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Doctrinal Theology.

SOTERIOLOGY.

DEFINITION.

Soteriology is the doctrine of Holy Scripture concerning the application and appropriation of the merits of Christ to the individual sinner, whereby the sinner is led to the actual possession and enjoyment of the blessings which Christ has actually procured for all mankind. Christ is σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου, the *Savior of the world*.¹⁾ *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself*.²⁾ Christ is the *propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world*.³⁾ The Mediator between God and man reconciled the world with God not partially or potentially, but wholly and actually. *By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*.⁴⁾ When he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, the work of redemption had been fully performed; *he had by himself purged our sins*.⁵⁾

Yet, among those whom the Lord has bought, there are those who *bring upon themselves swift destruction*.⁶⁾ Though God *HATH reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ*,⁷⁾ and we *WERE reconciled to God by the death of his Son*,⁸⁾

1) John 4, 42. 1 John 4, 14.

3) 1 John 2, 2.

6) 2 Pet. 2, 1.

4) Hebr. 10, 14.

7) 1 Cor. 5, 18.

2) 2 Cor. 5, 19.

5) Hebr. 1, 3.

8) Rom. 5, 10.

Historical Theology.

RELIGIOUS TRAINING IN THE EARLIER LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

The earliest Lutheran settlement and colonial congregation in America was planted in New Sweden, at what is now Wilmington in Delaware. When, on February 15, 1643, Governor Printz landed at Fort Christina, the first pastor of that congregation, Reorus Torkillus, was still active in the ministry among the colonists, and the instruction under which the new Governor held his office concerned the pastor also, inasmuch as it enjoined the duty of exercising due care that public worship and Lutheran doctrine as well as the religious customs of the church of the mother country be maintained, that Christian discipline be practiced, and that the young be properly instructed and brought up in the fear of the Lord. Christian education was thus from the beginning set down as a matter of public concern, just as public worship and Christian discipline. When, on September 7, 1643, Reorus Torkillus died, Mag. John Campanius, who had landed with Governor Printz, took charge of his work at Christina, while, at the same time, he ministered to the Swedish Lutherans higher up on the Delaware, where the Governor had erected a wooden church near his brick residence. In a letter from the President of the king's council, Peter Brahe, the colonists and those in authority were again admonished to continue faithful and steadfast in the ways of the church at home, especially, also, in preserving not only the Lutheran doctrine, but also the Swedish language, in its purity, and to adhere to the manners and customs of the mother country. This included the training of the young in Lutheran doctrine according to Luther's catechism, and when, in carrying out another instruction

of the superiors at home, Campanius and his Governor took up missionary work among the aborigines, the first book translated into the Delaware Indian tongue by Campanius was Luther's Small Catechism.

Before Mag. Campanius departed from the colony on board of the "*Swan*," May 16, 1648, to return to Sweden, his successor in office, Lars Carlson Lockenius, had arrived at Christina and entered upon his forty years' ministry among the Swedes and Finns in the Delaware valley. When, in October, 1653, Gov. Printz, too, set out on his homeward voyage on a Dutch ship, the conflict which eventually, in 1655, resulted in the termination of Swedish rule on the banks of the Delaware, had already set in. But the articles of capitulation signed at Fort Christina on Sept. 25, 1655, contained the stipulation that the Swedes and Finns who should choose to remain should enjoy the privilege of abiding by the Augsburg Confession and of having among them a person to instruct them in the doctrine therein set forth. Thus it was, that the Swedish Pastor Lars Lock was permitted to remain with his Lutheran people when the two other Lutheran ministers, Hjort and Nertunius, returned to Sweden on the same ship which bore the last Swedish Governor of New Sweden homeward.

The territory in charge of Pastor Lars was very large, and one of the duties he found it most difficult to perform was the religious instruction of the young. A number of Dutch Lutherans who had settled at New Amstel, who had been in the same plight, had succeeded in obtaining a Domine from New Amsterdam, Abenius Zetskoorn, who was taking particular care of their children. To him the Swedes at Tinicum extended an invitation to preach a sermon in their church, and when, with the consent of Pastor Lars, he complied with their request, and preached for them on Pentecost, 1663, they offered him a salary equal to that of Domine Lars if he would come to them and serve them chiefly as the teacher of their children. But the Dutch

Lutherans at New Amstel did not give their consent to the change, and Zetskoorn remained where he was.

