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. I took meals with President Ruthrauff and Rev. F.G. Gotwald,<sup>9</sup> and had to decline other invitations because of the arrangements my host had made for having guests meet me at his house.

On Saturday I turned my face homeward, traveling with Rev. S.P. Kiefer, a cousin of Dr. Owen of Hagerstown, and of two Reformed pastors by his name. Dr. Ruthrauff survived only about two weeks, having been stricken with apoplexy in the law office of Mr. Zimmerman.

Synod met that year at Easton. I found quarters about two miles above the city on the mountain-side, whence I had an extended view on all sides. Mrs. Jacobs joined me on Saturday. Sunday morning I preached for Dr. Repass at Allentown. The trees were full of Cicada Septemdecim,<sup>10</sup> and their shrill notes rose from among the rocks like an orchestra of tireless musicians. Strange to say, we neither saw nor heard them at Mt. Airy, altho' they were abundant at Germantown!

We heard them again a few weeks later at a meeting of the Joint Committee at Wernersville, where we met again Drs. Bauslin and Ort, besides Drs. Wolf and Singmaster of Gettysburg, and Dr. Voigt of the South. Drs. Horn and Seiss were there, with probably other General Council representatives.

At the close of July, I went to North Carolina on a peculiar errand. Among the students whom I addressed at Newberry, S.C., in 1896, was the Rev. W.W.J. Ritchie,<sup>11</sup> who in 1902 was pastor in Burlington, N.C., a railroad town of nearly 2000 inhabitants. The pastors of the town had an association, and there was strong pressure brought to bear upon Lutheran and Presbyterian pastors to consent to the employment of an evangelist to hold a series of meetings during the summer. They were unwilling to do so. It was finally agreed that I should be invited as a Lutheran to deliver a series of addresses under the auspices of the Lutheran congregation, and that, as the Lutheran church was small, the Presbyterian church should be used for this purpose. The work was so entirely out of my line that I shrank from it, but Mr. Ritchie implored me not to entertain the thought of declining. Taking the advice of my colleagues, I started Southward; but everything was so indefinite that I could make no preparations beforehand. I delivered ten or twelve addresses, covering the outline of a System of Theology, in as simple and direct a form as I could command. Altho' the weather was oppressive, the attendance was good and the interest grew as the end approached. Drs. Voigts, R.C. Holland and Buzby,<sup>12</sup> and Revs. H.M. Brown, C.A. Brown, Parker,<sup>13</sup> and others were present; also, for several days, Mr. C.A. Ritchie,<sup>14</sup> who afterwards attended our Seminary, and is now pastor at Binghamton, N.Y. The Presbyterian pastor, Rev. Mr. Arrowwood, was very cordial; the other pastors were courteous and quite regular in attendance. My chief embarrassment came from the social functions in which I had to participate between services, and the constant conversation which distracted my mind from my addresses and wore me out. One

night I was too ill to appear. Dr. Voigt simply read from my "Elements of Religion."

Among these interesting episodes of those days was a drive to the home of an active layman of the North Carolina Synod, probably ten miles away (Elon College!), and the day we spent at his house. His name was Wagner - a very intelligent man, who had been a Confederate soldier, and, as a stretcher-carrier, had accompanied Pickett's Division in its charge at Gettysburg. Another afternoon we visited the farm-house of a member of Mr. Ritchie's congregation, and were treated to watermelons in a very peculiar way. They had just been taken from the vines. They were cut into longitudinal slices, of probably a quarter of a melon a piece, and put on the floor at the end of the porch. We were then given chairs on the ground and knives, with towels, and told to sit down and help ourselves. The porch was our table. I found either here or at Mr. Wagner's white watermelons.

At the close of the second week I went to Charlotte, where I appreciated the comforts of a modern home in hot weather in the house of Dr. Holland,<sup>15</sup> and preached for him twice to good audiences. I made a hurried visit to the grounds of Elizabeth College,<sup>16</sup> and was driven around the buildings. My cousin, or rather cousin's daughter, Mrs. Oaks (Kate Besore) is a member of the congregation, was at both services and took tea with me. A Mr. Barringer came and invited me to preach at Concord, but I had to decline. Mr. Barringer was also a Confederate soldier, full of reminiscences of the war, and was among those taken prisoner at Fort Steadman by my friend Col. Frederick.

I had promised to address a Lutheran Reunion at Hickory, and before doing so, wanted to see something of the mountains of western North Carolina. From Charlotte, therefore, I went to Statesville to Asheville, admiring the engineering skill displayed as we ascended the mountains as well as the mountain scenery. It differed greatly from both that on the Pennsylvania near Altoona, and on the Lehigh R.R. above Wilkes-Barre. It was not so grand or vast, but no less attractive. At Asheville, the elevation above sea level is nearly 2000 feet. I could not devote much time to the enjoyment of the scenery, but put myself down in the bracing atmosphere to the writing out of my Hickory addresses. I had made very full notes at home, but they had to be put into shape. This

kept me working in my room. I found time, however, to ascend the high hill above the city. Looking down into the valley, the scenery from the mountains above Reading was suggested. Asheville looked like a miniature Reading. There were no furnaces or factories, however, sending up their tall black columns of smoke heavenward. Above, I strolled into the pavillon, and even indulged in the unusual recreation of watching the dancers glide over the smooth floor. A little outside the pavilion, I stood for a few minutes without changing place, and counted over one hundred mountain summits on the horizon. They singularly resembled the breakers advancing in serried ranks towards the sea beach. Such a sight, in all my experience of mountain scenery, I had never witnessed. The next morning I walked out to Battery Park Hotel, and caught a less extensive view of the same prospect. Biltmore, the summer home of one of the Vanderbilts, I examined carefully through the telescope of Battery Park. I did not take the time to accompany a party, to which I was invited, to visit the house and grounds.

On Wednesday evening, I came down the mountains as far as Hickory, a Lutheran center, about 1200 feet high. Here Prof. Cline<sup>17</sup> met me and took me to his home. After tea, in the summer twilight, we talked on the vine-covered porch, with the Katydid's singing their peculiar song, until bedtime. Rev. A.L.Crouse called, and the Professors of Lenior College, particularly my old pupil, Rev. W.H.Little, with Profs. Frontz and Sachs.<sup>18</sup> Next morning the Wessingers<sup>19</sup> Rev. J.C. and his brother, B.D., then one of our Mt. Airy students, were on hand early. Prof. J.S.Koiner<sup>20</sup> of the Missouri Synod, a graduate of our Seminary, called.

Early in the morning, Prof. Cline showed me through Lenior College, an institution of the Tennessee Synod. My chief criticism was the little attention given to libraries. There were scarcely more than a few hundred books on the shelves. The auditorium, capable of seating 1200 people, I admired greatly; also the facilities for boarding both young men and young ladies at extremely low rates. The auditorium was filled with an attentive audience. My former pupil, Rev. R.A. Yoder, President of the United Synod South, presided.<sup>21</sup> A large number of ministers were present. Among them were Prof. M.G.Scherer of the Southern Theological Seminary, Rev. W.A.Lutz, Rev. J.F.Deal, Rev. J.C.Mozer, D.D., Rev. W.A.Deaton, Rev. V.G.Buger, Rev. Boozer, Rev. Matthias, Rev. Cromer, Rev. Ross-muse of the Missouri Synod, Rev. C.A.Brown, Prof.

S.A.Wolf, P.G.Wright, Rev. Mr. Linn, Rev. J.A. Yount. These are scarcely half of the men who greeted me. My address of "The Mission of the Lutheran Church of the South," was printed in pamphlet form by Rev. A.L.Crouse. The next morning I had a drive. Hickory I found to be a thriving lumber town. The timber was brought down from the mountains on wagons, following each other in regular trains; sometimes with the father driving first; the mother, second; the son, third, etc. I visited a very extensive wagon factory, and heard of furniture factories. At dinner at Mrs. Little's (mother of Revs. C.H. and W.H.) I met Dr. and Mrs. Moser; Dr. Scherer<sup>23</sup> and Mr. Cline accompanying me there. We passed a very pleasant afternoon. I was to have left shortly after six o'clock that evening, but the train was reported as due at various times, until it was midnight when it actually arrived. The delay gave me another opportunity to see the country. We drove to a little octagonal frame church about three miles from Hickory, where three different Lutheran congregations were accustomed to worship, each having its own cabinet organ. We knew well the Union churches of rural Pennsylvania, but we had never seen nor heard of three Lutheran churches being thus united! Prof. Little drove me around the suburbs repeatedly until eleven o'clock came, when I insisted that he should not remain longer with me. It took about sixteen hours to make the journey from Hickory to Philadelphia. The next Fall, I showed my appreciation of Hickory by sending a student to Lenoir College.

I would have remained South longer if it had not been for the prospective sailing of my son, Charles, for Europe.

At this point, I find that I have omitted an account of my last visit to Gettysburg, paid during November, 1901. Its incidents are so fresh in my mind that I cannot realize that five years have elapsed. The object of the visit was to sell our old home. I arranged my hours so that I was there on the afternoon preceding the sale. Stopping at the Eagle Hotel, I called at the Horners. When I called at Buehler's Drug Store, Luther insisted on entertaining me with a Gramophone Exhibition. I reached the College as the classes were being dismissed, and was taken by one of the Professors into a room where a Faculty meeting was about to be held. For a moment or two, a quorum of the old Faculty was there alone - Breidenbaugh, Bikle, Himes, and Jacobs - four out of seven when it ran according to Seniority - Valentine, Croll, Martin, Jacobs, Himes, Bikle and Breidenbaugh. Dr. Huber my former

tutor, and Dr. Stahley, my former pupil, came in and I bade them farewell. The Misses Horner (my cousins) were driving that afternoon, and I accompanied them over the new avenues lined with costly monuments. In the evening, I called at the Baugher's but there was no response to my ring. I walked with Dr. Wolk to his home and had a long conversation. He urged me to remain overnight. But Mrs. Wolf was away from home, and I declined. He arranged to dine with me at the Eagle the next day.

The next morning, I was at the Cemetery to visit the grave of Eugenia and my father and mother, and then called on Drs. Valentine, Singmaster, and Richard at the Seminary, declining an invitation to dine at each place, as I expected my brother, Will, shortly after 11 A.M. Dr. Wolf dined with us, consulting my brother concerning the future of his son, Robin, who was then a law student. Will thought it best that he should locate in Pittsburgh. This was afterwards done, where, through the interest of Judge J. Hay Brown, a place in the office of a prominent lawyer who needed help was found him.

We sold the home for something over \$3700 to Dr. Dixon. My last act on the premises was to go with the Doctor and his son into the garden, and locate a point where a store-box full of unloaded shells picked up on the battle-field was buried. As we sat in the old study, with its paint untouched since we left it, making out the papers, it was a weird scene. It was a Fall day, with alternate cloud and sunshine, the wind blowing, and rays of bright light breaking occasionally through the window. The room was sacred to my father's memory. How often as a child I had looked into the fire through the gate of the old sheet-iron stove, sitting on the floor, afraid to speak lest I should interrupt him at his work! How often I lay on the old sofa, studying as a boy, while he wrote at his table! Here I used to listen to the conversation of Dr. Krauth, Sr., and Baugher, Sr., Lochman, C.W.Schaeffer, Ulrich, Rosenmiller, Passavant, as well as that of my grandfather and uncles. Here I wrote many sermons, and translated the Book of Concord, and revised Hutter with Dr. Spieker, and Schmid with Dr. Hay! Here, too, I had written many letters to my future bride, and read to Eugenia, and taught Charles, and had Downing by my side as I worked. It seemed unnatural that I should have no further interest in these walls. In the room above, Charles and Downing and Winifred had first seen the light, and Eugenia had closed her eyes on a Glorious Spring day.

After the sale was completed, Will and I walked to the College, and entered the old building, used exclusively as a dormitory. I was horrified with its shabby and filthy appearance as we entered the hall-way, and could go no further. We left about four o'clock.

Both my boys had educational advantages such as I never enjoyed. The College course of 1857-62 at best was inferior in many respects to what is now offered. Yale or Princeton of that time was in a primitive condition contrasted to what it is now. The course has advanced as much during fifty years as it had progressed during an entire century before. It has suffered, it is true, from over-specialization and ambition to afford a University rather than a College training. The multiplication of Professors had necessarily been attended by a close economy. Keeping down salaries, and probably lowering the standard of the general culture and social standing of the average College Professor, who to-day is known rather as a master merely of his particular branch, rather than an all-around and versatile thinker and teacher, in close touch with influential leaders outside of College circles. But the courses are more thoroughly developed, and the apparatus to which a student has access greater.

Charles, after graduating at the University, had taught for a year in the Chestnut Hill Academy, taking a post-graduate course in the University, which he continued the first and possibly the second year of his Seminary course and resumed after he became pastor at North Wales. He concentrated on Philosophy and History, and finally on Mediaeval History.

I was not much in favor with his project to go abroad. He had been successful in his parish, was beloved by his people, and there seemed no reason why he should make the break. But he urged that if he were ever to study abroad, now was the time. The decision belonged to him; and when made I did all I could to aid him. I must confess that I had no little fear that a year in a German University might divert him from the ministry into a Professional career. The results, however, have been for the best.

In all his preparations, plans and every movement while abroad, I took the greatest interest. His course was a partial education for me. He was very faithful not only in prompt writing, but also in the fullness with which he reported what he saw and heard and his general impressions.

He kept to his parish up to the very last Sunday. An evening or two before he left, Mrs. Jacobs and I attended a farewell reception, given in the parsonage by the congregations. Rev. J.L.Becker of Lansdale, on behalf of the congregation, presented

him with a purse which he acknowledged. I had to add a few words.

I learned more of their appreciation of him two months later when I participated in the installation of his successor, Rev. A.C.Schenck.<sup>2</sup>

On a Saturday morning, about the middle of August, we saw him off on the "Haverford." Mr. Walter Kriebel, a young man of North Wales, practising law in Philadelphia, and a member of the Reformed church, accompanied him for several weeks. We watched the vessel out of sight, and turned back considerably depressed to prepare a sermon for Sunday morning. The text was Phil. 4:7: "The peace of God which passeth all understanding," etc. It had to preach through me that day. I could concentrate my mind on no elaborate preparation. A few hours after they were off, the Harpsters arrived having come from the West to say farewell, but having been detained by some railroad delay on the mountains. How we watched for letters that Winter! When delayed, we went to the office even on Sunday morning - something very unusual, and that has not happened since Charles' return. Charles' centers that year were Eisenach and Leipzig. He tarried at Oxford and London, got a glimpse of Holland, passed down the Rhine, became familiar with the Luther places, visited several times in Berlin, went to Italy, visiting Venice, Florence and Rome with the Harpsters, spent some time in Munich and Nürnberg, explored the Jacobs' country in Alsace, and toured through North Germany (Hamburg, Königsberg, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, etc.). He matriculated for two semesters at Leipzig, attending the lectures principally of Prof. Hauck. He visited also the Universities of Halle, Berlin, Erlangen and Greifswald, and possibly Marburg and Heidelberg. Beside acquiring more knowledge of History, he became proficient in German, and brought back considerable information concerning the Church Life and Church customs. He preached several times to the American congregation at Leipzig.

He was just landing in England while I was in Central Pennsylvania on an island in the Susquehanna between Northumberland and Sunbury. The night before I stopped at Milton with my former classmate, Rev. J.M.Remensnyder, D.D., and preached in his home church. The congregation is large, and the church handsome. After service, I responded to a request of Mrs. Smith of Washington, D.C. formerly Miss Hannah Van Patten of Gettysburg, a former intimate friend of my sister, to call on her at her daughter's .

She was crippled with Rheumatism and unable to come to the service. We spent over an hour recalling Gettysburg reminiscences.

The next day, altho' rain threatened, there was a large assembly, and from 30 to 40 pastors, some from the General Council, but most from the General Synod. I spoke on the "Soul, the Body, and the Implements of Lutheranism" - the soul, its faith - the body, its confessions - the implements, its organizations. It was printed, and an edition of 2000 copies disposed of by Drs. Focht and Manhart.<sup>3</sup> I returned to Philadelphia with Rev. M.J.Kline of the General Synod Foreign Mission Board,<sup>4</sup> and Mr. H.S.Bonar.

The great Coal Strike had begun. Neither the Seminary nor I had laid in our usual winter supply. Our coal merchant had not been fair to us. We bought in small lots of a few tons at a time for the Seminary, and I always had some for myself, although always apprehensive it was the last I could get. Much time was consumed in making the purchase of these small amounts. A car load I ordered for the Seminary was never delivered. Coal sold during that period of famine as high as \$15.00 per ton. Finally a coal man agreed to furnish me a ton every day for the Seminary. It came as regularly as did our milk. Thanks to the intervention of President Roosevelt, the strike was broken after several months duration. Strange to say altho' the cost of coal per ton greatly increased, the Seminary Coal Bill for the year was rather lower than usual. We were slow starting fires and used considerable waste wood.

On Seminary Day, the Corner Stone of the Schaeffer-Ashmead Memorial Church was laid. As it rained all day, the addresses were made in the Gowen Mansion. That of Rev. C. Elvin Haupt of Lancaster was particularly excellent. The stone was pushed into the wall, which was almost ready for the roof. The rain poured as the Rev. Wm. Ashmead Schaeffer performed the act. The next Seminary Day the building was occupied, having been dedicated the week before with a sermon by Dr. G.F.Krotel. No one but Dr. Schaeffer (and family) and the builder knows its cost. It was not much less, counting in an extension made the next year, than \$50,000. "St. Barnabas" was deserted both as a place of worship and reading room. Mr. Charles Fondersmith provided funds for a reading room in the Dormitory.

