

HALLE REPORTS

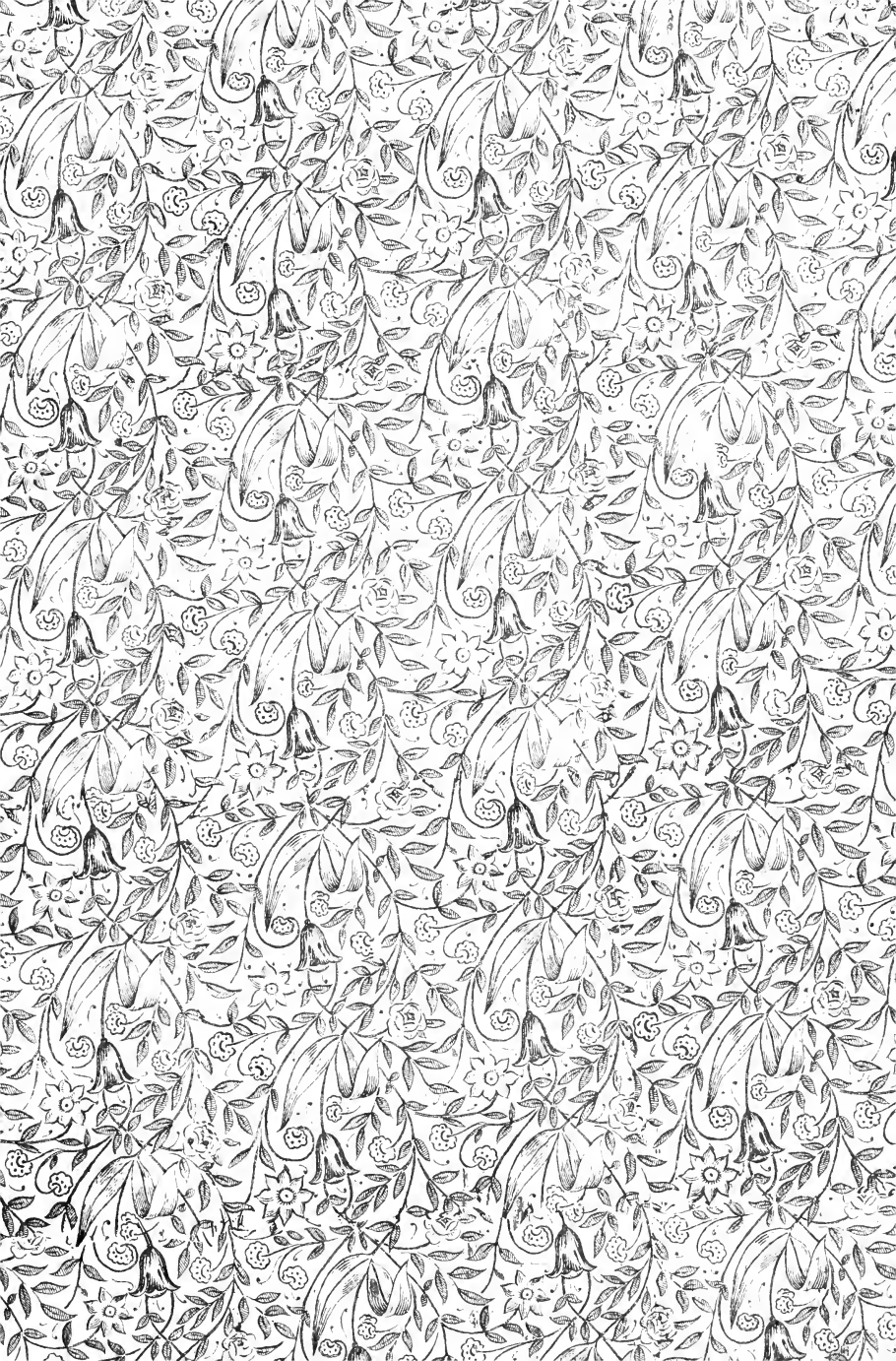
VOL I



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REPORTS.

OF THE

UNITED GERMAN

Evangelical Lutheran Congregations

IN

NORTH AMERICA,

SPECIALLY IN PENNSYLVANIA;

WITH PREFACE

BY

DR. JOHN LUDWIG SCHULZE,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, ETC., ETC., AT HALLE.



READING, PA.:

PILGER BOOK-STORE.

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HALLE REPORTS.

NEW EDITION,

WITH EXTENSIVE

HISTORICAL, CRITICAL AND LITERARY ANNOTATIONS,

AND

NUMEROUS DOCUMENTS,

COPIED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE FRANCKE INSTITUTIONS AT HALLE.

BY

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AND

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY

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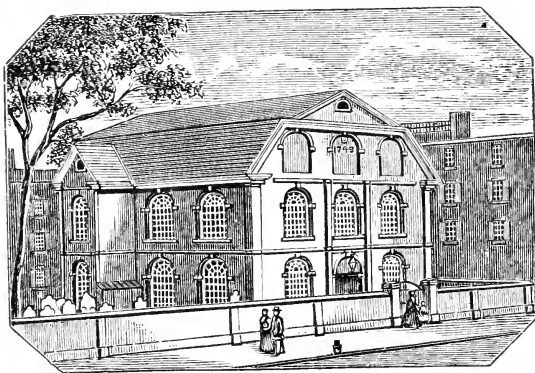
NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The aim of the translator has been to adhere faithfully to the original, and yet to present its statements in plain English. Variations may be observed, here and there, in the orthography of certain proper names; these may be attributed to the nature of the case, and involve a matter which is not fully settled yet. The numbers on the margin of the original REPORT and the several Continuations indicate the pages of the first German edition, published at Halle in 1787. The titles of German works, often referred to in the Notes and Appendices, are given in the original German, for the reason that these works, generally, do not exist in the English language.

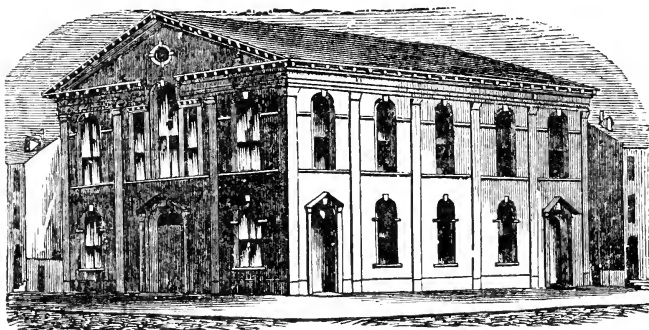
The light thrown upon the whole subject by Rev. Dr. Mann in his Notes and Appendices, as found in the new edition, has an extraordinary value of its own, and will enable the reader to discover, in the original Reports, an interest and a rare value which he might otherwise be slow to detect.

C. W. SCHAEFFER, D.D.

Philadelphia, June, 1882.



Ev. Luth. St. Michael's Church, Corner of Fifth and Cherry Streets,
Philadelphia, Pa., A. D. 1743.



Ev. Luth. Zion Church, Corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets,
Philadelphia, Pa., A. D. 1766.

P R E F A C E .

KIND READER :

IT is well known that the German Evangelical Lutheran congregations in America have become quite numerous and strong, since the beginning of the present century.¹ Their temporal wants, 'tis true, were generally supplied; but those Germans who did not forsake their religion upon leaving their native land, soon discovered, that it was a great disadvantage to them and to their children, that there was, in most places, a total lack of Christian pastors, or that the care of souls had to be committed to the charge of persons who, without a regular call and ordination, had obtruded themselves into the office of Christian teacher, and that, chiefly for the purpose of making a living. These circumstances constrained many of the Germans earnestly to implore of their friends in Europe, that they would send them teachers, men who would take to heart the work of recovering lost sheep and leading them in the way of salvation. As these petitions reached us and many other places² already in the year 1733, the history of the pastors who were sent from Germany to America may, in fact, be regarded as having begun more than fifty years ago. It is not my object now, however, to record that history from the beginning down to the present time. It will be found complete in the first volume,³ that closes with the sixteenth continuation and begins with the year 1742. It was in this year that Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg,⁴ who yet lives and is at this time the venerable Senior of the German Evangelical Ministerium of North America, the first regularly called and ordained pastor sent out by us, happily arrived in Philadelphia, and was greeted, by many, with a hearty welcome.

This first pastor who, from the very beginning of his labors till his advanced years, adorned as they are with glory and with honor, displayed such an extraordinary activity, was followed by divers assistant pastors, whom we sent out from time to time as the extension of the work and the necessities of the congregations demanded. To mention their several names in this place would be too diffuse, and, indeed, it is not necessary because everything important connected with their commission by us, with their arrival in America and their pastoral labors there, is sufficiently presented in due order, in the several portions of

this volume. Some of them entered into their rest, long ago; as the pastors BRUNNHOLZ, HANDSCHUH, SCHAUM and HEINZELMANN; but their memory is blessed until this day. The other old pastors, whom, as far as we know, the Lord still sustains in life, and who, for the most part have been laboring faithfully for more than twenty years already, as the pastors VOIGT, KRUG, C. G. SCHULZE, HELMUTH and SCHMIDT, to whom we have to add pastor KUNZE, since the year 1770, are often mentioned, and with deserved honor, in the several continuations. A blessing must ever abide upon their names, because they displayed such a noble zeal in following the example of their worthy SENIOR, and discharged their official duties with all fidelity. Of all this we have most gratifying testimony from men of acknowledged learning and worth, who have themselves, for years, been the occupants of high official positions. To this fact we propose to refer hereafter.

The number of pastors already spoken of as being called and sent out by us, may possibly seem to be somewhat large; but for the necessities of the congregations in America, scattered as they are here and there, very few of them being strong enough to support, each, its own pastor, even that number has been found to be insufficient. It has repeatedly happened, and sometimes indeed, when we could not, at once, extend the desired help, that faithful pastors were earnestly sought for, after the people had learnt, by sad experience, what a great difference there was between such pastors and men who, without being called and trained for the pastoral work, boldly thrust themselves into the office. From the very beginning of this century, and even until the present day, it has been the misfortune of Pennsylvania, that many men who had never studied at all, or who had never had any thorough instruction in Christianity and science, or who, even having once occupied the pastoral office in Germany, were deposed and thrust out for their bad conduct, resorted to that fine country, and by flattering speeches and insinuating ways imposed upon private persons and even whole congregations, and so stole into the office of pastor. It is easy to see what a miserable service must be rendered to souls by men who seek only their own profit, and who, as soon as greater gains invite them elsewhere, at once forsake the congregation they had professed to serve.

Such hirelings as these have spread great disorder in several congregations, until at last these churches themselves have expressed the ardent wish to be supplied with pastors properly trained and tried and worthy of confidence. As it is not possible always, at once, to find men suited to meet such demand, great relief has arisen from the fact

that the pastors in America have, at times, taken under their instruction young men of good character and of fair promise, and then, after several years of such training, having first submitted them to a regular examination by the Synod, have, for a specified time, placed them in charge of such congregations as required their services. Whenever these men have been found, upon trial, to be competent to occupy the positions assigned to them, they have been entrusted with the full charge of their congregations, as regular pastors. In this way, the number of regularly ordained Evangelical Lutheran ministers in America has been considerably increased.

I have now before me a copy of the "Kirchen-Agende," published in Philadelphia last year, in which are recorded the names of those who, at that time, were members of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod. It may be useful if I present them here. In number they amount to twenty-four, and are as follows, viz.: HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG, D.D. and Senior of the Ministerium, NICOLAS KURZ, SR., WILLIAM KURZ, JR., LUDWIG VOIGT, JOHN A. KRUG, CHRISTOPHER J. SCHULZE, GEORGE BAGER, JUST. CHR. HENRY HELMUTH, D.D., JOHN F. SCHMIDT, JOHN C. KUNZE, D.D., M. HENRY MUHLENBERG, CARL F. WILDBAHN, JACOB V. BUSZKIRK, JOHN FRIDERICI, CHRISTIAN STREIT, JOHN G. JUNG, CONRAD ROELLER, JACOB GOERING, DANIEL SCHROETER, DANIEL LEHMANN, HENRY MOELLER, FREDERICK ERNST, FREDERICK VAL. MELSZHEIMER and DANIEL KURZ.

Last year already JOHN FR. WEINLAND was added to the foregoing, of whose commission, together with his arrival in America and his present activities, I offer a report, in this place. He was born in Roemhild and from 1769 till 1772 was engaged in the study of Theology at the Royal Prussian Frederick's University, in this city. During all this time he commended himself by his diligence and his earnest Christian example, whilst his faithful labors among the youth of the Orphan Home established here, were not without good fruits. At that time already, my predecessor, who now rests in the Lord, Rev. Dr. Freylinghausen,⁵ had decided that the call to serve the Church in America might, with great propriety, be directed to him. An infirm state of health however, the lingering effect of a severe fever from which he had but recently recovered, rendered it impossible for him, at that time, to undertake so long a journey. So, after finishing his academical studies, Mr. Weinland went back to his native home,⁶ waiting for the leadings of Divine Providence; meanwhile seeking to make himself useful as private instructor and by frequent preaching of the word.

In the year 1784 the Reverend Ministerium and the united German Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania addressed to us an earnest request, to supply them with two additional pastors, if possible, and even renewed this request in 1785. Accordingly I determined in the Name of the Lord, to place this call in the hands of Mr. Weinland, for he was held in honor by those who knew him; and of his steadfast sincerity I had the satisfactory evidence of a worthy friend of mine who had carefully observed his manner of life, and who had, at times, invited Mr. Weinland to preach in his pulpit. Now, although this matter had to be referred ultimately to the Divine leadings, and I could not tell him the location he might be appointed to occupy in the Church in America, nevertheless he showed himself to be ready to go, and willing to serve in any position in which the Lord might be pleased to employ him. In a very short time after this, he was examined and regularly ordained by the Church Consistory in Wernigerode,⁷ and in April of last year he set off for America, taking his journey through Holland. About the end of May he embarked at Amsterdam, and, by the Divine Favor, landed in Philadelphia on August 18th. The church in Germantown gave him a call to become their pastor and he accepted the call at once. May the Spirit of the Lord ever qualify him more and more for his holy office and make him a blessing to the Church.⁸

I have already referred to the fact that some of the older pastors stood in relations of intimacy and co-operation with men of learning. I may be allowed, at this point, to take some further notice of it by way of explanation. This may be the more acceptable for the reason, that the action which has recently been taken, in Philadelphia and New York, for the advancement of learning is, as yet, perhaps, not very generally known amongst us. By such explanation also, I may obviate such misunderstandings as might result from the circumstance, that in the more recent continuations certain of the older pastors, who are elsewhere mentioned simply by their names, are described both as Doctors and Professors.

The case is as follows. Previously to the year 1779 there had been an Academic Gymnasium in Philadelphia, which however, during that year was raised to the grade of an University. For the government of the University a Board of twenty-four Trustees was appointed; and of this Board the senior pastors of the several Christian denominations were members. The Gymnasium itself was still continued under the name of the Academy,⁹ but was distinct from the University, and became simply a school for the Germans, where they were taught the ru-

diments of learning, and spent two hours every day in the study of the English language; in order that they might profit the more from the English lectures and instructions, upon their entering the University itself. A German Professor of Philology was established in the University, whose duty it was to give preliminary instructions in Science and in the learned languages, by means of the German tongue. Those students who, having successfully passed through the course in the Academy, entered the University, pursued the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew under his direction. The Hebrew however, and the German likewise, met with but little attention on the part of the young Englishmen.¹⁰ The Department of Philosophy and other branches of learning were placed in the hands of English Professors.

Dr. Kunze was appointed to the chair of German Professor of Philology, first as Professor of Latin and Greek, subsequently of the Oriental languages; and from that time is spoken of under the title of Professor, as may be seen in the sixteenth report.

This arrangement may be of great advantage to the cultivation of science in general, and specially to the interests of the Germans in America. Its success has been remarkable already. In the year 1784 a public examination was held in the University, and the young physicians gave evidence of their attainments and skill in *Materia Medica*, in Chemistry and in Anatomy. On this occasion also, for the first time, the University awarded academic honors. Among the young students, who were subjected to the public and private examinations, the latter being particularly searching, those who had distinguished themselves were honored with the degree of *Baccalaureate*;¹¹ whilst at the same time, distinctions of a higher grade were accorded. The Degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon the two Professors Kunze and Helmuth, as also upon the worthy Senior, pastor Muhlenberg, in token of the high consideration in which he had been held for many years.

In the year 1785 Dr. Kunze was called to New York in which city also, a University had been founded. In this institution he was installed as Professor of Oriental languages and his vacant professorship of Philology in Philadelphia was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Helmuth. Although the engagements of the pastors named above have been greatly multiplied by the labors into which they have been led by their zeal and their abilities in good works, yet they have never forgotten to meet and discharge their weightiest obligations; but have ever acquitted themselves as ministers of the Gospel with all fidelity.

As a proof of the hearty sympathy that is felt in Pennsylvania and

especially in Philadelphia, for the Germans who often land there in a truly deplorable condition, and as an illustration of what is actually done to relieve their misery, I shall now, in conclusion, mention a couple of arrangements that are to be commended in a very high degree.