In the course of years, the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware were forgotten in the mother country and by the mother church. They were re-discovered toward the end of the century, and the Swedish Lutheran church in America was adopted as the foster child of the Swedish crown. When, in 1697, the first royal missionaries, Biörck and Rudman, arrived in this country, they brought with them a letter from Archbishop Swebilius, which is still preserved in the archives of *Gloria Dei* church at Philadelphia. In this letter of instruction, the missionaries were charged to take particular care in the instruction of the children, especially in teaching them the catechism. Pastor Biörck, who spared no pains in the performance of this duty, was desirous of seeing the young people still more carefully trained in the catechism, and sent a petition to Sweden for an assistant. Thereupon Andrew Sandel was sent over by the royal Consistory, and the pastoral letter of the Archbishop, Eric Benzeliuss, also preserved in *Gloria Dei*, expressly mentions, among other duties of the new minister, that of diligently inculcating the catechism. To secure the best benefit to all, catechizations were arranged in the various districts of the parish, the parents bringing their children to private dwellings. Beyond this, in November, 1699, one Swen Colsberg was engaged as schoolteacher at Christina, and school was opened in the house of elder Mounson with 18 or 20 children. The erection of a schoolhouse was planned for the ensuing spring. But the plan was not carried into effect. The timber hewn for the purpose was left to rot in the woods. The teacher's salary remained unpaid, and Mr. Swen had to look for other employment until, in June, 1700, several members of the congregation enabled him to reopen the school. On Raccoon Creek another school was opened with Hans Stahl as teacher. But the decadence of the congregation led to the extinction of the school. Swen Colsberg

died in January, 1710. In 1712, king Charles XII, in a letter from Tamerlask near Adrianople, promised the support of a schoolteacher. The teacher was actually sent; it was Mr. Arvid Hernboom, whom, in due time, we find at work at Wicaco. At Christina, Sandel, Biörck's successor in the provostship, found that in the catechizations but few were willing to answer, that the children were irregular in their attendance, and that, when they did come, there were no seats for them. The provost admonished the parents to send their children to the catechizations, and to set an encouraging example by attending themselves and answering the questions proposed by the pastor, Mag. Hesselius, who declared his readiness to instruct the children until a schoolteacher could be secured. It was agreed that the houses at which school should be taught during the week should be announced on the previous Sunday. A request of the people at Christina to those at Wicaco to loan them their teacher, Mr. Hernboom, was refused, although an elder of Christina, Charles Christopher Springer, had generously offered to give the teacher board and lodging free of charge and to pay five pounds towards his salary. Still the project of opening a school was not abandoned. A certain Mr. Gioding, who had taught a school before, was engaged. On the day when the school was to open, the parents with their children assembled at the house which had been offered for the purpose. The pastor, too, was there. A short service with singing and prayer and an appropriate address was held. Thereupon the children were enrolled and examined. The roll has been preserved to the present day, and the school flourished for years. In 1718, public examinations were held, "in order to learn what progress the children had made." The occasion was celebrated with due solemnities. The children were examined in the catechism, and though the teacher had been under necessity to instruct "orally only, without books," the children were so prompt in their answers and so ready

to prove them with texts from holy Scripture, that all the people present praised God with tears of joy.

At Wicaco, or Philadelphia, the school had again been discontinued. On Quasimodogeniti Sunday, 1722, Provost Hesselius, of Christina, visited the congregation, and after the sermon, the first question he put to the members present was, whether there was any likelihood of having a Swedish school reopened in the congregation, and whether Mr. Hernboom would, as before, serve as a teacher. Mr. Hernboom, however, declined, and the people thought that, living so widely scattered, they did not see that they could send their children to a Swedish school, but that they would see to it that their children should learn Swedish after they had learned to read English. But this was not the only sign of the congregation's decline. In 1723, Pastor Lidman, the church-council, and the members of the congregation deliberated how the contributions should be collected. It was reported that at Christina and Racoon the congregations had given bond for the support of the pastors, and that the church wardens were empowered to go into court to compel delinquent members to pay what they had promised. The congregation decided not to resort to such methods. But in 1725 the pastor still complained that his salary was unpaid.

On Nov. 14, 1730, Lidman preached his valedictory sermon, and after a vacancy of two years, during which John Eneberg temporarily served the congregation at Philadelphia, Mag. Gabriel Falck was installed. Of him we are told that he preached good sermons and instructed the children in the houses, teaching them the catechism. But his pastorate was of brief duration for reasons that do not concern us here.

With John Dylander, who arrived on November 2, 1737, to take pastoral charge of *Gloria Dei* church, a young theologian, Cand. William Malander, came over to serve as schoolteacher. But he soon found employment in pastoral

work at Raccoon Creek and Pennsneck, and after many vicissitudes landed in Benjamin Franklin's printing office at Philadelphia.

When Mag. Gabriel Naesman, who had been appointed by king Frederick, Aug. 9, 1742, arrived at Philadelphia, he found the parsonage and the surrounding grounds in very good, the congregation in very bad condition. A plan of reform, drawn up in four chapters, was submitted to the members whom, after five fruitless attempts, he had at last induced to assemble in a meeting of the congregation. In chapter I, *de doctrina*, the fifth question proposed was whether this congregation, still claiming to be called Swedish and Lutheran, was opposed to the way of all other Swedish and Lutheran churches to have the teaching of the catechism practiced in their midst by catechizations, or whether the members would see to it that their children should attend such catechizations at the church as well as at other places to be determined by the pastor and the vestry. At a subsequent meeting, on May 16, these deliberations were continued and it was agreed that on every Sunday from Trinity to Advent an early morning service with a discourse on the catechism was to be held, and that in the catechization thereon no one should refuse to answer. Most of the members also promised to attend the catechetical exercises which the pastor intended to conduct at various places during the spring and summer seasons, and that the heads of families would admonish their children to attend.