For some weeks our house was a scene of great confusion. The Harpsters were preparing for their return to India. While I was in North Carolina, Miss Wahlberg<sup>5</sup> had passed through Philadelphia, calling at Mt. Airy, and hurrying on to her old home in Sweden, to

await the other missionaries on the other side of the Atlantic. The party that left Philadelphia on Oct. 17th. consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Harpster, Rev. A.S. Fichthorn, Rev. F.W. Wackernagel and Miss Susan E. Munroe. Mr. Wackernagel went at very short notice. Dr. Harpster had preached at Trinity church, Lancaster. The result was that the congregation decided to send and support a missionary. Drs. Whitteker<sup>6</sup> and Harpster went out to Millersville, and laid the matter before Mr. Wackernagel. He accepted. The call of the Board followed at a special meeting on Seminary Day. He resigned his congregation, packed up, and was ready to go with the rest.

Miss Munroe offered her services in a letter to me the preceding winter. As her brother, Mr. W.F. Munroe, was and still is, a member of the Board, I was unwilling to bring the matter to its attention without his consent. He offered no objection, but seconded the plans of his sister. She went to India at her own expense, to serve at her own expense, altho' to be subject to our rules.<sup>7</sup>

In Germany, or perhaps in Italy, this band of missionaries was joined by the Rev. R. Arps and wife, who had been on furlough. The party of eight arrived at Rajahmundry just before Christmas.

St. Mark's was crowded on the evening of the Farewell Services. Addresses were made by the President of the Board, the departing missionaries, Revs. Fichthorn and Wackernagel, and by Rev. Dr. George Scholl, the General Synod's Secretary. A service was held also in the morning with a sermon by Dr. Spaeth and the communion.

Mrs. Wall (daughter of Rev. F.W. Weiskotten) had Dr. and Mrs. Harpster and Mr. Fichthorn, Miss Sadtler - the returned Zenana worker, Dr. Scholl, and Mrs. Jacobs and me to dinner.

The next afternoon I accompanied them to New York, or rather, Hoboken. The dearth of coal delayed the steamer. We waited all day Saturday until after 4 P.M., when we bade them good-bye. The steamer passed out early the next morning. The hotel where we stopped was without heat, and we were thoroughly chilled. I lost my pocket book. For three hours or more it lay on the floor of a frequented part of the hotel, and awaited my return for it! At Berlin, Charles joined the missionary party. Afterwards he travelled with them Southwards, bidding them farewell in Rome. We heard regularly of their progress until they reached their destination.

Before we heard of their arrival, or rather before they had left Europe, the Board had to act on two important matters. We afterwards were glad that Dr. Harpster had already left when action was required.

Miss Stremper's health in India had been most precarious. The Board had sent her - and Dr. Woerner with her - to a sanatorium for treatment, and she had returned improved. But she asked that she be excused from studying Telugu, and declared that if this request were not granted, she would be compelled to resign. She petitioned also that the money for her return to America be deposited with the Treasurer in India, that in case of a break-down she might be able to leave India without further delay. The Board, under these circumstances, was convinced that it was best for Miss Stremper to make no further efforts to master the situation, and accordingly recalled her. This gave great offense to her and her friends. They endeavored to cast the blame of it upon Dr. Harpster, simply because he was unwilling to advise her to remain in spite of the Board's order... The Board could not have retained her, especially when she suggested the recall, without having been false to its trust.

The second case was that of Dr. Schmidt, which now came before us in the shape of a definite proposition. I had a type-writer make sufficient copies of this paper, and sent one to each member of the Board, in order that the action to be taken might be duly weighed. The same course was adopted in regard to a later proposition, and I think in regard to this also. Dr. Schmidt began to realize that he would have to make terms. The chief difficulty was in connection with "Riverdale." The house had been built by Dr. Schmidt with money sent by the Board, upon an understanding that the ground was donated by him. He had never actually made the transfer, and was disposed to hold it unless his claims were satisfied. A modification was finally secured by Dr. Harpster a few months later and possession of "Riverdale" given. It was fully a year longer, however, before the transfer was effected. The patience shown Dr. Schmidt by the Board and Dr. Harpster, was disapproved by some of the other missionaries. Dr. Edman who had actually written that, since the recall of Dr. Schmidt, he was the Head of the Mission, had raised the wages of the native agents under him and increased their number, and contracted other debts without any authority. When the Board refused to make up the deficit, he threatened us with prosecution. This afforded precisely the opportunity we wanted to begin proceedings for his removal. An apology was demanded, and he was warned that if this would not reach us within a given time, he would be removed. The Board was true to its promise. He was duly recalled. The legal

counsel of the Board finally advised us to settle his claims, in order to avoid any annoying circumstances. We were only to glad to relieve the mission of an utterly unworthy man. When the Mission Conference comprising all the native workers and missionaries met after Dr. Harpster's arrival, Dr. Edman, as its President, sent word to Pastor William that he could not commune. Dr. Harpster held a meeting of all American ordained ministers to investigate the charges made. He was proved innocent of all but two points, and these were relatively trifling, viz. he had said that Mr. Neudoerffer was "only a boy," and had made some disparaging remark concerning Dr. Edman; for both of which he apologized.

The malcontents thought by their importunity the Board might be worn out. Paulus organized a regular campaign bureau. The complaints most widely sent concerned first, Pastor William, secondly, Dr. Harpster for taking William's part, and thirdly, Dr. Jacobs, President of the Board, for justifying Dr. Harpster in his attitude towards the opponents of William. The President of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania came from Meyerstown with a bundle of papers similar to those which had been received from various sources. I was charged with having transmitted to Dr. Harpster certain of these communications without having referred them to the Board.

The Kirchenblatt edited by Pastor Wischan was informed of what was transpiring, and kept up the agitation against the Board and its policy. Mr. Wischan's substitute was to put the mission under the supervision of the Leipzig Missionary Society. He contended that we had neither the machinery, nor knew enough about missions in America, to successfully cope with the problems before us. It was necessary that a German Body administer the mission, while the Church in America would simply furnish the means. The best answer to this was furnished by the dissensions occurring that very time in the Leipzig Mission in India, requiring the presence of their chief officer who was sent from Germany, and resulting in the dismissal of ten experienced missionaries, some of whom knocked very importunately at the gates of our mission for admission. They claimed that the rules of the Leipzig Society, particularly in regard to caste, were such that they could not, with a clear conscience, remain in its service. This was the Society, to which, in order to insure peace, Pastor Wischan would have our mission transferred.

During the disorganization of the Mission, the property suffered. Extensive repairs were needed.

The bungalow at Dowlaishwaram had to be entirely rebuilt. A new boat called "The Augustana," was also built. A site for a hospital at "Halket's Gardens" was purchased, and the building on the premises fitted up for a dispensary. Most encouraging reports came concerning the progress of the school at Paddepur.

The reports came that Mr. Fichthorn's health was succumbing to the strain of the climate and work, and the trips away from Rajahmundry afforded only temporary relief.

Dr. Schaeffer was absent that winter also, and the correspondence was in my hands; I practically gave the Mission all my leisure time. The Minutes of the Board, and the Letter Books will show that many most perplexing questions were considered, the details of which need not be mentioned here.

During the winter of 1902-03, we welcomed Dr. Hilprecht once more to the Seminary. He gave an interesting lecture, and held a reception later. Before the winter was over, his relations to us became more distant because of his second marriage to a Baptist widow of wealth.

Rev. J.A.W. Haas of New York, calling on me in the early Fall, had outlined a treatment of Biblical Criticism that commended itself to me so much that I encouraged him to prepare a lecture on the subject, to be delivered to our students. The Faculty concurred with me, and requested him by formal resolution, to deliver one or more lectures. In preparation they finally grew to four. They were delivered during Epiphany, 1903, and were attended by a number of clergymen, besides our students. Dr. J.A. Singmaster of Gettysburg Seminary, was present one afternoon, dining and spending part of the evening with me afterwards. Dr. Clay<sup>s</sup> brought Dr. von Ranke of the University, a grandnephew of the historian with him. The two Drs. Albert and Dr. Hay were present. As the lectures were desired for publication, I wrote an introduction at Dr. Haas' request, which, in reality, is an independent essay.<sup>9</sup> Dr. Seiss came out through the cold - which one afternoon was severe - to hear Dr. Haas. On the evening of Dr. Fry's birth-day, Dr. Fry entertained Dr. Haas and Dr. Seiss, with the Faculty also present. Dr. Seiss remained until 10 P.M. when he went home unattended.

The next month, March 18th, his eightieth birthday was celebrated. The Faculty called upon him in a body early in the morning. Dr. Spaeth, as our spokesman, made an informal address, and called on me to read the congratulatory resolutions, giving our estimate of Dr. Seiss' life and work, which I had prepared

for the Faculty. We had scarcely gone before a committee of students - one from each class - called with flowers. A committee of his Church officers followed. The Doctor was strong, and was greatly gratified with the notice that had been taken of the event.

About the same time I prepared for the Faculty, at the request of the Ministerium, a paper on "The Individual Communion Cup."<sup>10</sup> After sundry suggestions, chiefly from Dr. Spaeth, upon my reading of the first draft, it was rewritten, and then adopted without alteration. It was printed and sent to the Conferences in time for Spring Meetings. It was unanimously adopted by the Ministerium, and the Pittsburgh Synod, and has probably been approved by other synods. The paper concedes that nothing essential is involved in the change, but shows that it confuses the practice of the Church, and detracts from the impressiveness of the service, and the force of one of its most important lessons.

At the meeting of the Ministerium I made an address of 15 minutes on our Mission in India, into which I condensed as much information as possible. Dr. Schmauk requested it for the "Review," and I wrote out in full what I had only outlined in the address. It was published also separately, and attracted considerable attention."

At the direction of the Board of Foreign Missions, I called the attention of the Ministerium to the great injury done by the constant attacks upon the Board in the "Kirchenblatt," where misrepresentations were made - the character of which the editor could learn if he cared to know, by consulting the Board or its officers. The Synod, by an overwhelming vote, on motion of E. Augustus Miller, Esq., passed a vote of censure. Next morning, the "Public Ledger" published a part of remarks made by Mr. Wischan, statements concerning the Board and Mission he had not made on the floor. I wrote to the "Ledger." Its Office Editor was in a quandary. Mr. W. had spoken in German which the reporter did not understand. As was very natural he had gone to the speaker for information, and this the reporter had given as Mr. W.'s speech. The editor took Mr. Wischan to task. Mr. W. then wrote a note to me with the affectation of injured innocence. I answered that I would be glad to meet him somewhere to talk over the whole matter. He agreed to meet me at the Orphans' Home, where, for over an hour, we had a full and free conference. I scarcely hoped to bring him to his senses. But I wanted to leave no effort untried. He published, as might be expected, an account of our private interview. I was "sehr freundlich." He contrasted my treatment of him with what

he received elsewhere. But within a few weeks he was at his old trade again. The "Kirchenblatt" published Paulus' letters from India attacking Pastor William. William was enrolled as an ordained minister of our Ministerium, and had equal rights with Mr. Wischan. Therefore, when he was attacked, it was the duty of the Board to see to his protection.

The details of this controversy are long. The main facts are printed in the Minutes of the General Council at Norristown, 1903.<sup>2</sup> It was a most unpleasant task from beginning to end which I had to perform. For many years, as long as Mr. W. attacked me in his paper, I passed him by in silence. I felt no need of any personal vindication. My record could take care of that. But when the Board commissioned me with an official duty towards a brother minister under its protection, who could not defend himself, it was different. Before the General Council met I met Mr. W. on the street and had an earnest talk with him in which I faithfully warned him concerning his course. But as he was heedless, I had nothing else to do when the time came, but to prosecute the case. The General Council acted with great decision. The question was still pending, so far as the disciplinary course to be taken was concerned, when it was removed to a Higher Court by his death.

Another minister had been charged... with heretical teaching. A committee with Dr. Spieker as Chairman, had spent much time on an investigation, but recommended no action of any kind to Synod. He acknowledged that he professed to have communications with the angel Raphael, and in the presence of the entire Synod quoted the angel as having referred to a certain passage of Scripture, which Dr. Spaeth at once detected as a wrong citation. Strange enough, some pastors defended him, and the majority of them were averse to any very decided action. The report of the committee on the subject in the Minutes of 1903 I wrote. As in the struggle at Lancaster in 1889, the action was not followed up with sufficient vigor. This much, however, was accomplished - that the Synod branded such teaching as dangerous error. This incident led to a discussion at several meetings, of the Relation of the Holy Spirit to the Word.

I was present a few weeks later at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the new College Building at Allentown. The main address was made by Dr. Schantz. Judge Trexler and the Mayor also spoke. I was delighted with the new location. Dr. Seip, I learned, had resigned, but action on it was deferred. Mr. C.A.Fondersmith of Lancaster was my companion on my return to Philadelphia.

Mrs. Jacobs not having been away from home for any length of time for some years, I took her to her brother's at Albany. Mrs. Bruner met us in New York, and we took the night boat. We found Rev. A. Steimle and wife on board, and talked with them long on the deck until the stiff breeze drove us in. The flashing of electric lights on the cliffs on either side gave a strange fascination to the scene. The days spent in Albany were very cool for the close of July. In the evenings the fire was lit in the open chimney. Mrs. Downing and Annie were there. Seiss and Louise were very hospitable. A trip Northward was arranged, but before it could be taken, I had to return home to meet an appointment. Dr. Whitteker had gone to Europe, and at his invitation, I supplied Trinity Church, Lancaster. I found in the records of the church the record of the marriage of my great-grandparents, Middlecoff. I called at the Hegers on College Hill on Sunday night with Mrs. W. On Monday, took a trip to Lititz, returning at once. A few weeks before I had been with Rev. G.W. McClanahan at Strasburg. Returning to Philadelphia and leaving Downing, the girls, and Willie (Ed's.) at home, I rejoined Mrs. Jacobs at Albany. We started next day, I think, reaching the Thousand Islands in the evening, and threading our way among them by electric light. Seiss and Louise, Mrs. Jacobs and I constituted the party. Mrs. Wanzer, Louise's sister, was with us on our trip through the islands. The temperature was so low that altho' I had on an overcoat, I retired frequently to the engine room to thaw out. I was so drowsy that, in spite of myself, I did not enjoy that evening. We had met during the afternoon the Hon. C.R. Skinner, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York, and called at his house on one of the islands.

The next day we started down the St. Lawrence for Montreal. Changing boats at Prescott, some one tapped me on the shoulder. On looking round, it proved to be my cousin, Dr. Radebaugh of Pasadena, California. He was alone and spent the day with us. The most exciting part of the trips was the passing of the Rapids. Reaching Montreal before supper, we spent the evening searching for various churches and points of interest, to which we returned next day for more satisfactory examination. Dr. R. left early that morning. Everything seemed strange to us. We confined attention almost entirely to the French portion of the city. We visited so many French Roman Catholic churches, that the general effect upon us was confusing.

In the evening we went to Malone, N.Y. Here I had to spend an hour seated in a cobbler's shop,

while he put new heels on my boots. The rain poured in torrents. Taking the train we passed through the Adirondack region by Lake Saranac, Long Lake, Paul Smith's, etc. to Childswald, and there by stage to Gale's, the place well known in our family as the summer headquarters of Seiss and Downing. We were between 1800' and 1900' above the sea. Even the rain seemed dry. There was a singular exhilaration with every breath we drew. The silence was refreshing. A rude road of a mile or so took us, on foot, to Rackett River, and the camping ground of our party for some years. The forests were primeval in their luxuriance. Birch trees formed a large proportion, but there was abundant hemlock and beeches, etc. The cold of the winter is so intense that the snakes cannot live there. Deer-trunks were frequently visible. The game laws had protected them, so that they had become numerous.

The people at the hotel looked for our company that evening, but we spent it in front of the cottage we occupied, enjoying the quiet and darkness of the night with the conversation of the Downings.

Next day we had a guide with us who fished and gave us a typical Adirondack dinner. We gathered a few small evergreens and some ferns, which grow now in our backyard at Mt. Airy. The trip back to Albany seemed very tedious.

Two Sundays were spent on this trip in Albany. On one of them we preached for Rev. Dr. C.W. Heisler - a former pupil,<sup>3</sup> and husband of my Cousin's daughter, Annie Bingham - now pastor of perhaps the oldest Lutheran congregation in this country.

The second Sunday we heard the Rev. Douglas Spaeth<sup>4</sup> who expressed his dissatisfaction that we had preached in a General Synod church, instead of his; but he came out to my brother-in-law's for dinner and to apologize... he did not understand my relationship to his General Synod colleague.

Probably it was between my two trips to Albany that I went to Butler, Pa., and addressed a Lutheran reunion. The General Synod people there were most cordial, particularly the Rev. Mr. Nicholas, but I saw little of the General Council element, at whose invitation I had gone thither. The congregation had just become vacant. Asked to suggest a name for the pastorate, I mentioned the Rev. R.D. Roeder of Norristown, who was afterwards elected. Before he was called, a typhoid fever epidemic had been attended with a most distressing mortality.

I had still one trip to make that summer. I was invited to attend an historical celebration at Strasburg, Va., Rev. L.L.Smith, D.D., pastor.<sup>5</sup> On leaving the train on a dark night, I found the Rev. Dr. Butler of Washington, D.C., whose sight is imperfect, groping his way through the dark. I took his arm and led him through the darkness, first to the hotel, and then to the full blaze of light in the church, where an Organ Dedication was in progress.

