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Doctrinal Theology.

VOCATION.

Man, in his fallen state, is alienated from God and the life of God,¹⁾ ἄθεος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.²⁾ *All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned away every one to his own way.*³⁾ Nor is there in natural man a desire or willingness to return to God, to enter into union and communion with him. *The carnal mind is enmity against God.*⁴⁾ But *God loved the world;*⁵⁾ he longed for union and communion with fallen man; and in order to reestablish the bond of union which had been severed by sin, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.*⁶⁾ And not only has God prepared salvation for all men, but he also sends forth the call: *All things are ready; come to the marriage;*⁷⁾ *Come; for all things are now ready.*⁸⁾ To the wayward children who go astray, famishing in the desert, he extends the call: *Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.*⁹⁾ *Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*¹⁰⁾

1) Eph. 4, 18.

4) Rom. 8, 7.

7) Matt. 22, 4.

10) Matt. 11, 28.

2) Eph. 2, 12.

5) John 3, 16.

8) Luke 14, 17.

3) Is. 53, 6.

6) 2 Cor. 5, 19.

9) Is. 55, 1.

Historical Theology.

A LESSON ON THE LANGUAGE QUESTION.

I.

The earliest Lutheran settlement in America was Christina in New Sweden. The beginning of this community was, especially in its religious aspect, intensely Swedish. The colonists were Swedes, and the members of the congregation were the same Swedes. The home government was Swedish; the colonial and local government was also Swedish. The pastor was a Swede. The language spoken in the church, the homes, the councils of peace and war, was Swedish. Customs and manners and ceremonies were Swedish. The lifeless landmarks, the posts marking the boundaries of New Sweden, bore the Swedish coat of arms. And it was intended and ordained that all this should endure. Especially were the colonists charged to guard the doctrine of the church against all Calvinistic leaven, to adhere to the customs and manners of the mother country, and to preserve the Swedish mother tongue in all its purity. To this effect even the proper names, the names of rivers and towns, were to be, not "outlandish," but Swedish.

When, in 1655, seventeen years after the landing of the first colonists, Christina and all of New Sweden fell under Dutch and Calvinistic rule, the Swedish Lutherans remained both Swedish in language and Lutheran in faith. Their faithful minister, Lars Lock, lived to see the political government of the colony pass from Swedish to Dutch, from Dutch to English, from English to Dutch, and again from Dutch to English hands; but to the end of his life, in 1788, he ministered to Swedish Lutherans in their mother tongue. During his lifetime and after his death Swedish lay readers, such excellent men as Carl Christoph Springer and Andreas

Bengtson, read to their brethren from the old Swedish Lutheran postils and led them in singing their Swedish Lutheran hymns, even when, for a considerable time, all intercourse between the forgotten Swedes and Lutherans on the Delaware and the mother country had ceased. We are informed by the ancient manuscript chronicles in the archives of *Gloria Dei* that while Andreas Bengtson read from *Molleris Postilla* in the church, the young people, if they came at all, would come for race riding and other amusements. And yet, in a letter of May 31, 1693, signed by thirty representatives of these congregations and accompanied by a list giving upwards of nine hundred souls, we find the statement, "We all of us understand Swedish." Two of the men then living, Peter Rembo and Andr. Bonde, had been in this country for fifty-four years. With the list went an order for Swedish books, viz: 12 Bibles, 3 Postils, 42 Manuals, 100 Books of Devotion, 200 Catechisms, and 200 Primers. That the people for whom this letter of May 31, 1693, was written, were not only Swedes but also Lutherans appears from the request made in the letter that the king, to whom it was directed, would send them Swedish preachers "who are well learned and well trained in Holy Scripture, who could well defend themselves and us against all false teachers and strange sects which may surround us and be in opposition to us in our true and pure, unadulterated worship and Lutheran religion, which we even now before God and all the world always do profess and shall profess and which, if it should be necessary, which God may prevent, we shall seal with our own blood."

All this was written in Swedish. But the writer, Mr. Carl Springer, and his fellow Swedes and Lutherans had not lived these many years in isolated seclusion from their English speaking neighbors, and had also acquired a knowledge of the English language. Springer, who had immigrated to this country in ripe manhood, was sufficiently familiar with English to prepare a translation of the letter which a promi-

gent citizen of Göteborg, Postmaster Thelin, had addressed to his rediscovered countrymen in Pennsylvania in 1692. Of this translation, which was intended for Governor Markham, we give the following specimen:—

“Honoured good friends and Countrymen,

The occasion which make me give you the honour to write to you is that I the last yeare past was in Stockholm; then came a man Andrew Printz and mett me there, which hath his relation heare in the Citty, which I knew had certainly been with an English shipp in the West Indies, and I much rejoiced at his safe arrival; and I asking and questioning him whether he had a prosperous jorney, so he not onely had found there (: as he thanked God for his health and me informed:) a good land, but also the ould Sweeds in a good prosperity, and how that they heartely rejoiced to see him who was a Sweed, and that they had the opportunity to know how they did in their own Native Country.”