One of them is known by the name of "THE GERMAN SOCIETY."¹² It is not the object of this Society to busy itself in prosecuting any branch of learning, as might, possibly, be inferred from the name it bears. Its aim is to give whatever assistance may be needed by the Germans upon their arrival in America, and to protect them against the impositions of traders and captains of vessels. Those Germans, as is well known, who were not able to pay cash for their passage across the ocean, had to bind themselves to spend a certain number of years in servitude. This lot, hard enough in itself, was formerly rendered more so by the fact, that the Magistrates, before whom they had to appear for the settlement of the contract, were altogether ignorant of the German language. At this time however, a Society of about one hundred noble-minded men, of different religious denominations, is in existence, organized for the purpose of doing the very best for the German immigrants; and a member of this Society, himself a native German, always attends to the preparation of the necessary papers in the proper form. Similar societies have been organized also in New York and in Baltimore.

The other praiseworthy institution has been established by what are called "THE OVERSEERS OF THE POOR." This, indeed, is an arrangement that operates all through Pennsylvania. Its work is to supply the wants of families that may be reduced to poverty, and when any of them die, to give them a decent burial. These works are an honor to their originators and supporters, and may be regarded as an evidence that their hearts have been pervaded by the spirit of the Gospel, and made strong for good works on behalf of the suffering and the needy.

The Lord add his blessing, so that His word may continue to be preached in America and bring forth much good fruit. We commend to His faithful, paternal care all who are laboring there, and all who are engaged in the ministry of the Word. The grace of God abide with them.

JOHN LUDWIG SCHULZE.

NOTES ON THE PREFACE.

¹ THIS statement might produce a false impression. In the beginning of the century there were, 'tis true, many *Swedish* Lutheran Congregations, especially in those regions that lie near the mouth of the Delaware, and in Pennsylvania, in the district of the Schuylkill. Of these, notice is to be taken hereafter. But the *German* Lutheran Congregations were, at the beginning of the century, neither numerous nor strong; although many Lutherans had already taken up their abode in divers places. Among the German Lutheran Congregations properly so named, that came into existence about the beginning of the last century, we must reckon the *Palatine congregation* after the year 1708, in the end of which year Pastor *Joshua von Kocherthal*, in company with the first Palatines, landed in New York. During the following year he organized the German Lutheran congregation at Newburg, Orange Co., on the Hudson. Afterwards there were other German Lutheran congregations in the regions of the Hudson. Dutch (Holländische) Lutheran congregations had existed in Albany and New York several decennaries before. The oldest *German* Lutheran congregation within the present territory of the United States is, as it appears, the congregation at New Hanover, Pa., organized by Justus Falkner, who was ordained in 1703 in the Wicaco Church (Gloria Dei), Philadelphia, by the Swedish pastors Rudman, Björk and Sandel. (*Falkner's Swamp*: this name may indeed refer to *Daniel* Falkner, brother of Justus. See "The Pa. Magazine for Hist. and Biogr., Sam. W. Pennypacker's Article on the Settlement of Germantown, etc., p. 38, Vol. IV, 1880. This Daniel Falkner was engaged there as an agent of the *Frankfort Land Company*. See *Acrelius' History of New Sweden*, p. 214.) Of course, during the first half of the last century, and within the territories of the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania many German Lutheran congregations came into being; but in many things they came short of a complete organization. See Eighth Continuation of *Hallesche Nachrichten*, IX. *Gemeinschaftliches Schreiben*, etc. See edition of 1787, p. 667, sq.

² This refers to the Appeal mentioned in the first "*Brief Report*," § 6, which *Daniel Weisiger* (so he writes his name), of Philadelphia, published in Germany, to obtain qualified pastors for the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania. In 1733 Weisiger, in company with pastor John Christian Schultze and John Daniel Schöner, was sent to Germany by the United Congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and New Providence (Trappe), to collect contributions for the congregations in Pennsylvania, and particularly, to awaken among believing clergymen in Germany a hearty interest in the spiritual necessities of German Lutherans in the Pennsylvania colonies. This arrangement, however, was soon followed by very unpleasant results. Schultze was charged with fraud in handling the monies that had been collected, and Weisiger, too, by no means escaped the complaints that were made against his suspicious transactions. The correspondence at the end of the first "*Brief Report*," copied from the Archives in Halle, supplies an explana-

tion of this business as well as of other subjects belonging to the same period. These letters and other documents show that Schultze was arrested in Germany, and compelled to surrender funds that had been collected. This fact is stated in the pamphlet upon "*The Tulpehoeken Confusion*," of the year 1742. In the "*Collection of Select Materials for Advancing the Kingdom of God*," contribution xxiv, p. 973, etc., 1734, we see it stated, that Schultze remained in Germany for the reason that he had become almost totally blind. See also *Pastoral Sammlungen* of *John Philip Fresenius*, Theil 12, 1752, p. 181, etc., 361, etc. On May 3, 1784, Weisiger published, at Hildesheim, what he called his "*Short Account from America*." This "*Account*" was appended to a letter of recommendation which had been given him by the Court Preacher Ziegenhagen, in London, a man entitled to high honors for his zeal in the interests of the Lutheran Church, especially in Pennsylvania; and also in other regions. Also, connected with the same account, Weisiger published his credentials as they were issued by the three congregations and duly attested, in Latin, by the then ruling Governor of Pennsylvania. The correspondence that we furnish as an appendix to the "First Brief Report," together with the "Short Account" of Hildesheim, presents all this as well as divers other matters in their proper light. The cries and appeals of Lutherans in Pennsylvania awakened, after all, an interest in the old world which bore fruit at last, in the sending of H. M. Muhlenberg in 1742, and subsequently in the sending of the pastors who followed him as his fellow-laborers. See *Acta Hist. Eccles.*, Vol. I, p. 168, 1734; 3d edition, 1737, Vol. I, p. 165, etc. Fresenius' *Pastoral Sammlungen*, Part 12, p. 370. *Brief Report*, $\frac{1}{2}$ 6.

In reference to John Christian Schultze (Schulze and Schulz) we may add, that he is said to have been born in the Markgr. Ansbach, in Scheinbach. Now in that territory there is no place called Scheinbach, although there is a village Scheinfeld, somewhat west of the line dividing Ansbach from Bamberg. Could this be simply an interchange of names? In the same region there are several hamlets called Steinbach. It is not known where Schultze was educated, although Strasburg is said to have been the place. H. M. Muhlenberg seems to have doubted whether he was ordained. See "*Continuation IX., Gemeinschaftlich Schreiben*," etc., old edition, p. 669. He arrived in Philadelphia Sept. 25, 1732, by the ship "Loyal Judith." He was then 30 years old. See Prof. J. D. Rupp's 30,000 Names, Phila., I. Kohler, 1876, pp. 79, 80. He was brought over by a man designated by the initials J. M. M. See *Hall. Nachr. Continuation XII, Pastor Muhlenberg's Journal*, Aug. 7, 1763. (The name of Jacob Miller appears in the list of that ship's company.) At the time of this record in his journal, Muhlenberg visited this man, who was the first and oldest resident in the neighborhood of Cohanzy (Salem), New Jersey. Schulze, at once, began his ministry in the congregations of Philadelphia, New Providence and New Hanover. Before his departure for Europe he ordained ("in a barn") to the office of the ministry, a young man, JOHN CASPAR STOEYER (sometimes written Stiefer), who himself afterwards had charge of the three congregations, but for a very short time. In the Spring of 1733 already, we find Schultze setting out, in company with Weisiger and Schoener, on the journey to collect money in Europe; after which Schultze never came back. See the Appendix to this "Brief Report." We have to take it for granted that Schultze represented himself to the Governor as an ordained and regularly settled pastor. However, a passage in those "Acta" makes this somewhat doubtful. See No. VII, Letter of Dr. G. A. Franke to Ziegenhagen.

³ This seems to indicate the purpose of preparing further "Continuations" of this First Report, which might supply material for another volume; but with the present volume, comprising the first Brief Report and its sixteen continuations, the undertaking ceased. The great change that affected the political state of the world towards the end of the last century, and, no doubt, the change that occurred in the department of Theology and religious activity contributed also to this result. The Lutheran Church in America, however, ceased to be controlled by the influence that had previously proceeded from Halle. In a short explanatory appendix of the fifteenth continuation, Dr. G. A. Freylinghausen states that the sixteenth continuation should follow and so complete the volume. He adds also, that an index of subjects and "perhaps" a new map of Pennsylvania may be included. The map never appeared; the index was printed in the edition of the several continuations, published in 1787; it is however very unsatisfactory. The continuations were generally published separately and gratuitously by booksellers or by several individuals uniting together in the work; they were then circulated freely among the friends of the Churches in America, and the generous contributors to the important work; and of all these, correct lists were preserved. All the credit to which Dr. J. C. Schultze is entitled, in publishing the volume complete, amounts simply to this, that he furnished the sixteenth continuation, the index, the preface and the title-page; and the names of G. A. Francke, J. G. Knapp and G. A. Freylinghausen might appear upon the title-page as prominently as his own. The "Halle'sche Missionsnachrichten" appeared as *Continuitäten* until 1769, in nine large volumes. A new series was begun in 1770, under the title "More Recent History" and was continued until 1848. A complete copy is not now to be had. The 47th No. published by Schulze in 1795 contains, as its second article, Dr. Kunze's sermon on the occasion of the decease of Dr. Mühlenberg. It contains also, extracts of letters written by Drs. Helmuth, Kunze and Schmidt, in several different years. We may yet add, that the separating of the "Halle'sche Nachrichten" into two volumes, as we often see it, does not exactly result from the plan of the "Gesamtausgabe" of 1787.

⁴ This distinguished man whom, as well as others named in this preface, we shall often meet as we go on, departed this life in the very year in which this volume was printed in Halle.

⁵ His full name is GOTTLIEB ANASTASIUS Freylinghausen. He was the son of JOHN ANAST. Freylinghausen, who died in 1739, more distinguished as the chief colleague and successor of August Herman Francke, and also for his connection with the history of German hymns and spiritual songs, and their preparation for the service of the Church. Concerning the father, see Dr. G. Chr. Knapp's "Lives and Characteristics of certain Learned and Pious Men of the last Century," Halle, 1829, p. 147, seq.

⁶ This means his native land in a narrower sense, in Prussian Halle. This narrower fatherland was Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen, a dukedom running along south-west of the Thuringian Forest, and divided into five grand districts. Römheld, as named in the text, belonged to one of these districts.

⁷ This was a reichsfreie earldom and city in what is now the Prussian province of Saxony; but at that time it was under the dominion of a branch of the house of the Counts of STOLLBERG. Towards the end of the last century the German Empire was cut up into not less than 266 imperial lordships, reichsfreie cities and

even reichsfreie villages; that is, they were under the direct authority of the Emperor. As far as the history of the Stollberg family is connected with the present work we remark as follows:—Count Christian Ernst von Stollberg, oldest son of Count Christian Ludwig, made a division of the inheritance, with his brothers, after their father's death; then moved to Wernigerode in 1710 as reigning prince and became the founder of a race that is flourishing even to this day. He himself as well as REUSS, ISENBURG, SOLMS, DOHNA, SAALFELD, HENKEL, and many others was among those princes and the nobility of Germany who became the subjects of what is called PIETISM, a religious movement proceeding from the labor of PHILIPP JACOB SPENER, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. His piety was earnest and sincere, and not impaired by any fanatical appendages. He was a lover of the fine arts and of literature. As such he founded a grand library at Wernigerode, which included also a valuable collection of copies of the Holy Scriptures. His wife, Sophie Charlotte, with whom he celebrated his golden wedding in 1762, sympathized heartily with him in his religious principles. The outward expressions of his piety were simple and practical; and he always stood aloof from the forcè-work and the extravagances of the Moravians, as they were practised in his time. This explains, why he, who cherished the most friendly sentiments towards Halle and the active spirit proceeding from that point, had several missionaries of the Evangelical Lutheran Church who were to serve in the German congregations in America, ordained to their holy office by his Consistory, the highest ecclesiastical authority in his dominions, as we shall see hereafter. We may learn from the passage in the text, that affairs were still conducted in the same spirit after his death. See *Histor. Taschenbuch* of Fred. von Raumer, 3d Series, 4th Jahrgang, 1853, p. 183, etc. We may add that in Wernigerode there is what is called an Immediate Consistorium, which is in active operation to this day.

⁸ WEINLAND began his labors in the congregation at Germantown, Philadelphia, in September, 1786, and resigned in the year 1789. During the time of his ministry the congregation was in a flourishing state; there was a congregational week-day school and catechisation (*Kinderlehre*) regularly every Sunday; and, in general, the good old usages of the Lutheran Church were kept up. At that time the congregation was prosperous (reported by F. A. Kähler, present pastor of the congregation). Weinland was received into the Ministerium in 1787. From 1790 till 1796 he was pastor at New Hanover; and, about 1793 and '94, at New Providence also, to which congregation he was called again at a later period. His name does not appear upon the Roll of the Ministerium after 1796. Objections were raised against admitting him again in 1803 and 1804, although a friendly encouragement was accorded him. See *Protokoll* of the Synod in MS. In the Centennial sermon of the Trappe (New Providence) congregation preached by Dr. J. W. Richards, May 2, 1843, Dr. R. says, p. 26, that Weinland preached there between 1793 and 1808, and that he died and was buried there.

⁹ This High School was established through the influence of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN in 1749. Under a second charter, granted in 1755, it was enlarged into a college, with a Free School attached. Out of this grew up at a later period, 1779, the University of Pennsylvania. The Resolution of the Board of Trustees, that the German Professor should teach Latin and Greek by means of the German language, bears the date January 10, 1780. For some time the German students

constituted a distinct class. See sixteenth continuation. *Hall. Nachrichten*, IV, Letter of Prof. Kunze, June 13, 1780. Old edition, p. 1421, XVI, Letters of Pastors Helmuth and Schmidt, Aug. 30, 1785. Old edition, p. 1516, Wood's History of the University of Pennsylvania. Concerning the SEMINARY that was founded in Philadelphia in 1773, chiefly through the influence of Rev. Dr. Kunze, but was soon given up on account of the troublous times, see fifteenth continuation, III. Old edition, p. 1378. See also the "Staatsbote" of Feb. 16 and June 15, 1773, and October 26, 1774.

¹⁰ This word can refer only to those students who spoke the English language chiefly or exclusively, and who were, with but few exceptions, natives of America.

¹¹ Usually designated by B.A., Bachelor of Arts. At the time of Pope Gregory IX, in the 13th Century this was the lowest degree conferred by the Theological Faculty in Paris. This was afterwards adopted by other Faculties and Institutions of Learning. As to the etymology of the word there is still much diversity of opinion.

¹² The last Article furnished in the "*Hall. Nachrichten*" refers to this Society. See Sixteenth Continuation, XVII. The exact title is, "The German Society of Pennsylvania." It was founded in 1764 and chartered in 1781. Its principal objects are the service of beneficence, specially on behalf of German immigrants, securing for them the enjoyment of their legitimate rights; the maintenance of schools and a library (this last, at present, contains about 16,000 volumes). It has also an "Archive Committee," which has collected, in a separate library, a considerable number of the productions of German-American literature; portions of which are very rare. See the work of Dr. O. Seidensticker, Professor in the University at Philadelphia, quellenmässig and so attractive in its style, "*Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien*," Philadelphia, I. Kohler, and Schäfer and Koradi, 1876. Here too the reader may find a very valuable contribution to the general history of the German immigration and of German life in the United States. In the Catalogue of the Library of the German Society published in 1879, a separate list of the volumes in the Archives is appended. Concerning "German-American Bibliography," until the close of the last century, see the Articles of Prof. Dr. O. Seidensticker in "*Deutschen Pioneer*," Cincinnati, 9 and 10 Jahrgang.

BRIEF REPORT
OF
CERTAIN EVANGELICAL CHURCHES
IN AMERICA,
SPECIALLY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

(2) 1.¹ AMONG the large masses of people who, in these days, and in so many places, are so abundantly favored with the regular preaching of the Gospel, there are alas, comparatively few who seem to value it aright, few who are willing to submit to the gracious purposes of God, even so far as to allow themselves to be led to Christ, by the teachings of the Word. On the contrary, it has been often observed, that people who have, for a season, been deprived of these Christian privileges, people to whom God has sent "a famine, not of bread, but of hearing the words of the Lord" (Amos 8: 11), soon become deeply convinced of the very high value of the Gospel. Accordingly, when the Lord restores to such people the privileges of the Gospel, and has it preached among them in demonstration of the Spirit and of Power, they are very apt to receive and welcome it with the more abundant gratitude and joy.

This may, indeed, not be true of all to whom the Gospel, after a temporary withdrawing, has been again restored. Nevertheless, we meet with many who, like famished sheep, accept with full purpose, the word of the Lord, as the food of their souls, applying it for their deliverance and salvation, and thanking God for it, with their whole heart. Of all this, the German Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Pennsylvania afford striking illustration. Of this we propose to treat in the following Report (*a*).

(*a*) This Brief Report was first published in the year 1744, and the number of copies then printed was small. This was soon followed by two "Continuations." These issues were exhausted sooner than had been expected, and frequent demands were made for a further supply. So the necessity arose for a new edition, in the preparation of which one thing and another, which had been but briefly presented in the haste of the first edition, is treated with that fullness which circumstances seemed to require.

(3) 2. It is well known that towards the end of the last century, many privileges and advantages were pledged to the new inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America. From that time and onward, many hundreds of families began to emigrate from Germany; and, in large numbers, to take up their abode in divers provinces and regions; but most of all in Pennsylvania.² Pennsylvania, being a part of the territory belonging to England, along the coast, and south of Canada, lies between Maryland, New Jersey, New York and the country of the Iroquois Indians. In the year 1681 King Charles II gave it to WILLIAM PENN,³ a wealthy Quaker, in order that it might be occupied and cultivated.