A number of Virginia brethren were present, Rev. P. Miller, an aged uncle of Rev. C. Armand Miller, Rev. J.A.Snyder, whom I remembered as a Gettysburg student, Rev. C.A.Marks of Richmond, Pa., Rev. Mr. Shenk of Newport News, Rev. E.A. Shenk, Rev. W.A.Deaton, Rev. G.A.Bowers of Winchester, Va., etc.

The next morning Dr. Butler spoke or rather preached on a general topic. In the afternoon, Hon. E.A.Roller of Harrisonburg, Va., read a paper on the Germans in Virginia. In the evening, I spoke on the Early Lutheran Pastors of the Shenandoah Valley. The next morning, Rev. Dr. D.M.Gilbert of Harrisburg delivered a well-written and eloquent historical address.<sup>6</sup> In the afternoon, in the absence of a regular speaker, I had to speak on the replenishing of the ministry. In the evening, there were a number of addresses made of a reminiscent character. On Saturday with Dr. Smith and Dr. Gilbert, I was driven some miles out the Winchester road, over the ground of Sheridan's famous ride. Rev. J.L.Sibole of Buffalo and son were along. Mr. S. is from Strasburg and described the battle as an eye-witness. We dined with a Mr. Heator, whose wife is a Henkel.

On Saturday evening, Dr. Gilbert and I went to New Market; he to preach for Dr. Snyder, and I, for Rev. E.L.Wessinger, whom I had recommended about a year before to the congregation. I saw the building, since then demolished, where Dr. S.S.Schmucker began his career as a Professor of Theology, and, in the office of Mr. E.O.Henkel, had the honor of putting on the gown of Gen. Peter Muhlenberg which the latter had presented to the Rev. Paul Henkel. Dr. M.G.Scherer of the Southern Seminary, whom I had found the preceding summer spending his vacation at Hickory, N.C., was summering there, and I had a pleasant call from him, as well as from Mr. Carl Schaeffer, a theological student. Mr. Wessinger I learned had a congregation of more than usual

intelligence. There were fully a dozen college graduates among them. One of his laymen, Dr. Miller, a descendent of the Henkels, had recently retired from the Medical Faculty of ( I think) the University of Maryland.

One of the most pleasant features of the trip was my nearer association with Dr. Gilbert. We roomed together at Strasburg. I had known him from childhood. His father was our family physician when I was born. But he went South from the Seminary, about a year before the War broke out, and became identified with the Southern Church. It was through my Uncle Alfred he was finally called to Harrisburg, and induced to leave Winchester. A little over two years later, he suddenly died of heart trouble which became manifest even then when he walked rapidly. His theological sympathies were more with us than with the General Synod. But he was an amiable man who was not given to polemics.

My return was hastened by the anticipated return of Charles from his European tour. Charles returned by way of Baltimore. He reached home to find no one but Maria there. We were not far away. It was a great satisfaction to have him with us once more.

Downing was in the Adirondacks. Only a few days after Charles' return he was summoned to New York, and entered the house of L. Prang Art Publishing Co., where he still is. Charles was, therefore, for some months Downing's substitute.

The Schaeffer-Ashmead church was dedicated at the Opening of the Seminary in 1903. The General Council met at Norristown in Oct. We went up and down every day, taking dinner and supper at Dr. Knipe's with Drs. Repass and Gerberding. The windows of heaven were open the first three days, making the streets almost impassable. The attendance was large, and the interest seemed to be greatest in our Foreign Mission Report. Rev. E.H. Trafford was duly commissioned and Rev. H.E. Isaacson made a tedious address. On Saturday afternoon we had a pleasant trip to Trappe church, where Rev. T.E. Schmauk made a wonderful Preamble Prayer, and Rev. C.E. Lindberg<sup>7</sup> delivered an address on Intellectual Science, and Rev. O.P. Smith on the Unification of Missions!<sup>8</sup> I had Prof. Voss of Augustana College alongside of me, as we went toward the Trappe. Dr. Fry acted as guide.

Shortly after the adjournment I went to Baltimore and with Drs. Hamma and Smith arranged the Program for the General Conference of 1904, to be held in Pittsburgh.

For the Reformation Festival I went to Rochester, N. Y., preaching for Rev. C.O. Murray in the morning and Rev. F.F. Fry in the evening, and visiting Wagner College on Monday morning. A few weeks later I made a second trip, when Mr. Fry was disabled by a sore throat.

Dr. Seiss visited the Seminary grounds for the last time on Nov. 10, 1903, and commemorated the event by planting a Kentucky Coffee tree (Mahogany tree) with his own hands, in front of Dr. Fry's house.<sup>10</sup> He was full of plans for his new church. A church built by the Reformed Episcopalians on Chestnut St., near 23rd. had been purchased. The congregation began to worship there with the first Sunday in Advent. Dr. Seiss preached. Drs. Kunzman and Bierdeman,<sup>24</sup> Charles and I assisted. (Possibly Dr. Sandt also.) Altho' the acoustics were defective, and Kunzman with his powerful voice was heard with difficulty, Dr. Seiss' voice carried well. He preached regularly every morning until near the close of Lent, and had a succession of preachers on Sunday night. He was looking for an assistant. I was with him at two communions. He probably pushed himself beyond his strength, and towards the close of February or beginning of March began to decline rapidly.

The very week Dr. Seiss' church opened we celebrated on Nov. 29th. the two hundredth anniversary of the ordination of Rev. Justus Falkner in Gloria Dei church. I made the address which was attentively listened to for one hour by the audience which crowded the church. The editors of "The Lutheran" and "Church Review," both wanted the Ms. The result is that each printed a piece of it. Schmauk complained that Sandt had anticipated him in "printing all the climaxes!" Of such rhetorical figures, I thought neither when I wrote nor delivered the address. Mr. Rees had charge of the music, and sang Falkner's hymn.

In the election of that year, I was more interested than usual because of my brother Will's fight against the machines of both parties in Dauphin Co. for the Judgeship. Without his effort in any way, the Governor had appointed him in March to fill the place vacated by the death of Judge Simonton. It was everywhere greeted as an ideal appointment except by the politicians who feared my brother's independency. The Dauphin County court decides upon election cases throughout the entire State. Altho' Republicans and Democrats combined to defeat him,

he fell short by a little over 900 where the ordinary Republican majority is about 4000. The Philadelphia papers with one exception, and such journals as "The Outlook" of New York, favored his election. Dr. Gilbert showed great sympathy with his candidacy.

I experienced a considerable trial in connection with the efforts of Dr. Harpster to have Charles commissioned as a missionary. He had won Drs. Schaeffer and Horn, and Charles, being as yet without a call, would have accepted. The motion to call him was actually made in the Board, and I felt that, if I consented, he would have been unanimously called. But I had to be candid. Three members of the same family ( Dr. and Mrs. H. and Charles) could not be on the mission staff, while the fourth would be President of the Board. Charles' call and acceptance would compel my own resignation. I would not shrink from resigning, in case they thought his going a necessity for the mission. I also felt that Charles had just spent over a year in special preparation, for which many sacrifices had been made; and that his field lay where he could utilize what he had acquired. It put me in an embarrassing position, as it seemed as though I were not ready to make the sacrifices for the mission.

The return of Mr. Fichthorn became imperative. He left Rajahmundry the close of February, and made his way home by slow stages. Dr. Seiss determined that he was the man he needed as assistant, and was impatient for his arrival. His last letter to me asks that I send "Fichthorn" to him immediately on arrival. Dr. Albert of Germantown had also resigned, and thought of Fichthorn in a similar way.

I intercepted him with a letter on the vessel as it approached the harbor, giving him the first intimation of the place that awaited him.

Dr. Seiss had sent for me to call on the day before Palm Sunday. I confirmed the catechumens and baptized adults and infants. I found him in his study, altho' very weak. He gave me some general directions. He asked me to preach without notes. He thought his people would appreciate it if I would. He had always written and read, but, as he learned, I had gained some faculty in free speaking; he hoped I would cultivate that. The next week he took to his bed, and never was in his study again. On Good Friday, I administered the Communion, and, on my return home, found that Mr. Fichthorn had arrived. He remained for supper, and by telephone, an appointment with Judge Staake was arranged. Within two weeks,

he had begun his work.

At Easter Charles was in his new charge at Allentown. While there had been delay in his reception of a call, when the crisis came he had to decide between Grace church, Norristown, and Christ church, Allentown. In my opinion the decision he made was right, altho' there was considerable disappointment in the other church. He had been supplying the church at Norristown regularly for some Sundays, and instructing the Catechumens. I took his place at Norristown at Easter; and then hastened Westwards to the General Conference at Pittsburgh.

The General Conference was the most largely attended of the three that have been held. Dr. Hamma came crushed by the death of his wife about two weeks before. Dr. L.L. Smith, who was to have preached the opening sermon, was prevented from being present by a death in his congregation. He had sent a telegram to me the morning before I started to Pittsburgh, and I took upon myself the responsibility of filling the place myself. I had a sermon I could use, and I believed that I could adjust myself to the circumstances better than any one I would call upon my arrival in Pittsburgh, only an hour or two before the service. In the afternoon I made the Opening Address and presided. We had not the same proportion of acknowledged leaders as in the preceding conferences, but almost double the attendance. Dr. Haas was brilliant on the first afternoon. The lines between the two Bodies were not drawn, but sides were taken that cut through them. There was a very spirited discussion in which Drs. Nicum and Schmauk of the General Council and Dr. L.S. Keyser of the General Synod attacked Dr. Haas for what they regarded inadequate views concerning Inspiration. The proposition was even urged that it is wrong to put Christ above Scripture, but that Christ and Scripture had equal authority. I urged that the Lord himself had laid the stress upon the testimony of Him which Scripture gave as constituting all its value, and, opening the Church Book and reading Art. IV. of the Augsburg Confession, I asked whether it would be correct to say that "man is justified for the sake of the Holy Scriptures through faith." An elaborate Choral Service closed the session. I wrote from Pittsburgh to Dr. Seiss giving him an account of the Conference.

The next evening I left for Chicago. Changing depots I started with Dr. Frick for Milwaukee. We stopped at Kenosha and visited the Public Library - a beautiful marble structure - and then the young Lutheran pastor (Buisler) and his church. The congregation was a very promising mission, and the church building just erected. During the afternoon we went to Milwaukee. Dr. Frick and Director Fritschel of the Deaconess Institute procured a carriage, and took me to the various Lutheran churches and Concordia (Missouri). The churches were large, showing the extent to which the Lutheran Church had become thoroughly rooted in the city. A young pastor of the United Norwegian Synod took tea with us. I spoke at the Vesper Service of the Hospital. Benjamin K. Miller, Esq., a leading lawyer of Milwaukee, and a former pupil at Gettysburg, was at Dr. Frick's when I returned and stayed until

about 11 o'clock.

The next morning I preached in Dr. Frick's church. After dinner I accompanied him to a mission Sunday School in another part of the city, where Rev. G.K. Rubrecht has since become the pastor.<sup>5</sup> Then I took the train to Racine where I preached in the evening for Rev. Mr. Gehr. His congregation was the eleventh Lutheran church in a city of about 20,000 inhabitants, and had grown to be perhaps the second in number of communicants. After the service I took a sleeping-car for La Crosse where I arrived about seven o'clock, and was met by Rev. Mr. Clemens. Breakfasting at his house, I visited the church built by Rev. A.C. Carty, now of Philadelphia. Shortly after eleven I started for Red Wing, Minn. Here Rev. A.J. Reichert met me. After dinner we walked up the bluff to the Seminary of the Hauge Norwegian Synod. The new buildings were just being completed. The view of the Mississippi River from the lecture rooms was such as to defy description. I remarked that the students would have to have their backs to the windows, or their thoughts would wander from the topics taught by their Professors to the panorama spread out before them. The central heating plant just erected also attracted my attention, and made suggestions concerning a similar arrangement for our Seminary. On the same bluff is the Female College of the old Norwegian Synod, extensively patronized by people of the synods affiliating with Missouri. The young ladies were seen walking about in gowns and mortar-boards. The President received us into his office, and courteously showed us through the buildings. That night I made a missionary address in Mr. Reichert's church.<sup>6</sup> After service, Mr. and Mrs. R. had a reception of pastors and Professors and their wives at his residence. I could scarcely keep my eyes open.

The next morning I left for St. Peter. I had a Presbyterian pastor and his elder as companions for a portion of the way, on their road to the Presbytery in Minneapolis. On arriving at St. Peter, Rev. I.O. Nothstein<sup>7</sup> met me and drove me to Gustavus Adolphus College where Dr. Wahlstrom welcomed me. The good people were ignorant of the fact that I had not had a morsel to eat since early in the morning. I took tea with Mr. Nothstein, and then addressed a meeting in his church. The night I spent on the college grounds with Dr. Uhler. The next morning I rested and attended a recitation or two of my host. I examined his laboratory and was particularly interested by his apparatus for wireless telegraphy. Leaving shortly after noon, I reached Minneapolis about 5 P.M. where Dr. Trabert

met me and conducted me to Dr. Petri's where a conference of Swedish pastors was held in regard to their relations to our Foreign Mission Board and work. I tried to dissuade them from the independent action which was being agitated, for a diversion of the activity of the Augustana Synod to China. I dined with my old Gettysburg friends, Dr. and Mrs. E.G.Fahnestock. Dr. and Mrs. Trabert, Hon. Charles A. Smith and Mrs. Smith, Rev. and Mrs. A. Ramsey, and E.G.Fahnestock, Jr. and wife, were also present. I was hurried to the church of Rev. A. Ramsey<sup>s</sup> where I again spoke. The next morning we looked into Minneapolis, and with Dr. Trabert visited St. Anthony's Falls, and the Norwegian Theological Seminary. Met Drs. Laird and F.A.Schmidt and addressed the students. I reached the home of Rev. A.J.D.Haupt at St. Paul about four o'clock. I drove to his church after supper and preached. Retiring to Minneapolis in the afternoon, I dined at Dr. Laird's, and rushed from the dinner table to the train, where I took a sleeper for Rock Island. Here I spent Saturday and Sunday at the home of my cousin, Geo. L. Eyster, M.D. My friends took me driving in the afternoon, visiting the island in the Mississippi where the Government Arsenal is, and the works manufacturing electric power., as well as through Moline and Rock Island. In the evening they had a dinner party. Among the guests was a Mr. and Mrs. Buford. Mr. B. was a brother of the two Union Generals by that name. As I had seen General John Buford just on the eve of the Battle of Gettysburg, as I have previously related, and he died shortly afterwards, it formed a common topic of conversation.

The next morning I preached in the English Lutheran church of Rock Island; and in the evening addressed the students and others in the College Chapel. On Monday morning, I attended and spoke at Prayers, and then addressed the Professors and students of the theological department. Drs. Lindberg and Forsander could not have been more attentive and cordial. I was much touched by the earnestness with which Dr. Forsander looked into my eyes, as he assured me he would never have written against me, as he had done in criticism of my "History of the Lutheran Church in America," if he had known me at the time. I visited the Publication House of the Augustana Synod, and paid my respects to Dr. Lindahl.<sup>10</sup> I was presented with a very handsomely bound Swedish-English Hymnal. I dined with President Andreen.

That evening Dr. Weidner met me at the depot in Chicago. The little church near the Seminary was filled with the Professors and students, and many Lutheran pastors of Chicago - General Synod

as well as General Council, to whom we spoke. Spending the night with Dr. Weidner, I attended Chapel services next morning and spoke to the students. Then taking the train about noon, I reached home the next afternoon. My impressions of the trip were given in a couple of articles for "The Lutheran."

On my return I found that Dr. Seiss had not improved. I saw him several times at his request. Once at least he had his daughter telephone for me. There was as a rule nothing particular upon which he wished to speak. He was anxious, however, about having the Musical Directorship in the Seminary abolished, and urged me to bring the matter before the Board, and expressed the desire that I should mention the fact that he so wished. For awhile it seemed as though he might rally, but he succumbed to extreme debility on June 2. He insisted on signing all the diplomas of the graduating class. Mr. Fichthorn had been elected Assistant Pastor and had made a favorable beginning. During the Meeting of the Ministerium he received a number of ministers who called at the house. His (or rather my) efforts to have the Board abolish the Musical Directorship were unsuccessful. Dr. Spaeth resisted with all his might.

At Dr. Seiss' funeral, the main address was made by Dr. Fry. Drs. Krotel and I followed. I went with Mr. Fichthorn to the Cemetery. When the will was opened, it was found that Drs. Laird, Jacobs, Schmauk, Sandt and Mr. C.B.Opp, with his executors, C.Few Seiss and J.Martin Rommel, Esq., were appointed as his "friends," to have charge of all his books and manuscripts. Two-thirds of his library when sold, and the royalty on all publications after the expiration of a year, was left them, evidently with a view to any risks to be incurred and labor devoted on a biography, for which he left extensive notes. They subsequently accepted the trust, but declined to receive any compensation, arranging to transmit it regularly to his heirs. It soon became manifest that the notes for a life could not be used except as the basis for an author who would entirely re-write what was already prepared." The family sent me as a memento of their father his individual communion service, and subsequently a life-sized photograph of his head.