A new impetus was given to the Swedish churches by the endeavors of Israel Acrelius. The first official act of Archbishop Henry Benzelius was the execution of an instruction to this new Provost of the Swedish churches in America. In Section II of this extensive document it was made the duty of the provost to pay due attention to catechetical instruction and to have care that in all congregations catechizations be held publicly in the churches and also in the houses, especially with the young. Section III

prescribed that in every congregation a school for children should be established, in which, first of all, instruction was to be carried on in the Swedish language. In Section VII some provision was made for the training of young men for service in the schools. Of all this the churches were in great need. At Wilmington no school had been held since the days of Mag. Andr. Hesselius. Pastor Tranberg had imparted religious instruction to the children, but with very unsatisfactory results because of the great ignorance of the children in all things. At a meeting held soon after Acrelius' arrival, it was resolved to employ a student, Nils Forsberg, of Götheborg, who had lately arrived, as teacher, and to have him instruct the children in the several houses where they were to meet. Later on, the congregation was divided into districts, in each of which, on certain days, the pastor conducted catechizations for old and young. Besides these exercises, catechetical examinations in the churches were again introduced and, after some time, well attended. The exercises were carried on in Swedish, but such as were unable to answer in that language responded in English until they had again become familiar with the Swedish tongue. At Raccoon and Pennsneck, Eric Unander, who had come over with Acrelius, was placed, first as supernumerary, then, with a royal commission of July 9, 1750, as regular pastor. At his installation a letter from the consistory was read, in which the people were also warmly admonished to attend the instructions in the catechism and to keep their children to school.

In 1756, Acrelius returned to Sweden. His successor in the provostship was Parlin, of Philadelphia, who died Dec. 22, 1757, and was succeeded by Dr. Carl Magnus Wrangel, one of the most ponderous men in the long line of Swedish pastors on the Delaware. At a pastoral conference, Provost Wrangel recommended that great care be devoted to catechization. He advised that, in order to draw the grown people to these exercises, some portion of the "Table

of Duties'' in the catechism might be taken up and expounded, and he remarked that he intended to make the life of Christ the subject of a series of discourses and examinations with the children. Among the questions laid before the conference was this: "What is the best method of the religious instruction of children?" It was extensively answered by the Provost. His opinion was that in all churches the same catechism should be used, that in the cities the pastors should frequently visit the schools; that in the country the children should be catechized in their homes and in the presence of their parents.

The last Swedish and the last Lutheran pastor of Trinity church at Wilmington was Mag. Girelius, whom the king appointed, on Dec. 1, 1768, to succeed Pastor Borell, whose assistant he had been for some time. He was installed on Trinity Sunday, 1770. Spiritual life ran low in the congregation, and the outlook was gloomy. Coming events which threw the people into wild commotion were casting their shadows before them. By great exertions the pastor succeeded in bringing about a brief period of activity, and one of the measures he employed was catechetical instruction of the children and young people every Friday, and in the English language. But soon all this came to a standstill. The time came when two companies of militia were quartered in Old Swedes' Church and public services were entirely suspended, until Col. McDonald of the British army ordered the Swedish pastor to preach to his soldiers.

The first Lutheran schoolteacher in the Hudson valley whose name has been handed down to us was a German by the name of Melchior Daussweber, who had come to America with the Palatines under the pastorate of Josua Kocherthal and opened his school in a schoolhouse which was built in the palatine colonies on the Hudson in 1710.

The Dutch Lutherans on the Hudson had been *ecclesia pressa* under Dutch rule, and when New Amsterdam had been changed into New York, and Fort Orange into Al-

bany, the two towns and all the country lying between them constituted the extensive parish of the Dutch Lutheran Domines. Under these disadvantages the Christian education of the young suffered most grievously. For a time the Lutherans in New York and in some of the country districts had made peculiar arrangements with the teachers of the Dutch Reformed schools, who admitted the Lutheran children and permitted them to learn and recite the Lutheran catechism. But this practice was discontinued when it was prohibited by the reformed Domines. Thus the Lutherans were driven to do what they ought to have done before, to make different provision for the spiritual care of their children. In fact, this was one of the causes which, in 1731, led to the calling of a second pastor, Domine Knoll, who, after his arrival at New York, in 1732, ministered to the southern congregations, while Domine Berkenmeyer retained the charges north of the Highlands, with his residence at Loonenburg, now Athens, on the Hudson. When the new pastor was called, public catechizations were expressly stipulated among his pastoral duties. About the same time we hear of a schoolteacher Musselbach, who served the Raritan congregation in New Jersey, which, with other congregations in that part of the country, had for a time been affiliated to the parish of the Dutch Domines. These congregations, in 1734, also obtained a pastor of their own, Mag. John Aug. Wolff, who, with Domines Berkenmeyer and Knoll and a number of congregations, nine of which were represented by delegates at the first meeting, organized the first Lutheran Synod in America, in 1734. One of the charges preferred against Mag. Wolff before the convention of 1735 was that he neglected the school and the catechumens; and in the agreement which he signed and which had been drafted by the "*Praeses Synodi*," Mag. Wolff promised to faithfully perform his duty of inspecting the school and instructing the catechumens. In 1736, a schoolhouse was built at Loonenburg, and the reader

and precentor of the congregation was engaged as "school-keeper." But when the schoolteacher had, one Sunday and during public service, eloped with a farmer's daughter, and no successor could be found, the schoolhouse was let as a dwelling house, and the pastor took charge of the religious training of the children, making it a practice to impart religious instruction to them three times a week in the parsonage for about five months each year. A plan to introduce public catechizations before the Sunday services failed for lack of attendance. The only children that appeared were those of the pastor's household, and the plan was abandoned after several fruitless attempts.