This, then, was the state of things which prevailed among the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware fifty-five years after the settlement of Christina. In a foreign land, abandoned and forgotten by friends and brethren at home, surrounded by neighbors from whom they differed in language and creed, with no Swedish immigration and scanty instruction in churches and schools to retard the process of assimilation which their surroundings and associations would naturally tend to bring about, these people still knew of no other and certainly no better way of providing for their spiritual wants than by petitioning for Swedish Lutheran preachers and Swedish Lutheran books for old and young, for church and school and the family altar.

And now the beginning of the second period of Swedish Lutheranism in America was at hand. The petition which marks the end of the first period found open ears and willing hands. In the summer of 1697, three Swedish missionaries arrived in America, Andr. Rudman, Eric Tobias

Biörck, and Jonas Auren. They brought with them a supply of Swedish books, 30 large Bibles, 6 Postils, 50 Manuals, 100 volumes of Meditations for family worship, 100 hymn-books, 2 Liturgies, 2 Church-Orders, 100 copies of Swebilius' Catechisms, 300 copies of the Small Catechism, and 400 ABC-books, or Primers. Before the close of the century, the congregations at Christina and Wicaco worshiped in new churches, *Trinity Church* at Christina and *Gloria Dei* at Philadelphia, to which the Swedes came from their scattered dwellings, from up the river and down the river, and the busy preachers had their hands full of more work than they could do. In an episcopal letter of June 25, 1696, which is still preserved in the archives of *Gloria Dei*, Archbishop Olaus Swebilius had charged the ministers to "teach and preach, pure and clear, God's holy and saving word, as it is fully set forth in the canonical books of holy Scripture, of the prophets in the Old, and the apostles in the New Testament of the Holy Bible, and briefly explained in the ecumenical Symbols of the Christian church, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, and especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and other Symbolical Books accepted by the Evangelical Church, without any human superstition and strange doctrine. Besides, they should in full accord with God's own institution and ordinance properly administer the holy sacraments, and by diligent preaching, catechization and instruction inculcate the Catechism and Lessons for the Young according to the right meaning and foundation thereof."

The duty here last enjoined, while it was of first importance for the future welfare of the churches, was precisely that which the Swedish preachers were least able to fulfill, and the Swedish people least ready to appreciate. That the children of the church should be trained as young Christians and members of the church was acknowledged on all sides. This appears from the request of the people for Catechisms and Primers and the supply of such books brought over by

the ministers even beyond the numbers requested. That the most efficient way to secure Christian training for the young would be by Christian schools was also recognized by word and deed in the various efforts made for the establishment of Swedish schools in the congregations at Christina, Wicaco, Raccoon Creek and Pennsneck.¹⁾ But these efforts were not of sufficient energy and endurance to yield satisfactory results. Beyond what the Swedish mothers did in their homes by way of teaching their children to read from the Swedish Primers and Catechisms, not very much was done by pastors and teachers toward training the young in the Lutheran doctrine and the Swedish language.

On the other hand, the Swedish ministers were not slow in acquiring a fair knowledge of English. At the dedication of *Gloria Dei*, of which Rudman was pastor, in 1700, Biorck of Christina preached a Swedish sermon; but by request he repeated his sermon in English before the close of the service. After his return from New York, where he had, in 1702 and 1703, served the Dutch Lutherans, Rudman preached to Anglican congregations in and near Philadelphia to the end of his life. At his burial, his friend Biorck preached the funeral sermon in English on Ps. 73, 24, and he, too, preached before English congregations at New Castle and other places in the neighborhood. Auren, who had come over the sea with Rudman and Biorck, preached to the English on Elk River. Sandel, Rudman's successor at Philadelphia, frequently ministered in Anglican churches. Biorck's successor, Andr. Hesselius, who arrived in 1712, and his brother, Samuel Hesselius, who came in 1719, served as supplies in English pulpits, the latter to such an extent that his Swedish people loudly complained of being neglected by their pastor who, instead of visiting the sick and catechizing the young of his own Lutheran flock, devoted his

1) See our article on *Religious training in the earlier Lutheran church in America*, THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. IV, pp. 432 ff.

time and energies to vacant English charges. Peter Tranberg, who had arrived in 1726 and served the congregation on Raccoon Creek and, since 1728, also that at Pennsneck, preached to the English in the neighborhood. At Philadelphia, Tranberg, in 1737, installed a new pastor of *Gloria Dei*, John Dylander, a talented man, who, though his ministry lasted but four years, acquired such fluency in the use of the English language that he became a favorite preacher in English churches. During his pastorate regular English evening services were introduced in *Gloria Dei* church. From his day on, the Swedes' church came to be by preference the place where bridal couples sought the benediction upon their union, until the Anglican pastor appeared before the Governor with a serious but fruitless complaint, stating that he suffered a severe diminution of his income since the English went to the Swedish minister to be married. In the records of 1739, we find the following entry, in English:—

“In the Year 1739, May y^e 16 was held a general Assembly of y^e Congregation at Wicaco, when following affairs were taken in consideration, viz. . . .