At the request of the editors of "The Lutheran" that I should give an estimate of Dr. Seiss' life and labors, I wrote a series of three articles: "In Memoriam."<sup>12</sup> But when Dr. Schmauk in "The Lutheran Church Review" published the statement that Dr. Seiss had been the chief laborer on the "Church Book," and that the credit for it belonged more to him than

to Dr. Schmucker, I wrote Dr. Schmauk as to the incorrectness of the representation. So did Dr. Horn, and after his return from Europe Dr. Spaeth did likewise. Dr. Schmauk accepted our statements privately but never published any corrections.<sup>13</sup>

Early in June I attended the meeting of the New York Ministerium in Buffalo, and officially commissioned the Rev. K.L.Wolters as missionary to India. The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Heischmann and an address made by Mr. Wolters.<sup>14</sup> It was very pleasant to meet that many members of the Ministerium who had formerly been my pupils. On Sunday morning, I preached for Dr. Kretschmann, and called at Dr. Kaehler's and Rev. J.L.Sibole. Monday morning I spent the morning in the Ministerium, and in the afternoon, went to Niagara Falls where I spent a day, roaming over the banks of the River, and the islands.

At Buffalo Dr. George Haas<sup>15</sup> consulted me concerning a call which he had received to Wagner College. Little did he forecast that before the week would end a great catastrophe would befall him and his family and his congregation. It was only about two days afterwards ( June 15) that the Sunday-school of his church (St. Mark's, New York) had an excursion. The steamer General Slocum was chartered for the occasion. A large proportion of the congregation accompanied the school, and with them were many from other congregations. The steamer laden almost to its fullest capacity took fire, and was burned before being beached. A thrill of horror rose all over the world. The leading European governments sent messages of condolence to President Roosevelt. The German Emperor sent a dispatch also to Dr. Haas. Over 1000 persons, chiefly women and children, were either drowned or burned. Among them were Dr. Haas' wife and daughter and sister-in-law. He and his sister were rescued, but suffered serious injury. For days hundreds of corpses were brought to the New York morgue, where his brother, President-elect Haas of Muhlenberg College and Rev. C. Armand Miller searched until Mrs. Haas and daughter were found.

The succeeding week had been fixed for the Commencement of Muhlenberg College and the inauguration of Dr. J.A.W.Haas as President. How he was able to stand the strain is a wonder. But he did it well, delivering a masterly address, after which congratulatory remarks were made by Dr. Horine, for the Ministerium, Dr. Lamberton for the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Dubbs for Franklin and Marshall, President Allerton for State College, Dr. Bikle for

Gettysburg, Prof. Stewart for Lehigh, and some one, I think for Lafayette. I spoke also for the Seminary. The next day was Commencement Day proper, Dr. Schaeffer of State Department of Education and Dr. Schmauk speaking. I remained at the hotel most of the morning preparing the address for Dr. Seiss' funeral for the next morning.

The summer of 1904 I had determined to devote to close work, writing out one of several schemes which I had long in mind. Three projects were before me:

- 1) An Outline of Dogmengeschichte, adapted to the needs of our own Lutheran students;
- 2) An elementary book on Apologetics.
- 3) A compendium of doctrine.

My heart was fixed on the first, and I began it. But I soon found that my criticism of dogma would be misinterpreted if this were not accompanied by a summary of the results attainable and attained after such criticism was finished. I began therefore to write also my "Summary of the Christian Faith,"<sup>16</sup> expecting to work on the two books contemporaneously. I soon found, however, that my interest in the latter was too absorbing to bear division. By the beginning of November the book was finished. I introduced much matter in revision, and while the copy was waiting for the printer. My son Charles was of great help, and made suggestions upon which I acted. The "Summary" is the Lutheran system of doctrine as I hold and teach it. It lays no claim to originality: but it tries to restate in English and in the XXth. Century, and for American students, what has been the common faith of the Lutheran Church throughout its entire history. It is probably as important as anything else that I have published.

Dr. Ziegenfuss being in Europe, I looked after St. Michael's church, Germantown, preaching myself a number of times, finding supplies, and attending to some practical duties. My only vacation was an excursion with Mrs. Jacobs and the girls, Mr. and Mrs. Shearer, Charles and his betrothed,<sup>17</sup> and another daughter of Mr. S. and her betrothed to Somer's Point on a fishing trip.

At the beginning of October, Marguerite entered Bryn Mawr College.<sup>18</sup> I took much interest in watching the course of studies, and in occasionally aiding her with her lessons, especially Latin. I soon found the course defective because of its over-specialization of several branches. Instead of a thoroughly grounded, broad and liberal culture, Miss (Dr.!) Thomas has as her goal the organization of a University which aims at training experts in particular lines. The religious element is not attacked, but

is simply neglected. The course as a whole does not afford an education, but knowledge of particular facts, just as any other commodity may be sold in market. The College suffers from its lack of a thoroughly-educated, well-balanced male President, who is incapable of the whims of a sharp, but superficial woman.

The early months of 1905 were occupied with my "Summary," in addition to my regular Seminary duties. I kept revising and adding until the last bundle of Ms. left my table. The galley-proof also, after passing through Charles' hands, was supplemented.

Early in March ( the First Sunday in Lent), I was again in Minnesota. Dr. Trabert invited me to preach the Dedicatory discourse for Salem church, Minneapolis, a gift to the congregation of Hon. and Mrs. C.A.Smith. On my way out, I stopped in Pittsburgh to visit the Carnegie Libraries at Scheng Park and in Allegheny. My mind was fixed on the needed Library Building for the Seminary; and I looked everywhere for suggestions.

When at last I reached Minneapolis, I was surprised to find the temperature hovering around zero, altho' I had left Mt. Airy on Ash Wednesday in a warm rain. The impressions made upon me by the handsome new church and the dedication I published in "The Lutheran."

Hon. C.A.Smith is a Swedish-American who has risen from a very humble station to one of commanding influence and wealth. Beginning as a waiting-boy, he won the favor of his employers until he became at last a partner, and then succeeded to the complete control of large lumber interests. Dr. Trabert found him while canvassing years ago for members, and he has maintained his interest in the church, during the period of his growth in worldly prosperity. He has been a most liberal benefactor of the colleges of the Swedish Augustana Synod, and of the Chicago Theological Seminary, of which he is a director. He is a very modest and unassuming man, of great force of character. Dr. Trabert's son, Charles, he had trained for his use as Private Secretary, giving him a thorough legal course so as to be able to transact the most of his legal business. As a year before, I dined at Dr. Fahnestock's. On Monday afternoon, I met the Twin City Pastoral Association, Revs. Trabert, Haupt, Beistel, Wenstler, and Peterson, etc., with Rev. Mr. Gehr, Financial Secretary of the Chicago Seminary, and Rev. Reichert of Red Wing. Called on Rev. Keehley who was confined to his house with sickness.

On Tuesday, I visited the University of Minnesota, and, by invitation of President Northrop, addressed the students. I examined carefully the University Library, and the handsome Public Library of Minneapolis. I dined with Dr. Haupt in St. Paul. On my return, I stopped at Red Wing with Rev. Reichert, where I addressed the students of the Hauge Theological Seminary and preached in the evening for Mr. Reichert. I was particularly anxious to see how the Central Heating Plant was working. I had seen it in the process of construction a year before. Mr. Gehr spent the day also at Mr. Reichert's.

At Chicago, my first thought was to examine the Public Library. I spent an hour or more there, was taken into the stack room, and all my inquiries were most courteously answered. Dr. Weidner I found much shattered by the slight stroke of apoplexy he had suffered the preceding summer on his way to Europe, but diligently working with a stenographer by his side, whom he immediately dismissed. He read me a scheme he had devised for a revision of the course at the Seminary. Mrs. W. accompanied us to the city, where we dined, and then visited the Art Gallery. My train left about the middle of the afternoon.

At the meeting of the Ministerium, I vigorously antagonized the scheme for the centralization of Home Mission Board of the General Council. I succeeded in preventing the Ministerium from a movement to at once transfer its Home Missions to the General Council's Board. Dr. Schmauk's advocacy of the scheme was no credit to him.

"Parturunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus."

It is not the creation of machinery, but the enkindling of interest that moves the benevolence of the people. Such interest only follows the personal appeal a call makes, from its own inherent worthiness upon each heart, and not because of the decree of some central board. The very way to check the sources of benevolence is to ask the people for money because of some legislative enactment of the Church. The nearer a mission lies to the heart of those who are to support it, the more generously will it be treated. The General Council was never intended to be anything but a confederacy of synods, each conducting its own affairs according to its peculiar circumstances, and cooperating in a General Body in regard to matters lying outside of Synodical boundaries. The General Synod's plan is to absorb the District Synods. My theory always has been that for a general union of Lutherans, pledged to the same doctrinal basis, in America, a very loose form

of organization must be adopted. You cannot treat all the elements which are one in the faith in precisely the same way, as a charlatan has one patent nostrum which is a panacea for all complaints.

During the summer I made three brief trips. I went to Elizabethville parish in Dauphin County to speak on Foreign Missions for Mr. Kuder. The Small Pox, however, prevailed to such an extent that the churches were closed. I spoke to two country congregations, one in the afternoon, the other at night. I stopped at Harrisburg, going and coming back, and returned with Laura and Marguerite who had been visiting at Will's. A few weeks later, while repeating our fishing trip to Somer's Point, I fell about six feet on my back into the hold of the boat, and sustained injuries which I continued to feel for several months. Just before the session opened, I spent a Sunday at Tower City. In consequence of over-exertion, I had to keep to my bed all Monday. I had expected to go with the coal miners to their work before dawn that morning.

The Board of Foreign Missions insisted on my going to Milwaukee, both to commission Revs. Eckardt and Larson and to represent it in the floor of the General Council. Dr. Horn and I arranged to go together, traveling by day, and stopping one night at Pittsburgh, and another in Chicago. I took a cold with me, and it increased in the bleak North-west. At Pittsburgh we stopped to see Dr. Geissinger, recovering slowly from an apoplectic stroke. At Milwaukee Dr. Kaehler of Buffalo was my companion in the Boarding House. I had to recall the appointment to speak at laying of corner-stone of Mr. Rubrecht's church, and to spend nearly all of Sunday in bed.

The Foreign Mission business received the hearty approval of the Council. The Centralization of Home Missions was very strongly opposed by Drs. Horine, H.W. Roth, Mechling, and the Augustana men. I said nothing, and was actually absent when the motion was taken on a motion to defer and refer. It was very strange to read afterwards in the small "Home Missionary Journal" that the entire action of the Council was favorable. While at Milwaukee, Dr. Repass told me of the telegram he had received announcing the death of Dr. Gilbert of Harrisburg.<sup>19</sup> On returning home, I found a similar despatch of the family to me.

I think that it was the week before the General Council met, that I married Charles at North Wales to Miss Abigail Shearer. The wedding was in the

church, and I was assisted by Rev. A.C.Schenck, the pastor. Winifred and Marguerite were bridesmaids, and Downing was best man. Charles' grandmother, was present and endured the fatigue and excitement well. The young couple went to Gettysburg on their wedding trip, and thence via Hagerstown, down the Shenandoah Valley, to the Luray caverns.

On Nov. 29th., 1705, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau having sailed for India, as the first Protestant Foreign missionaries, the event was celebrated at the suggestion of our Board. Dr. Fry being absent, I prepared and preached a commemorative discourse the preceding Sunday morning in the Schaeffer-Ashmead church, which I repeated that evening in Bethlehem church, Rev. G.C.Loos, pastor, and the succeeding Wednesday evening in Dr. Repass' church in Allentown. A summary of its facts was also given at a service on Tuesday evening in the church of Rev. S.A.K.Francis. It was published as an appendix to the "Foreign Missionary," and has since appeared in pamphlet form.<sup>20</sup>

I had visited Allentown a few months before, on June 25th. 1905, at the dedication of the chapel of Charles' church. Dr. Horn preached in the afternoon; I, in the evening; and Rev. C. Armand Miller on Monday.



Chapter Forty-Three

- Page 307 1 The History and Progress of the Lutheran Church in the United States.
- 310 2 See the discussion in the Lutheran and the Lutheran Observer. The discussion was also carried on in The Lutheran Visitor (the weekly published by the United Synod South in Charleston (1868-1898) and in the Lutheran Evangelist (a weekly of the General Synod out of Springfield, Ohio (1877-1907)). Dr. Stuckenberg of Wittenberg was the first editor of the latter. Though not an official organ, its sympathies were in harmony with General Synod sentiments.

Chapter Forty-Four

- Page 311 1 See the Lutheran for Nov. 15, 1888.
- 2 The Lutheran Movement in England during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI and Its Literary Monuments. (Phila., 1890)
- 312 3 The Rev. Andrew Blum (1864- July 1, 1930)  
(See Min. of U. Syn. of N.Y. for 1930, p. 118;  
R., p. 134.)
- 313 4 See the Lutheran for October 10, 1889.
- 5 The students of the Seminary put out a monthly called The Indicator. The Memorial Number of October, 1889 contained a full account of the exercises. In addition, there are some fine articles as:  
Sketches of Father Heyer  
C.F.Schaeffer by C.W.Schaeffer  
Dr. Krauth by Dr. Spaeth  
G.F.Krotel, Dr. Hill and the Professors  
Dr. Morris wrote sketches of Drs. Krauth, Demme, Uhlhorn and Hazelius in the earlier numbers (1885-86). Other articles described the growth of theological education in America.

6 The Rev. Augustus H. Steimle, D.D. (1870 -Sept.30, 1937) was later well-known as a leader in the United Lutheran Church. His important pastorates were Holy Trinity church, Brooklyn, St. John's, Allentown, and the Church of the Advent, New York.  
(See C.M.J. in the Lutheran for Oct. 13, 1937; R., p. 139; Min. of U. Syn. of N.Y. for 1938.)

315 7 The Rev. George Gebert, D.D. (1857- Aug. 9, 1940) spent his entire ministry in Tamaqua, Pa., where he was very highly respected.  
(See R. p. 143; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1941.)

The Rev. Ernest M. Grahn (1869), the son of Dr. Hugo Grahn, moved to California in his latter years.

The Rev. I. Chantry Hoffman ( 1864- May 29, 1931) left the Seminary to serve Holy Trinity church, Chester, Pa. He later served Nativity church, Philadelphia, and was then active as a home missionary thereafter.  
(See R. p. 143; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1932.)

The Rev. Joseph L. Murphey (1867- Mar. 23, 1910).  
The Rev. (Samuel) Henry Reck ( 1866).  
The Rev. William F. Bond (1862).

8 The Rev. Samuel D. McConnell, D.D. was the rector of St. Stephen's church, Philadelphia, from 1882- 1896. Prof. William Rainey Harper ( 1856-1906), then Professor of Semitics at Yale, later became the first President of the University of Chicago. By his insistence upon freedom of thought, he laid the foundations for the modern American university.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio. )

Prof. James Rendel Harris (1852) was well-known for his research and manuscript studies. He was professor at Johns Hopkins (1882-1885), then at Haverford (1886-1892) before he returned to Cambridge as Professor of Palaeology.

Mr. Robert Curtis Ogden (1836-1913) was an associate of John Wanamaker in lay Christian activity. He was much interested in negro education.

9 See the Lutheran for March 26, 1891.

316 10 See the Lutheran for Jaunuary 16 and 30, 1890.

- 11 In the Minutes of the General Council for 1888 there is a statement concerning this question: "... Luther-  
an ministers may properly preach wherever there is an  
opening in the pulpit of other churches, unless the cir-  
cumstances imply or seem to imply, a fellowship with  
error and schism, or a restriction on the unreserved  
expression of the whole counsel of God..." (pp. 81,82).  
It was evidently this question that worried the Mich-  
igan Synod. (See Min. of G.C. for 1888, p. 64; the  
Lutheran for Sept. 6, 1888, for Oct. 24, 1889 - The Akron  
Galesburg Declaration.)
- 317 12 See the Lutheran Church Review for Oct., 1889.
- 13 The Rev. J.C.J. Petersen (1848-July 23, 1903) was pastor  
of St. Matthew's Church, Jersey City.
- 14 The Rev. Edmund Belfour D.D. (1833-July 3, 1923) was  
pastor of First Church, Pittsburgh. He left soon  
thereafter for Memorial Church, in the same city.  
(See G.Pb. pp. 122-147; Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1924;  
W.p., 410.)
- 318 15 A report of this debate was in the Lutheran for Oct.  
10, and 17, 1889.
- 319 16 The Lutherans in America, a Story of Struggle, Progress,  
Influence and Marvellous Growth by E.J. Wolf with an  
Introduction by Henry E. Jacobs ( New York; 1889; 544 pp.).
- 320 17 That Unknown Country or what living men believe con-  
cerning punishment after death... (Springfield,  
Mass.; 1889). Dr. Jacobs contributed the Chapter -  
The Doctrine of Future Retribution in its Relations to  
the Order of Salvation with a brief statement concerning its  
treatment by Lutheran theologians.  
(See L.C.R. for Jan., 1890.)
- 18 See the Lutheran for June 19, 1890, The Grace of Ordi-  
nation.
- 19 The Rev. Enoch Smith (1839-May 22, 1894) was then at  
Salem Church, Bethlehem, Pa.  
(See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1894.)
- 20 See notices in the Lutheran for Oct. 2, 1890, and in  
the Living Church for March 12, 1891.
- 321 21 See the Workman for Dec. 25, 1890.
- 322 22 See the Lutheran for Jan. 1, 1891, Interdenominational  
Courtesy.
- 322 23 Jean M.V. Audin was a jesuit who attempted a Life of  
Luther (Louvain; 1845). Sabine Baring Gould, the

author of the Lives of the Saints was famous for his lectures on Luther and Justification which he treated in true Anglo-Catholic fashion.