3. We do not propose, at this time, to concern ourselves about the external features of this country, nor about its present form of government. As far, too, as relates to any churches that may be organized and established there, it is not our purpose to exhibit their condition and operations, although their names may often occur in our reports. Neither do we expect to prosecute our inquiries into the worship and activities of the Swedish Lutheran Churches, which are here and there well supplied with faithful pastors. Our sole object is to speak only of those Evangelical Lutheran Congregations which are composed of native Germans.

4. The most of these congregations were, at first, quite inadequately supplied with the necessary accommodations both for churches and for schools. They had not, as yet, had any regularly settled pastors to give them instruction in the Word of God, and to administer the Sacraments to their edification. Their children, through lack of instruction, very generally grew up in ignorance, except when the parents themselves were in a position to lead them to the knowledge of God and of Divine things. True, there were not wanting men who, for their own private gains, pushed themselves forward into the rank of teachers, yet a sad experience revealed the fact, that these persons not only had very little concern about the souls of their pupils, but also, that by their scandalous lives and example, they were doing a vast amount of mischief. As the result of this, the disturbances in the congregations themselves ever continued to grow greater and more serious.⁴

(4) 5. Such was the sad condition of these forsaken congregations, when at last, several of them, driven by dire necessity, began, in 1733, to turn their eyes towards Europe, looking out for help. They undertook to send off several of their brethren as Commissioners to England and to Germany, charged with the duty of making their

spiritual destitution known, of collecting money for the building of churches and schoolhouses, and above all, of earnestly imploring that worthy and competent pastors and teachers might be sent to them. The congregations in PHILADELPHIA, the principal city in Pennsylvania, and the congregations in NEW HANOVER and PROVIDENCE, about eighteen or twenty miles from Philadelphia, were specially prominent in having these matters brought to the notice of the Court Preacher of the King of Great Britain, and pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in London,⁵—the Rev. FREDERICK M. ZIEGENHAGEN.⁶ Pastor ZIEGENHAGEN not only took the matter to heart, himself; but also furnished the Commissioners with letters of recommendation addressed to distinguished divines and clergymen in Germany.

6. Among other favors, the above mentioned Court Preacher ZIEGENHAGEN furnished one of the Commissioners, Mr. DANIEL WEISSIGER, with a very strong commendatory letter, dated January 28th, 1734, and addressed to a certain pastor in Hanover, who is now deceased. In this letter the following statements are prominently presented:

“It is alas, too true, that the Evangelical Churches that are scattered here and there in America, especially in Virginia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, etc., are in a very deplorable condition, particularly in regard to the word of God and the holy sacraments, and such appointments as are necessary for proper instruction in the Divine word and the right administration of the sacraments. I have received many mournful communications from several of these Churches, in which they make the most touching appeals for bibles, prayer books,⁷ catechisms, pastors and other tokens of our Christian sympathy. They even assert, that in consequence of the great lack of the means of grace, there is danger that they and their children may relapse into heathenism. I am greatly distressed, for the reason that I hardly know what to do by way of relief. Allow me specially to mention the fact, that in the month of October, of last year, the congregation in Philadelphia sent to me, by the hands of Mr. Daniel Weissiger,⁸ one of its members, an extended and quite an affecting communication, in which, among other things, the following statements occur: ‘We live

(5) in a country that is full of heresy and sects. As far as our religious interests are concerned, we are in a state of the greatest destitution; and our own means are utterly insufficient to effect the necessary relief, unless God, in His mercy, may send us help and means from abroad. It is truly lamentable to think of the large numbers of the rising generation who know not their right hand from their left;

and, unless help be promptly rendered, the danger is great, that in consequence of the great lack of churches and schools, the most of them will be misled along the ways of destructive error. He who tries the hearts and the reins knows how very much we need the material aid of our Christian brethren. Truly, in our appeal for pecuniary contributions we have desired nothing but the glory of God and the welfare of souls, so many of whom are scattered abroad through the land. We do not, at all, contemplate the building of imposing and expensive churches. If we only have enough to erect, in several places, such buildings as may enable us to come together in a respectable way, to praise and worship our Lord in an appropriate manner, and also to give the necessary instruction to the youth, we shall be satisfied. . . . We yet hope that God, in His mercy, will not forsake us; but will stir up the hearts of the benevolent, so that they may hasten to our relief, in order that we may not utterly perish. In view of these things we cannot refrain from imploring your Excellency, once more, in all sincerity and humility, to do whatever may be possible in our behalf, etc.’

“It cannot be denied that this congregation, as well as other congregations in America, is in a very destitute condition. This destitution seems not to be known in other places, and sometimes, even where it is known, it does not appear to be regarded or taken to heart; and for this reason the evil seems to be waxing worse and worse. Permit me to request your Reverence, in a most earnest and friendly spirit, to favor the wishes and work of Mr. Daniel Weissiger, if possible. Have compassion for these famishing sheep and lambs of Jesus Christ in America, and join with me in endeavoring to send prompt refreshment. Although I have not the necessary means in hand, yet I shall venture, in the Name of the Lord, to transmit to several of these Churches, at once, a supply of Bibles, Prayer-books, Hymn-books, Catechisms, School-books, etc., etc.”

Having given the foregoing, we do not think it necessary, at this place, to specify the numerous letters of recommendation, addressed to theologians and other friends in Germany, more particularly to

(6) Prof. Dr. Francke, in Halle, by the Court Preacher, Ziegenhagen, in which he described the pressing wants of these German Churches and urged them upon the fraternal sympathy of his correspondents.

7. In order that the sad condition of these neglected congregations might be better understood in Germany, the above-mentioned Mr. Daniel Weissiger had “A BRIEF REPORT FROM AMERICA” printed,

under his own name, in Hildesheim, on May 3d, 1734. Appended to this Report was the letter of the Court Preacher, Ziegenhagen, together with a letter of recommendation from the several Lutheran Congregations already mentioned, confirmed by the official signature of the royal English Governor. It is not necessary for us to present any extracts from this publication here, because the whole of this "BRIEF REPORT" is found in No. 24 of "THE COLLECTION OF CHOICE MATERIALS FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD,"⁹ published in Leipsic. Besides, that document presents nothing more concerning these congregations, than what we have already repeated or what may be learnt from what is to follow.

8. The pressing wants of these congregations, having been thus published abroad by the printed REPORT, by letters and by oral statements, moved many Christian people to sympathy, until, their hearts being quickened by the grace of God, they contributed a portion of their worldly means to meet the necessary expenses for the organization of churches and schools, and also for the regular establishment of pastors in the ministry of the word. Indeed, many works of Christian love were done, in accordance with the suggestions given in the aforesaid publication; and the accumulated contributions were all placed in the hands of Dr. Pfeiffer in Leipsic, Prof. Dr. Francke in Halle,¹⁰ Senior Urlsperger in Augsburg, and Pastor Maier in Halle. Now we feel that we are under a weighty obligation not only to repeat, in a public manner, an expression of the sincere gratitude with which these benefactions have been accepted, but also to report to the worthy benefactors themselves, how the material help which they have furnished, has been applied to the glory of God, and the benefit of these congregations.

9. Before setting out upon his journey home to Pennsylvania, the aforesaid Daniel Weissiger was specially earnest in making request, both in Germany and in England, that above all things, a true and faithful pastor might be sent to these congregations, one who (7) would minister to them in the word and in the sacraments, and under whose superintendence all things might be established and conducted in good Christian order. He was even the more urgent on this behalf, for the reason, that Pastor JOHN CHRISTIAN SCHULZE, already connected with these congregations, and whom they had sent to Europe in company with Mr. Weissiger, could not go back with him to Pennsylvania. This request which Mr. Weissiger urged with so much solicitude, was afterwards repeated by the congregations themselves, in many letters, and in a most affecting spirit. From that

time great pains were taken to discover some person who might be qualified for the position.

10. In this matter, however, there was considerable delay; because, in addition to the lack of prudent men who might be competent to such work, other serious obstacles presented themselves. Yet, at last, the Lord, in His mercy, removed these, for the most part, and favored the undertaking so much, that a man was found who had already been for some time in the pastoral office, and who had afforded such evidences of self-denial, faithfulness and experience, as to justify the hope, that, with the blessing of God, he would labor with good results among these neglected congregations. This person was the Rev. HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG,¹¹ born in Eimbeck, in the kingdom of Hanover. Until this time he held the office of Deacon in Great Hennersdorf in Lausatia and Inspector of the Orphan House in the same place. Already before this time he had himself felt a desire to preach the Gospel, if it should please God to permit it, even in foreign lands.

11. Accordingly, in September, 1741, Prof. Dr. Francke, acting in the name of the German Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, extended a call to Mr. Muhlenberg to become the pastor of these churches. Moreover, as the Lord had, by divers dispensations, deeply convinced him that this call was an expression of the Divine will, he was the more prompt in accepting it. So, having received his regular dismissal from his pastoral office in Great Hennersdorf, he set off upon his journey to Pennsylvania by way of England. He arrived in England, April 17th, 1742,¹² and remained there until the following June.

12. It had been thought advisable, for many good reasons, that he should, first of all, go to Ebenezer,¹³ in Georgia, for the purpose of (8) becoming acquainted with the experienced Pastor Bolzius,¹⁴ of the Saltzburger congregation there, of conferring with him about his own work in Pennsylvania, and of ascertaining the condition of the country in general. At the same time, the hope had been entertained that Pastor Bolzius might accompany him to Pennsylvania, and so introduce him to his future charge. For these reasons then, Pastor Muhlenberg, having been much refreshed in spirit by his happy intercourse with the Court Preacher Ziegenhagen, went on board a ship bound for Charleston, in Carolina, where he met a family of Saltzburger who were also going to Ebenezer; and all set sail together on June 23d, 1742. Upon this voyage he served the Saltzburg family, by the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Lord's Supper. But more than that: although his knowledge of the English

language was quite imperfect, having been chiefly acquired during his short stay in London, yet as the ship's company had repeatedly entreated him to preach to them in English, he could not refuse to comply with these requests on several occasions, seeking also to awaken the hearts of his hearers by direct personal conversation. By the blessing of the Lord, many good impressions were produced by this familiar, Christian intercourse.

13. Outwardly indeed, he met with many trials upon this voyage. The ship was often becalmed; and so the voyage itself was unusually long, extending over fourteen weeks and three days. On August 27th the supply of water was found to be so short that it had to be measured out in very small proportions. At last it was entirely exhausted; and if the Lord had not given them a favorable wind in good time, the whole ship's company might have died of thirst. Although the wind favored them on August 29th, yet after that they were frequently arrested by calms and by contrary winds, so that they had either to lie still or be driven back. Even on September 15th after they had sighted the land, from a distance, and after they had been trying for several days to quench their thirst with the sweet-oil that was yet on hand, and with vinegar, they were seized by a contrary wind and driven out to sea again, so that they did not enter the harbor of Charleston before September 21st. Already on September 16th (9) every drop of everything that might be used as a beverage was gone, and in the last six days they might have perished for thirst had it not been that, on the date last mentioned, they met two English men-of-war which supplied them with several tons of water (*b*).

14. On September 24th Pastor Muhlenberg left Charleston, in company with the family of Saltzburgers, and having taken a boat on the Savannah river, reached the city of Savannah, on his way to Ebenezer. He arrived here, on October 4th, in company with Pastor Gronau, who had met him in Savannah; the family of Saltzburgers arriving on October 6th, all in good condition (*c*). In Ebenezer he spent eight days, occupying the time in resting and refreshing himself from the

(*b*) This want of water was so extreme that the very rats suffered from it. It had been noticed that some of them had gnawed out the stopples of bottles containing vinegar, then introduced their tails into the liquid, and then sought to allay their thirst by drawing their tails through their mouths. Others would mount the beds at night, and lick the perspiration off of the brows of the people who were asleep.

(*c*) See "Rev. Senior Urlsperger's Reports of Saltzburger Emigrants," Continuation XI, p. 2061, etc.

effects of his exhausting voyage, by Christian fellowship and intercourse with the two excellent pastors, Bolzius and Gronau.¹⁵ Upon his departure he wrote, among other things, in his diary, the following record of the great joy he had felt in view of the many spiritual and temporal blessings which the Lord had granted to the Saltzburg colony, in view also of the good order that he saw in all their arrangements.

“And now I have to leave Ebenezer. May the Lord Himself be a wall of defence around it, and cause it to flourish and bloom and yield much fruit, by His favor. Its excellent friends and benefactors in Europe have not employed their generosity in vain,¹⁶ for everything is actually in as fair a condition as has been described in the printed reports circulated in Germany; and, indeed, in many respects even much better. In temporal matters, it is a real wonder to see how these people have, by the Divine Favor, worked themselves up out of their poverty; and in spiritual things a rich harvest may be confidently expected.”

15. The pastors of the Saltzburg churches have not been slow to testify, in their several letters and diaries, how much they themselves had been refreshed in spirit, during Pastor Muhlenberg's short sojourn with them, and how his public addresses and his personal conversation had bound them to him by the ties of Christian love. As one (10) illustration of this an extract from their diary under date of February 25th, 1743, is here presented.

“About five months ago a Saltzburg family, consisting of the parents and three children, arrived in Ebenezer in company with Pastor Muhlenberg. On account of their very long and tedious voyage and the total failure of the supply of water on board the ship, they had almost to stare death in the face. Yet help was sent them from Above: they were rescued through a favorable wind which, in the last extremity, wafted them near to several English men-of-war. For this great deliverance we joined with them in public thanksgiving upon the occasion of our regular anniversary;¹⁷ and at the same time offered our united thanks to God for the blessings with which He had been pleased to attend the movements of Pastor Muhlenberg, granting him such a happy beginning for his work among the Churches of Pennsylvania, of which we have been informed only a few days ago. Our Heavenly Father has, through the Spirit of His Son, bound us to Pastor Muhlenberg in sincere love, and we take a deep interest in every good thing that may be granted to him. We have prayed for him both in public and in private; and now we have to offer thanks both with him and on his behalf.”

We omit, for the present, other portions of their letters in which they record, even in stronger terms, their delight in the excellent spirit of Pastor Muhlenberg and the sincere affection with which they found themselves attached to him.

16. After Pastor Muhlenberg had been somewhat refreshed and strengthened by his short sojourn at Ebenezer he began to think about hastening on his journey to Pennsylvania. Although Pastor Bolzius saw many serious obstacles that might prevent his accompanying Muhlenberg to Philadelphia, yet such was his interest in the work that he resolved to rise above them. Accordingly on October 12th he started with Muhlenberg for Charleston, with the intention of taking passage there and going the whole way to Philadelphia. Upon arriving in Charleston, on October 20th, they were informed that no vessel would sail from that place for Philadelphia before the following Spring and that it would not be possible for them to make the journey by land. So on the 24th Pastor Bolzius set out upon his return to Ebenezer, for his circumstances would not admit of his spending the whole winter in Charleston upon an uncertainty, and to the neglect of the congregations under his charge. After the departure of Bolzius, Muhlenberg (11) occupied the time of his forced tarrying in Charleston, chiefly in teaching some German children and in preaching on Sundays to the Germans who were living there.¹⁸

17. On November 1st a sloop from Philadelphia arrived in Charleston with the intention of returning to the former city. Although all Muhlenberg's familiar friends and even the captain of the vessel declared that it was too small, that it had no accommodations for passengers, that a voyage in the winter season might be dangerous, yet all their difficulties could not hinder him from setting sail. They were all outweighed by his ardent desire to reach the field of his labors in Pennsylvania, the sooner the better. Besides the danger of further disturbances, threatening these Churches, as the effect of the operations of Count Zinzendorf,¹⁹ and of which he had read in print, in Charleston, admonished him to be as expeditious as possible in prosecuting his journey. So, on November 12th he embarked on the sloop, and, on the same day, set sail, in the Name of the Lord. Upon this voyage, which occupied fourteen days, he endured many hardships and was even in peril of his life. On account of the convulsive, violent movements of the light vessel, he was confined to bed nearly the whole time by sea-sickness, at the same time greatly disturbed and prostrated both by the water, which either the waves or the rain sent directly into the cabin, and by the frost and the cold winds that beat upon him, his

clothing being never dry. Finally however, on November 25th, 1742, he happily arrived in Philadelphia.

18. It is not our purpose to furnish here an extended description of the character and circumstances of the country, or especially of this, its chief city. Yet it will accord with the object of this short report, and may be interesting to our readers, if we introduce an extract of a letter addressed, by Pastor Muhlenberg, under date of August 12, 1743, to a distinguished theologian connected with a certain German university; in which letter he expresses his deep gratitude for the Divine Favor, and at the same time gives some account of affairs in the country itself.