4. The Congregation Allowed y^e Parson what he can get from y^e English or y^e Germans by preaching for y^m with provisal y^t what hitherto was gathered in the Box as well in y^e afternoon as forenoon should belong to y^e Church. But what henceforward is to be gathered in y^e forenoon must be employed to y^e benefit of y^e Church.”

In 1742, the year after Dylander's death, the church council at Christina, which had by that time become Wilmington, in a meeting held on Nov. 13, resolved that the English afternoon services which had been introduced should be continued, but that the Swedish services should be conducted from beginning to end in the old Swedish way. On Ascension Day of the same year, at a meeting of the congregation at Pennsneck, the Swedes who were present declared that under the prevailing circumstances it would

be best to discontinue the Swedish services altogether and have English preaching only. In this way they hoped to gain members from among their English neighbors and thus become strong enough to support a minister of their own. Their deliberations led to the resolution, that thenceforth public services in the church at Pennsneck should be exclusively English, and conducted according to the Prayer-book of the Episcopal church of England. When, in 1747, John Sandin took charge of the Raccoon Creek and Pennsneck churches, the Pennsneck people, in a paper with 85 signatures, declared their grateful willingness to accept the new pastor, "although most of them were English." At Wicaco, the English services were, at that time, still looked upon as more or less a private affair of the minister carried on with the permission and sanction of the congregation. The records, kept in English by the pastor, Gabriel Näsman, say:—

"Anno 1747, ye 16 of May ye Trustees, Westry and Gentry of ye Congregation was together and concluded. . . .

"4^o John Bengtson and Abraham Jonson or either of y^m to give an account for money collected in ye Church at ye Sweed Service."

The collections of the English services were evidently looked upon as being, like these services themselves, the pastor's rather than the congregation's business. In 1749 we find another entry, saying that "Ye Minister should have liberty to preach in ye French, or Dutch or English language, besides ye Sweed, as he could see fit."

But about the middle of the century, a knowledge of English was looked upon as indispensable in the equipment of a Swedish missionary in America. When, in 1749, Israel Acrelius was appointed for this position, he wrote to Prof. Hallenius, "I would rather face inevitable death than undertake this work, for I was entirely ignorant of the English language; that Swedish was in our American churches in a great degree forgotten and neglected, so that it might

be that for the first year I could do little or no service in all the work necessary to be done in the various charges committed to me."

In the following we give extracts from the records of Trinity church at Wilmington kept by Acrelius.

"I judge it to be necessary to keep the records of the church in the Swedish language without any mixture of English, but the writing will be in Roman letters instead of Swedish, as heretofore.

"1st, That they who understand Swedish and can write with English letters may here find good reading, as no Swedish American at present can read anything written with Swedish letters. . . .

"3d. I have bought a number of Swedish hymnbooks in the same style . . . and also humbly requested that the books sent hereafter may be of the same sort, thus making the instruction of the young more easy. My successors, who will reap the harvest of this, I hope, will never deviate from this, and also will earnestly endeavor to keep up the knowledge of the Swedish language, their mother tongue, which is now much declined. . . .

"The Christian teaching is in a very sorrowful state, both as to quality and practice. From the time of the departure of Provost Andreas Hesselius no Swedish school has been kept, and the children have gone to English schoolmasters who have simply taught them to read. Some of the people have taught their children in Swedish so far as they thought necessary. The late pastor Tranberg is said to have sometimes catechized the children, but as no record was kept, I do not know what children they were, nor what prayers were used and taught. Another sign of great ignorance in Doctrine is that the Lord's supper is fallen into contempt.

"On the 27 of December (1749) a general parish meeting was called and the following matters were presented and acted upon. . . .

"4th. The fact that the Swedish language had very much fallen out of use was mentioned and that the reason was that few of the young came to church, and that they seemed not to comprehend how necessary it was to keep up the language if they expect any more Swedish preachers, and how much greater the advantage to have preaching in the mother tongue than in English and because such abundance of Swedish books have time after time been sent over, and still more are to be expected. . . .

"Experience had taught me that it was useless to call them to a general meeting, for few would come, especially when it was a question of raising money. So I found it best both at this time and afterwards to avail myself of some Sunday when I saw that there was a full congregation, to request that all should remain in their seats, so that the women folk, who in many houses rule more than the men, might have an opportunity to hear what was presented, and thereafter for their part both agree and direct for the best, and also to show to the Swedish wives of English husbands that they must hereafter do their duty if they expect to remain members of the congregation.

"In pursuance of this, on the 7th of October (1750), which was the 17th Sunday after Trinity, I spoke to the congregation as follows. . . .

"2d. Now as I had already held divine service twice in English and proposed to continue and have it every fourth Sunday, therefore, because some of the church had expressed dissatisfaction therewith, part for fear that the Swedes would be crowded out of their seats by strangers, and part for the apprehension that in the end the strangers would prevail in the concerns of the church, I consulted the congregation about it and there were none who had anything against it, though none of them believed that the strange folk would crowd the church every fourth Sunday.