323 24 Nashotah was the High Church Seminary.

25 Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church (New York; 1900; 671 pp.), in the Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers.

Digest of Theology... (Philadelphia; 1893; 311 pp.).  
Doctrine of the Episcopal Church so far as set forth in the Prayer Book (New York; 1892; 103 pp.).

26 The Rev. William McGarvey was professor of Sacred History and Bible at Kentucky University, Lexington, Ky. The Rev. Frank Markey Gibson had studied law, but became a priest in 1884, and examiner of the diocese of Maryland, and Washington. In 1890 he became rector of Trinity Church, Washington.

27 Prebendary Burbidge (1839-1903) was Prebendary at Wells, and a zealous liturgical scholar. In 1885, he wrote Liturgy and Offices of the Church based upon the Book of Common Prayer.

There was some reason for his displeasure, however, for the first printing contained a number of errors in place names that a native Englander would have caught.

324 28 The Church Eclectic.

29 See the Lutheran Church Review for Jan. 1891.

30 See A.S., p. 234.

325 31 The Rev. Matthias Loy D.D. (1828-1915) was the key man of the Joint Synod of Ohio and an extremely confessional conservative. He grew up at Harrisburg under Dr. C.W.Schaeffer and then moved to Columbus where he came under Dr. Walther's influence. As editor of the Lutheran Standard of the Joint Synod, and as Professor of Theology at the Seminary at Columbus, and President of Capital University, Dr. Loy was a strong influence in the Synod. The conservatism of his Synod was largely due to him.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; L.C.R. for Jan., 1907 - Dr. Loy's Life and Its Bearing on the Lutheran Church in this Land by T.E.Schnauk; Story of My Life by Dr. Loy (Columbus; 1905); Lutherische Kirchenzeitung for Feb. 6, 20 and March 6, 1915; L.A. for 1929-30; ...)

32 The Rev. Frederick W. Stelhorn D.D. (1841-March, 1919) was a Hanoverian, trained in the institutions of the Missouri Synod. He was for several years a professor at Northwestern University at Watertown, Wisc., and then

at Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Ind. His break with Missouri came when he supported Dr. Schmidt in his stand on Predestination. Dr. Stelhorn accepted a professorship in German at Capital University and later became President of the institution. After Dr. Loy's retirement in 1903, Dr. S. succeeded him as Dean of the Theological Faculty.

(See Lutheran Standard at the time of his death.)

The magazine to which Dr. Jacobs refers was the Columbus Theological Magazine.

33 The Joint Synod of Ohio had been formed in 1818 by members of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania who found it too far to journey to meetings of synod. It was a German speaking group. In 1836 a District Synod was formed for English speaking brethren, which became in 1840 the East Ohio Synod. Later, another English District broke off to form the English Synod of Ohio, which, later, after trying to rejoin the Mother Synod, became a part of the Indiana Synod. The Third English District became the District Synod of Ohio when it was disowned by the Joint Synod in 1867. This Synod was a member of the General Council, and became one of the parts of the present U.L.C. Ohio Synod. G.W.Mechling has written its history.

The Joint Synod's opposition to the English speaking branch is readily understandable. The German immigrants were keeping the German speaking synod in close contact with the mother country, and the new synods of the Midwest. Today, the Joint Synod, along with the Iowa and Buffalo Synods, have formed the American Lutheran Church (1938).

(See History of the Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Ohio and other States (1919) by C.Y.Sheatsley.

326 34 The Rev. Charles H. Reinbrecht, missionary to China, was a son of the couple.

35 These articles started Nov. 20, 1890, and continued weekly until May 7, 1891. The plan was to review the history of Lutheranism in America, criticize its failings, and present a view into the future. They are very easy and profitable reading and will reveal much of Dr. Jacobs' theological development.

#### Chapter Fortny Five

1 Rector A. Cordes was pastor at the Mary J. Drexel Home for a few years before he returned to Germany in 1893. (See A.S. pp. 206-228.)

- Page 328
- 2 See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1894, pp. 43 ff.
- 3 The Rev. Jacob Fry D.D. ( 1834- Feb.19,1920) is a familiar person in these pages. He remained Professor of Homiletics and Practical Theology till his death. At this time Dr. Fry was approaching sixty years of age, the greatest part of his ministry having been spent at Trinity Church, Reading - often known then as "Fry's Church."  
(See R.p.42; Memorial Address by H.E.J. in The Lutheran for Mar. 11, 1920; W.p.405..)
- 4 The Rev. John Kohler D.D. (1820-April 11,1898), pastor at Leacock, Pa. at this time. Dr. Kohler was active in the founding of the Seminary, and was influential in the Ministerium. His book, The Episcopate, was written to encourage the Lutheran Church to return to this form of organization.  
(See L.C.p.265; P.C.p.214; Memoir by S.A.K.Francis in Krauth Memorial Library in Ms.; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1898...)
- 330 5 The Rev. Theodore Schmauk D.D. (1860-Mar. 23,1920) was to become a dominating factor in the growth of the Seminary, though not as a professor. Gifted in practical matters, a fine writer, he wielded an influence which still exists. He was able to surround himself with lesser leaders who followed his every wish. As President of the General Council, his commanding presence and autocratic mannerisms, reinforced by an enormous physique, brought about the accomplishment of his will. No history of this time would be complete until it unravels the influence of this one man, bringing the General Council to the time of union in 1918.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.; R.p.45; L.C.R. for July,1920 - T.E.Schmauk Memorial Issue; L.C.R. - 1921 by G.W.Sandt The Lutheran for April 8,1920; L.A. for 1927...)
- 332 6 See In Memoriam, Julia M. Jacobs in The Lutheran for Jan. 7,1892.

### Chapter Forty Six

- Page 334
- 1 The Rev. Ferdinand Frederic Buermyer D.D. (1846-Jan.7, 1934) was pastor of the Church of the Epiphany from 1882-1891. His great contribution was his work for the Inner Mission Society ( 1910-1923). He was a frequent contributor to the church papers, and especially interested in the hymns for the Sunday School.  
(See the Lutheran for Feb. 8,1934; Min. of Un. Syn. of N.Y. for 1934, p.85.)
- 2 The Rev. William Knapp remained here for 12 years.  
(See R. p. 105.)

3 1893.

4 The Book of Worship ( Columbia, S.C.;1888;& Charles-town, S.C.;1907) .

5 The Rev. Jeremiah Franklin Ohl (1850-1941) rendered untold service to the church as a pioneer in the work of Inner Missions and in the field of Church Music. In his Little Children's Book and the Parish School Hymnal he made the English Lutheran Church in this country familiar with some of the best of the German chorales and the finest English hymn tunes. He had a large part in the preparation of the Common Service Book. His gifts as a musician have yet to be appreciated in full by his church.

Dr. Ohl was just completing his pastorate at Quaker-town ( 1874-93). He was soon to be instrumental in founding the Deaconess Mother-house in Milwaukee. In 1899 he returned East to undertake his well-known work as City Missionary in Philadelphia where he laid the foundations for Inner Missions. Because of his tenacity to ideals and principles in his work, Dr. Ohl never received the honor due him.

(See O.M. p.349; R.p.81; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1941.)

6 The Rev. William M. Paxton ( 1824-1904) .

7 The Rev. Charles W. Hodge D.D. (1797- June 19,1878) was connected with the Seminary since his graduation. He was a man of great learning and was strongly religious, creating a tremendous influence on the students who sat under him. His theology was of the Westminster Catechism. Though this meant a rebirth of classical Calvinism, the harshness was offset by a strong personal faith in the love of God in Jesus Christ. Dr. Hodge moulded the religious thinking at Princeton for many years. It is only recently that the effect is beginning to wear off.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

The Rev. Alexander Taggart McGill D.D. ( 1807-1889) retired from active teaching in 1883. He had been Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology.

The Rev. Charles Augustus Aiken D.D. (1827-1892) had been Professor of Oriental Languages, Old Testament History and Christian Ethics.

335 8 The Rev. Benjamin Breckenridge Warfield D.D. (1851-1921), Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology (1887-1921) .

9 The Rev. James Avery Worden D.D. (1841-1917) was for years head of the Sabbath School Workers Board of Publication in Philadelphia.

- Page 335 10 See An Episcopalian Mission in the Lutheran for April 7, 1892.
- 11 The Rev. William Henry Green D.D. (1825-1900) was Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature for a time, and then of Oriental and Old Testament Literature - not much difference; but he served as professor for 49 years.
- 12 The Rev. Charles Woodruff Shields D.D. (1825-1904), Professor of Science and Religion at the College of New Jersey, from 1865-1903.
- 336 13 May 3, 1892.
- 337 14 See Dr. Seiss' Autobiography, pp. 1045-1064; the Lutheran for April 14, May 12, 19, 1892.
- 15 See The Age of Miracles is Not Passed in the Lutheran for Aug. 4, 1892.
- 16 See the Min. of the Min. of Pa. for 1891, pp. 22-26.
- 17 See Minutes, Appendix II.
- 338 18 See Min. of Special Meeting printed with the Minutes for 1893, pp. 3, 9.
- 339 19 The Philadelphia German, Philadelphia English, Norristown, Allentown, WilkesBarre, Reading, Pottsville, Lancaster, Danville, Rajahmundry. ( See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1893, pp. 41-49.)
- 20 See English Min. for 1895, p. 53.
- 340 21 June 30, 1892.
- 22 The Rev. Johann Emanuel Nidecker ( 1856-May 30, 1937) was Dr. Mann's assistant for some years, and then succeeded him at Zion's Church. He was a member of a famous family of Basel, Switzerland, and had attended the Universities of Basel and Tübingen before coming to this country. Being relieved of financial burdens by a happy marriage, Dr. Nidecker was able to retire in 1914.  
(See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1938, p. 91.)
- 23 See the Lutheran for Dec. 31, 1891.

Chapter Forty Seven

- Page 342 a 1 See the Lutheran for Oct. 6, 1892.
- 2 This was Charles G. Spieker ( 1870- April 19, 1915) .  
(See R. p. 156.)
- 3 The Rev. Carl J. Elofson ( 1865-Nov.19, 1899) was pastor  
of Zion's Swedish Church, Philadelphia (1892-94) .  
(See R. p. 141.)
- 4 The Rev. Theodore W. Kretschmann D.D. (1868) was at  
Christ Church, Chestnut Hill, Phila., from his gradua-  
tion till 1898 when he went to Buffalo. Later he was to  
return to Philadelphia, this time to St. Stephen's Church  
(1905-19). Thereafter he became a teacher, first in the  
Pacific Seminary, and then at Susquehanna University in  
Selinsgrove, Pa.  
(See R. p. 137.)
- 5 Mr. Runge recovered from his illness and was ordained  
by the Tennessee Synod in 1895. He died several  
weeks after this. The case was tragic, for Mr. Runge was  
highly respected.  
(See the Lutheran for June 27, 1895 - Rev. H.W. Runge  
by H.E.J.)
- 6 The Rev. Charles Frederick William Hoppe D.D. (1865-  
Feb. 6, 1934) was pastor of Zion's Church from 1888-1893.  
(See the Lutheran for Mar. 1, 1934; Min. of U. Syn. of  
N.Y. for 1934, p. 86; P. p.123...)
- 7 Wasn't this Mount Greylock?
- 343 8 See the Lutheran for Jan. 14, 1892.
- 9 Bishop Henry C. Potter (1835-1908) was largely respon-  
sible for the beginning of the Cathedral of St. John  
the Divine in New York.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)  
Prof. George Park Fisher (1827-1909) was Professor of  
Ecclesiastical History in the Divinity School at Yale for  
some forty years.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)  
Bishop John Fletcher Hurst (1834-1903) had been elected  
Bishop of the Methodist Church in 1880.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)  
Dr. Henry Clay Vedder (1853) became Professor of Church  
History at Crozer Theological Seminary in 1894. He was an  
editor of the Examiner and later of the Baptist Quarterly  
Review.  
Dr. Crozer is as yet unidentified. There were so many  
Crozers connected with the Seminary. We must presume that  
this was one of them.  
The Rev. Samuel Macaulay Jackson D.D. (1851-1912)  
was mentioned before as assistant of Dr. Schaff. He was

Professor of Church History at New York University from 1895-1912.

(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)

344 10 Dr. Henry King Carroll was the religious and political editor of the Independent from 1876-1898.

11 Dr. Jacobs was in the habit of taking notes on his reading in little note-books. These books were filled with all kinds of material, written down in the order in which it was studied without regard to subject matter. Those who wish to make some order out of this are disappointed. But the books reveal a student who could delve into a half dozen different subjects a day in depth.

12 See the Lutheran for Feb. 8, 1893 for a review.

345 13 The Rev. S.A. Holman D.D. founded the Holman lectureship on the Articles of the Augsburg Confession in 1865.

14 The Rev. Peter Anstadt D.D. (1819-May 19, 1903) was one of the extremists of the General Synod. He was a contributor to the Observer, and founded the American Lutheran - an anti-General Council paper, the Temperance Banner, and the Prohibitionist. His book, the Life and Times of S.S. Schmucker reveals the man as devoted to his teacher and to his ideas.

(See Min. of W. Pa. Syn. for 1903, p. 48; W. p. 393; P.C. p. 216; J. p. 885...)

15 These articles in the Independent usually found their way into the Workman and the Lutheran, generally the former. The Workman under the Passavants, was vitally interested in the foreign churches of the Mid-West. It is true that Dr. Jacobs was sheltered from the vast changes throughout this section, and may have underestimated their effects. However, one feels that Dr. Jacobs' History was the best for its time, and that only in the present decades are we able to chronicle the period of the late 19th century with some objectivity. He had pointed out the part that foreign immigration had played in the growth of the church.

An answer to Dr. Forsander appeared in the Workman for July 19, 1894.

Dr. Forsander (1846-Aug. 21, 1926) came to this country at the request of Dr. Hasselquist. After some years of pastoral service, he was elected Professor of Church History at the Augustana Seminary at Rock Island, Ill, where he taught till his death.

(See L.A. for 1927-28.)

- 16 Prof. Otto Zoeckler (1833-1906) was a prominent conservative Lutheran theologian, Professor at Greifswald for many years. He was a prolific writer, and was much interested in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country.  
(See L.C. p. 588.)
- 17 The Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the General Bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States (Phila.; 1893; 223 pp.). This volume was revised and reissued in 1914.
- 18 Bishop von Scheele (1838-1918) had been a professor at Uppsala. He had written books on Catechetics and Symbolics. The visit is described in the Lutheran for May 25, 1893.
- 347 19 The Lutheran Social Union was formed by a group of Lutherans in Philadelphia to encourage social gatherings among the laymen and ministers.  
(See the Lutheran for May 25, Mar. 30, 1893; Feb. 13, 1896.)
- 20 See the Lutheran for Oct. 26, 1893 - Back to Missionary Work.
- 21 The Rev. Michael Wolf Hamma D.D. ( -June 3, 1913) was closely associated with Wittengerg College. As pastor in Springfield, he had a strong influence on the students. In the work of the General Synod he took an active part and was highly respected. The gifts of Dr. Hamma and his wife perpetuate his name in Hamma Divinity School.  
(See Min. of Miami Syn. for 1914; L.O. for June 20, 1913; L.C.W. for June 19, 1913.)  
The Rev. George Scholl D.D. (1841-1929) was connected with the Foreign Mission Board of the General Synod for many years. He was an organizer of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America and served as its General Secretary. In 1888 he started the Lutheran Missionary Journal to inform the Church of the progress of foreign missions.  
(See Min. of W. Pa. Syn. for 1930, pp. 73-75.)  
The Rev. Augustus Pohlman M.D. (1864-Sept. 30, 1934) was for six years a missionary to Liberia. From 1902 till his death he served Temple Church, Philadelphia.  
(See W. p. 506.)  
The Rev. David A. Day D.D. (1851-Dec. 17, 1897), the beloved Liberian missionary, was a devout man of great piety. He was highly respected in his day.  
(See L.O. for Dec. 24, 1897; Min. of Franckean Syn. for 1898, p. 27.)
- 22 See the Lutheran for Nov. 2, 1893.

- 23 Theological Propaedeutics - A General Introduction to the Study of Theology ( New York;1896;596 pp.). Dr. Jacobs reviewed this volume in L.C.R. for April, 1893.
- 24 The Rev. Henry Martin Baird D.D. (1832-1906) was Professor of Greek at New York University for over forty years.  
Mr. Barr Ferree was well known as an art critic and interpreter of art to the plain layman.
- 25 The Rev. Thomas Samuel Hastings served in the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church for about thirty years before he became a professor at Union Theological Seminary. He was President of Union from 1888-1897.  
The Rev. Emanuel Vogel Gerhart D.D. was of the German Reformed Church, and was Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology at the Reformed Seminary at Lancaster, Pa.
- 348 26 See the Lutheran for Nov. 23, 1893 - Under the Rod.
- 27 See the Lutheran for Jan. 11, 1894 - Here and There.
- 28 The Rev. Charles Marsh Mead D.D. was a Congregationalist and Professor of Christian Theology at Hartford Seminary.
- 29 The Rev. Talbot Wilson Chalmers (1819-1896) was for years pastor of the Collegiate Reformed Church in New York City. He was a fine Hebrew scholar, and thoroughly conservative.  
(See Dict. of Am. Bio.)
- 30 The Rev. Walter Mitchell D.D., Chaplain of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio.  
The Rev. Williston Walker D.D. (1860 - ) was Professor of Church History at Hartford Seminary from 1889-1901, and then entered the Faculty at Yale. He was working on the History of the Congregational Church.
- 349 21 Dr. Rankin, a Congregationalist, was the author of the hymn, "God be with you till we meet again."
- 32 With flowing pen... off hand.
- 33 Elements of Religion (Phila.;1894;298 pp.).  
(See Review by Prof. Zoekler in the Lutheran for Apr. 18, 1895; by G.F. Spieker in L.C.R. for Oct. 1894.)
- 34 The Rev. Friedrich P. Henninghausen D.D. (1839-Apr.18, 1922) was pastor of St. Stephen's Church, Baltimore for over fifty years and emeritus for six.  
(See Min. of Md. Syn. for 1922, p. 34.)