“I remember, with great satisfaction, the last welcome letter which I received from your Excellency whilst I was yet in London. There was one word in it which, above all the rest, has proved to be a word of comfort and of power. Your Excellency was pleased to say ‘The

Lord do *well* for you upon your voyage across the sea, and in all (12) other circumstances. Truly, Our Father, reconciled in Christ, has, according to the riches of His Mercy, done *well* for me, an unworthy and unprofitable worm;—*well*, when I was in London with the Court Preacher, Ziegenhagen;—*well*, when I went, a stranger on board the ship;—*well*, when I found myself there amidst a strange people, speaking in a strange tongue;—*well*, when throughout my voyage I encountered so many trials, in severe sickness and in strange adventures;—*well*, when sailing in a ship hardly sea-worthy, we were often driven about by contrary winds, and had to pass in the neighborhood of foes and of dangerous quarters, without human convoy; *well*, when I was enabled on the voyage, to preach to sinners, my brethren, the great Salvation through Jesus Christ and the judgment that is sure to overtake the despisers of His grace, and that preaching too, in the English language;—*well*, when on board the ship we were afflicted with distressing heat and raging thirst;—*well*, when the Lord answered the prayers and the sighing of the distressed, who called upon him in faith, and, in answer, sent us a favorable wind;—*well*, when He delivered us from our dangers, and our straits and tribulations, and brought us to the harbor of Charleston in safety at last;—*well*, when upon my journey from Carolina to Georgia, upon the Savannah river, He saved me from great, manifest danger;—*well*, when He led me to Ebenezer, in Georgia, among the Saltzburgers, our brethren in the faith, where I heard and saw many good things and enjoyed many a blessing;—*well*, in bringing me back again to Charleston;—*well*, in upholding and strengthening me by His own power in Charleston, poor stranger, for-

lorn, distressed creature as I was;—*well*, when in the winter season, I sailed by sea, in a miserable sloop through storms and great hardships, and in severe sickness, until my arrival in Philadelphia. O, my revered friend, help me join with other followers of our Lord, and help me to praise and extol the mercy and forbearance of God.”

“Allow me now to give you some report of affairs as they are in these regions. In Philadelphia, which is quite a large city,²⁰ there is one English Episcopal Church,²¹ with two ministers, whose salaries are paid by the “Society for propagating the Knowledge of Christ,”²² located in London. The English Presbyterians²³ also have a meeting house in Philadelphia; so have the Quakers and the English Anabaptists. To these we must add the Moravians, who have also built (13) a meeting house. The Roman Catholics, likewise, have a meeting house and two or three priests.²⁴ Finally, the Swedes have one church.²⁵ Throughout the land the sects and their meeting houses can scarcely be numbered.”

Towards the end of this letter, he says as follows:

“There is not much money here; but the land is so rich in all kinds of productions, that it may be said to flow with milk and honey. * * * On the one side we have the Indians who are yet heathens; on the other side the ocean. * * * As far as regards the climate, Pennsylvania is the best part of all America for the Germans. * * * Here the houses do not stand near together, as in the villages of Germany. There are always several thousand acres in one body, and these are then divided amongst a number of individual proprietors, so that one man may own any number of acres of the whole tract, from twenty up to five hundred acres, as the case may be. At first such a strip of land is simply woods, forest; but after it has been settled and cultivated, it becomes a township or a borough, and is provided with streets and roads leading to the city of Philadelphia. In traveling on the highways you are continually passing through woods; here you come to one house standing near the road, and then, some miles further on, to another. But the houses most generally stand off a considerable distance from the road. * * * In the country, there are several streams that sometimes suddenly rise very high, and then again abate. As there are no bridges over them, they have to be crossed on horseback or in a canoe. When I go from Philadelphia to the churches in the country,²⁶ I have always to cross three streams; and in winter this is often dangerous.”

19. Without further explanation, any one can clearly see, that the presence of the many sects spoken of in the foregoing letter, might

easily have prevented even an experienced man from accepting a call to the office of pastor; and that, in addition to the lack of elementary education and to the gross ignorance of divine things that was waxing worse from year to year, it must have been a serious obstacle in the way of the healthful action of the Divine word in these congregations, during the early stages of a pastor's labors. But in addition to these general obstacles, Muhlenberg had to encounter others of a peculiar character. Among these the more prominent were the facts, that in consequence of the long delay in the arrival of regular and duly called pastors, the congregations themselves accepted as their pastors, sometimes, men who had been deposed from the office in other places, sometimes men who were otherwise unfit for it; and specially, the congregation in Philadelphia received, under such circumstances, a man by the name of Valentine Kraft,²⁷ who had been deposed at Zwick- (14) brücken. Besides this, Count Zinzendorf was then in Philadelphia; and was supported by a considerable party. However, the congregations rejoiced greatly when Pastor Muhlenberg laid before them the call which had been given him in their name and by their authority; adding also the several letters and testimonials which he had brought with him. They received him as their pastor, with open arms, and rid themselves, at once, of the unworthy men who had been imposed upon them; although the above-named Kraft attempted to set up a pretentious ecclesiastical polity, and to pass himself off as the general superintendent of the Church. Thus, not only did these intruders into the pastoral office reveal their own vileness even more clearly than it had ever been seen before, but also Count Zinzendorf himself could not hinder the progress of the work of the Lord.

Count Zinzendorf, under the assumed name of Von Thurnstein, had represented himself to be a Lutheran preacher and *Inspector* of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania; and, in an extended interview which Muhlenberg had with him, for the reason that the Count had taken possession of the Lutheran Church Records, he demanded that Muhlenberg should make an apology for having ignored him. He endeavored also to prevent Muhlenberg from preaching in the Swedish Church; and used every effort to awaken suspicion against him in the congregations, and to deprive him of their confidence. The Swedish Vestry, however, accorded Muhlenberg the privilege of worshipping with his congregation, in their Church, because the house where the Lutherans had been wont to meet was now too small. Besides, not only did the Germans acknowledge him heartily as their regular pastor, but others also, not of the congregation, recognized and esteemed

him as such. Count Zinzendorf was commanded by the civil authorities to deliver up the Books of the Lutheran congregation, and shortly after, on January 1st, 1743, left Philadelphia (*d*). So, the attempts of the Count as well as the efforts of his followers, who remained in Philadelphia, to prevent Muhlenberg from being accepted as the pastor of the congregation, failed altogether. Muhlenberg's prime object (15) now was, to determine how to make the best use of his time, how to make the fullest proof of his ministry and how to engage most wisely in serving the three congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence.

20. Although Providence, which itself is not far from New Hanover, is yet about thirty miles from Philadelphia, the frequent passing to and fro between these points being wearisome, and, on account of the intervening streams of water, even dangerous, nevertheless Muhlenberg resolved, that as far as he had strength, he would take care of all three congregations, until God should be pleased to furnish him with some assistants in his ministry. He made his arrangements also to spend one whole week at a time in each congregation, holding public service on the Lord's Day, and occupying the days of the week in the instruction of the children, because no qualified schoolmasters even could be found. Between New Hanover and Philadelphia there is a small place, called Germantown,²⁹ where there is a Lutheran Church and congregation, several members of which communicated to him their strong desire to share, with the other churches, in his instructions. Accordingly he proposed, as far as possible, to minister to this congregation too, during the week that might be allotted to the Church in Philadelphia, at least, to preach once in the week, in Germantown. He made this arrangement in the hope, that if the Lord would send other pastors, Germantown might be united with Philadelphia to be served by one pastor, and New Hanover and Providence by another.

21. In these several places his first concern was about the instruction of the youth already somewhat advanced in their years; because divers of them, some eighteen, nineteen, twenty years of age, had directly applied to him for instruction; and although they had as yet made no beginning either in reading and writing or in the knowledge of God, yet he was much cheered by the tokens they gave of their desire to learn. There were, however, other persons, older than these, whom he had to instruct in the simple truths of Christianity.

(*d*) Further information concerning the undertakings of Count Zinzendorf and his adherents in Pennsylvania, may be found in the authentic "Nachrichten von Herrnhutischen Sachen" of the Rev. Senior Dr. JOHN PHILIP FRESENIUS, Vol. III, from page 87 till page 872.(28)

On January 10th, 1744, a widow came to him in New Hanover, with her daughter of about twenty-three years of age, who, since her seventh year, had been living with English Quakers, and who proved not only to be totally ignorant of Christian doctrine, but also to have forgotten the German language. Her instruction, therefore, had to be given in the English language, which indeed, she so readily comprehended, that on February 6th she made a confession of her faith, in English, in the presence of the congregation and partook, with them, of the Lord's

Supper. This scene produced a very deep and happy impression (16) upon the congregation itself. In relation to the foregoing services he reports, under date of June 6th, 1744, as follows:

“I am compelled by stern necessity to do the work of a school-master. I keep school one week in Philadelphia, the next in Providence and the third in New Hanover, simply for the purpose of preparing the larger youth and the adults, whose instruction has been neglected, for confirmation and for the Lord's Supper, in part also for holy baptism. In Providence I have already instructed some twenty, confirmed them and admitted them to the holy communion. Amongst these there were several married persons. In New Hanover also I have instructed and confirmed twenty, of whom several were about twenty-five years of age. At the present time I have a small number, in a course of instruction, at Philadelphia, who however, have not, as yet, advanced very far. * * * * * On Whitsunday I preached in New Hanover. The crowd was so great that they almost trod on one another. After the sermon I baptized eleven children in the presence of the congregation, also a married woman, to whose instruction I had previously attended, for some time. This woman was the child of Mennonite, anabaptist parents,³⁰ and during the time of her instruction she attained to a happy, living knowledge of the truth. On Whitmonday I preached in Providence to a very large congregation, and administered the Lord's Supper. I confirmed six adults, some of them married persons, also two youths, and baptized two children.”

Under date of July 1st, 1743, he states that he had given instruction to a person who had belonged to the anabaptists, afterwards examined him publicly, in the presence of the congregation, and admitted him to the Lord's Supper. He adds the following item under date of November, 25, 1743: “I have baptized a mother and her five adult children in the Church in Germantown. They were so much affected that I might almost have baptized them with their tears. At the same place I also baptized a married man. Through the grace of God these persons seem to be advancing in spiritual strength and fruitfulness.”

22. From the foregoing statements it may be easily understood in what a deplorable condition of gross ignorance Pastor Muhlenberg found these congregations; seeing that they had been totally without instruction in the Divine word, their youth growing up without proper training, and even adults, and married persons, some of them with children around them, having never been baptized. To this he refers in his Diary under date of January 5, 1743: "It seems as if the time has come for God to visit us, here in Pennsylvania, with special 17, favor. Indeed, it is high time. If affairs had continued a few years longer as they have been, our poor Lutheran people would have wandered off completely into heathenism. Some of them have never been baptized; they have married, have children around them, and even the children are unbaptized; besides this, the sects and misleading opinions that prevail are more than can be numbered."

In the letter already referred to as addressed to a distinguished theologian, having spoken of the different religious sects in Philadelphia and of their churches and meeting-houses, he adds as follows: "There is no lack of Atheists, Deists, Materialists and Free-Masons.⁵⁵ In short, there is no sect in the world that is not cherished here. You find people of every nation on the earth, and often what is not tolerated in Europe asserts itself here, openly. * * * * You may sometimes hear the most shameful utterances, against God and his holy word, in public and unrestrained * * * Throughout the land there are thousands who, according to their baptism, their training and their confirmation, ought to be Lutherans, but, in great measure, they have strayed away. So sad, so degraded is the condition of our poor Lutheran people that you could hardly bewail it enough with tears of blood. The children are growing up, and the parents often allow them to live on without baptism, without instruction, without training, and so they sink into heathenism itself. * * * Such was the state of affairs when I first came to Philadelphia."

In a letter of September 22d he speaks to the same effect. "The great mass are yet rude and uncivilized; and it may be readily understood that the disorder and confusion that have been prevailing for thirty years are not to be healed and corrected within the limits of one year." It would be superfluous to add anything more, by way of illustrating the wretched condition of these congregations, on the arrival of Pastor Muhlenberg. What we have said may be sufficient to make the matter clear.

23. Now, although it might have seemed that the labors of one solitary pastor were altogether inadequate to the task of restoring order

not only in one, but several different congregations, and giving them a start in the direction of positive good; yet, Pastor Mullenberg, superior to the infirmity of fear, resolved, with the help of the Lord, to do his best, and to discharge the duties of his office with all fidelity and with unwearied patience, until it should please God to send him the requisite assistance. Neither did the Lord withhold His blessing.

(18) The hearts of the hearers were turned towards him, so that they received his instructions with increasing confidence and delight.

Even of those who had strayed off to the sects, and of those who had forsaken the church because they did not want to have anything to do with the unauthorized teachers who had forced themselves on the church, there were many who came back again and seemed to enjoy the privilege of instruction in the Word of God, with a relish that was so much the more hearty and sincere. It may be clearly seen from what has been already said, that the instruction imparted to adults and to children was not without the Divine blessing.

Among other things, referring to a woman of ninety years of age, in the congregation at New Hanover, he says, that during the time of her preparation for the Holy Supper she had afforded him very great encouragement by the simple and hearty manner in which she gave expression to her faith. He adds further, in several letters, that whatever the annoyances and troubles of his office may be, and however confused the condition of the congregation, still the Lord does bestow a blessing here and there, the Word does not return void; his only cause of regret being, that as he has no assistant, he has to operate only upon the general mass at random, and cannot bestow sufficient attention upon the care of individual souls. In a letter of November 25th, 1743, he writes: The Lord has blest the work in the congregation at Germantown. The Gospel has won over an old grey-headed man who had been a follower of Dippel,³² and brought him to the knowledge and experience of complete reconciliation in Christ. Some time afterwards he deceased, and his end was blessed. Pastor Mullenberg cherishes the hope that competent assistants will be sent to him; that the work may be diligently prosecuted and maintained. Thus, by the Divine favor, substantial improvement may be effected, and the Lord will honor the undertaking with richer blessings.

24. Now, as the scattered and divided Lutherans began to come together again, the rented house in which they had been holding their meetings proved to be too small, and they could not expect to be permitted to meet in the Swedish Church after the arrival of the new Swedish pastor, who was then expected. In Providence, too, the ser-

VICES had been conducted under many disadvantages in a barn, which also, on account of the increase of the congregation, soon proved to be too small. Under these circumstances the building of a church for each of these congregations was felt to be an absolute necessity.

25. In Providence the undertaking was not so heavy as it was in Philadelphia; for in the former place the congregation was not so large as in the latter, and would not require as expensive a building. Concerning the church in Providence, Muhlenberg has the following statement in his Diary under January 5th, 1743: "On Wednesday (19) day, Jan. 5th, we celebrated Epiphany in Providence, and I preached again in the barn. The people of this congregation take a very great interest in the preaching of the word. The worthy Elders have resolved, in the name of the Lord, to begin the erection of a church. I have given public notice to that effect twice, and encouraged them to pray and hope for the Divine blessing. Indeed, a church is in the highest degree necessary. I have drawn up a piece of writing upon the subject; and sent the Elders through the congregation, with it, for the purpose of collecting subscription, as each member might be disposed cheerfully to give. Thank God, there is no lack here of the means of subsistence; but money is scarce; for the people living in the country have to haul all their produce to the city for sale, and then obtain very little for it. The timber that grows here is not suitable for building purposes, since it decays so readily; and building with stone proves to be expensive."

"I enclose, for your information, the plan of the church. According to this plan, the cost will be about 200 pounds sterling. The Lord has stirred up the hearts of the people, so that they are very much in earnest about the building; for after we had gone through the whole congregation, we found that they had subscribed nearly 100 pounds in current money. One pound sterling equals one and a half of our own currency.³³ The congregation has truly endeavored to do its very best, as everybody acknowledges. To this sum we hope yet to add the one-third of the collections which your Excellency may have, which would be our share of what may be in your hands for the three congregations. But where shall we get the balance that is required? May the Lord move the hearts of the people in Europe, so that they may render us the needed help. The members of the congregation are all of one mind. To see them haul the stone for the church is a very joy to me. We have a frame school house erected already."

"In this township there is already an English Church, the Mennonites also have a meeting-house; and as there has never been a Luth-

eran Church here, we are now about building the first one. On May 1st the masons expect to begin the work." On June 6th, 1743, he writes as follows: "On May 2d we laid the corner-stone of the first Lutheran Church in Providence, and had an immense concourse of people present, English as well as Germans. The religious exercises were begun by singing the hymn "Commit thou all thy ways and cares into His hands," then I preached in German, on the text Zech. 14, 7; after this I preached also in English. By the favor of the Lord, the masons raised the walls to a considerable height already at the beginning of June; and notwithstanding many difficulties the work still advances." Of like import are the statements of another letter dated September 22d, 1743. On August 31st the roof of the new church in Providence was finished, and on September 12th we left the barn, and held our worship, for the first time, in the new building. As yet, it is not quite finished; and we do not propose to consecrate it until it has been completed, in all its parts." Meanwhile, the congregation in New Hanover, being already in possession of a frame church, though an unfinished one, have erected a school-house, which, by the blessing of God, was fit for use about September 1st.

26 In Philadelphia, however, many more obstacles had to be overcome. It was not only necessary to build a much larger church, which itself would involve greater expense, for the accommodation of the large Lutheran population in this great city; but suitable locations for the church were very scarce, and many evil-disposed persons were throwing hindrances in the way. But even here, by the help of the Lord, all opposition was overcome, as may be seen in the following extract from Muhlenberg's Diary, when, under date of January 18, 1743, among other things, he says: "Twenty or thirty years ago, a good piece of ground for a church and a graveyard, might have been bought at a very moderate price.³⁴ Now, however, there is hardly any for sale in the city; or, at least, if a small lot of about an acre should be offered, the price demanded for it would be some 400, 500 or 600 pounds, according to its situation. True, a lot could be more readily secured, upon ground rent; but we should have to pay, every year, two and a half, or three, or four shillings sterling, per foot. So, for an ordinary lot of ground we would have to pay twelve or more pounds sterling, annually, as ground rent. In the meantime, the price of land, whether on regular purchase, or on ground rent, is advancing every day and the number of Lutherans is increasing year by year. The longer we delay with the building of a church the heavier will it prove to be, and the more difficult of accomplishment."