In New York, the struggle between the Dutch and the German elements in the old Lutheran congregation set in under the pastorate of Domine Knoll. When, in 1742, the Germans demanded and the Dutch refused the introduction of German Sunday services, the pastor declared his readiness to make a beginning with German instruction in the catechism every Friday; but it seems that the offer was not accepted.

Among the Germans in Pennsylvania schools were established at an early day; but they were largely temporary affairs, conducted by men who were for various reasons likely to pull stakes and seek new camping grounds before or soon after they had become too well known at one place. Good teachers were rare, and the "lazy and drunken schoolmasters" who roamed about the country did more harm than good. Thus most of the young people grew up with little or no religious training.

In the summer of 1734 Daniel Weisiger appeared at Halle and carried a petition to Professor Francke to select an able and honest preacher and schoolman, and several others later on, for the congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover, and Providence. At New Hanover, a former bridge-clerk of Heidelberg had served as schoolteacher. In 1739, the elders of the congregations again urged the

wants of their "churches and schools" in a communication to court-preacher Ziegenhagen, which was, afterwards, also forwarded to Halle with the request that "his Reverence," Professor Francke, would endeavor, as soon as possible, to seek "an able subject" for these people and their circumstances. A year and a half later, the "able subject" was found. It was Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, who was destined to become the organizer of an extensive German Lutheran church and of a coextensive system of German Lutheran schools in America.

Mühlenberg, who had considerable experience in educational work before his emigration to America, at once, after his arrival in his new field of labor, directed his attention to this important duty of the church. At Providence, the first public structure erected was a "schoolhouse of wood," and on the Sunday of the first week he spent at New Hanover, Mühlenberg announced that on Monday he would open school for the children of the congregation, and urged upon the congregation the necessity of building a schoolhouse. He recommended that the oldest children should be sent first, and when school was opened, "children" of 17, 18, 19, 20 years came with their ABC-books. At night, some young fellows came to school desirous of learning English, and Mühlenberg read the English New Testament with them. On Saturday the school was closed for the time being, and the pastor returned to Providence, where subscriptions were taken for a schoolhouse. Here, too, a first week was spent in teaching school for the older children. After a little while, Mühlenberg had things arranged so that he would teach school one week at Philadelphia, the next week at Providence, the third week at New Hanover. As the work was growing on his hands, he called for aid, and together with the first minister who was sent to his assistance from Halle, Peter Brunnholtz, two young theologians, Kurtz and Schaum, were sent over "to instruct the young in reading, writing, arithmetic, and

the congregation live very far apart. The elders hope to be more zealous in the future, if it be possible, to bring the children together.

In New Hanover there is a fair school. Jacob Löser is the schoolmaster. The congregational treasury contributes somewhat to it.

In the filials of Saccum and Upper Milford, there is no school; if the congregations could make provision for a school, a teacher could be had. But the elders answer that the congregations could not have a school together on account of the distance. The proposition was made whether they could not alternate with the schoolmaster each month. In that case the Synod desires an early answer from them.

In Tulpehocken there is no school. Mr. Kurtz proposes to teach school there himself this winter, if he have time.

In Nordkiel, a filial of Tulpehocken, the congregation is scattered, one part belonging to Wagner, one part to Stöver, and one part to Mr. Kurtz, and therefore no provision for a school as yet.

Handschuh and his elders report that the school has been flourishing now for a year, since Mr. Schmidt has instructed nearly seventy children, in which work Mr. Vigera assisted; but as Mr. Schmidt has decided to go to Europe, they are anxious to know where they may get another in his place.

In Earlington there is no school."

In that year, young J. A. Weygand was sent to the Raritan to preach "and teach school."

In 1750 the report was:—"The schools, as far as possible, are flourishing in all congregations, Goschenhoppen and the other small congregations excepted. At York, schoolmaster Maul, on account of his age, desires to be relieved from further service; but he and the congregation received from us ministers a certificate authorizing him to continue." In the same year, a German *Cantor*, Gottlieb Mittelberger, came to this country with an organ for the

other branches commonly taught in schools, but especially in Christian doctrine after the norm of holy Scripture and according to Luther's Catechism, under the supervision of Pastor Mühlenberg and his assistant, Mr. Peter Brunnholtz." Kurtz was put in charge of the school to be taught in the new schoolhouse at New Hanover, and Schaum opened school at Philadelphia. Mr. Kurtz had an attendance of 30 to 40 children in the winter and received five shillings per quarter for each child and more provisions than he had use for. He lived "like a nobleman in Germany." At Lancaster, a school under the management of an able teacher, Mr. Schmidt, was soon in a flourishing condition, and a second teacher, Mr. Vigera, was employed.