The Rev. John Nicholas Lenker D.D. ( 1858-May 16,1929) was for years the Missionary Secretary for the West of the General Synod. He is known as the writer of Lutherans of all Lands, and editor of an attempt at an English edition of Luther's works.'

(See Min. of U. Syn. of N.Y. for 1929, p. 37.)

- 35 See Min. of General Synod for 1893.
- 36 See Min. of General Council for 1893, pp. 889 ff.
- 350 37 See the Lutheran for Jan. 25, 1894, signed H.E.J.  
See the Lutheran for Feb. 8, 1894, signed H.E.J.
- 351 38 Dr. Schmauk reviewed these volumes as they appeared in the L.C.R. from 1896-1898. They are of unequal worth, and represent a very conservative approach to Biblical scholarship.
- 39 The Rev. Frederick William Kohler ( 1856- Aug. 15,1937)  
(See R. p. 102.)
- 40 December 12, 1896.
- 41 See the Lutheran for October 11, 1894.
- 42 See editorial in the Lutheran for June 22, 1893, The New York Ministerium.
- 352 43 See Min. of N.Y.Min. for 1894, p. 52.
- 353 44 The Rev. Charles Jacob Cooper D.D. ( 1847-July 14,1927) was a classmate of Dr. Jacobs. He was a grandfather of the Rev. Dr. William Cooper and the Rev. Dr. Charles Cooper.  
(See Min. of the Min. of Pa. for 1928, p. 88.)
- 45 See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1894, p. 57.
- 354 46 This was a strange act for Dr. Jacobs. The editor remembers attending a meeting when a congregation was calling a pastor when Dr. Jacobs had voted Nay. When the motion was made to make the vote unanimous, he called out, "That would be a lie!" The motion was withdrawn.

1 See the Lutheran for Nov. 15, 1894 - A Seminary Centennial at Philadelphia.

2 See the Minutes of the American Society for Church History printed separately as the Schaff Memorial Meeting, December 27, 1893 (pp. 13-19).

3 The Rev. Luther D. Reed D.D. (1873 - 1972) continued his liturgical study through a remarkable life span. He was to return in 1906 as director of the Krauth Memorial Library, in 1910 as Instructor of Liturgics, and in 1911, as full Professor of Liturgics and Chaplain of the Seminary. This was the first chair of Liturgics and Church Art in any Protestant Seminary in this country. Whereas Prof. Pratt was Prof. of Liturgics and Church Music at Hartford Seminary his work was necessarily limited in a non-liturgical communion. The Philadelphia Seminary was outstanding in its study of the practices of the worship of the Church until recent times.

At the time of this editing, Dr. Reed was President of the Seminary.

The Rev. Thorkell Olof Sigurdson ( 1869-Dec. 27, 1895) was a native of Iceland.

(See the Lutheran for Jan. 9, 1896 - A Tribute - T.O. Sigurdson; R. p. 156.)

The Rev. John Peter Drach D.D. (1873- ) served long and well as General Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, first of the General Council, and then of the United Lutheran Church.

The Rev. Frederic Doerr ( 1864-Nov. 26, 1926) of St. Stephen's Church, Wilmington, Del.

(See Min. of the Min. of Pa. for 1927; R. p. 153.)

4 The Lutheran Liturgical Association deserves much credit for the development of a liturgical consciousness in the Church. It was organized among pastors in the vicinity of Pittsburgh in 1898, and Dr. Reed was its first President. The Memoirs of the Association still form a substantial contribution to the study of the subject among our pastors. Dr. Reed edited the Psalter and Canticles Pointed for Chanting (1897), the Choral Service Book (1901), Music of the Responses (1903), and Season Vespers (1905) backed by the financial contributions of Mr. Weyman.

5 The Rev. Oliver Peter Smith D.D. (1848-Oct. 15, 1911) remained pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration, Pottstown, Pa., till his death. He was English Secretary of the Seminary Board for twenty years and a member of the English Board of Home Missions of the General Council. (See R. p. 82.)

- 6 The Rev. C. Armand Miller D.D. (1864-Sept.10,1917) was one of the most cultured and gifted young men in the Lutheran ministry at the time. He was a native of Shepherdstown, W. Va., a graduate of Roanoke College, and the Philadelphia Seminary. The College Church at Salem was his first charge. In 1896 he accepted the call to Holy Trinity, New York. In 1908 he went to St. John's Church, Charleston, S.C. and in 1912 to St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia. His early death cut short a fine promise.  
(See the Lutheran for Sept. 20,1917; R. p. 130.)
- 7 The Rev. J.I. Miller D.D. (1830-Feb.26,1912) was the father of C. Armand Miller. His whole life was spent in the Virginia Synod where he was loved and respected. He was responsible for starting the Lutheran Church Visitor.  
(See the same L.C.V. for Mar. 14, 1912.)
- 8 The Rev. J.A.Dewald (1849- Mar. 17, 1927)  
(See Min. of N.Y.Min. for 1927, p. 111.)
- 359 9 See L.C.R. for July 1896.
- 360 10 See L.C.R. for April 1896 - The Mission of the Lutheran Confessions in America.
- 11 The Rev. George Washington Sandt D.D. (1854-Jan.8,1931) was editor of the new Lutheran from 1896 till 1927. He was responsible for shaping its policies. He was a very close friend of Dr. Theodore Schmauk whose influence in the Church parallels the time of Dr. Sandt's editorship.  
(See the Lutheran for Jan. 15, 1931; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1931; R. p. 107; L.A. for 1931.)
- 12 The Church Messenger (1875-1896) was a monthly family paper edited by J.B.Rath, F.W.Weiskotten, and W.A. Schaeffer. It was later called the Lutheran Church Messenger.
- 13 See Min. of General Council for 1895, pp. 71,74,78.
- 362 14 See the Lutheran for Jan. 2,1896 - A Statement.
- 15 See Min. of General Council for 1895, p. 81.
- 16 Dr. Schmauk succeeded Dr. Jacobs as editor. From a study of the Lutheran and the Lutheran Church Review it would seem that Dr. Jacobs suddenly retired from literary work, and was now putting his full time into his teaching, without concern for the future development of the General Council. Hereafter his influence radiated chiefly through his students.  
We must also remember that Dr. Jacobs was in his fifties and not eager to adjust himself to the leadership of a new generation whose interests were more practical.

- Page 362 17 See the Lutheran for Feb. 13, 1896.
- 18 The Rev. Hugo Ernst David Meyer D.D. (1864) even in his later years always had a snake in his pocket. "Schlange-Meyer", as he was called, was a German university man, and since 1913 was for many years pastor at Woodhaven, L.I. where his son, Ernest followed him.
- 363 19 The Singmaster Bequest is discussed in the Lutheran for March 26, 1896 - An Official Statement and for April 2, 1896 - A Correction which contains a History.  
The Rev. Jacob Van Buskirk (1739-1800), "the first American-born Lutheran minister" studied under his own pastor, at the College of New Jersey (Princeton), and finally under Muhlenberg whose assistant he became. Van Buskirk wandered through the Pennsylvania-German counties of Pennsylvania.  
(See L.C. p. 68 by J.A.Singmaster.)
- 20 See the Lutheran for April 15, 1897.
- 365 21 See the Lutheran for Oct. 17, 1895.
- 366 22 This was March 15, 1896.
- 367 23 The Rev. Charles Elvin Haupt D.D. (1852-Oct. 14, 1920) will not soon be forgotten in Lancaster, Pa., where he served Grace Church for forty years. Dr. Haupt's modest but genuine Christian life has become legendary, and shows the influence a devoted pastor can have in his community.  
(See the Lancaster papers - The Sunday News for Oct. 16, 1920; Lancaster Daily Intelligencer for Oct. 30, 1920; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1921; R. p.83.)
- 24 The Rev. Samuel Addison Ziegenfuss D.D. (1844-June 21, 1916) was pastor of St. Michael's Church, Germantown (1892-1911).  
(See the Lutheran for June 29, 1916; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1917; E. p. 80; O.M.p. 399; P.C.p.373.)
- 25 The Rev. Henry Carl Julius Erbes served for many years in Rochester, N.Y. Dr. Nathan R. Melhorn was later editor of the Lutheran. The Rev. Frederick William Wackernagel became pastor of Zion's Church, Lancaster. Dr. Ernst Philip Pfatteicher later was known as the President of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.
- 26 See L.C.R. for Oct. 1896, pp. 369-381 - In Memoriam.
- 27 See the Lutheran for July 6, 1893; the Lutheran Observer for July 21, 1893.
- 368 28 June 2, 1894. See the Workman Memorial Issue, Nov. 22, 1894; June 3, 1894.
- 29 The Rev. Charles R. Trowbridge (1859-Jan. 6, 1934).  
(See W. p. 475.)

- 1 The Rev. Thomas Samuel Hastings we have met before.

The Rev. Francis Brown (1849-1916) was Professor of Hebrew. He later became President (1908-1916).

The Rev. William Adams Brown (1865) in 1898 became Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology. Since 1930, he has been a Research Professor of Applied Theology.

The Rev. Arhtur Cushman McGiffert (1861) was Professor of Church History.

The Rev. Charles Prospers Fagnani (1854) was an instructor in Hebrew at the time. He later became Professor of Old Testament, and after 1926 was Professor Emeritus.

- 2 Christian Worship - Ten Lectures delivered in Union Theological Seminary, New York in the Autumn of 1896 (New York; 1897) - The Liturgies of the Lutheran Church; pp. 137-175.

- 3 The Rev. J.W.Rumple (1839-Feb. 1920).  
(See the Lutheran for Feb. 26, 1920; R. p. 79.)

- 4 The Rev. John Conrad Seegers D.D. (1867-June 23, 1936), pastor in Richmond, Albany, Easton, Reading and Wilmington, N.C. before becoming Professor of Practical Theology at the Philadelphia Seminary where he served till his death.

(See the Lutheran for July 9, 1936; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1937; R. p. 50.)

Dr. Seegers father is spoken of in S.C., p.268.

- 370 5 Col. Robert George Chisolm (1831- Dec. 22, 1907) was the Superintendent of St. John's Sunday School for fifty years and President of the Vestry.  
(See S.C. p. 264.)

- 6 See description by E.T.Horn in the Lutheran for Sept. 23, 1886.

- 7 An abstract of this address will be found in the Lutheran for Nov. 12, 1896, and for Dec. 3, 1896. The title was The Real Issues of the Lutheran Reformation of the Sixteenth. The trip is described in the Lutheran for Nov. 19, 1896 in an article, Among Our Southern Brethren.

- 371 8 The Rev. Junius B. Fox, Ph.D. (1860-Mar. 27, 1900) was graduated in 1880 from Gettysburg College and had finished teaching Mathematics at the College to become pastor at Newberry.  
(See Min. of Syn. of Va. for 1900; P.C. p. 317.)

- 9 The Rev. Luther Augustine Fox, D.D. (1843- July 3, 1924) was Professor of Mental and Moral Science in Roanoke College from 1882 until his death.  
(See Min. of U.L.C.Syn. of Va. for 1926, p.64; J. p. 229.)

- 10 The story of Newberry College can be found in S.C. The years of its beginning are bound up with the names of several distinguished teachers, Dr. Hazelius, Dr. Stork, Dr. Brown. It can hardly be said to have regained its pre-war status until 1884 when Dr. Voigt became Professor of Theology
- 11 Mr. George B. Cromer, Esq. (1857) was a graduate of Newberry College. He had taken the Presidency after the death of Dr. G.W.Holland in 1895, and continued therein till 1904.  
(See S.C. p. 275.)
- 372 12 The Rev. John Alfred Morehead, D.D. (1867-June 1, 1936) was graduated from the Philadelphia Seminary in 1892. He accepted the call to Dr. Voigt's place and became Professor of Systematic Theology and President of the Seminary until 1908. After some years as President of Roanoke College, Dr. M. entered the work for which he is best remembered, the National Lutheran Council.  
(See the Lutheran for June 11, 1936; Min. of Va. Syn. for 1937; S.G.Trexler - John Morehead - The Man Who Created World Lutheranism ( New York; 1938) .
- 374 13 The Rev. John A.W.Haas, D.D. (1862- July 22,1937) was for some years pastor of Grace church, and St. Paul's church, New York City. For thirty-two years he was the President of Muhlenberg College, and was a constant influence in the Church for scholarly and conservative work.  
(See the Lutheran for Aug. 4, 1937; R. p. 118.)
- 14 The Rev. George Christian Frederick Haas (1854- Sept. 29, 1927) was than pastor of St. Mark's church, New York City. The tragedy in the congregation is described below.
- 375 15 The Rev. John Winebrenner Horine, D.D. (1869) finished his life as Professor at the Southern Seminary in Columbia. He served at St. John's church, Charleston for ten years, and after a few years at St. Luke's church, Philadelphia, returned to the Southern Church.
- 16 See the Lutheran for Feb. 18,1897 - Melanchthon- the Theologian.
- 376 17 The Rev. John DeWitt (1842- Nov. 19, 1923).  
See Biographical Record of Princeton Seminary.
- 18 The Rev. William Allen Lambert (1874) was graduated from the Seminary in 1898. He was a brilliant student, and promised great gifts for the Church. But an illness cut short his career and forced him to retire early.  
(See R. p. 170.)

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- 19 The Rev. Frederick Eugene Cooper (1876-Apr. 9, 1917) was graduated from the Seminary in 1899. He was the son of the Financial Agent of Muhlenberg College, and a classmate of Dr. Jacobs, and was the father of Revs. William and Charles Cooper.  
(See R. p. 174; the Lutheran for April 19 and 26, 1917.)
- 377 20 Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821. (Phila.; 1898; 619 pp.)
- 21 Martin Luther; the Hero of the Reformation ( New York; 1898). Dr. Jacobs wrote an article in L.C.R. which may give some insight into his preparation of this volume. (See L.C.R. for October, 1897, p. 558 ff.)
- 22 The Lutheran Cyclopedia ( New York; 1899; 572 pp.)
- 378 23 Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia and Atlas in 12 vols. ( New York; 1901). A list of the articles by Dr. Jacobs may be found in the L.C.Q. for April, 1933, p. 222.
- 24 The German Immigration to America 1709-1742 (Lancaster; 1898; 120 pp.) Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society contain many articles of lasting value with much of a worthless nature. Lutheran ministers who were members receive description in later numbers.
- 25 Julius F. Sachsse ( 1842-Nov. 15, 1919) was the founder of the Society and remained for years its most interested member and contributor.  
(See Proceedings...Vol. 31.)
- 379 26 See the Lutheran for June 9, 1898 for a full report. Jubilee Volumes were also prepared for the Conferences of the Ministerium.
- 27 The Rev. Carl A. Blomgren, Ph.D. (1865-June 29, 1926) was pastor in Philadelphia from 1893-1904 when he left for Rock Island. He was a fine teacher, having studied at Harvard, Yale, and the University of Pennsylvania.  
(See The Augustana for July 8, 1926.)

- 1 1893-1902.
- 2 1896-1920.
- 3 The funds for this transformation had been raised largely by the efforts of the Seminary Glee Club, the ancestor of the present Choir. A picture of the group may be found in the Biographical Record.
- The three athletes were constantly before the Church's attention in their careers: Dr. George J. Gongaware, for many years pastor of St. John's church, Charleston, S.C.; Dr. Reed, liturgical scholar, Librarian, Professor and President of the Seminary; and Dr. Milton J. Bieber, well-known correspondent for the Lutheran and veteran Home Missionary.
- 382 4 The Rev. A.L.Yount, D.D. (1851- Dec. 14, 1924).  
(See the Lutheran for Dec. 24, 1914.)
- 5 The Rev. Ernest Randolph Cassaday (1856- May 13, 1933) was pastor of St. Peter's church, South Philadelphia. This was later the church of the Italian Mission, where Dr. Cassaday's work will be long remembered. Mrs. Cassaday was the author of the Luther League Rally Hymn.  
(See the Lutheran for June 1, 1933; Min. of the Min. of Pa. for 1933; R. p. 98.)
- 383 6 The Rev. Stephen W. Owen, D.D. (1837- April 16, 1916) was for forty seven years pastor of St. John's church, Hagerstown, Md.  
(See the Lutheran Church Work and Observer of which he was the editor, for April 27, 1916, p. 23; Min. of Md. Syn. for 1916, pp. 37-8.)  
We note that W.H.Shealy is in the notes of Dr. Jacobs, but we wonder if this person might not be Rev. Henry F. Scheele, who later took up the study of law in Staunton and became a very successful lawyer.
- 7 Dr. W. Hayes Ward, a well-known Assyriologist, edited the Independent for many years.
- 8 Judge Harry Morris Clabaugh (1856-1914) was a graduate of Gettysburg in the Class of '77. He was Attorney General of Md. from 1895-1899, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of D.C. from 1899-1904, and Chief-Justice till his death. Judge Clabaugh was also Dean of Georgetown University.
- 384 9 December 12, 1898.
- 385 10 The proceedings of this Conference were published in The First General Conference of Lutherans in America, held in Philadelphia, Dec. 27-29, 1898 (Phila; 1899; 339 pp.). An examination of this book is worth the effort. It contains a history of cooperative efforts of the three bodies, and then contains the meetings in detail. The address of

Dr. Jacobs is here, together with the comments which he and others made in the discussions.