“ We resolved therefore to bring all these circumstances to the notice of the congregation ; and I prepared a statement of some of them, in writing. On Sunday, January 23, I read this statement to the congregation, and added that all who were in favor of building a church should remain after the dismissal, and record their names to that effect. The most of them did remain and subscribed their names, with the sums of money they were willing to give ; and the Lord favored this beginning so much, that one hundred and twenty pounds, current money, were at once secured.³⁵ I then came to an understanding with the Elders, that they should, in the name of the Lord, begin to look around for a suitable place at once. * * * On February 18, 1743, he adds, “ Our Elders have been most unwearied in their efforts to secure a good lot for the church ; but without success. In prayer, I spread the subject before the Lord, to whom all things are open. If it be His will that we should have a church in this city, He will guide and help us to secure the ground on which to build it. * * * On Saturday, March 12th, the Elders in Philadelphia informed me, with great joy of heart, that they were now negotiating for a lot, the price of which would be nearly 200 pounds. This is a much better plan than to take the lot on ground rent. Yet we have enemies who are raising obstacles in our way, and it is uncertain whether we can get the lot. The people, indeed, take a very hearty interest in the building of the church, so that the subscriptions entered in our collection book now amount to more than 200 pounds, currency. If we do not succeed in building a church, we can hardly expect to establish a regular Lutheran congregation. If the Lord build not the house, we cannot do it.

27. So far had the preliminary arrangements, for the building of the Church in Philadelphia, been advanced. Muhlenberg reports the actual commencement of the work, in a letter of June 6th, where, among other things, he says: “ In the week before Easter God, in His kindness, gave us a lot for the Church, even in the centre of the city.³⁶ It is an excellent piece of ground, and has room also for a graveyard. It cost somewhat over one hundred pounds sterling ; and if we should sell it now, we could get twenty pounds sterling more than we gave. The necessity of our undertaking, with the help of God, to build a Church in Philadelphia, is continually growing more and more absolute. If it is not done, then our Lutheran congregation, weak as it is, will become weaker and weaker still, and so die out at last. On April 5th, we laid the corner-stone of the first German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. The Swedish pastor of a Church, some distance from the city, who occasionally conducts the services in the Swedish Church,

which is now vacant, was in attendance. The English Minister also, had intended to be there, but an imperative duty called him off into the country. There was an immense concourse of people on the ground, foes as well as friends.

“As we are compelled to build, we must, at the same time, show some consideration for those who are to come after us. We have therefore, prudently fixed upon the following dimensions; viz.: Length 70 feet, breadth 45, height 27, without the vault or arch, which will be 9 feet. We propose also to have a tower for a couple of bells.³⁷ The cost of the building is estimated to be at least 800 pounds sterling. Our trust is in the Living God. The building of a Church is indeed a (22) heavy undertaking, especially when the congregation is poor and is beset by foes. By the Grace of God, however, we have been helped so far, notwithstanding our many hindrances, that the masons had raised the walls to the height of one story at the beginning of June.” Under July 1st, he writes as follows:

“The masons expect to finish the walls now, within four weeks. The hand of the Lord is in the work. We have not undertaken it in a spirit of rashness; but out of absolute necessity. The English laws prevailing here do not allow any sect or any religious party to build Churches except the Episcopalians, and besides them, the Lutherans.³⁸ As we are permitted to build a Church, we must erect also a tower for bells; and this will reach an elevation of 85 feet. Our opponents have been expecting that we would be cast into prison and put to shame, on account of our not being able to pay for the work.” In another letter he says: “The expense, estimated with the greatest care, will amount to five thousand five hundred Rix dollars, German money. In putting up such buildings, the English mechanics will not do the first stroke, until some one, either in writing or orally, has made himself responsible for the payment. Accordingly, four of our Deacons have united and taken upon themselves all responsibility for the building. These men are not wealthy; but they are men of sincere heart and they venture to trust in the Lord. Our Lutheran brethren in the town of Lancaster, 60 miles from Philadelphia, have given us 100 Rix dollars, German money.”

28. At last, Muhlenberg, in a letter of Nov. 25th, 1743, reports the finishing of the walls and the roofing in the following words: “In the midst of these trials, the Lord has so graciously prospered the work on the Church in Philadelphia, that it is now roofed in, and the tower also has been erected. In this there seems to be something of a Divine appointment; for, as the Swedes have now their own pastor,³⁹ they will

occupy their Church themselves, and can no longer accommodate us; the shortness of the days also forbidding it. As yet we have no sash in the windows, and the scaffolding yet stands inside; but we have closed up twenty-eight windows and three doors with boards; and to my great joy and that of many others, we worshipped in it for the first time on Oct. 20th, the 25th Sunday after Trinity. What a blessing this is, in a strange land, where wickedness so much abounds! Our enemies have been hoping all along, that the four men who made themselves responsible for the payment would be cast into prison for (23) the debt⁴⁰ before the work had advanced as far as it has. On this occasion also we sang the beautiful hymn 'Commit thou all thy ways and cares into His hands.' Instead of the Epistle I read the 4th Chapt. of the 1st Book of Maccabees, from verse 36th to the end; after this I explained the prayer of Solomon, in 1st Kings, 8th Chapt., from the 22d verse."

Certain collections of money have been placed in our hands, from which the travelling expenses of Pastor Muhlenberg have been taken;⁴¹ also, we deduct what will be necessary to send some additional laborers to assist him in the work; the balance that remains has been devoted to the building of these two Churches in Philadelphia and Providence, and, in fact, it has been already transmitted to Pennsylvania. True, it is far from being enough to meet all the cost of such expensive undertakings; especially since a very considerable sum will yet be required to furnish the window-sash, the doors, and such conveniences as the inside of the Churches may need. In view of all, however, our trust is that the loving kindness of the Lord will supply all that may yet be required.

29. As Pastor Muhlenberg, in all his letters, plead the necessity for assistant laborers in the congregations and the schools, and as his pleas were enforced by the entreaties of the people themselves, the Lord regarded the prayer of his servants, and heard his children's cry. He so disposed matters, that a well-qualified Candidate of Theology, Mr. Peter Brunnholtz,⁴² a native of Nuebel, a village of Glücksburg in Schleswig, was proposed for this position, with the approbation of all who understood the state of affairs in Pennsylvania, and were acquainted with Mr. Brunnholtz's gifts and fidelity. He had not only laid a solid foundation in theological study, and endeavored to maintain the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience; but also, after completing his University course, he had given evidence of his capacity and faithfulness, as teacher in the service of a Christian nobleman, as a preacher of the word and as a pastor in the special care of souls. Having de-

voutly submitted the whole subject to the Divine disposal, he declared himself willing to accept the call given to him by Prof. Dr. Francke in the name of the congregations in Pennsylvania. Then followed his examination by the Consistory at Wernigerode; on April 12th, 1744, he was ordained in the Castle-Church in that place, and immediately set out for Hamburg, passing through Hanover. Two others, worthy students of Theology, Mr. Schaum and Mr. Kurtz, both from the neighborhood of Giessen, expressed a readiness equal to that of Mr. Brunholtz, to engage in the work. They were received as teachers; and following him to Hamburg, on July 1st, they all set off together (24) on their journey to Pennsylvania by way of England.⁴³

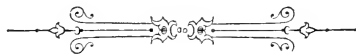
30. The selection and the calling of these several assistants, and the occasion of their departure were attended with such prominent tokens of Divine Providence, that we have no reason to doubt but that it is the gracious purpose of God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, to cause a brighter day to rise upon the congregations in Pennsylvania, so that by the ministry of the pastors who have been sent to them, they may be brought into the light of the knowledge of the Glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

After it had become known, in divers places, that Pastor Muhlenberg had already begun his labors, and that certain assistants were about to be sent out to him, the hearts of many kind persons were moved so much as that they contributed enough not only to defray the expenses of the journey of the assistants to England, but also to leave in our hands 40 pounds sterling over. Besides all this, an excellent Christian lady, who is very deeply interested in this work, had sent to England 547 Rix-dollars,⁴⁴ which, when added to the moneys yet in our hands, will be used to defray the rest of the travelling expenses of the assistants; and then whatever remains will be applied to pay for the building of the churches above described.

For all these benefactions we here, again, offer our hearty thanks to all of our distinguished and excellent friends, humbly praying that God may grant them every blessing both for time and for eternity. Further, our trust is in God, in whose hand are the hearts of men, that He will arouse many more benefactors to help this blessed work forward by their hearty and cheerful co-operation. Whoever takes any sincere interest in the extension of the Divine kingdom and in the salvation of souls will surely be encouraged, by this short report, sincerely to thank God for the favors already granted, to ask His presence and protection for the assistant pastor and the two teachers who are now on their journey, and to implore, in childlike confidence, a con-

tinuation of the Divine blessing upon all their ministry in the Church.

May He who is able to do far more than we can ask or think, guide these brethren upon their journey; and, under His protection, bring them to their desired port in safety and in peace. May He bless their labors so that many souls may be delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of His own Dear Son, for the Glory of His Name, Amen.



NOTES ON THE (FIRST) BRIEF REPORT.

¹ A large part of this First "*Brief Report*" is printed in *Acta Hist. Eccles.*, Vol. IX, pp. 891-915. The friends at Halle were certainly not displeased to find their communications transferred to the pages of other periodicals. The several "Continuations" were presented in like manner, in the work named above, and in other German publications. As the men to whose labors this Brief Report refers, are not so often brought forward to speak in their own persons, the Report consisting mainly, of general statements based upon their letters and journals, we are under the weightier obligations to Dr. W. GERMANN for the information bearing directly upon this Report, with which he has supplied us, and which he has drawn immediately from the Archives of the Franckeschen Anstalten, at Halle.

² The reasons for the emigration from Germany at that time are explained in the work of Prof. Dr. O. Seidensticker, already referred to, "*Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pa.*," p. 10, seq. See also Franz Löher, "*Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*," Cincinnati, 1847, p. 31, seq.

³ He himself wrote his name PENN. Before his time, in England, when the name occurred in combination, it was written with one *n*, e. g., Penrith. A map, prepared in the time of Penn, exhibiting NEW SWEDEN, or the existing settlements of the Swedes on the Delaware, has Pennsylvania. It is very clear that Canada, as referred to in the text, included more than the whole British territory along the Eastern coast of America which was transferred from the sovereignty of France to that of England by the Peace of Paris in 1763. When we read that Charles II gave Pennsylvania to the wealthy Quaker, William Penn, we should not forget that the English Government owed the family of Penn a debt of 16,000 pounds sterling, from the time of Admiral Sir William Penn, the father of William Penn. For a just estimate of the character of William Penn, the son, and of Quakerism in general, we refer to the thorough and very instructive work of Herman Weingarten, "*Die Revolutionskirchen Englands*," Leipzig, 1868.

⁴ Of this there are ample proofs in the continued statements of the Halle Re-

ports, *c. g.*, in section 6, in sections 13, 17 of the 2d Continuation, in sections 48, 50 of the fourth, in Pastor H. M. Muhlenberg's Report of his official acts for 1747 in the 5th Continuation, etc., etc.

⁵ Queen Anne, the daughter of James II, was the last of the House of Stuart; and having outlived her husband Prince George of Denmark, and her children, she died in 1714. George I, her successor, married to Sophia Dorothea of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Celle in 1682, and separated from her after 1694, was the son of the Elector Ernst August and of Sophia (died June 18th, 1714), who was the daughter of Elizabeth, wife of Frederick of the Palatinate and granddaughter of James I of England. Accordingly, at the death of Anne, George I ascended the throne, by virtue of an Act of Parliament of 1701, which ordained that the *Protestant* descendants of Sophia should succeed to the throne of England and Ireland, in the event of the death of Queen Anne, without issue. George I was not familiar with the English language; and originally was outwardly a member of the Lutheran Church. Divine worship was, and still is, conducted in St. James' Chapel, according to the ritual of the Church of England, in the German language. This may be the more readily understood from the fact that all through the Eighteenth Century, and even until the accession of Victoria, the sovereigns of England were also kings of Hannover. Besides, there was a new accession of the German element in the royal family under George II, 1727-1760, when the Prince of Wales married a Princess of Saxe-Gotha, and a like event has occurred in more recent times, by the marriage of Queen Victoria to Prince Albert. In view of these facts we can understand why Lutheran Court Preachers are found officiating in the Court Chapel of St. James. The royal family, which, as required by act of Parliament, belongs to the Church of England, did not usually attend the German service; it was attended, however, by Lutheran members of the German Embassies in London. The French language was the usual vehicle of conversation at the English Court, as it was at so many European Courts during the last century. In Muhlenberg's Journal, Aug. 22d, 1762, Halle Reports, 10th Continuation, we are informed that Pastor Frederick Rothenbühler removed from New York and took charge of the German Reformed Congregation at Philadelphia in 1762. This congregation, acting upon the advice of some Episcopal pastors, addressed a petition to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London, under date of Oct. 21st, 1764. We here insert an extract from that petition: "And we do further ordain and settle it as a fundamental constitution of the said Church and Congregation, that the liturgy and service of the Church of England, or a translation thereof in the German, as used in the King's German Chapel, and none else, be used in the said congregation of the said Church." See *Life and Corresp.* of Rev. W. Smith, by H. W. Smith. Philadelphia, 1879, Vol. I, p. 360. The Book of Common Prayer, first sketched by Cranmer and other Theologians, on the basis of old English liturgies, specially that of Salisbury, old Sarum, in 1549, and afterwards improved by the diligent use of the "Reformationsordnung," prepared by Bucer in 1543, with the aid of Melancthon, for the use of the Prince Bishop HERMAN of Cologne, was published in German, quarto, at Frankfort on the Oder, in 1704; it was also printed at Dublin. (Herman of Cologne was born in 1477, became bishop in 1515; after unsuccessful attempts to introduce the Reformation into his territories, he resigned his office, and died in 1552.) The pastor of the Danish Congregation in Dublin, in the last century, was accustomed to preach in

the Danish and German languages, alternately. See "Acta. Hist. Eccles. Nostri Temporis," Vol. XII, p. 655, ff. An improved translation appeared in 1718 at the Hague, "promoted by the intelligent zeal of Her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, and at Her gracious command." published by C. Fritsch, 8vo, 1718. The preface claims that this is the third edition, marked by many improvements and recommended by the Society "de propagando Evangelio." The N. Y. Bible and Book of Common Prayer Society published a German translation in 1855.

⁶ He was born in 1694; and, in his office, was the successor of Anton W. Böhme, whom we shall meet after a while. (See 7th Continuation, Muhlenberg's Report, July 21st, 1751.) He belonged, as did Böhme himself, to the religious school of Spener and of Halle. After it had been seriously intended to send him as missionary to East India, the influence of A. H. Francke secured for him a call to the Royal Chapel of St. James' Palace in London, in 1722. In 1772 he celebrated, in that place, his fiftieth anniversary, his official jubilee, on which occasion Pastor Burgmann, of the Church of St. Mary, the Savoy in London, so well known, preached on Ps. 92: 14, 15: "The old age of the righteous is blessed." This sermon, accompanied with an engraved likeness of the venerable pastor, was printed in London in 1773. Ziegenhagen, who had never married, died of debility, January 24th, 1776, in his 83d year. He was a zealous promoter of the Missions in East India and in North America, and, by his last will and testament, bequeathed his property to the Mission. We shall often have occasion to notice his friendly interest, especially on behalf of the missionaries who were sent from Halle to the Lutherans in North America. He was active also as an author of devotional works. The Salzburg Lutherans, who settled at Ebenezer in Georgia, sang hymns composed by him. His Short Exposition of the Lord's Prayer was not unknown in the New World; and in the 10th Continuation, Halle. Nachr., No. VI, Pastor Muhlenberg refers to certain "tables" which Ziegenhagen had prepared, to be used in the study of the Catechism. A biographical sketch of him, accompanied with an engraved likeness, may be found in the preface to Vol. II of the "More Recent History of the Missions in East India," Halle, 1783. See also "Kirchen-Geschichte of the German Congregations in London, etc.," by Dr. John G. Burkhardt, pastor of the German Lutheran Congregation in the Savoy (London); Tuebingen, 1798, p. 78. Ziegenhagen had a large correspondence with distinguished persons and scholars in many countries; especially with those with whom his official position and his activity in the cause of missions might bring him into connection. During his sojourn in London, Ritter MICHAELIS made his home in Ziegenhagen's house; and, according to his own confession, was indebted to him for his first stages of advancement in Exegesis and Dogmatics. He made no secret of his dissatisfaction with the arts and practices of the Moravians of his day, and refused to admit Bishop Zinzendorf into his pulpit. His crowning glory is his laborious zeal on behalf of the Missions in East India and North America. His assistant and amanuensis, PASCHÉ, came into possession of his manuscripts, and edited and published most of his writings.