"In the month of February (1752) I began to hear the catechism in this wise. . . . The youth were examined in

Swedish so far as practicable, and all were encouraged and exhorted to adhere to their native speech with strong determination. Those who could not express themselves in Swedish had liberty to read in English.

“At first very few came together. Then the number increased more and more. I also made a list of all who by right belonged to the church, whether they understood Swedish or English, and have a right to go to the Lord’s supper henceforth.”

Thus we see Provost Acrelius endeavoring to do what was in his power toward preserving the Swedish language and worship to his flock, without entirely neglecting the wants of those who were no longer accessible in Swedish. He also advised the ministers under his supervision to preserve the Swedish language in their congregations and to keep their records in Swedish. But while trying to satisfy both parties, he satisfied neither party. To some he was too Swedish; to others he was too English.

At Philadelphia, too, the change was making progress. On July 7, 1750, the new minister for *Gloria Dei*, Olaf Parlin, arrived at Philadelphia. The record of a meeting of May 16, 1751, in his own hand, says: “I was given permission to preach English in the church after noon as often as opportunity may be offered.” Parlin died in 1757; at his burial, pastor Eric Unander preached an English sermon on Zech. 13, 7, and, two days later, Past. John Abr. Lidenius preached a Swedish funeral sermon on 2 Tim. 4, 6—8. On the same day, Dec. 26, the congregation resolved to ask the Archbishop and the Consistory for an *Ordinarius* to succeed Parlin, and in the letter addressed to the Consistory they petitioned that “he who may be most graciously designated should receive permission now and then, at least after noon, to preach English, since our families are so mixed, and the members of our households could thus have like edification and enjoy the same doctrine with us.” Thus, what had formerly been left to the discretion of the minis-

ters was now asked by the congregation as a measure craved by a growing want.

The man who was commissioned to succeed Parlin in the pastorate and provostship was Dr. Carl Magnus Wrangel. He arrived in April, 1759. In 1760 he preached an English sermon before a meeting of Swedes and Germans during the convention of the German Ministerium. For the instruction of the young people "who understood neither Swedish nor German" he proposed a new English translation of Luther's Small Catechism. Two years later we find him conducting English revival meetings in Philadelphia. In 1765 he was recalled by the authorities in Sweden, and in spite of remonstrances submitted to them from various sides, his superiors insisted on his return. Still another effort was made to induce them to reconsider their decision. The records of the Vestry, which were now kept in English, say:—

"When the Rev. Doct. Wrangle made the Wardens and Vestrymen acquainted with his being called home to Sweden, by the R. Rev. Archbishop & Consistory of the said place, the Reasons being given by the Docter for such a Call, likewise taking into consideration a petition from several of the congregation at Wicaco, as also from the principal Subscribers to a Seminary of learning instituted & set up near the Church at s. place, for the Docters further stay among us, and on consideration of the disadvantage that must inevitably follow from the Docters leaving such a young institution, and also the three United Churches of Wicaco, Kingsessing and Upper Merion, beginning now to flourish under this the s. Docters Care & labour for the glory of god must Also Suffer, if not be Altogether Scattered. We therefore Unanimously Agree to the following Resolve:

"Resolved that a humble Address be drawn Up to his Majesty the King of Sweden, as Also to the R. Rev'd. Archbishop and Consistory of the s. place to desire a further Continuance of the Docters stay with the afores'd Congregations, as long as to their Wisdom & goodness shall seem

best, also setting forth in the same Address the Reasons of the Docter for not Immediately Obeying the said Call, also Vindicating & Clearing the Docter of many Charges which have been laid or Represented against him."

But the Archbishop and Consistory probably knew what they were about. On Oct. 10, 1767, *Magister* Andr. Göransson, who had been appointed to succeed Dr. Wrangel, appeared at the parsonage at Wicaco and presented his credentials. Thereupon the Doctor, whose official language in his dealings with his Vestry was, by this time, English, addressed the following letter, dated Oct. 28, 1767,

"To the Vestry of Wicaco, Kingsessing and Upper Merion.

Gentlemen—

Having received a letter from the most rev^d Arch Bishop & Right Rev. Consistory of Upsal, ordering me Emediately after the arrival of the Reverend M. Göransson to deliver up the Congregations now under my care to the said Gentleman, appointed by his Majesty the King of Sweeden to Succeede me; I have thought it my Duty to Signify this to you, being desirous to obey his Majesty's most gracious Commands, recommending at the same time to you, to take this matter into Consideration that all may Be properly settled for the safety of these Several Congregations, that you represent. I am with due Respect, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate & most Humble Servant

C. M. Wrangel."

Yet the Vestry, having also heard Mr. Göransson, decided to renew the petition of the United Churches to the King, the Archbishop and the Consistory and meanwhile to retain the Doctor's services. Wrangel gave no definite answer, but agreed to take the matter under advisement. At the next meeting of the Vestry, Jan. 13, 1768, the "Rev.