At the first meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in 1748, particular attention was paid to the work of Christian training, and the record of the reports on "the condition of the schools" says:—

"Brunnholtz reports concerning his schools: In Philadelphia he has out of love for the common welfare had a school held in his house for three years and a half; has supported Mr. Schaum for this purpose; since Easter there has been no school, because there was neither schoolmaster, nor the necessary support, as Mr. Schaum had to be used elsewhere. But before winter, he and his elders will do all in their power.

In Germantown he now has two schoolmasters. The one is Mr. Döling, a theological student, who was formerly among the Moravians, but left them several years ago. He keeps school in the heart of Germantown and has many children, but not all are evangelical. At the extreme end of Germantown, there has been a school for almost three years. Near Germantown, there has also been a school of some twenty children. But it is now broken up, because of the lack of support and a schoolmaster.

Mühlenberg reported that in Providence there was a school last year, but it was very small; for the members of

Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, and for three years he served as schoolteacher in the Lutheran school at Providence. In the following year, a young candidate, J. D. M. Heintzelmann, came to Philadelphia and was there engaged as teacher in the parochial school. During several months of that year, Mühlenberg served the old Lutheran congregation at New York. Here, too, he at once gathered the children and young people for religious instruction. During the first week ten to twelve children attended the lessons in his dwelling. During his second stay in New York, in the following year, he again gave regular catechetical instruction in his room, and young and old, some of 60 and 70 years, attended. At the head of the resolutions of the Synod of that year, "to be published to the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Pennsylvania and New Jersey," were these:—"1. Wherever necessary, schools shall be organized according to the excellent model of the Philadelphia congregation. 2. Instruction for children shall be held by the ministers here and there in the congregations, where necessity requires, at opportune times and under convenient circumstances." On Monday, July 27, 1761, a German Lutheran schoolhouse was dedicated at Philadelphia.

A survey of the state of the churches prepared as a report of the Preachers' Conference in June, 1762, by Pastor Handschuh contains the following section:

"A necessary inquiry was made about the schools in each of the United Congregations, upon which the following reports were made: 1. New Providence has several small schools, but the main school at the church is vacant. 2. New Hanover still has one school, and has been somewhat assisted by the society in London, but this assistance has lately been withdrawn again. 3. The condition of our schools in Philadelphia is sufficiently well known, and the public examination on the morrow shall testify of it. 4. In the Swedish congregations the Swedish schools have, alas! been neglected for several generations. But Dr. Wrangel

has started an English school in one of his congregations in which the Lutheran catechism is taught in an English translation. 5. In the Raritan congregation the German school is yet wanting. 6. In New York the German school is badly managed by reason of a worthless schoolmaster. 7. In Mr. Schaum's congregations, at Oley, a worthless schoolmaster had to be discharged; hence the school has fallen into decay at present. 8. In Vincent Township there is a good school; they have an excellent schoolmaster and nearly sixty scholars. 9. In Reading there is a well-managed school of eighty children or more. 10. Richmond also has a fair school. 11. In Rev. Kurtz, Sr.'s, congregation there are several schools; in Tulpehocken one of forty, and in Heidelberg one of thirty children. 12. In Lebanon there are no schools yet on account of the poverty of the people. 13. In Easton there is no permanent school because the people are too scattered. 14. At the Nordkiel Mr. Kurtz, Jr., keeps school himself in winter, and at first had about thirty children, but afterwards the number decreased on account of the high water. 15. In Lancaster the German school has from fifty to sixty children in summer, but from eighty to ninety in winter. It is supported by the congregation itself, without outside assistance. Its schoolmaster, Jacob Löser, is a ready and gifted man, who would be well capable of still more important service. Yet it is to be regretted that the lack of room and of a proper code of rules interferes with its efficiency."

Of the public examination which took place on Tuesday, June 29, while the Synod was convened at Philadelphia, in 1762, the report says:—

"In the afternoon, at about two o'clock, all the preachers came together in the church for the public school examination, to which not only the preachers, resident and non-resident, elders and deacons, who were present, but also the parents of the children, had been publicly invited the day before. There was an unusually large number of the school-

children, who had been led in, each class two by two, and had been seated in suitable order by their schoolmaster Hofner. The examination was opened with singing and prayer by the schoolchildren. The higher classes were examined by the preachers, especially by the non-resident Germans; but the schoolmaster examined the lower classes, the examination being interspersed with the singing of beautiful hymns. When this was finished, the schoolmaster catechized all the children in the order of their classes, in which the children were so hearty and ready, also in repeating the best proof-texts, that all the non-resident preachers, elders and deacons present were not a little astonished, and listened with the greatest satisfaction. Finally Mr. Kurtz, Jr., came before the altar, made an edifying address to the children, and closed with prayer; and at last the exercises ended with singing and the distribution of pretzels."

In the same year, the Constitution for St. Michael Lutheran Congregation at Philadelphia was adopted, which, in its preamble, was termed a "*Kirchen- und Schulordnung*." In Chapter I, Sec. 4, the ministers were charged "to exercise the supervision of the schools and schoolteachers, to visit the schools as much as possible, and to exhort the young that they might be well founded in the word of God, and in our catechism drawn therefrom, as also in other sound books."