⁷ At that time copies of the Holy Scriptures could be obtained in the American Provinces only by being imported. What was done on this behalf by the "Canstein. Bibelanstalt" of Halle, shall be stated hereafter. See 8th Continuation, Halle. Nachr., letter of Pastor Brunnholtz, March 16th, 1752. The first German Bible published in the New World, was printed by CHRISTOPHER SAUER, in Ger-

mantown, near Philadelphia, in 1743, the very year in which H. M. Muhlenberg began his labors in this country. A second edition appeared in 1763 and a third in 1776. Luther's Small Catechism was published by Benjamin Franklin in 1739. The Marburg Hymn Book was used in very many Lutheran Congregations; in some, however, other hymn books were used, as for instance the Wernigerode Collection, by the Salzburg Congregations in Georgia; whilst in other places the admirable Württemberg Collection of 1742, or the Cöthen Collection, was adopted. The first hymn book published officially by authority of the Church in America appeared in 1786, under the title: "Erbauliche Liedersammlung zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den Vereinigten Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nordamerika; gesammelt, eingerichtet und zum Druck befördert durch die gesammten Glieder des hiesigen Vereinigten Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ministeriums. Erste Auflage. Germantown, gedruckt bei Leibert und Billmeyer, 1786," (706 hymns). In the same year appeared the first "Kirchen-Agende der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Vereinigten Gemeinen in Nord Amerika. Philadelphia, gedruckt bei Melchior Steiner, in der Reesstrasse, 1786." 8vo. Pp. 58.

⁸ This name, so often mentioned, occurs also in the list of 81 persons, adults and minors, natives of the Palatinate, who, on Oct. 14th, 1731, arrived in Philadelphia in the ship "Snow Louther," Capt. Jos. Fisher, having gone from Rotterdam to Dover. Weisiger made another voyage, upon some confidential mission, to England, Holland and Germany, two years afterwards. See J. D. Rupp's 30,000 Names, etc., German and English edition, I. Kohler, Philadelphia, 1876, p. 72; also 8th Continuation Halle. Nachr., also IX Gemeinschaftl. Schreiben, etc., 1754, fourth period. In this historical statement John Chr. Schultze, mentioned in § 9, is again referred to. See Appendix to this first Brief Report.

⁹ This periodical, so to designate it, appeared between 1731 and 1741, in divers series, *e. g.*, Collections, Supplements, Continued Collections, Improved Collections, Continued contributions, etc.; Frankfurt and Leipzig, 12 vols.; after 1735 at Leipzig alone. It represented chiefly the matters of controversy between Lutheran Orthodoxy as maintained especially by Val. E. Löscher, (Unschuldige Nachrichten; Evang. Zehnden; Früh aufgelesene Früchte; Historia Motuum, Timotheus Verinus, Annalis Theolog.) and Pietism as advocated by the Theologians of Halle, (Aufrichtige Nachricht, etc., von Joachim Lange, 1706, ff., im Gegensatz gegen die Unschuld. Nachr.; desselben Antibarbarus Orthodoxiæ; die Hallesche Bibliothek; Wochen-Nachrichten aus Halle, u. A.) This kind of literature found new material at that time in the rise of Moravianism, and of the philosophy of Wolf; also in the operations of the Separatists and of the Inspirationists (Eberh. L. Gruber, Andr. Gross, John Fr. Rock, J. A. Gruber, Schwanfelder, D. E. Mackinet). The last named was naturalized at Philadelphia in 1730, and in his 75th year became secretary of the German Society at Philadelphia, occupying that position from 1764 to 1774. He died June 20th, 1775. See Prof. Dr. Seidensticker's Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft, 1876, p. 290. Max Göbel, the highest authority in the history of the Inspirationists, represents him as a member of that party. Why W. C. Reichel, in "Memor. of the Moravian Church," Ch. I, p. 160, puts him among the Schwenckfelders is not exactly clear. The Chiliastic Sect, the so-called Philadelphia Society, which, starting in England, spread its branches in so many directions, also furnished its contribution to the literature of the times (Geistliche Fama, 1730-1736, published by Dr. Carl, who, in 1728, had separated

from the Inspirationists). Divers other publications claimed to be only plain statements of fact, *e. g.*, "Acta Eruditorum," "Der Ausführl. Bericht von allerleinenen Büchern," "Der unpartheyische Bibliothekarius," Leipzig, 1713, etc., etc. "The Acta Hist. Ecclesiast.," 52 vols. in several series, began in 1734. From many an antiquated volume among the works just referred to, there falls, here and there, some ray of illumination upon statements found in our Halle Reports. The whole period was deeply agitated in its religious bearings. Beyond what has been already mentioned it was marked by the awakening of the missionary spirit in the Evangelical Church; by the banishment of Evangelical Christians from Salzburg; their hospitable reception in Germany; especially in Prussia, and their emigration to Georgia in North America; the publication of the rationalistic, so-called Wertheim translation of the Bible, and, as an indication of the reaction of Mysticism against the Church and Orthodoxy, the publication of the Berleburg Bible; the profane utterances of that strange Cynic, J. C. Edelman (Christian Democritus) Dippel, etc. It was the time of the Buttlar rabble, 1705, in Wittgenstein and Paderborn and of the Eller crowd in Ronsdorf, and of the fanatics at Brügglen and other places in Switzerland, etc. In short, it was a golden age of Separatism.

¹⁰ The characters here mentioned may be briefly described as follows: J. G. PFEIFFER, Prof. of Theology, is well-known, especially for his renewed publication of the "Paraenesis votiva pro pace Ecclesiae ad Theologos August. Confessionis," which he presented in his "Miscellanea Theologica," 1736, which under the still mysterious name of Rupertus Meldenius, must certainly have originated in the year 1635, since quotations from it may be traced back to that year. He maintained, indeed, the dogmatic positions of the Formula of Concord, firmly; but opposed the asperity that prevailed in the theological controversies of his day, and was in harmony with John Arndt.

GOTTHELF AUGUST FRANCKE, one of the most rigid representatives of that kind of Pietism that seeks to control all the relations of life by a direct religiousness, and finds its object, rather in the mortification than in the sanctification of what is natural. He was Dr. Theolog., Senior Prof. of the Theolog. Faculty and of the Ministerium at Halle, Director of the Royal Pædagogium and of the Orphan House at the same place, son of the more illustrious founder of these institutions, August Herman Francke, and his wife, Anna Magd. von Wurmb, and, through his only sister, the brother-in-law of John Anast. Freylinghausen. He was born March 21st, 1696, two years before the founding of the Orphan House. On the occasion of the jubilee or 50th anniversary of the Institutions at Halle, 1748, he had abundant reason for commemorating also the great blessings which, proceeding from Halle, had so plentifully refreshed the Lutheran congregations in North America. (Acta Eccles. Hist., Vol. XIII, p. 602.) He was educated at the Pædagogium in Halle, and after 1714, at the University. Three years afterwards he undertook a journey, yet did not go beyond the limits of Germany; but attended the University of Jena, where J. FR. BUDEUS was Professor at the time. After a public disputation, February, 1720, under the direction of Buddeus, he returned to Halle, first acted as Prison-Chaplain, and was afterwards ordained, in his 25th year. In 1723 he became Adjunctus in the "Frauenkirche" at Halle, was appointed Principal of the Latin School, and, in general, rendered much assistance to his father in directing the several institutions he had founded

in that city. In 1726 he was appointed extraordinary Professor, in 1727 ordinary Professor of Theology; and, after the death of his father, in the same year he became Director of the Pædagogium and of the Orphan House. The next year he was elected a member of the English Society, "De propaganda Christi cognitione." In 1738 he was appointed Deacon, and in 1740 Archdeacon, of the "Frauenkirche." In 1739 he was made a Dr. of Theology; at the same time the dignity of Inspector of the district of the SAALE was conferred upon him. He was appointed "Oberconsistorialrath" in 1767. As an academic teacher he was distinguished by the accuracy of his instructions, and by the practical influence he brought to bear upon his students. Twice a week, for more than thirty years, he delivered exegetico-ascetic lectures in the great hall of the Orphan House; and as long as he lived he continued the exegetico-paraenetic lectures of his father, by whom he was far excelled in spirit and in enterprise. Many of his lectures and of his theological discussions have been published. He was conscientious, to an unusual degree, in the discharge of his official duties; and, multiplied as they were, he still found time to take an active interest in the work of Missions in different portions of the world. This circumstance proved to be of great advantage specially to Pennsylvania and to the Lutheran Church in the New World. As a co-worker in this labor of love, the noble Ziegenhagen, of London, was ever at his side. For years he superintended the editing and publication of Missionary Reports from the East Indies, and of our own Halle Reports. (The publication of the East India Reports is continued until this day under the supervision of our honored colleague, in this present work, Dr. W. Germann.) At the time of the death of Francke the 11th Continuation was being prepared for the press. He died Sept. 2d, 1769. His published works were quite numerous: *e. g.*, seven University Programmes, 1729-37; twenty-five sermons and discussions, 1724-51; eleven theological dissertations, 1729-46; contributions in the Weekly Advertiser of Halle, 1746-62, etc., etc. He also wrote Introductions for divers books, edited new editions of old works and prepared German translations from English authors.

SAMUEL URLSPERGER was Court Preacher of EBERHARD LUDWIG, Duke of Württemberg, who, after the manner of the princes of the times, was openly living in adultery with the notorious Countess of Grävenitz. On Good Friday, 1718, Urlsperger preached before the assembled Court, and at the instigation of Aug. Herm. Francke, who was then visiting Stuttgart, his sermon was so keen and decided, that he drew down upon himself the full force of the Duke's displeasure, was dismissed from his office, and so continued for several years. In 1722, however, he was appointed Superintendent in Herrenberg. In the same year, a call having been prepared to St. James' Chapel in London, a post of which Ziegenhagen immediately took charge, Urlsperger accepted a call to Augsburg, after he had with some difficulty obtained permission to emigrate from Württemberg to Bavaria. But he was heartily welcomed at the free Reichstadt of Augsburg; and afterwards became Senior of the Lutheran clergy in that city. (See *Nova Acta Hist. Eccles.*, Vol. V., p. 721, etc.) To his diligence we owe a work we shall meet with after a while, under the title "Ausführliche Nachrichten von den Salzburgerischen Emigranten in Amerika," published by the Orphan House, Halle. Eighteen "Continuations" appeared from 1735 till 1752. We must say the same of a work which appeared in four parts between 1754 and 1767, under the title "Americanische Ackerwerk Gottes," Augsburg, and which reports also

the affairs of the Lutheran emigrants in Georgia. Both of these productions are, for the Salzburg Lutherans in Georgia, what the Halle Reports are for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. After his death in 1772 he was succeeded, and in like honorable services, by his son, JOHN AUGUST, the founder, in 1775, at Augsburg, of "The Society for the Propagation of Practical Christianity," and of the "Christian Association," established at Basel in 1780, organized after the manner of similar institutions operating in England, Holland, Sweden and other countries, in a warfare against the advancing skepticism and materialism of the times, and in promoting Christian knowledge and life in the spirit of the Gospel. After 1784 this Association, at Basel, printed and circulated a monthly publication entitled "Sammlungen," etc.,—"Gatherings for the Lovers of Christian Truth," and held itself bound to work in the circulation of the Holy Scriptures and of Tracts, in helping the poor and the sick, in sending preachers of the Gospel to destitute regions, and to those who were not as yet reached by Christian influences, in rendering aid to weak Protestant congregations in Roman Catholic countries, in short, in prosecuting everything that belonged to Home and Foreign Missions. At the same time this Association took no account of the Confessional differences of Protestantism, was the mother of the Basel Bible Society of 1804, of the Basel Missionary Society of 1816, of the Institute at Beuggen, "for the training of Christian Schoolmasters and the rescue of out-cast and neglected Children," also of other Institutions which continued to work successfully even after the original Association had been dissolved.

JOHN AUG. MAJER, Deacon at St. Ulrich's, Halle, and Pastor at Diemitz, was also a warm friend of the congregations of Lutherans who had emigrated to foreign parts as may be seen from many letters addressed to him from the Salzburgers in Georgia, and published in the "Salzburger Nachr." He also published several devotional works, *e. g.*, "Christus unser Freund und unser Alles;" two sermons, on Gal. 3: 23-29, John 1: 1-14, Halle, 1735.

¹¹ We present here a few biographical facts. He was born in EIMBECK, Hanover, now generally called EINBECK, Sept. 6th, 1711; his father was a member of Council. The private residence of the family was destroyed by a great fire that occurred there in this present century. Under the direction of Prof. Raphelius, in the town of Zellerfeld in the Hartz Mountains, in addition to his general education, he laid a good foundation in the study of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and of instrumental and vocal music; and in the practice of much self-denial, managed to sustain himself several years by giving private lessons to others. In 1734 he returned to his native place. In 1735 he entered the newly-established University of Göttingen where he prosecuted the study of Theology, especially under Prof. Oporin, who also received him into his family as his private secretary. Here, with the co-operation of two other pious students, he opened a school for poor children, in 1737. As a regular student in the Theological Seminary he preached in the University Church and catechized, and was so encouraged by people of rank that he remained in Göttingen until 1738. Acting upon the advice of the pious Counts REUSZ and HENKEL he then went to the University of Halle and was appointed Instructor in the Institutions of Francke there. The next year he accepted a call to the office of Deacon and Orphan-House Inspector at GROSSHENNERSDORF; but before assuming the position he was examined and ordained at Leipzig. In Grosshennersdorf he published, in defence of Halle Pietism, a

Missive, "Sendschreiben an den Herrn B. MENZER, grossbritan. braunschweig. ersten Hofprediger, etc., etc., von D. M. (Diaconus Muhlenberg), Leipzig und Görlitz, bei Mache, 1741." This Missive was published in six half sheets quarto. A literary quarrel grew out of this publication, in which, however, Muhlenberg took no active part. Whilst upon a journey, on Sept. 6th, 1741, a call reached him, by the hands of Dr. G. A. Francke, to go to Pennsylvania. This call he accepted at once "for three years." On Dec. 9th he preached his farewell sermon and passing through Halle, Einbeck, Hanover, and Holland, he arrived in London, April 17th, 1742. Here, at the house of the Court Preacher Ziegenhagen, he met with JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS, whom we have already mentioned, Knight of the Order of the North Star, of Sweden, and who afterwards became so distinguished as an Oriental Scholar and an Exegete.

Upon this voyage from Europe he preached every Sunday in the English language; the ship's company consisting, mainly, of rude and thoughtless people. Having set sail on June 13th he arrived at Charleston, S. C., Sept. 22d, then visited the Salzburg Congregations in Georgia, then returned to Charleston and then, having taken passage in an uncomfortable vessel, he reached Philadelphia, after a very dangerous voyage, Nov. 25th, 1742. He preached, for the first time in Pennsylvania, at New Hanover, Nov. 28th, and at Philadelphia, Dec. 5th. In addition to these two congregations he took charge also, at once, of the congregation at New Providence (Trappe). In 1745 Pastor Brunnholtz came to his assistance, and on account of the delicacy of his health was entrusted with the care of the two congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown, whilst Muhlenberg took the oversight of the country congregations, in Hanover, Providence and surrounding regions.

In the same year, Muhlenberg married ANNA MARIA, daughter of (John) CONRAD WEISER, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. The marriage ceremony was conducted by Pastor TOBIAS WAGNER, on the Friday after Easter, April 23d, 1745, new style (see Tulpehoeken Church Register). Eleven children were the blessings that crowned this alliance. From 1745 till 1761 he resided in Providence, in charge of a field of labor that was continually increasing, and being burdened, all the time, more or less, with the care of all the churches. In compliance with most urgent solicitations he spent the summers of the years 1751 and 1752 in the Lutheran Congregations in the City of New York and its vicinity; and served in like manner, in 1759 and 1760 in Raritan, New Jersey. The necessities of the congregation in Philadelphia induced him to return thither in 1761. He effected the adoption of a new form of worship in this congregation, Oct. 18th, 1762; and in 1763 sent his three sons to Germany, to prosecute their theological studies. Zion Church in Philadelphia, a structure of large dimensions, was built between May 16th, 1766, and June 25th, 1769. On August 27th, 1774, Muhlenberg, in company with his wife and daughter, set out upon a journey to Charleston and Savannah, going also to Ebenezer, where the congregation had been, for some time, disturbed. He succeeded in establishing the congregation in the lawful possession of their property, restored the reign of peace, had a good form of worship introduced, and on March 6th, 1775, returned to Philadelphia.

As Rev. JOHN CHRISTIAN KUNZE was pastor of the church in Philadelphia after 1772, and was assisted by Muhlenberg's youngest son (three younger sons having previously died), GOTTH. HENRY ERNST, who afterwards was pastor of

the Church in Lancaster, Muhlenberg, after earnest entreaty, obtained the consent of the congregation in Philadelphia to retire from their service. He then went to reside upon his own property in Providence; yet ceased not to do his utmost, by preaching, by counsel and advice, to build up the Churches in Philadelphia, Providence, and vicinity. The War of Independence was the occasion of much distress and personal danger to him. In April, 1779, he formally resigned the rectorship of the Philadelphia congregation (see 16th Continuation, III). As late as the year 1780 he continued to preach regularly in Providence, and occasionally in New Hanover and in Philadelphia. At that time, however, his bodily strength began to fail. Even in 1778 he had begun to feel the inconvenience of a dullness of hearing, although, in spirit he was still fresh and vigorous. Dropsical symptoms had long prevailed, and he suffered much from debility, sleeplessness, and pains in the breast. He looked with longing desire for a peaceful end; and it was granted him October 7th, 1787. As may be seen in the preface of this "Brief Report," and in Pastor Helmuth's Diary, 16th Continuation, VIII, May 29th, he had been honored with the title of Doctor of Divinity. He entered into his rest having attained the age of seventy-six years and one month.