Mr. Georgeson" was reported to have "been deprived of his understanding." In a series of Vestry meetings, on May 2, May 9, May 18, June 29, Aug. 31, Oct. 15, 1768, all of which were conducted and recorded in English, the affairs of Mr. Göransson were the chief subject of deliberation. Meanwhile Dr. Wrangel had decided to obey the orders of his superiors at home, and on Sept. 3 he boarded the ship which was to carry him across the ocean.

In the same year, on Easter Monday, April 4, 1768, the pastor of Trinity church at Wilmington, Borell, died of consumption. He had preached his last sermon on Oct. 25, 1767, in English, and at his burial one Swedish minister, Wicksell, officiated in English, and another, the Rev. Mr. Göransson, in Swedish. Pursuant to a request of the congregation, the assistant of their late pastor, Girelius, was, by a royal commission, appointed his successor in office. On Trinity Sunday, 1770, the anniversary of the dedication of the oldest Lutheran church in America, its last Swedish and its last Lutheran pastor was ordained within its walls. The greater part of his pastoral work was done in English. His catechumens, whom he met every Friday, were instructed in English. The books which he distributed among them, were English and had been furnished by a missionary society in England at the request of Dr. Wrangel. The public services of the congregation were, at first, Swedish on one Sunday and English on the next; but from January 1773 they were English on two Sundays and Swedish on the third.

At Wicaco, the Vestry was convened on July 4, 1770, to receive the latest news from Sweden. "After reading a letter from the Arch Bishop and Consistory of Sweeden"—so say the Records—"setting forth that they require an answer from the Congregation of Mr. Andr. Georgsons continuance, we came to the following Resolves:—1, Resolved that we agree to Receive the Rev^d Mr. And^w Georgson as our Rector for the time being." And "Rector" was the

title he bore after that. He, too, learned to preach English. Before he had recovered from his mental derangement, the Vestry had resolved "That the young Gentlemen who have studied Divinity under our Doctor, Mr Peter Mühlenberg, Daniel Kuhn & Christian Stright be requested by the Wardens to fill up by turns the remaining time by preaching in the several Churches, they having already both in Preaching and pious Conversation given great satisfaction to the several Congregations." One of these young men, the son of Dr. Kuhn of Lancaster, was now at Upsala, and on May 14, 1774, the Wardens of Wicaco Church addressed a letter to young Daniel Kuhn asking him to procure his appointment to the office of an assistant minister to the United Churches by the Archbishop and Consistory, "the Congregations aforesaid being in much want of a Minister well acquainted with the English tongue which if they can obtain in having you nominated to serve them they think will prevent their falling off from the churches and likewise be an introduction (which they wish for) of having in future Ministers of their own choice and those Natives of America." On Oct. 8 of the same year, Göransson notified the Vestry that he would apply for permission to return home to Sweden, and now the Archbishop and Consistory were petitioned to appoint "Mr. Daniell Kuhn" to the Rectorship. In their letter, dated Nov. 5, 1774, the petitioners say:—

"From an inattention of our ancestors to preserve their Mother Tongue to us their posterity and the many intermarriages by the descendants of the Swedes with the English have rendered the Swedish language less familiar than in times of Old & promises in a few years to be almost extinct in these congregations. . . . And as it is the Earnest Desire of these congregations to keep up the old constitution and preserve inviolate the Swedish Lutheran Religion they do not harbor the most distant thought of withdrawing themselves from the care & protection of his most Gracious

Majesty of Sweeden and the Right Revd. Archbishop and Consistory at Upsal. But still wish to be indulg'd as in times past with Ministers from Sweden—From a due consideration of which some few years ago a promising youth Mr. Daniel Kuhn had some Expectations given him of being recommended for these congregations if He thought proper to go to Sweden & to be Ordained a Minister there. The Vestry have the greatest reason to beleive Mr. Kuhn has long since rec^d his ordination, therefore do most Humbly recommend him as a proper person to succeed our present Pastor Georgeson.”

This petition was not granted; but in 1780, Matthias Hultgren came as Missionary Extraordinary and was, by the congregation, with the approval of the Commissary, Nicholas Collin, elected “Rector *pro tempore*.” The letter from Sweden introducing Mr. Hultgren, to be generally understood, had to be read in an English translation.

In the records of Holy Trinity at Wilmington we find in the minutes of Vestry meetings written by the Rector, Lawrence Girelius, the following statements:—

“A. D. 1782, April 1st.—The vestry having met at the parsonage, I laid before them the last letters from the Right Reverend Archbishop and the Consistory of Upsala, which contained a permission for me and Mr. Göransson to return to our native country, and stated that the King had made the following alteration in the affairs of this mission. That for the future if the congregations choose ministers from Sweden, they pay their traveling expenses from London and, when they return, to London again, the King promising to defray the expenses betwixt Sweden and London. And for the future no salary be given to the Commissary or Provost as heretofore, but that the salary which Mr. Collin has is by special grace and to cease with him, yet for the encouragement of the congregation he would continue the salary for the assistant or Extraordinarius, as he is called, and defray the whole of his passage whenever wanting....