To the Pennsylvania Synod at its convention of 1795, the following "report concerning the schools in the United Congregations" was made:—

"Mr. Krug reported, that in Friedrichstadt (Frederickstown) there was a German school with 40 to 50 children, and in his country congregations several smaller schools; but also complains that many parents prefer to send their children to English schools. ✓

Mr. Schulz reported that in his congregations there were several German schools, and that the tendency towards English was not very strong.

Mr. Helmuth and Schmidt reported, in Philadelphia there are three main schools, namely, one for boys, one for girls, and one for poor children; they have three teachers with about 250 children; besides these there are some smaller German schools. The preference for English is very strong.

Mr. Mühlenberg reports that Lancaster has one main school, with 40 to 50 children, and more. There are also some smaller schools.

Mr. Melsheimer has only one German school in his congregations, because the tendency toward English is very strong.

In Mr. Schäfer's congregations, the school at Germantown is at present vacant; but that at Barren Hill is in operation.

Mr. Lehmann has eight schools in his congregations, and several in common with the Reformed.

In Mr. Buskirk's congregations there are several schools, but most of them are only kept up in winter. In one of his congregations a schoolmaster is desired who can play the organ.

Mr. Röller's congregations have two schoolhouses, but at present no teacher; would like to have a man who can play the organ.

Mr. Jäger's congregation in Jersey has no German schools, but in the Pennsylvania congregations there are some.

Mr. Gaisenhainer's congregation in New Goschenhoppen has a strong school; but in both the other congregations there are none.

Mr. Lochmann has a fine school in Lebanon, as also at the Bergkirche; several smaller schools and a union school.

Mr. Espig's congregations, in part, have good schools, they desire to have a schoolteacher."

At the meeting of 1796, the preachers gave a report of the condition of the schools in their congregations, as follows:

"In Mr. Schulze's congregations, the schools are still in the condition they were last year. Philadelphia has four main schools, and earnest efforts are made to improve them. Lancaster numbers 40 to 80, and German and English are taught. Yorktown is very strong, and German and English are taught in the school. Mr. Schröter's congregations have four German, and one in which German and English are taught. Harrisburg numbers 30 pupils and is German and English. McAllister has two English, and in the country there are several German schools. Baltimore has no German school. Martinsburg and Schippensburg have each one school. In Mr. Carpenter's congregations there are three small German schools. In Mr. Jäger's congregations there are two regular schools. Hagerstown has one English and one German school, so also Funkstown. In Mr. Bentz's congregations there are no German schools. In Goschenhoppen the school is constantly improving. Lebanon has one school with forty scholars; others have some smaller schools. In Mr. Stock's there are English and German schools. In Mr. Lang's two German and one English and German. In Mr. Stauch's two. In Mr. Rothrauff's three German winter schools. In Mr. Gräber's two regular schools. In Mr. Grob's, two winter schools."

A tendency toward English is here and there noticeable in these reports; and it may be mentioned in this connection that in the Agenda or Liturgy as it was printed in 1786, and used throughout the synod, the General Prayer after the sermon contained the following passage: "And as it hath pleased Thee to make this a blooming garden of God and the wilderness a joyful harvest field, especially through the Germans, we pray Thee that Thou wouldst help us that we may not fail to know our nationality, but strive to have our dear young people so educated that German churches and schools may not only be maintained but brought to a more and more flourishing state." And the German parochial schools did continue to flourish even during the first decades

of the nineteenth century. As late as 1812, the parochial reports of fifty-three ministers at the synod convened at Carlisle in that year gave an aggregate of 160 schools. In connection with the parochial report of 1813, which gave a total of 164 schools, the minutes said: "It is also necessary to state that there are many more German schools in our country than are given here. Those given here are only parochial schools which are under the immediate control of the congregation. But there are very many other German schools which neighboring farmers have established among themselves, and of which they themselves have control. For this reason these latter are not found in the above enumeration."

That the free public school would become a dangerous competitor of the German parochial school was at an early day felt by the Pennsylvania Lutherans. During the meeting of the synod in 1796, a member stated that the design of the Assembly of the State, to establish free schools throughout the State would very much injure our German schools, especially in regard to the religion taught in them, and might very likely destroy them. It was, therefore, resolved, "that Messrs. Helmuth, Mühlenberg and Göring, together with the delegates from their congregations, be a committee to consider the matter, and draft a petition with reference to this business, which could be handed to the Assembly."