His mortal remains rest by the side of those of his wife, near the old Augustus Church, which yet stands in Providence, now called Trappe. The Lutheran Church in this country is, itself, the monument that perpetuates his praise. A biography, corresponding to the weight of his own character, and satisfactory in its theological elements, is yet demanded. We have the prospect of obtaining such a work from the pen of Dr. W. GERMANN who is associated with us in the present undertaking, and to whom, for this express purpose, all the documents in the Archives at Halle, bearing upon the Lutheran Congregations in this country, have been entrusted. Among these documents an autobiography of H. M. Muhlenberg has been discovered which, although it does not present the most eventful period of the author's life, Dr. Germann intends to publish, in connection with other important contributions. This, however, will not make a biography that covers the times and scenes of his most prominent labors, superfluous.

We refer the reader to the following publications: "Denkmal der Liebe und Achtung, welches Seiner Hochwürden dem Herrn Dr. H. M. Mühlenberg, u. s. w., ist gesetzt worden," Philadelphia, bei Melchior Steiner, 1788. Also to the Sermon, 2 Chron. II: 12, preached on the occasion of his death, in Zion Church, Philadelphia, by the pastor, Rev. J. G. Chr. Helmuth. Also to the "Memoir of the Life and Times of H. M. Muhlenberg, D.D., Patriarch of the Evang. Luth. Church in America, by M. L. STOEYER, Professor in Pennsylvania College, 1856, Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston.

For his life previous to his arrival in America see the valuable contributions by his descendant Dr. F. A. MÜHLENBERG, now Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, *Evang. Review*, III, pp. 151, etc.

For his journey to Ebenezer, in 1774 and 1775, see the translation of his journal by his grandson the late Dr. J. W. RICHARDS, *Evang. Review*, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4.

¹² That is, "styli veteris," old style, or the Julian style of the Calendar—derived from JULIUS CÆSAR, 46 years before the birth of Christ. The length which this reckoning accorded to the year was incorrect. Pope Gregory XIII (1572—1583) corrected the Calendar; and this so-called Gregorian Calendar was gradually introduced into divers countries by the omission of ten days of the old reckoning.

The Protestant territories of Germany adopted it one after the other, from 1700 and onward. An Act of Parliament established it in Great Britain only in September, 1752. See "Amerik. Ackerwerk Gottes," 1754, p. 237.

¹³ Early in the century preceding that of the Reformation teachers of the Hussite doctrines had begun to labor in the domains of the Archbishop of Salzburg, as well as in other parts of the Austrian Empire. The Archbishop EBERHARD III, had already issued stern edicts against them. These measures, however, failed to root out "the heresy;" and one hundred years afterwards the writings of LUTHER found an abundant entrance there. Even Roman Catholic priests adopted the Evangelical doctrine; as, we learn from Luther's history, was the case with the well-known STAUPITZ, who, after 1518, had been Court Chaplain of the Archbishop of Salzburg. To avoid the appearance of holding Luther's doctrine to be a heresy he retired from this position; and afterwards became Abbot of the Cloister of St. Peter in Salzburg; where he died in 1525. Even during his lifetime PAUL SPERATUS and STEPHEN AGRICOLA (of course, not JOHN A., of Eisleben) preached the Word in Salzburg; but on account of their evangelical tendencies they were sharply tried and hardly escaped with their lives. This commenced the persecution of the friends of the Gospel in Salzburg. Barbarous edicts and atrocious measures distinguished the years 1588 and 1614. During the thirty years' war, however, the cunning policy of the Archbishop kept the peace; but afterwards the persecution was renewed with so much the greater violence. The Jesuits began rooting around and very soon turned up many persons who had been cherishing the faith of the Gospel in private. Straightway in 1684 and 1685 the persecution smote, among others, that heroic man JOSEPH SCHAIBERGER, author of the well-known EXULANTEN LIED and EVANGELISCHE SENDBRIEF, born in Dürnberg, a few miles from the city of Salzburg. He was banished in 1685 and afterwards supported himself by his handicraft, for many years, in Nürnberg, where he was finally admitted into the Institution of the ZWOELF ARMEN BRUEDER, and, at the time of the great Salzburg Persecution in 1732, was yet living.

In direct violation of the PEACE OF WESTPHALIA of 1648, many hundreds of the friends of the Gospel were forced, by cruel persecutions, to fly from house and home. A few years of peace followed the death of Archbishop GANDOLPH in 1685; but under the administration of the brutal LEOPOLD ANTON FIRMIAN in 1728, the storm burst forth with terrific violence. He "would root the heretics out of the land, even if nothing but thistles should grow upon it;" and he had his wish. The Lutherans were tormented in every possible way; they met with but little honest sympathy among the Protestant Powers of the German Empire, and were driven in crowds, as rebels, by the Austrian troops out of the territory of Salzburg. King WILLIAM, of Prussia, father of Frederick the Great, who, notwithstanding all his harshness and his tyrannical moods, was a sagacious prince and severely moral, welcomed thousands of them to his domain, and they proved to be a blessing to his country.

SAMUEL URLSPERGER, who, in a small volume, published an account of Schaitberger, made an appeal, on behalf of some of these exiles, to the "London Soc. for the Propagation of Christianity." As the result of this, a place of refuge was provided for them in the new colony of GEORGIA, not far from Savannah, with free passage across the sea. The first arrival in this colony was that of ninety-one per-

sons in 1734, under the lead of the devoted Pastors BOLZIUS and GRONAU. Other transports followed in 1735, 1736 and 1741. See "Vollkommene Emigrations-Geschichte von denen aus dem Erzbisthum Salzburg vertriebenen Lutheranern u. s. w., mit Vorrede von J. LORENZ MOSHEIM, von Pastor G. GOTTL. GUENTER GOECKING, mit Karte, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1734." Rev. P. A. STROBEL, "The Salzburgers and their Descendants, a History of a Colony of German Lutheran Emigrants, etc., Baltimore, 1855."

We yet add, that there is an Evangelical Church and congregation in the city of Salzburg at the present time; but, as the pastor, now in charge, himself informs us, no traces of the old evangelical faith can be discovered in the surrounding regions. In recent times the banishment of the ZILLERTHAL LUTHERANS from the TYROL in 1837, and their admission into Prussian territory is well known.

JOHN MARTIN BOLZIUS and ISRAEL CHRISTIAN GRONAU were both brought up in the Orphan House at Halle, and were afterwards educated for the pastoral office at the University in that city. Bolzius was Inspector Vicarius in the Latin School, and Gronau Preceptor in the Orphan House. They sailed from Rotterdam for Georgia in the first transport. See Autobiography of H. M. Mullenberg, by Lic. Dr. W. GERMANN. Franz Löher, *Gesch. u. Zustände der Deutschen in America*, 1847, p. 65. 4th Continuation der Salzburger Nachrichten, pp. 2215, 2281, 2282. Gronau departed this life on January 11th, 1745.

¹⁴ This is the name the Salzburgers gave to their first colony in Effingham county, Georgia. 1 Sam. 7: 12. In Vol. IV of "Collections of the Georgian Hist. Soc.," Jones says that it is one of the "thoroughly dead towns of Georgia." It may be interesting to read certain notices of the locality, which we extract from a letter of Rev. J. B. Reimensnyder, pastor of the Evang. Lutheran Congregation in Savannah, under date of March 14th, 1879. "The church built in Ebenezer, in the year 1767, still stands and presents a very fine appearance. Many descendants of the original Salzburgers yet reside in the neighborhood. Some of them are connected with families of the highest respectability in the congregation at Savannah. There are none, however, bearing the names of Bolzius and of Gronau. During the War of Independence the English troops occupied the Church as a hospital and a stable; and traces of this abuse may yet be seen. The descendants of the emigrants still enjoy a high reputation for integrity and honesty in their conduct and their dealings, and for their characteristic soundness of judgment. As Gen. SHERMAN, upon his "march to the sea," passed through their farms, they had to suffer much in consequence. During the last century the Salzburgers continued to stand out earnestly against the employment of human slaves. The German language prevailed among them until the present century; although in the year 1800, and indeed, long before, the desire had been expressed for the use of the English language in connection with the German in the public worship of the Church. Pastor JOHN ERNST BERGMANN, however, who came over in 1785 and died in 1824, withstood this proposed change with great decision; but the Episcopalians, Baptists and Methodists of the neighborhood, with all of whom Bergmann himself stood on very friendly terms, derived great gains from his course in this matter. (See *Evang. Review*, IX, p. 13, etc.) After all, the use of the German language ceased entirely between 1825 and 1850. At the present time there are four Lutheran churches at and around Ebenezer, with a total membership of about 400. In view of the relations and circumstances that have marked the last

fifty or more years it is not at all surprising, that the genuine Lutheran spirit has been much enfeebled in that part of the Church also, and that revivalism even, has asserted its influence. Recently, however, more sobriety has prevailed, and better hopes may be entertained for the future."

¹⁵ In the reference to the 11th Continuation of the Salz. Nachrichten, p. 2061, etc., we find the following extract from the Diary of Pastor GRONAU. "On Saturday evening Pastor MÜHLENBERG, who has accepted a call to the ministry in Pennsylvania, arrived at Savannah. Having rested on Sunday, he reached this place to-day. His baggage will follow in a freight boat, with a Salzburg family from Casand, in Seeland." * * * "Our hearts are drawn closely to Pastor Muhlenberg, and we join with him in heartily thanking God for the wonderful providence that sustained him throughout all his long and wearisome voyage on the sea." "Friday, Oct. 3d, p. 2063. At the devotional meeting to-day, both in the town and in the country, Pastor Muhlenberg exhorted the people from the Word of God; and may the Lord Himself make it a blessing to them all." On Sunday, Oct. 10th, he united with the congregation in celebrating the Lord's Supper. The above-mentioned family consisted of the parents and three daughters, minors. On Monday, Oct. 11th, Muhlenberg took his departure, and the Diary remarks: "Before he started he sang the last verse of the hymn, 'Mir nach, spricht Christus, unser Held.' All who were present were deeply moved. I cherish the hope that by the Favor of the Lord, we may meet again. We have never before had such a season of blessing in Ebenezer. Never before, had the Lord granted us the favor of bringing to our very homes one of our dear friends from Germany, one whom we had already loved in spirit, and permitting us, as we see him face to face, to recognize him as a true friend and brother in Christ Jesus. My hope is, that we shall now be more intimately bound together, and that, by the Grace of God, a congregation may be organized in Pennsylvania, by the preaching of the Gospel, with which we can unite in heart and spirit," p. 2064. For Pastor Bolzius' journey to Charleston in company with Muhlenberg, see p. 2071, etc.

¹⁶ Hazelius, in "History of American Lutheran Church," Zanesville, Ohio, 1846, says: "Considerable sums of money were collected in Germany and transmitted to the Salzburgers by their devoted friends, Senior URLSPERGER and Dr. FRANCKE. Contributions in aid of the Colonists were also made by benevolent individuals in England, and by the active sympathy of the "Society for the Propagation of Christianity." It is even said that the British Parliament voted the sum of 26,000 pounds sterling (\$130,000) in aid of the Salzburgers. This, however, is very doubtful. Yet it is true, that the great preacher WHITFIELD, who introduced Methodism into America, collected benevolent contributions in different parts of the country, for the Salzburgers, *ibid*, p. 33, 34. We shall be informed about his activities in Georgia hereafter. It is an interesting fact that the Salzburgers of Ebenezer were prompt, in their turn, to extend aid to other Lutheran congregations in their times of need. The Church Records of New Providence for 1749 retain to this day, an acknowledgment of 7 pounds currency, as a contribution from the Church at Ebenezer.

¹⁷ This festival was observed every year on March 11th, as being the day, in 1734, when the Salzburgers first landed on the new world.

¹⁸ There had been some Germans living in Charleston, S. C., already prior to

1734, *i. e.*, before the arrival of the Salzburgers in Georgia. "Their first settlement in South Carolina was made during the reign of Queen ANNE. They occupied the central portion in the forks of the Saluda and Broad river, and along the Congaree and Wateree," Löher, p. 67. He is not correct, however, in what he says about the earliest preacher, GIESSENDAMMER, *viz.*, that a child of his, born in the settlement in 1742, was yet living in 1803. This was the child of his nephew. Giessendammer himself died in 1738.

¶ The first German, in South Carolina, to command our attention is JOHN LEDERER. Commissioned by W. BERKELEY, Governor of Virginia, he travelled, resolutely, three times over both Carolinas, in 1669 and 1670. At that time there were no white people at all living in South Carolina; and in the eastern part of North Carolina there were only two small colonies. However, old Charleston, in South Carolina, was founded in 1670, at a point a few miles removed from the location of the present Charleston. Some Holland Lutherans, who left New York after it had fallen into the hands of the English, came in 1674 and settled upon James Island, south-west of Ashley river. When the attempt was made in 1704 to establish the Anglican Episcopal Church, in the Carolinas, to the exclusion of other Confessions, they stood up manfully in defence of the freedom of their Lutheran Faith. About 1710 we meet with a colony of Palatines and Swiss at New Berne. When Bolzins arrived in Charleston he found Lutherans there already, and celebrated the Lord's Supper with them. In 1732 a colony of Swiss settled at Purysburg, in South Carolina; and they are often spoken of in "Salzb. Nachrichten." In 1735 colonies of Germans and Swiss were established in Orangeburg, South Carolina. Their numbers were increased by persons who came under the lead of Pastor John Ulrich Giessendanner. (More correctly, Giezentanner.) He was originally a goldsmith, in the Toggenburg, in Switzerland. He was banished from the country as a fanatic; but was not recognized by the "Inspirationists" of Germany—Gruber, Rock and others. He afterwards served for a time as teacher in the Orphanhouse at Halle, then in Marburg, where Prof. G. F. Hottinger was his friend and even had him to preach in his church. Afterwards, he was sent off from that place also and went back to Switzerland. He, next, acted as a teacher at Frankford-on-the-Main, and finally emigrated to South Carolina in 1737. See "Zeitschrift für Hist. Theologie," 1854, Vol. III, p. 418, Art. of Max Göbel über die Inspirirten.

A notice of the elder "Giesendanner" may be found in the "Salzb. Ebenzer. Nachrichten," 1737, 4th Continuation, p. 2174. Here he is described as a copper-plate and seal engraver, whom the colonists of Orangeburg, in North Carolina, called to the pastoral office, and who afterwards wrote to the people at Ebenezer, requesting them to help his nephew in prosecuting his studies; but his request was not granted. (See *Acta Hist. Eccles.*, Vol. IV, p. 893, etc.) Colonists continued to arrive until 1769. The first congregation at Orangeburg was Lutheran, and Giesendanner was their pastor, although he was a native of Switzerland and was said to have been ordained there. Somewhat later, however, the Reformed pastor ZUEBLY, whom we shall meet hereafter, had charge of the congregation. The younger Giesendanner labored under great difficulties, especially at the beginning of his work. He went to England in 1749, after he had been serving as a Lutheran pastor for ten years, and was ordained there by an English bishop. He died in 1761.

After 1737 we find another German colony in Saxe-Gotha township, now Lexington county, South Carolina, about 100 miles from Charleston. This colony was increased by the arrival of immigrants, especially in 1744 and 1750. CHRISTIAN THEUS, a very able pastor, served them subsequently to 1739. Muhlenberg, upon his journey to Ebenezer in 1774 and 1775, became acquainted with him, and he was yet living in 1789. He was of the Reformed Confession; and the Lutherans of that colony applied to the people at Ebenezer to help them to secure a Lutheran pastor and Lutheran worship. A colony of German Lutherans was organized in 1763 and 1764 at Hard Labor creek, Abbeville, South Carolina. We might yet speak of other German colonies. As to their church relations, these were, upon the whole, and for a long time, quite irregular. The field was very large, the laborers were very few. Pastoral visitations, such as Boltzcius made to Charleston in 1734, and Muhlenberg in 1742, Rabenhorst, after that, on his way to Ebenezer, and Gerock, in 1753, on his journey to Pennsylvania, were too brief and contracted to leave any good permanent impressions. It is in 1755 that we first find a regular pastor stationed in Charleston among the Germans. The state of affairs in the country districts was deplorable, so much so as, in some measure, to account for that tragical outburst of fanaticism, the murder of a man who represented the devil, by the Weberfolks, on the Saluda, about 125 miles from Charleston, in 1760. Entire congregations, under the most lamentable circumstances, were spirited off into the confession of a faith which their fathers had never known. Wretched creatures, pretending to be clergymen, yet who proved to be wolves in the flock instead of shepherds, as in Pennsylvania, contributed to increase the confusion and precipitate the ruin. It is very probable that Gronau and Boltzcius took measures for regularly organizing a congregation in Charleston as early as 1734. (See *Ev. Rev.*, I, p. 419.) Pastor LUFT is said to have labored there in 1742. About 1755 or 1756 JOHN G. FRIEDERICHS was the pastor. In 1759 he laid the corner stone for a church, but shortly afterwards moved to Amelia township, Orangeburg District, South Carolina. He was succeeded in Charleston, for a short time, by Pastor WARTMANN; then, after 1763 Pastor J. N. MARTIN followed, under whose ministry the church was built, and the "German Beneficial Society" of 1766 was founded, which still exists. His successor was J. S. HAHNBaum, who was called from Germany in 1767; after about five years, however, he died. After him, FREDERICK DASER, a Württemberger, though he had not come into the country as a clergyman, served the congregation for some time. He gave occasion to some disturbance in the church, which Muhlenberg, whilst on his journey to Ebenezer in 1774 and 1775, undertook to settle. The result was that J. N. Martin was again called as the pastor and continued to serve as such for several years.