“The Vestry being met at Mr. Lawson’s on the 18th reported that if the minister should conclude to go home, which by-the-way they hoped he would not do, at least not at this time, that their hearty thanks might be expressed to the King for his gracious care for the salvation of their souls, requesting that whenever the present minister shall go, another Godly Divine, at least tolerably well acquainted with the English tongue, might be sent to them, for whom they are willing to pay expenses from London.”

This decision and declaration was upheld when, on February 26, 1784, “the minister informed the Vestry that the Rev. Mr. Collin, Rector of Raccoon and Pennsneck Churches, and the Rev. Mr. Hultgren, Rector of Wicacoe, requested the attendance of the Vestry here in the church on the 14th inst.” On May 10, 1784, the same matter was before the Vestry at Philadelphia, and it was agreed that the congregations would accept the King’s gracious proposal, “provided a Missionary could be obtain’d who besides other Necessary Qualifications has a sufficient Knowledge of the English Tongue; that a Native of Sweden would then be most acceptable, but that otherwise the Congregations would be best served by an American, who after having acquired some degree of Education here might finish it in Sweden and return with Holy Orders.”

On June 14, 1786, in a meeting of thirteen “Vestrymen and Church Wardens” at Philadelphia, at which “Rev. Matthias Hultgren, Rector” was also present, a communication from Provost Girelius was submitted which said:—

“Gentlemen of the Vestry,

“We have taken the liberty to request the favor of Your Attendance in order to acquaint you with the Contents of the late Dispatches from our Superiors at Home the right Rev^d Arch Bishop of Upsala the H^{ble} Fredenheim one of the King’s Secretaries which are as follows: That the Rev^d Mr. Hultgren is agreeable to his request permitted to re-

turn to his native countrie—that the Rev^d Mr. Collin is appointed to succeed him at Wicacoa, and that part of his congregation called Raccoon which he is commanded occasionally to visit—that part of the congregation called Pennsneck, to be in like manner occasionally visited by the Rev^d Laurence Girelius of Wilmington.

“That for the future it is but reasonable, as the Object, which was the Sweed Tongue, ceaseth, also the expenses of Sweden should cease; the King hath taken a middle way as the Congregations can all along obtain ministers when they desire or ask for them, only that they themselves provide for them.”

The “Vestry and Church-Wardens” were not slow to act on these overtures, and two days later, an answer had been framed and signed, from which we quote the following:—

“The Vestry always maintaining a due sense of the care and Attention of His present Majesty the King of Sweden and his Royal Predecessors towards the Churches, has agreed to receive the Revd. Mr. Collin as their Pastor and Rector, reserving to the Congregations a Right hereafter of their own appointment of a Minister from this side the water should they find it more convenient and beneficial to themselves and to the Welfare of these Churches, so that hereafter it will be entirely unnecessary for any future appointment to take place from Sweden of a Minister to serve in these Congregations unless a Request of that kind should be made in due form which is not very probable, as the Swedish Tongue is almost entirely extinct in Pennsylvania.”

In the following year, 1787, “An Act to Confirm and amend the Charter of Incorporation of the United Swedish Lutheran churches” was passed by the government of Pennsylvania, of which Section 5 ran as follows:—

“And whereas it is represented to this House, that the Swedish Language is almost extinct and in consequence

thereof the Mission from Sweden may probably cease to be continued according to the ancient custom and Usage—in that case and not otherwise, the Church Wardens and Vestry Men of the said United Churches for the time being shall convene together the congregations of the said United Churches of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merrion, by Notice given in one or more of the public Newspapers of this city, for at least three Weeks successively, and a Majority of the said congregation so met (who are descendants of or intermarried with the Descendants of those Ancient Swedes whose Names are upon Record in the Church Books of Wicacoa, as donors to or purchasers of the Lands now held and belonging to the said Church, and who have heretofore attached themselves as Members of the said United Churches by serving in the Office of Vestry men, or attending divine service either by themselves or families) together with a Majority of the Church Wardens, and Vestry Men, shall establish some Rule, or Regulation for the future choice or election of a Rector and other Minister or Ministers to supply the said Churches, provided always that such Rector and other Ministers shall be in the Ministry of the Lutheran or Episcopal Churches and hold their faith in the Doctrines of the same.”

In a similar way the Charter of “The Swedes Lutheran Church” at Wilmington was changed in 1795, whereby this congregation, like the United Churches at Wicaco etc., laid aside its Lutheran character. The preamble of the revised Charter stated the reason why “alterations, additions and amendments” had become necessary:—

“Whereas the Swedes Lutheran Church, called Trinity Church in the Borough of Wilmington, in the county of New Castle, in the State of Delaware was of Swedish foundation and hath heretofore been filled by missionaries from the Swedish government, to whom an annual stipend was paid by that government; and whereas the knowledge of the Swedish language amongst the members of said church

hath become extinct, and the mission from Sweden hath ceased for some time past." . . .