The papers read were:

Our Common Historical Antecedents	-E.J. Wolf
	-J. Nicum
Prayer - Its Doctrine and Forms	-E.T. Horn
Our Educational Institutions	-F.V.N. Painter
	-S.A. Ort
The Scope and Limitation of Church Authority	-D.H. Bauslin
	-G.F. Krotel
The Sacramental Ideas in Lutheran Theology and Worship	-A. Spaeth
Problems in Foreign Mission Work	-Geo. Scholl
The Common Book	-L.A. Fox
Common Sunday School Literature	-L.L. Smith
Lutheranism and Spirituality	-Ezra K. Bell
Deaconess Work	-W.H. Dunbar
The Beginnings and Some Principles of the Deaconess Work	-W.A. Passa- vant Jr.
The Lutheran Estimate of Ordination	-J.A.W. Haas
	-J.R. Dimm
Standard of Ministerial Education	-W.E. Parson
	-F.A. Kähler
Lutheran Church and Modern Religious Issues in Germany	-A.G. Voigt
The Problem of Cooperation	-M.W. Hamma
The Child Catechumenate	-G.U. Wenner

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11 1895-1896.

12 The Lutheran World was founded in 1892 in Springfield, O., Dr. Bauslin, editor. It merged in 1912 with the Lutheran Church Worker and accepted that name.

388 13 The Rev. Herbert C. Alleman, D.D. (1868) was then pastor of College church, Gettysburg. Later he moved to Messiah church, Philadelphia, and then for years was the respected Professor of New Testament at Gettysburg Seminary.

389 14 Memorial of the Rev. H. Louis Baugher, D.D., published by his friends, (Lutheran Publication Society, Phila.).

15 The Rev. Edwin Francis Keever, D.D. (1864) was then at St. Mark's church, Boston (1894-1902), and was a favorite pupil of Dr. Jacobs. Dr. Keever served later in the Army Chaplaincy, helped found campus ministry in the New York Synod, and was for years in Wilmington, N.C.  
(See R. p. 129.)

391 16 The Rev. Frederick Henry Albert Bosch, D.D. (1870) served for many years as pastor of St. Paul's church, New York. His descendants fill the ministry.  
(See R. p. 153.)

- Page 391 17 The Rev. Sylvanus Stall, D.D. (1847-Nov. 6, 1915) was Associate Editor of the L.O. from 1890 to 1901. The Year Book, which he edited while at St. John's church, Lancaster, was a well known Lutheran almanac. Dr. Stall gained wider recognition through Stall's Self and Sex Books.  
(See Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1916, p. 58; Lutheran Church Work and Observer for ; P.C., p. 301; W. p. 454; L.A. for 1923...)
- 18 The Rev. Carl A. Swensson (1857- Feb. 16, 1904) was a prominent member of the Swedish Church. At this time he was President of Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan.  
(See the Lutheran for Feb. 25, 1904; L.A. for 1929...)
- 392 19 These articles seem to be An Open Letter of April 25, 1895, and What Is Prayer? for May 2, 1895. They contain views for which Dr. Jacobs fought tirelessly.

## Chapter Fifty One

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- 1 Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson was the well-known Philadelphia educator, responsible for the scholarship particularly at the Central High School which issued degrees. Dr. Crouter was associated with the institution for the deaf and dumb only a few blocks from the Seminary. Dr. Ohl was then City Missionary in Philadelphia. Dr. J. Duncan Spaeth was the son of Dr. Spaeth by his first wife. He studied at the Seminary without finishing the course. He became famous as a Professor of English at Princeton, and as Coach of the Crew. After his retirement he served as President. Prof. L.M. Haupts was a member of the Nicaragua Canal Commission. Dr. Jacobs knew him from Gettysburg days.
- 2 See the Lutheran for Jan. 25, 1900 - A Retrospect and Inventory.
- 3 See the Lutheran for Dec. 28, 1899 - Dr. Passavant's Life and Labors.
- 4 Mr. B.F. Weyman and Mr. W.W. Wattles were members of First church, Pittsburgh. Dr. Belfour was at Memorial church, Pittsburgh (1893-1919), while the Rev. Luther D. Reed was then at Emanuel church, Allegheny, Pa. (1895-1903). The Rev. C.W. Critchlow was pastor of St. John's church, Pittsburgh.
- 394 5 Hon. John A. Lynch (1825-1904) was Assistant Judge of the 6th. Circuit Court of Md., and a prominent citizen of Frederick.
- 6 Dr. Kuhlman was pastor at Frederick (1888-1903).
- 7 The Rev. Linden F.M. Myers (1866) became pastor of St. Andrew's church in Philadelphia in 1901, and remained in Philadelphia.
- 8 See L.C.R. for October, 1899 - Baptismal Questions and Their Relation to the Faith of Infants.
- 9 See L.C.R. for April, 1900 - The Formula of Infant Baptism.
- 395 10 Dr. Valentine wrote Infant Faith for the L.Q. for Oct., 1898, and for Jan., 1899. The succeeding numbers of the L.Q. contained discussions by Dr. Sweringhaus, Rev. Richard Clare, Rev. F.H. Knubel, and another by Dr. Valentine.
- 11 In the margin of the manuscript, there is an interesting notation which reads, "Position somewhat changed now."

- Page 395 12 Proof copy of a Proposed New Hymnal for the Evang. Luth. Church. Compiled and edited and submitted by Joseph A. Geiss, D.D., L.L.D.; L.H.D. (Phila.; 1899; 442 pp.) (See L.C.R. for Jan. 1900, pp. 143-155.)
- 396 13 The Church Book of 1901 was a Pulpit Edition, with certain modifications of the edition of 1892.
- 14 Dr. Kunkleman was pastor of St. Andrew's church, Atlantic City from 1894-1905 when he retired.
- 15 The Rev. J.A. Singmaster, D.D. (1852- Feb. 27, 1926) was about to leave St. Paul's church, Allentown, to become Professor of Biblical Theology at Gettysburg Seminary. In 1903, he succeeded Dr. Valentine as Professor of Systematic Theology, and Chairman of the Faculty, and in 1906 became the first President.  
(See W., p. 330; Min, of E. Pa. Syn. for 1926; L.A. for 1927.)
- 397 16 The Rev. John Casper Stoeber (1707-1779) was the pioneer Lutheran missionary to Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, and Lebanon, and co-worker with Muhlenberg. He was the ancestor of Prof. M.L. Stoeber.

## Chapter Fifty Two

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1 The letters from Dr. Jacobs' pupils reveal a tremendous affection and dependence upon him. They deal with every subject under the sun, from the difficulties of handling a Church Council, to a new invention for administering communion from a common cup by means of levers and sanitary paper.

Many movements in the Church are traceable to this personal correspondence. In writing a biography, these letters are of paramount importance, especially after this time, when Dr. Jacobs revealed himself more to his former students than to the public.

2 The Rev. Arthur Clarence Carty (1874-1938) was graduated in 1899, and remained at La Crosse till 1904. His zeal for liturgical propriety led him out of the Lutheran Church and into the Episcopal communion.

3 This was the Rev. Ernest A. Trabert, D.D., later of the California Synod.

400 4 Dr. Ohl had been rector of the Milwaukee Deaconess Home. Dr. G.H.Trabert was then pastor of Salem church, Minneapolis.

401 5 The Rev. George J. Martz (1822- Feb. 4, 1898).  
(See W., p. 396.)

6 The Rev. Erias Unangst (1824-Oct. 12, 1903) was tutor at Gettysburg 1854-1856, and spent his entire ministry among the Telugus. He translated the Bible into Telugu and was responsible for a history of the India Mission (1879).

(See W., p. 413.)

The Rev. Adam Long (1825-Mar. 5, 1866).

(See W., p. 411.)

7 The Rev. Benjamin Brubaker Collins (1847- Nov. 2, 1912) remained in Africa but a year.  
(See W., p. 448.)

8 The Rev. Frederick James McCready attended the Seminary but evidently was not graduated. He was commissioned in 1884.

(See Telugu Mission by Drach-Kuder, p. 223 ff.)

The Rev. William George de Armand Hudson (1860 -June 3, 1920) was graduated from the Seminary in 1885, and remained in this country serving parishes in Ohio and Pa.

(See R., p. 112.)

9 The Rev. Calvin F. Kuder (1864- Sept. 8, 1935) attended the Philadelphia Seminary but was called to the field before graduation, in 1891. With Dr. George Drach, he wrote the History of the Telugu Mission (Phila.; 1914; 399 pp.) describing the events which Dr. Jacobs now recounts.

(See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1936.)

- Page 401 10 The Paul A.C.E. Baehnish (1863-Aug.20,1931) served from 1893-1897.  
(See Min. of U. Syn. of N.Y. for 1932, p. 105.)  
The Rev. Eduard Julius Hans Mueller, D.D. (1875-Nov.22, 1923) went to India in 1896 under the General Council. After three years he transferred to the General Synod Mission, where he remained till 1919.  
(See R., p.182)  
The Rev. Ernst William Neudoerffer (1877) was graduated from the Seminary in 1900 and spent his entire life in the work of the Mission.  
(See R., p.182.)
- 11 The Rev. Luther Beniah Wolf, D.D. (1857-Nov.25,1939) went to the foreign field in 1882, and served for 22 years as head of the Lutheran College at Guntur. After his return, he became Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Synod, and later of the United Lutheran Church.  
(See Min. of C. Pa. Syn. for 1940; W., p.472; W.Pa., p. 172...)
- 12 Miss Agnes Schade, a teacher at the Orphans' Home at Zelienople, Pa., offered her services as a missionary, and was called in 1890, one of the first women missionaries, the so-called Zenana sisters.
- 402 13 The Rev. Rudolph Arps (1869) was a native German, and studied at the Breklum Missionary Institute in North Germany. He was sent out in 1893 from this country.  
(See the History of the Telugu Mission, p. 292 ff.)
- 14 The Rev. Reinhold Carl Gustav Bielinski (1871-May 25, 1937) was the assistant pastor of St. Johannis church, Philadelphia. He succeeded Dr. Weiskotten as editor of the Missionsbote, a monthly, started through the influence of Dr. Wischan, its first editor. The Missionsbote had a large circulation and was much more popular than its English companion, the Foreign Missionary.  
The latter commenced in 1879 under the Schaeffers. In 1893, Dr. E.E. Sibole became its editor, a position he held till 1909.
- 404 15 See Min. of the General Council for 1901, p. 61-3.
- 405 16 The Rev. Louis R. Menno Valett (1813-Mar. 23,1892).  
(See Telugu Mission, p. 83.)
- 17 The Rev. Hans Christian Schmidt, D.D. (1840-Mar.6,1911) was from Schleswig where he had known Groenning well. Through his influence young Schmidt prepared for the mission-field. When Father Heyer returned to America in 1869, he brought Schmidt with him.  
(See the Telugu Mission, p. 147, 372 ff.)

- 18 Miss Lydia Woerner studied medicine at the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, and was sent by the Women's Missionary Society to the hospital at Rajahmundry in 1899.
- 19 Pastor William Henry Jeriprolu (1855-Jan.28,1934) was a convert of Father Heyer, and became the innocent center of the controversy.  
(See the Telugu Mission, p. 327 ff.)
- 407 20 The Rev. C.J.Edman,M.D. (1857) while a pastor in New Haven studied medicine. He sailed to India in 1890. His work was under the hardship of the constant illness of his own wife.
- 21 The Rev. H.E.Isaacson (1862).  
(See the Telugu Mission, p. 292 ff.)
- 22 Miss Emily Weiskotten accompanied her father on his trip of investigation and stayed on in India.
- 23 Miss Stremper went with Miss Weiskotten, but stayed only three years. The climate she could not stand.
- 408 24 The Rev. John Telleen , D.D. (1846) was Swedish-born and came to this country at an early age. He attended Augustana College, and had served several congregations. He was elected to this position by the General Council in 1895. He was the father of S.F.Telleen, active layman in the United Lutheran Church.
- 409 25 The Rev. E. Pohl had commenced his work in 1882. After the death of Groenning, Mr. Pohl helped at Rajahmundry for seven years, after which he returned to his own Society.
- 26 The Rev. Luther Kuhlman, D.D. (1851-Oct.11,1936) was for 32 years on the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Synod, and its President for 19. In 1903, he became Professor of Biblical Theology at Gettysburg Seminary.  
(See Min. of W. Pa. Syn. for 1937, pp. 95-101; W.,p. 331; W.Pa.,p.169...)
- 411 27 Dr. Harpster was eager to use the Gramophone in his missionary work. It was his plan to play several records of music in Telugu, to assemble the curious, and then to preach to them. Though he was successful several times in drawing a crowd, the heat of the sun was too much for the wax records, and they had to be discarded. Several of these records are now in the Krauth Memorial Library.
- 28 The Rev. Theodore Otto Ferdinand Posselt (1881) was for years pastor of St. John's church, Albany. He was born in South Africa and was graduated from the Seminary in 1901.

- Page 411    29    The Rev. Robert Daniel Roeder (1862-Mar.27,1935) was the pastor of Grace church, Norristown, Pa.  
(See Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1935; R.,p.113.)
- 30    The Rev. Andrew S. Fichthorn (1858-Jan.29,1912) was a graduate of Gettysburg College in 1884, and was pastor of Trinity church, Norristown, Pa. from 1894-1902, and from 1907-1912. For two years he assisted Dr. Seiss at the Church of the Holy Communion. He was a cultured man, with charming manners... and remained a bachelor - all of which made his name beloved in the memories of the congregations.  
(See W.,p.479; the Lutheran for Feb. 1, and 8,1912 signed by H.E.J.; Min. of Min. of Pa. for 1912.)

## Chapter Fifty Three

Page 414

1 This Conference was reported in The Second General Conference of Lutherans in America held in Phila. Apr. 1-3, 1902. (Newberry, S.C.; 1904; 290 pp.)

The proceedings opened with a sermon by Dr. Hamma, and an address by Dr. Jacobs before the papers were presented. The following papers were read:

Justification by Faith	- L.G.M. Miller
Doctrine of Justification in its Relations	- Prof. J.W. Richard
Relations of Young Peoples' Societies to the Congregation	- C. Armand Miller
Place of the Holy Spirit in Lutheran Theology	- J.C. Moser
Lutheran Doctrine of the Sacraments	- L.E. Busby
Christian Liberty and its Limitations	- S.A. Repass
History of Deaconess Work and American Conditions	- G.C. Berkemeier
The Movement from Romanism to Lutheranism in Austria	- Carl Goedel
A Native Ministry for Congregations in the Mission Fields	- J.H. Harpster
Women as Workers in the practical Work of the Church	- J.P. Krechting
Our Home Mission Fields - The East	- W.F. Bacher
	The West - J.M. Ruthrauff
	The South - W.L. Seabrook
The Spiritual Priesthood of Believers	- J.A. Hall
Are Our Present Methods of Sunday School Work Adequate?	- D.H. Geissinger
	- J.A. Singmaster
The Attitude of the Lutheran Church to Current Discussion Concerning the Holy Scriptures	- F.H. Knubel
Problems of Church Polity	- J. Fry
Defamers of Luther	- J.J. Young

The remarks of those who discussed the papers are interesting, throwing light on many personal opinions. Among them are Dr. Jacobs remarks on Dr. Knubel's paper which illuminate his own view of Holy Scripture.

2 The Rev. Carl Gödel, D.D. succeeded Rector Cordes as head of the Mary J. Drexel Home in 1893. He returned to Europe as a pastor to a Swiss congregation in 1906.

The Rev. John Jacob Young, D.D. (1846-Mar. 29, 1914) was pastor of St. John's church, New York.

(See W., p. 458.)

The Rev. Frederick Herman Knubel, D.D. (1870) was starting his ministry at the Church of the Atonement, New York. He was called from this congregation to the Presidency of the United Lutheran Church in 1917.

The Rev. John A. Hall, D.D. (1852-Mar. 28, 1925), pastor of Trinity church, Canton, O.

(See Min. of U.L.C. Synn. of Ohio for 1925, p. 57.)

The Rev. J. Mosheim Ruthrauff, D.D. (1846-May 6, 1902), the President of Wittenberg College.

(See Min. of Wb. Syn. for 1902.)

The Rev. L.G.M. Miller, D.D. (1848-Jan. 20, 1918) left his pastorate at Roanoke the following year, to become a professor in the Southern Seminary.

(See R., p. 81.)

The Rev. James B. Greiner, D.D. (1841-May 7, 1917) was for 17 years Professor of Languages at Marion College, while pastor at Rural Retreat, Va. He was very active in his Synod, serving as President often, and as a delegate to the United Synod South.

(See Min. of S.W.Va. Synod for 1917, p. 50.)

- 415 3 The Rev. S.A. Ort, D.D. (1845-Jan. 6, 1911) succeeded Dr. Sprecher as Professor of Systematic Theology at Wittenberg in 1884, and held that chair till his death. (See the L.O. for Jan. 23, 1911; Neve, p. 138; J., p. 561..)