The most flourishing Lutheran congregation of colonial days in the South was that of the Salzburg immigrants at Ebenezer in Georgia. The school of this congregation enjoyed the services of its pastors, Johann Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau and an able schoolteacher. Religious instruction was conducted by the ministers, who had arrived with the colonists in 1734, while the schoolmaster taught the secular branches. In 1741, the school was in charge of a German schoolteacher, Mr. Ortmann; besides, an English teacher was also employed, at first, a young assistant by the name of Bishop, then a regular English

teacher, Mr. Henry Hamilton. On May 7, 1743, a second church for the members in the country was dedicated, and for the country children a separate school was opened "on the plantation." As a regular teacher was not to be had, one of the settlers, Ruprecht Steiner, took charge of the school and instructed the children in spelling and reading and "Bible texts." Later on, another man was employed in his place. He changed about with forenoon and afternoon school in two places, in order "that even the smallest children from the remotest plantations might not have too far to go to school." For this service he received a salary of five pounds from the poor-funds, and provisions from the parents of the children. The village school was, by this measure, somewhat reduced, and some grown people, whose early training had been neglected, availed themselves of the opportunity and took their lessons with Mr. Ortman from 2 to 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the children were having religious instruction with one of the ministers. Among the official duties assigned to the assistant pastor, Herm. Henry Lemke, who was called to Ebenezer in 1745, after the death of Pastor Gronau, was also this, that, "for the present, there being no schoolmaster, and the congregation being still small, he was to instruct the young, and such old people as might be able or willing, in reading, writing, etc."

The settlements of Pennsylvania Germans in North Carolina were, at first, without pastors; but they, as a rule, employed some competent person to instruct their children in religion and German. Thus, on Dutch Buffalo Creek, in that part of Mecklenburg County afterwards changed into Cabarrus County there stood a block house which was, for a considerable time, used by Lutheran and Reformed settlers as a church and schoolhouse. In 1771, Christopher Rantelmann of Rowan and Christopher Layrle of Mecklenburg County went to Europe to procure a good pastor and a good schoolteacher and means for supporting both. Their

endeavors were in all these directions successful. They obtained considerable sums of money in England and Germany, a pastor, Ad. Nüssmann, and a schoolteacher, Joh. Gottfr. Arends. The latter was, not long after his arrival, called and ordained to the ministry; but Pastor Nüssmann found another schoolmaster for his congregation on Buffalo Creek, Mr. Friesland. Yet the spiritual wants of the Lutherans in the Carolinas were far from being satisfied, and when the care of the churches in these parts had passed from Göttingen to Helmstedt, after the Revolution, Nüssmann sent an urgent request for men and books for churches and schools to Dr. Velthusen. In picturing the condition of the congregations, he wrote: "The people have, for want of ministers and schoolteachers, become quite degenerate and must, if help is not soon sent, fall away into complete heathendom. Thousands of families with numerous children, but living far apart, forget the Christian religion; their children know still less of it, and the third generation are simply heathen. There are no teachers competent to instruct them, and those who are there will tear down more than they build up." Professor Velthusen, in his way, took a deep interest in the German work in America, and among the books written by him expressly for the Germans in North Carolina we find a Catechism which, besides Luther's Small Catechism, contained a "complete course in ethics."

In Virginia, too, we find Lutheran schools connected with Lutheran churches in colonial days and after the Revolution. At Winchester, Va., the Lutheran congregation, in 1764, had a schoolmaster by the name of Anton Ludi, who, with the pastor, Caspar Kirchner, and the clerk, Ludwig Adams, signed a document which was placed in the corner stone of the new church, stating that "this temple was dedicated to Triune God and the Lutheran religion, and that all sects, of whatever name, deviating from the Evangelical Lutheran faith, or not in full accord with the same, should be for everlasting times excluded therefrom."

A Mr. Frank, formerly schoolteacher and precentor at Philadelphia, was in 1775 called by a Lutheran congregation at Culpepper, Va., as its catechist and preacher. He entered on his work in the winter of 1775, established a school, attracted old and young, even the negro slaves, with his sweet singing, catechized them, trained them in spelling, reading, etc., and singing select hymns. The conferences held in Virginia since 1793 generally met in the school-houses commonly found near the churches. The printed report of the conference of 1805 contained an "exhortation to the congregations concerning the better education of the young," from which we quote the following passage:—
"O parents, parents, do become alive to the care of your and your children's souls, before the last thunder shall crash and arouse you unto judgment. Do seek to save yourselves, and, as much as lieth in you, also your children. Do not spare pains and cost to have the children instructed in the fundamental truths of our holy religion. Send them diligently to school, according to your means and circumstances, especially such schools, in which they are trained not only for this world, but also for heaven, where singing, prayer and the catechism are exercised with them." In an "admonition to the elders, wardens, and members of all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in the State of Virginia," which was annexed to the printed report of the conference of 1809, we read:—"We advise our German brethren who are entirely without ministers, and beseech and admonish them not to neglect the reading of a sermon on Sundays and the instruction of the young in the catechism. . . . Another point to which this year's admonition shall be directed is this . . . that our German brethren everywhere should be admonished to consider how necessary it is that they be diligent in educating and instructing their children in their German mother tongue. It is much to be deplored that so little provision is made in this respect." In a form of public worship conducted

by lay readers, annexed to the same Report, the following direction is embodied:—"He lets the children come before him in due order, lets each in turn recite what it has learned from the catechism, and then he may let them go through the chief parts of the catechism in the customary way, letting each answer one question, until all have answered. He shall then allot to each his or her lesson for next Sunday. He closes the instruction by singing a few more verses." This part of the service was to be inserted between the first collect and the reading of the Gospel or Epistle, and the recitation of the Catechism was thus made a part of the regular Sunday service of those congregations. The General Prayer given in this Form of public worship contained the words: "Bless our schools, our churches, and whatever tends to Thine honor and the salvation of our souls."