One of the paragraphs of the amended Charter said:—

“And be it further enacted, That the vestrymen and churchwardens shall have full power to choose and appoint for one year and so on from year to year forever after, a preacher or minister to fill the said church, and all subordinate officers of said church; Provided always, That such preacher or minister be ordained according to the ordinances of the Lutheran, or Episcopal Church, and hold his faith in unity with the doctrines of the same.”

It was only consistent herewith that “The Vestry and Wardens of Trinity Church assembled in said church on Saturday, March 5th, 1796, it being quarterly meeting,” declared “that any free white male person supporting a moral character, professing the Lutheran or Episcopal faith, who have entered into the communion of Trinity Church, taken a seat in said church and has paid a contribution to the support of the ministry one year previous to an annual election, shall have a right to vote. Likewise any person of the above description, who has been estimated a reputable member for four years shall have a right to be voted for as vestrymen or wardens.”

The pastor of the congregation was at that time, and had been since 1792, an Episcopalian, Joseph Clarkson, whom also the Vestrymen of Wicaco &c. had recommended to their brethren at Wilmington as a worthy successor to Pastor Girelius on the latter's return to Sweden in 1791. The only former Swedish missionary who now remained in America was Nicholas Collin. From his hand and over his signature we have, in a pastoral letter dated Oct. 1, 1797, and addressed “To the members of the Swedish Lutheran Congregations of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merion,” the following portraiture of the state of these congregations toward the close of the 18th century:—

“The mixture of nations and religious denominations; the want of order so common in this part of America; the gradual extinction of the Swedish language; a want of gratitude to some worthy pastors; and the faults of the less worthy (whether of the head or heart)—all these causes combined in various ways have from a longer period, but more especially since thirty or forty years, so impaired these congregations, that but a part of those who by the charter have a right to membership merit the same. Corruption of manners and many calamities have been and are the visible consequences. Many of the children receive no education, and both from ignorance and early habits become vicious youths. Many persons both old and young frequent no public worship whatever; some fluctuate between various societies, and never become settled in principles and practise. How many of the ancient Swedish families have lost opulent patrimonies by their debauchery, vanity, idleness; and by the unhappy connections they formed, evil companions, fraudulent dealers and wicked conjugal mates.”

Collin remained the pastor of the “United Swedish Lutheran Churches of Wicaco, Kingsessing and Upper Merion,” to the end of his life, Oct. 7, 1831. In the course of years, since 1787, a number of assistants labored by his side, Joseph Clarkson, Slator Clay, Joseph Turner, Jehu C. Clay, James Wiltbank, M. B. Roche, Charles M. Dupuy, Pierce Connelly, all of whom were clergymen of the Episcopal Church. One of them, Jehu C. Clay, became Collin’s successor in the pastorate. In 1842, the three churches separated, and in the new charter, the old church built in Rudman’s days was no longer by name what it had long ago ceased to be in fact, Swedish and Lutheran, the corporate name being “the Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of Gloria Dei Church, in the District of Southwark.” Still Sect. 7 of the Charter of 1842 said:—“No person shall be the Rector or assistant minister of this Church, unless he shall be in the ministry of the Swedish Lutheran, or

Protestant Episcopal Church, and hold his faith in the doctrine of the same." In 1846 the Charter was again amended. Article I read:—"This church acknowledges itself to be a member of, and to belong to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. As such it accedes to, recognizes, and adopts the Constitution, Canons, Doctrines, Discipline, and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; and acknowledges their authority accordingly."

The congregations at Wilmington, Raccoon, and Pennsneck had long before passed over into the Episcopal Church, Kingsessing and Upper Merion went the same way.

What we have followed up through a long array of historical facts as they appear in the original sources is a two-fold change which these congregations in the Delaware valley have undergone. In the beginning, these congregations were Swedish and Lutheran; at the end, they were neither Swedish nor Lutheran, but English and Episcopal. But the two changes, the change of language and the change of creed, though they went, part of the way, hand in hand, were by no means identical. The change from Swedish to English was one thing, that from Lutheran to Episcopal, another, and in tracing the causes of both it will be necessary to exercise due care in keeping them asunder. For this reason we have reserved a series of facts bearing upon the change of creed for a future chapter, and in summing up what the facts set forth in the preceding pages should teach the present generation we invite the reader's attention at present to the change of language, and that only.