4 The Rev. David H. Bauslin, D.D. (1854-Mar. 3, 1922) was elected Professor of Historical Theology at Wittenberg in 1896. For some years he was editor of the conservative paper of the General Synod, the Lutheran World. His influence was strongly behind the formation of the United Lutheran Church.

(See Min. of the U.L.C. Syn. of Ohio for 1922; L.A. for 1923; L.Q. for July, 1922 -Minute of the Faculty.)

5 The Rev. Luther Alexander Gotwald, D.D. (1833-Sept. 15, 1900) was mentioned above as pastor of St. Paul's church, York, Pa. He was elected Professor of Practical Theology in 1888, and served till his health broke in 1895.

(See History of the North Indiana Synod, pp. 241-249; W., p. 416; P.C., p. 255; Neve, p. 136.)

6 The Rev. Jesse Dunn, D.D. (1850-Mar. 21, 1938) (See Min. of Pb. Syn. for 1938, p. 97.)

7 The Rev. Alfred Hiller, D.D. (1831-Jan. 27, 1920), Professor of Systematic Theology at Hartwick Seminary for 38 years.

(See Min. of N.Y. Syn. for 1920, p. 64.)

8 Dr. Abdel Ross Wentz, distinguished historian, read through the Ms. of these notes, and in place of 'Kocherthal' pencilled in Berkenmeyer (ARW). We respect his judgment here but have not changed what Dr. Jacobs wrote. If Dr. Jacobs meant Joshua Kocherthal (d. 1719), he was a pastor at Landau, Bavaria, and became enthusiastic about leading a band of immigrants to the new world. After stirring up many with his pamphlets, and reports of conditions abroad, he led several groups across the Atlantic to New York, and in their little settlements at East Camp and West Camp along the Hudson, served as their pastor and advisor.

- 9 The Rev. Frederick Gebhart Gotwald, D.D. (1869-Feb.4, 1926) was the son of Dr. Luther Gotwald. He was a graduate of Hamma, and soon took up literary work. He became the editor of the Lutheran World in 1896, and then a member of the staff of the Lutheran Church Work. In 1907 he was part-owner and contributor to the L.Q. He was Secretary of the Board of Education of the General Synod from 1904, and became the first Secretary of the U.L.C.Board.  
(See Min. of W. Pa. Syn. for 1926, p. 58.)
- 416 10 The Cicada Septemdecim or seventeen year locusts live for that time as larvae in the ground. The adult lives a few days - just long enough to lay eggs in crevasses and trees.
- 11 The Rev. W.W.J.Ritchie of Churchville, Va.
- 12 The Rev. George Washington Busby (1829-May 8,1910)  
(See Min. of District Syn. of Ohio for 1910, p.64.)
- 13 The Rev. H.M.Brown (1845-July 23,1913).  
The Rev. Christenberry Alexander Brown (1859-Oct.8,1932)  
(See W.,p.487.)  
The Rev. Theodore Parker of Pembroke, Va.
- 14 The Rev. Christenberry A. Ritchie, of Redeemer church, Binghamton, N.Y. for many years.
- 417 15 Dr. Holland became the pastor of St. Mark's church, Charlotte, N.C. in 1898.
- 16 Elizabeth College was a women's college in Charlotte, with nominal connections with the Lutheran Church. It later merged with Roanoke Women's College under the name of Elizabeth College, at Salem, Va. The destruction of the building by fire in 1921 discouraged attempts to continue.
- 418 17 The Rev. William Pinckney Cline, D.D. (1853-Sept.11, 1925) was a founder of Lenoir College, and Professor of Latin and History. He was President of the Board of Publication of the United Synod South. In 1911 he became the Superintendent of the Lowman Home.  
(See S.C., p. 231.)
- 18 The Rev. A.L.Crouse we haven't been able to locate.  
The Rev. William Herbert Little was graduated from the Seminary in 1900. He was professor for 17 years, then went into business in Hickory.  
The Rev. R.L.Fritz we have not been able to locate.  
The Rev. Enoch J. Sox (Sachs) D.D.(1866-Feb.22,1934), professor at Lenoir for 22 years.  
(See Min. of N.C.Syn. for 1934, p. 52.)
- 19 The Rev. Jacob C. Wessinger of Little Mountain, S.C. and the Rev. Benjamin David Wessinger of Lakeland, Fla.

- Page 418 20 Prof. Junius Samuel Koiner (1847-Feb.27,1915) had been Professor of Greek at Concordia College, Conover, N.C. and was serving several parishes of the Missouri Synod in these states.
- 21 The Rev. R.A.Yoder, D.D. (1853-May 16,1911) was the President of the College from 1891-1901.  
(See Min. of Tenn. Syn. for 1911, p. 54ff.)
- 419 22 The Rev. J.C.Moser, D.D. (1849-Nov. 12,1911.)
- 23 The Rev. Melancthon Gideon Scherer, D.D. (1861-Mar.9, 1932) was then a professor at the Seminary at Mt. Pleasant, S.C. He soon became pastor of St. Andrew's church, Charleston, from which he was called to be the first Secretary of the U.L.C. Dr. Scherer was the father of Dr. Paul Scherer of New York.  
(See Min. of S.C.Syn. for 1933, pp. 81-2.)

#### Chapter Fifty Four

- Page 422 1 The Rev. James Ludwig Becker (1849-1922).  
(See Min. of Mon. if Pa. for 1922; sketch in Krauth Memorial Library.)
- 423 2 The Rev. Archibald Clarence Schenck ( 1875), at the time of this transcription, pastor of Grace church, Reading, Pa.
- 424 3 The Rev. John B. Focht was President of Susquehanna University.  
The Rev. Franklin Pierce Manhart D.D. (1852-1933) was the Dean of the Theological Faculty at Susquehanna.  
(See Min. of Susq. Syn. for 1934, p. 22.)
- 4 The Rev. Marion Justice Kline, D.D. (1871- Sept,1934) was the General Secretary of the Board from 1901-1908) when he was called to First church, Altoona, Pa.  
(See W.,p.514; Min. of Al. Syn. for 1935, p.81.)
- 5 Miss Hedwig Wahlberg was a trained nurse working in Chicago. She volunteered her services, and set out for Europe to visit her family on the way. She retired in 1908 because of illness contracted in India.
- 425 6 The Rev. John Edwin Whitteker, D.D. (1851-Apr.13,1925) was a Canadian, a graduate of Thiel College, and was pastor of Holy Trinity church, Lancaster (1901-1920). He later became Professor of Systematic Theology and President of Chicago Seminary. His work was always closely associated with Home Missions in the General Council and the U.L.C.  
(See The Chicago Lutheran Seminary Record for July, 1925 - the Whitteker Memorial Issue.)

- Page 425 7 Miss Susan Munroe came from a fine Lutheran family living in Philadelphia.
- 428 8 The Rev. Albert Tobias Clay, Ph.D. (1866-Sept.14,1925) was a graduate of Franklin and Marshall, and the Philadelphia Seminary. After several pastorates and a teaching position at the Chicago Seminary, Dr. Clay became a teacher of Hebrew and Assyrian at the University of Pennsylvania, later becoming a full professor. In 1910, Dr. Clay was chosen Laffan Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature at Yale. His fame as an archeologist was world-wide. Dr. Clay taught Hebrew at the Seminary for several years, and was always ready to return to lecture.  
(See R., p.140.)
- 9 Biblical Criticism by J.A.W.Haas ( Phila.;1903) pp. xiii-xxx.
- 429 10 The Individual Communion Cup: An Opinion of the Faculty of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia at the Request of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. (1903.)
- 11 See L.C.R. for Oct.,1903 - Our Rajahmundry Mission: Its Work; Its Methods; Its Aims.
- 430 12 See Min. of the General Council pp. 97-102.
- 432 13 The Rev. Charles Washington Heisler, D.D. (1857-May 16, 1909), pastor of First church, Albany.  
(See W., p.470.)
- 14 The Rev. Henry Douglas Spaeth (1870-Feb.9,1920), pastor of Redeemer church, Albany.  
(See R., p.149.)
- 433 15 The Rev. Luther Leigh Smith, D.D. (1856-June 17,1911) was for over twenty-five years pastor at Strasburg, during which time he served his Synod as Secretary, President, and President of the Board of Missions. Dr. Smith was the father of Dr. Charles J. Smith, President of Roanoke College, and Dr. G. Morris Smith, President of Susquehanna University.  
(See the Lutheran Church Visitor for June 29,1911, pp. 5-6.)
- 16 The Rev. David McConaughy Gilbert, D.D. (1836-Oct.16, 1905) was a native of Gettysburg. Previous to his pastorate at Zion's church, Harrisburg (1887-1905), he was at Staunton, Va., Savannah, Ga., and Winchester, Va. His experiences in the Va. Synod led him to write the Lutheran Church in Virginia ( 1776-1886).  
(See L.C.Visitor for Oct. 26,1905; Min. of E. Pa. Syn. for 1906, p.65; Proceedings of the Pa. German Society for 1904, p.46; W., p.415..)

- 17 The Rev, Conrad Emil Lindberg, D.D. (1852-Aug.2,1930) was one of the leaders of the Augustana Synod. He was trained at the Philadelphia Seminary, and served Swedish congregations in Wilkes Barre, Philadelphia, and New York City. In 1890 he was elected to a professorship at Augustana Seminary, of which he became President.
- 18 The Rev. Oliver Peter Smith, D.D. (1848-Oct.15,1911) was pastor of the Church of the Transfiguration, Pottstown, Pa.  
(See R., p. 82.)
- 435 19 The Rev. Franklin Foster Fry, D.D. (1864-Dec.13,1933), pastor of the Church of the Reformation, Rochester, N.Y., was the son of Dr. J. Fry, and the father of Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, late President of the Lutheran Church in America. Dr. F.F.Fry was the first Executive Secretary of the Board of American Missions of the U.L.C.  
(See Min. of U. Syn. of N.Y. for 1934, p. 83; R.,p.122.)
- 20 Mr. George Pellman, the engineer at the Seminary for many years, often used to tell just how Dr. Seiss planted this tree with his own hands. After a suitable excavation was dug by Mr. Pellman, Dr. Seiss threw the first shovel of dirt upon the tree, which Mr. Pellman held. Thereupon he turned and asked Mr. Pellman to fill the hole.
- 21 The Rev. Gustavus Adolphus Bierdeman, D.D. (1859-Aug.25, 1935).  
(See Min. of U. Syn. of N.Y. for 1936, p. 122; R.,p.114.)

### Chapter Fifty Five

- 1 See The Third General Conference of Lutherans in America, held in Pittsburgh, Pa., April 5-7,1904, (Columbia,S.C.; 1905;380 pp.)

The sermon of Dr. Jacobs was on the Doctrine of the Church as the Communion of Saints. Following this, we find - Heads of Christian Doctrine - Twenty Propositions presented for criticism and discussion at meetings of the General Conference by Henry E. Jacobs.

The order of business was:

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| Opening Address<br>(Dealing with progress toward unity in the Church.)                   | - Dr. Jacobs      |
| The Attitude of the Lutheran Church to the Holy Scriptures                               | - J.A.W.Haas      |
| How to Reach Unchurched Lutherans  | - J.A.Morehead    |
| What is the Center of the Lutheran System?   | - S.P.A.Lindahl   |
|  | - J.S.Simon       |
|  | - T.W.Kretschmann |
| The Problem of Faith and Free Will as Historically Presented in the Lutheran Confessions | -C.E.Hay          |

What Progress Has Been made in Uniting Lutherans?	- Schwarm - Gerberding
The Reciprocal Relation of the Home and Foreign Mission Work	-W.K.Frick -D.M.Gilbert
Privileges and Responsibilities of the Lutheran Church in America	- C.W.Heisler - James A.B.Scherer
Centralization of Church Power	- J.B.Greiner - A.E.Wagner
The Adaptability of Lutheranism	- G.W.Mechling - W.S.Freas
Lutheran Faith and the Inner Christian Life	- G.W.Sandt - F.G.Gotwald
The Scandinavian Problem	- E. Belfour
Problem of the German Element	- J. Nicum
The American Problems	- L. Keyser
Problems of the General Synod	- E.J.Wolf
Problems of the General Council	- E.T.Horn
Problems of the Several Elements of our American Lutheran Church	- W.P.Kline
The Common Music for the Common Service Choral Vesper Services.	- L.D.Reed

2 Mrs. Almira V. Hamma (1840-Mar.2,1904) was very active in forming the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the General Synod, and was its Treasurer for years. With her husband, she gave of her means to Wittenberg College for the Theological Department. Their name is perpetuated in Hamma Divinity School, or Hamma School of Theology.

3 The Rev. Leander S. Keyser, D.D. (1856-Oct.18,1937) was to become Professor of Systematic Theology at Hamma in 1911, and a leader in the General Synod.

4 Director Herman L. Fritschel, D.D. succeeded the Rev. William Passavant as Rector of the Milwaukee Mother-house and Hospital in 1902.

439 5 This was the Church of the Epiphany, -the Rev. George Keller Rubrecht went there the next year, and served for twelve years.

6 St. Paul's church, Red Wing, Minn., the Rev. Albert Julius Reichert, pastor ( later of Lancaster, Pa.).

7 The Rev, Ira Oliver Nothstein, D.D. (1864) of the Class of 1900 at the Seminary, was pastor of St. Peter's English church. Since 1918, Dr. Nothstein has been a professor at Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill. (See R., p. 183.)

440 8 St. John's church, Minneapolis.

9 Memorial church, St. Paul.

10 The Rev. S.P.A.Lindahl, D.D. (1843-Mar.27,1908) was closely connected with the publication work of the Augustana Synod, as editor of the Augustana and head of the Augustana Book Concern.

(See the Lutheran for April 9,1908.)

441 11 Because this Autobiography is not available to the public, it seems desirable to give full place to the contents here. The chapter headings are as follows:

My Birth, Ancestry and Parentage  
 My Early Schooling and Thought Troubles  
 My Confirmation, Aims and Trials  
 Hindrances Overcome  
 Gettysburg Stay and Studies There  
 Doing of the Year That Followed  
 Licensure and First Settlement  
 Call to Another Field  
 Life and Doings at Shepherdstown  
 A Glance at the Lutheran Churches in Virginia  
 Revivalism and the Anxious Bench  
 A Trying Conflict  
 My Pastorate in Cumberland  
 Sundry Calls - Settlement in Baltimore  
 The Maryland Synod's Question  
 Christian Nurture and Catechetization  
 An Unexpected Engagement  
 Some Literary Work in Baltimore  
 Story of the Definite Platform  
 My Call and Settlement in Philadelphia  
 The "Evangelical Psalmist"  
 Some Important Changes  
 Lutheran Clergymen of Philadelphia  
 Experiences in the East Pa. Synod  
 Some Extra Work  
 Enforced Recreations  
 Peregrinations Beyond the Seas  
 In Syria and the Holy Land  
 At Home Again  
 Labors Resumed  
 Liturgy Making  
 American Lutheranism and the Evangelical Review  
 The Great Civil War  
 The New Theological Seminary  
 Catechisms  
 In the Pennsylvania Synod  
 Beginnings of the General Council  
 General Council's Hymn Books  
 Music for the Church Book  
 The Galesburg Rule  
 The Three Kinds of Lutheranism  
 The Conflict with Exclusiveness  
 Dr. Krauth's Theses  
 The "Lutheran and Missionary"

The Church of the Holy Communion  
 Movements to Promote Fraternity and Unity  
 Moody and Sankey Revivalism  
 Dr. Morris and the Diets  
 A Painful Alienation  
 A Pair of Twin Biographies  
 A Memorial to Charles P. Krauth  
 General Council and the Iowa Synod  
 My Books and Publications  
 Some of my Unpublished Works  
 Positions Which I Have Held  
 An Attempt to Make a Mormon of Me  
 On the Field of Controversy  
 A Marked Jubilee  
 Some Piquant Incidents  
 A Glance at our Lutheran Literature  
 Some Personal Habits and Characteristics

The Autobiography, though treating the opponent badly, reveals the character of the man in every chapter.

- 12 See the Lutheran for June 14, 21, 28, 1904.
- 442 13 Dr. Jacobs cleared up this point in his splendid article, the Making of the Church Book. (See L.C.R., 1912.)
- 14 The Rev. Karl Ludwig Wolters (1863 -Dec.19,1924). (See R., p. 134.)
- 15 The Rev, George Christian Frederick Haas, D.D. (1854-Sept. 29,1927) felt it his duty to remain at his post, though the congregation was decimated. He was pastor till 1921. Despite every effort to revive the congregation, it finally was forced to disband in later years.
- 443 16 Summary of the Christian Faith, ( Phila.;1905;637 pp.) Though in later life Dr. Jacobs was eager to revise the Summary to bring it in harmony with new insights, it continued to be used slavishly in seminaries for several decades.
- 17 Miss Abigail Shearer of North Wales became Mrs. Charles M. Jacobs on October 5, 1905.
- 18 The editor would like to protect Dr. Jacobs from the Women's Liberation Movement of the time of printing (1974) but these remarks are hopeless. Add to them the fact that he would not allow his daughter, Marguerite (the editor's mother) to stay more than two years at Bryn Mawr where she was an honor student, and one has a child of his time.
- 446 19 Oct. 16,1905.
- 447 20 Bartholomew Ziegenbalg: Address Commemorative of the centenary of Lutheran Foreign Missions. (1906.)