The fall conference of 1815, which met at Woodstock, Shenandoah Co., Va., passed the following resolution:—"That every preacher should earnestly endeavor to make provision in all of his congregations that regular German schools be kept by men who are competent for the work, and who will also, according to the laudable order and custom of our forefathers, exercise singing and prayer in the school. In case, however, that the preacher can obtain no proper schoolteacher, he shall himself teach the school at least three months in a year. But, should it be impossible to keep such schools in some of his congregations, then it shall be the preacher's duty to see to it that as much and often as possible, on every Sunday and holiday, school may be taught by himself, or by elders, wardens, or some other competent man, in order that the growing generation may at least have instruction in reading and writing. And in order that the men who impart such school instruction may be remunerated for their endeavors, in case that the parents of some children might be unable to pay, it was deemed proper and resolved that every

preacher, through the officers of the congregation, collect something from out of the congregations, and that the amount collected be applied to make good the deficiency. And, furthermore, to promote our German schools, and also for the benefit of all our young ministers, it was resolved that all such shall keep German school as long as it shall be deemed necessary, before we give them any promotion in the public ministry or recommend them to our conference."

The publishing house at which these reports were printed, Henkel's printing office at New Market, Va., was also the first Lutheran printing house which undertook the extensive publication of German schoolbooks in America.

Among the resolutions adopted at the second meeting of the North Carolina Conference, in the fall of 1803, which constituted the first ministerial regulations of what was later called the North Carolina Synod, the last article said:—"It shall be the duty of every preacher to prepare children and other persons under their care by instruction in the catechism, that they may be confirmed to the church. The conference shall as soon as possible see to it that the catechisms requisite for such purpose be introduced among the members of the church, that they may serve as the common rule and standard of instruction."

Here as elsewhere the lack of schoolteachers was one of the chief hindrances to the progress of the work which was still looked upon as a duty of the church. At a meeting of the North Carolina Synod in Pilgrim's church, Rowan County, in 1813, it was resolved to seek the aid of the Moravians with a view of securing teachers for the children of Lutheran congregations. The printed report shows that there were objections raised against this measure. "During the deliberations on the motion several lay delegates expressed their apprehensions that dissatisfaction might arise among some of the older members, who were preoccupied with antiquated prejudices against the Breth-

ren." But the motion was carried in a slightly modified form, which provided that, if teachers from among the Moravians would have to be employed, they should be held to teach the children in the Lutheran way, from the Lutheran catechism.

At the subsequent meeting, in 1814, the synod again grappled with the school problem. Paul Henkel proposed that a fund be collected from which schoolmasters in the congregations were to be salaried, so that the children, especially the boys, might be instructed in the German language. This plan was freely discussed; but for the time being no other way was found than this that every pastor should make it his duty to establish German schools for children in his congregations, and that, if in his congregations a schoolmaster could not be sufficiently salaried by the parents, he might apply to the synod and expect assistance if and as long as the congregations would aid the plan by sufficient contributions. The committee which had been appointed to confer with the Moravians concerning a supply of schoolteachers from that side reported and submitted an answer stating that the Brethren found themselves unable to comply with the request of the committee, as they were themselves suffering under the same disadvantage, a lack of teachers for their children, especially in the country. In 1815 the school question was the first subject taken up for discussion. Enquiry was made as to the response which the resolutions of the previous year had found in the congregations. The reports showed that little had been achieved; that no collections for the particular purpose of supporting teachers in poor congregations had been made, but only contributions for general purposes had been received, aggregating to the amount of \$40.85. A proposal made in the subsequent year to have a young man trained at the cost of the synod to teach school according to the Lancastrian method was also declined "because of penury." At this meeting of 1815, which was held in the new Reformed

church in Guilford county, the school was once more the first subject of deliberation. It seems that the state of things and the prospects for the future were very discouraging, and that the majority of the pastors and congregations lost heart and abandoned the efforts kept up to that time to establish and maintain regular parochial schools throughout the congregations. At this juncture, a prominent member of the synod, Pastor Gottlieb Schober, "reported that, a short time ago, in one of his congregations a Sunday-school had been opened, in which girls of all ages and boys to the age of 12 years were, by female teachers of Salem, instructed free of cost in German reading, and which was frequented with pleasure." Here, then, a substitute for the parochial school was found, and "it was resolved that it be urgently recommended to all the preachers and candidates, if possible, to establish Sunday-schools in all congregations, in which not only children belonging to our congregations, but all without exception who desire to learn to read German, can be received and be instructed gratuitously by members of our congregations. Such schools are under the careful supervision of the ministers and the church council of such congregations. They are opened and closed with singing and prayer; Luther's catechism is taught in them, and a register is kept of the names of the children. Mr. Philip Henkel reported on this occasion that he had seen the establishment of such schools in his five congregations crowned with such success that in twelve months 260 children had learned to read there." Thus it was that the Sunday-school, conducted very much as Sunday-schools are conducted to-day, was introduced as a makeshift substitute for the parochial school in the Synod of North Carolina.

A. G.