Before entering upon the causes which worked together to bring about the change of language in the early Lutheran churches on the Delaware, we would point out that this change made slow headway in its earlier stage and progressed with increasing rapidity after a certain period. At the end of the first half century of Swedish Lutheranism in

America, the spokesman of nearly a thousand petitioners could say, "We all of us understand Swedish." After another half century the fact that "Swedish was in our American churches in a great degree forgotten and neglected" caused a candidate for a pastorate in these churches to fear that "for the first year," until he should have acquired sufficient familiarity with the English language, he "could do little or no service in all the work necessary to be done in the various charges committed to him." The time was even then close at hand when the official language of the "Rector" and the Vestrymen of the Swedish congregations was no longer Swedish, but English, and long before another half century had expired, it was officially stated that "the Sweed Tongue ceaseth," that "the Swedish Language is almost extinct," and a little later that "the knowledge of the Swedish language amongst the members of said church hath become extinct."

It is, furthermore, remarkable that an acceleration of the change of language set in at a time of increased prosperity throughout the Swedish congregations in America, when the arrival of talented and energetic missionaries had inaugurated a new era, when the new and stately Swedes' Churches had been built and dedicated, and attracted the attention and enlisted the respect of many who had until then taken little notice of the "Lutherian" church.

Both of these observations are of value for our investigation. All changes of whatever kind, in moral and social and physical life, even in inanimate nature, proceed with increasing rapidity unless the retarding agencies exceed the promoting causes in force or persistency. Again, every process of assimilation is favored by greater approximation and closer association of the elements between which this process is going on.

That the language of a people is modified by contact with other languages is a law which is akin to the laws of nature, and to which the languages of all ages bear witness.

And the closer the contact, the more potent its influence. While the Swedish settlers were among themselves at Christina and Tinicum and Cranhook and Marcus Hook and Wicaco, and throughout the rural districts the nearest neighbor in every direction was again, with but few exceptions, a Swede, there was little contact with the few people in the valley who spoke another language, and among these few there were Dutch and Germans besides the English who gradually multiplied their numbers in what had been New Sweden. Thus, during the first period, not only the older people, who had immigrated from Sweden, remained Swedes in language and customs, but also their children who grew up in this country became what their early training and their associations in domestic and social and religious life made them, young people who "all of them understood Swedish" better than any other language. To the end of the century they were known and mentioned as "the Swedes." William Penn addressed a letter to "the Swedes" in his province, telling them to keep their homes and fear no oppression. In a petition the petitioners announce themselves as "We Swedes and Finns belonging to Cranhook Church." And yet even during this conservative period the influence of the limited contact between the Swedes and their English neighbors had not been entirely without effect. Thus we have seen Carl Springer sufficiently versed in English to translate Thelin's letter into the Governor's language.

After this conservative period, a change of conditions and circumstances set in and continued. During the first half of the 18. century immigration from Europe was strong, especially from England and Germany. But among the many thousands who landed there were few Swedes. At the same time, the remaining immigrated Swedes of the first period passed away, and their children and grandchildren, naturally less attached to Swedish traditions, and living in a more densely settled country, came under the increasing influence of new associations. When *Gloria Dei* was dedi-

cated, the number of visitors who did not understand Swedish was so considerable that the Swedish preacher deemed it proper to repeat his sermon in English, and many were the English sermons preached in these churches in subsequent years, until the knowledge of English was deemed an essential qualification of a Swedish preacher in America. Even the first pastor of *Gloria Dei* preached more English than Swedish during his later years. Of the seventy-seven marriages solemnized by Acrelius in 1750, only five were those of couples belonging to the congregation; most of the names recorded in the register were English, and three of the five marked as within the congregation were mixed marriages, one of the parties being English. Compare Carl Springer's statement, "We all of us understand Swedish," with the statement of the Pennsneck people in 1747, that "most of them were English." Small wonder that the time was not far distant when the Swedish language in America was said to be "extinct." For what was there to retard the process of assimilation with nearly everything in its favor? Swedish schools had, from the beginning, been few and shortlived. Education had been scanty during the earlier period. Of the fifteen signers of a petition in the name of the "Congregation of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession on the South River," eight, and of the signers of another document, all but one, were unable to write their names and signed by their "mark." From the time of Biörck's successor, Hesselius, till after the arrival of Acrelius, for upwards of twenty-five years, no Swedish school was taught in the Wilmington charge, and very little after that. As a consequence, it proved more and more difficult to get the young people to attend the Swedish services and catechizations, and thus these preservatives also were of the least benefit to those who were most in need of them. Swedish periodicals were unknown in those days. Swedish immigration had ceased. The efforts of the Swedish pastors to stay the current were futile. Facts were then, as they are

now, stubborn things to deal with, and the *modus vivendi* to which the preachers had to accommodate themselves was to speak English with their people, to whom even the authorities in Sweden became intelligible only as their communications were rendered into English. Thus the causes concurring in bringing about the change from Swedish to English, the influences of social life, of mixed marriages and the resulting family connections, of schooling and reading, business intercourse and politics, and even religious life were free to act under little and decreasing hindrance and, consequently, with increasing energy and rapidity, toward the final result.

That this final result was the extinction, not only of the Swedish language, but also of Lutheranism, in these Swedish Lutheran congregations was, however, due to causes which we have hitherto only incidentally touched upon and which we intend to bring into relief in a subsequent chapter of this Lesson on the Language Question.

A. G.