In *Nova Acta Hist. Eccles.*, Vol. X, p. 381, in the year 1770 mention is made of a Lutheran pastor who had been driven off from the neighborhood of Strassburg, and who was sent to a congregation of Palatines in the vicinity of Charleston, S. C., after he had had himself ordained by the Bishop of London. The writer appends the remark, "To me it is a very doubtful thing whether a Lutheran preacher can, with a good conscience, have himself ordained over again in the Church of England." While the political storms were yet raging in 1778, Pastor CHRISTIAN STREIT, who introduced the use of the English language into the service, had charge of the congregation, with the above-named Fr. Daser as

his colleague. In 1782 Streit moved to New Hanover, Pa., and in 1785 to Winchester, Va., where he remained until his death.

The Swiss pastor, JOACHIM ZUEBLY, who had come from Frederica on St. Simon's Island, south of Savannah, in 1747, and whom we shall meet again, organized a Reformed congregation in Amelia township. He afterwards moved to Savannah, where Muhlenberg met him in 1774. This Reformed congregation was disbanded, and its membership absorbed by the Lutheran congregations in the vicinity. Two Lutheran pastors, J. N. MARTIN, named above, and L. HOCHHEIMER, labored in Saxe-Gotha District, about the year 1774. FR. JOHN WALLER was Lutheran pastor in Newberry District, in 1787. At Indian Field Swamp, 50 miles from Charleston, about 1774, the preacher of the Lutherans was a young man who had brought no other credentials from Germany than "a black coat." In a word, the necessities of the Lutherans in North Carolina during the second half of the last century were provided for by a missionary organization in the University of Helmstädt (closed in 1809), under the direction of Dr. Prof. VELTHUSEN, in like manner as the Pennsylvania Lutherans were supplied from Halle. The Reports from these congregations, written by the pastors who had been sent to them, are not very full; but they resemble, in general, our own "Halle Reports." We have extracted by far the largest part of these notices from a work which shows at once the diligence, the keen penetration and the sound judgement of its author, under the title, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina, etc.*, by G. D. Bernheim, Pastor of St. Paul's Ev. Luth. Church, Wilmington, N. C. Philadelphia, Luth. Book Store, 117 N. 6th St., 1872.

It may be useful yet to add some statements concerning the condition and history of the Lutheran churches in North Carolina, in more recent times. For this we make use of an Article written by the aforesaid Dr. J. C. Velthusen, who was, for some time, second Court Chaplain in London, then General Superintendent and Professor at Helmstädt, and finally, Chancellor of the University of Kiel. (A Biographical Sketch of him is found in "Alleg. Magazin für Prediger," Vol. III, p. 85, etc., 1790.) The Article referred to is in "Acta Histor. Eccles. Nostri Temp.," Vol. XII, p. 213, etc. In 1773, through the action of the Consistory of Hannover, Pastor ADOLPH NUSSMAN was sent to North Carolina. He had been a Franciscan monk; the first serious impressions had been made upon him by the philosophy of WOLF; he then went to Göttingen and prosecuted his studies there. Upon his journey he passed through London, preached with acceptance and enjoyed the confidence of the "aufgeklärten Mitglieder." Velthusen says that he himself placed in the hands of the Minister of State, in London, all the papers that belong to a full history of Evangelical Lutheran missions in the Carolinas. About the time of Nüssman's coming to America, an experienced teacher, who had been trained in the Teachers' Seminary at Hannover, was also sent over; and, in addition, Bibles, Hymn Books and Catechisms were supplied in abundance. Collections of money were placed in charge of the "Society de Propag.," and the King and Queen made special contributions for the support of the pastor. Unhappily, Nüssmann gave no account of himself for about ten years—it was the period of the Revolution—and all kinds of reports, both of his severe trials and of his delinquencies, were noised abroad. Finally, however, the Missionary Society received a letter from him of an encouraging kind, dated May 11th, 1786. He

had previously, by letter of May 4th, 1784, informed a special friend of his work, that the congregation on Second creek, Rowan county, North Carolina, about 12 miles from Salisbury, had built a church, that they had begun to mistrust himself, that they had chosen the aforesaid schoolmaster, GOTTFR. ARND, as their pastor, that they had him ordained in South Carolina, by a certain BUELOW, who had been a store clerk but passed himself off as a preacher, and finally, that as Arnd had accepted a call to a congregation beyond the Catawba, in April, 1784, a good understanding had been re-established between him and the congregation, and they were working together in peace.

The most flourishing congregation was that of St. John's Church, on Buffalo creek, Mecklenburg, now Cabarras county. It was here that Nüssman wrote his second letter. At this place, eight miles from the congregation on Second creek, a frame church, of attractive appearance, was built in 1771 and 1772; and it was used for public service every two weeks, even through the time of the war. It was used also as a schoolhouse for the children, in the winter, and for the catechetical instruction of adults, far into the summer. In addition to this church, Nüssman preached also to a mixed congregation of Lutherans and Reformed, at Cold Water, six miles south-west of Buffalo creek, and another at the Pine Church, three miles south-east of Salisbury. Nüssman had opportunity to improve his temporal circumstances by going elsewhere; yet he remained at his post and held the congregation at Buffalo creek as the object of his special care. In the winter of 1783, in the school, embracing three divisions, under the care of G. FRIESLAND, a teacher from Hannover, there were 128 children. The congregation had a Constitution, with elders and deacons; and possessed land amounting to 100 acres. As to the rest, the account which Nüssman gives of the condition of Lutherans in North Carolina is a sad one, everything growing wild, and chiefly in consequence of the widely scattered, isolated residences of the people, they present a melancholy sight to look upon.

At this point, Velthusen, with good intentions, started, in Germany, and chiefly at Helmstädt, an association, specially intended for the publishing of popular works and of school books, both religious and secular, which, in part, should be sent to North Carolina, and, in part, sold in Germany, the proceeds being devoted to the support of the mission in North Carolina. Among these books there was a Catechism, *altogether new*, "such as I have long had in my mind, for the benefit of the shepherd-boys scattered over the Lunenberg heath;" also, "with a full course of moral instruction." Here we observe, all through, the tendencies of the so-called "Period of Illumination." The other books that were proposed were controlled by the same tendencies. The whole spirit is no more that in which Muhlenberg labored in Pennsylvania. The projected works, in fact, were published (see the vol. referred to above, p. 673, etc.); in April, 1789, the profits had amounted to 1242 Rix Dollars, and so, in compliance with Nüssman's request, an assistant preacher was at once sent off to North Carolina. This preacher was K. A. G. STORCH, who was ordained by Dr. Velthusen at Helmstädt, May 12th, 1788 (*Rede und Handlung, 1788, im Druck*). Of course, obstacles arose in the way of circulating these books among the colonists.

Other agents, however, appeared for prosecuting the work among the Lutherans. We mention CHRISTOPH BERNHARD, a divine from Württemberg, who preached in Pine Church, on Second creek, and also in three other churches, whilst Gottfr.

Arnd served in the four Catawba congregations. Pastor Daser having left Charleston, S. C., and gone to a church in the interior, M. FABER, from Tübingen, followed him as pastor in Charleston. About that time, the necessity for pastoral service was deeply felt in Guilford county, N. C., 70 miles north of Salisbury, and over a region 28 miles long and 18 broad. Nüssman, Bernhard and Arnd all visited the neighborhood. Another district in similar condition was the German settlement on Abbot's creek, Rowan county, 20 miles north of Salisbury, 14 miles long and 10 broad. In the upper part of this region the people co-operated with the Moravians, who held six large churches. The Lutherans themselves had three churches. All along, thus far, the people had to put up with the services of roving fanatics. See an article in "Acten, Urkunden, etc., zur neuesten Kirchengeschichte," Vol. I, p. 673, etc.

¹⁹ NICHOLAS LUDWIG, Count ZINZENDORF, of a noble Austrian family that can be traced back till the year 1114. (See Biographies of Counts Ludwig and Karl von Zinzendorf, who, in the last century, occupied high civil offices in Austria, by C. G., Count von Pottenege, Vienna, 1879.) A branch of this family emigrated from Austria, for the Gospel's sake, in the 16th century. Count Zinzendorf was born in Dresden, May 26th, 1700; he grew up under the influence of the religious principles maintained by SPENER, and was one of the most prominent characters of the Evangelical Church. He died May 9th, 1760. His life, his character, and especially his activities in connection with the Moravian Brethren, are described in his biography by SPANGENBERG, VERBEEK, KNAPP and others. The account which was published in 1851, as taken from the manuscript of a contemporary of Zinzendorf, the gifted Baron von SCHRAUTENBACH, is specially valuable. (See A Register of Members of the Moravian Church, etc., of Rev. Abr. Reineke, etc., and illustrated with historical annotations by W. C. Reichel, Bethlehem, 1873, p. 43.) We are here concerned only about the disturbances that arose between Zinzendorf and his friends on the one hand, and the Lutheran pastors and congregations on the other, that are so often spoken of in the Halle Reports. In 1741 the Count withdrew from his office of General-Elder of the "Brüdergemeinde," partly because his expectations in that position had not been fully met; partly because, having given up the hope of ever realizing his idea of the Church or Brüdergemeinschaft in Europe, where church-establishments were maintained by law, he fondly cherished the prospect of accomplishing his plan upon the virgin soil of America, where religious liberty prevailed. Accordingly, in 1741, he came to Pennsylvania, and went to work at once, seeking to gather up, out of the different churches, such members as he held to be sincere Christians, and then to unite them all in one body according to his own heart. It was an ill-defined attempt to make the invisible church visible, and even to constitute itself the visible centre thereof. These movements could produce no other than disturbing effects upon all the religious communions and congregations that were reached by them, unless these congregations themselves might, in general, be inclined to become Moravians. The different congregations and confessions were to retain their own organization, but in them and over them a better and nobler principle should prevail; to wit., the spiritual fellowship of Zinzendorf himself. A statement from Zinzendorf's own hand (see BÜEDINGEN SAMMLUNG, Art. XVII, p. 789) makes this matter clear at once: "Scarcely had I arrived in Pennsylvania, before I felt myself powerfully moved to cry out every-

where, "hither to me, all ye who belong to Christ." From such proceedings, however, nothing but disturbances and conflicts could arise. No satisfactory explanation is given at all, as to how Zinzendorf could come forward in Pennsylvania, as a kind of self-appointed supreme head, even of all the Lutheran congregations. He was always the same man and representative of "Herrnhut," when, with reference to one of his possessions, he went by the name of Count von THURNSTEIN, or simply Brother LUDWIG, or even something else. The fact that Muhlenberg and his colleagues withstood the Count is only a proof that they were deeply conscious of their responsibility for the Lutheran congregations under their care, that they judged and acted prudently in matters that concerned religion and the church, and that Zinzendorf's movements confirmed in them a sense of the right and of self-respect that was altogether creditable to them. These troubles were made still worse by the fact that emissaries from the Moravian establishment in Bethlehem, Pa., tried to force themselves into Lutheran congregations here and there, like barnacles upon the hull of a ship, and, indeed, under the notion that they alone were able to supply the means of strength and safety. Complaints upon this subject and upon further troubles growing out of it arose in other regions, as well as in those included specially, in the Halle Reports. (See History of New Sweden or the Settlements on the River Delaware; by Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Church in America and Rector of the Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Del., etc. Philad. Public. Fund of the Histor. Soc. of Penna., 1874, p. 332, etc.) We quote from this History as follows: "It was remarkable that those Swedes, who had been ordained by the Moravian Communion, whenever they came to our people, always claimed to be "Swedish preachers," representing themselves as Lutheran pastors, maintaining only the doctrine that was acknowledged in Sweden," etc., etc. (See "Life of Rev. M. Schlatter," by Rev. H. Harbaugh, A.M. Phila., Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857, p. 155, 166, etc.; also, and especially, the section relating to this matter in the Autobiography of Muhlenberg, from 1711 till 1743, edited by our honored colleague, Rev. Dr. W. Germann, and soon to be published by Brobst, Diehl & Co., Allentown, Pa.)

²⁰ When the people began to build houses in 1682, according to the plan approved by PENN, the condition of affairs was a miserable one in the highest degree. The first English colonists occupied rough frame houses; they even lived in caves like those that had, for many years already, been dug out by the Indians in the steep banks of the Delaware. Penn himself did not come over with the first colonists. Having landed at New Castle, DEL., in October, 1682, he took the road through Upland (Chester), and from that point, in company with friends, went, in a boat, to the new city and came on shore at the point now known as Front and Dock streets. That point continued, for a long time, to be the great centre of the business of the city. Years elapsed before even one house was built west of Third street. People who came from surrounding territory to worship in the "Meetinghouse" on Sundays and other days, would sit down to rest on benches, under the forrest trees, at the corner of Sixth and Market. Yet when Penn sailed for England in 1684, the population of the city was about 2500 souls. The most necessary articles of food were in abundance, but money was very scarce. During the war between England and France, and the years 1688-1697, even tin and lead coins seem to have circulated as the representatives of money. (Trego's Geogr. of Penna., p. 130.) However, Penn, in a letter, speaks about a tannery and a

saw-mill, "a glass-house, a whalery and a dock belonging to it." He encouraged the colonists to engage in the production of wine and the manufacture of linen (p. 129). He wished to have the public buildings of the city erected upon Centre Square, at the crossing of Broad and Market streets—the very spot where the imposing municipal edifice is now being erected; but the location was too far off from the city, as it then was, and accordingly the "State House," that has become so grand in history, was built on Independence Square in 1735. At that time the city spread out for a considerable distance along the Delaware, whilst east and west its limits were quite contracted. There were people in Philadelphia, 25 years ago, who remembered the time when only a solitary house stood here and there upon the territory west of Sixth street. According to the report of the learned Swede, PETER KALM, who, between 1748 and 1751, travelled through the North American Colonies in the service of the Government of Sweden, there were more than 10,000 inhabitants in the city, about 1746.

²¹ This is CHRIST CHURCH, on Second street, North of Market. About 1695 the Episcopalians, under Pastor CLAYTON, held their worship in a very unattractive frame house. They had a bell hung up on the branches of a tree that stood near by. This frame building was enlarged in 1710. The church that stands until this day was begun in 1727. The foundation of the tower was laid in 1729. The tower itself was completed in 1753, and a lottery was resorted to, to secure the needful funds. G. WHITEFIELD was permitted once to preach in this church in September, 1763. St. Peter's was the offspring of Christ Church. St. Paul's was the third church. About the labors of Whitefield and the entire business of the "New Lights" or Methodists, there was great diversity of opinion, also in the Episcopal Church, in which Whitefield himself was known to be an ordained clergyman. (See Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania, 1680–1788, published 1871; p. 203, etc., 354, 381, 392, etc.) It may be interesting to hear the testimony of Episcopalians themselves, as we find it in confidential letters sent to England. The Rev. ARCHIB. CUMMINGS writes from Philadelphia, August 29th, 1740, as follows: "The bishop's commissary (Mr. Garden) in South Carolina has lately prosecuted the famous Mr. Wh—d there upon the 30th canon; but he has appealed home. I hear the Society will use their interest to have justice done him. His character as a clergyman enables him to do the greatest mischief. He thereby fights against the Church under her colors and Judaslike betrays her under pretence of friendship, for which reason the dissenters are exceedingly fond of him, cry him up for an oracle and pray publicly for his success, that he may go on conquering and to conquer, and in return he warmly exhorts his proselytes from the Church to follow them as the only preachers of true sound doctrine. I have sent you a copy of my sermons, which I mentioned in my last and refer you to the preface for a brief account of his hopeful doctrines and malicious railings against the Clergy. I am fully persuaded he designs to set up for the head of a sect, and doubt not but that he is supported under hand by deists and Jesuits, or both. He and his companion, Mr. Seward, have purchased 5000 acres of land about 60 miles distant hence—"

The intention was, to establish on this ground, an Institution for the training of colored people; but Whitefield sold it to the Moravians, who, going to work at once, began to build the town of NAZARETH upon it, a few miles from Bethlehem.

Rev. Ross writes from New Castle, August 1st, 1740, as follows: "The Church

here enjoys a profound calm, after being threatened with a mere tempest of enthusiasm. We felt this storm in this village in its decline, when its fury was almost spent. I was never so much astonished, as when I saw the fluctuating humor of our people. The sea roared indeed and the waves rose so exceedingly high, that to face them was present shipwreck. I stood amazed and dreaded the consequences of so unexpected a shock, but he that thus stirred up the people and inflamed them against the missionaries (commissioned by the London Society) with the most opprobrious language, I mean the mischievous Mr. Whitefield, lost himself and ruined his credit with thinking people, by his malicious letters against Archbishop Tillotson and by his weak, but ill-natured, attack upon the author of the 'Whole Duty of Man,'" p. 204.

Many other letters of that period were written altogether in the same style. Among other things recorded in a letter by Rev. HUGH NEILL, Oxford, near Philadelphia, Oct. 17th, 1763, written on the occasion of Whitefield's visit to Pennsylvania, about that time, we find the following: "Mr. Whitefield arriving lately among us, and meeting with a most cordial reception from the Episcopal Clergy of Philadelphia, has thrown the Clergy and laity in the country into a very great consternation. The unanimity among the Church Clergy, both in city and country, for this three and twenty years past, in opposing him prevented his hurting the Church (a few individuals excepted). The divisions that he created among the dissenters, in this province and all over America, were examples sufficient to warn us from splitting upon the same rock. But such has been the fatality of our city brethren that they have received him with open arms, and still continue to follow him from the Church to the Meetinghouses and from thence to the Church again, with a greater degree of veneration (I really believe) than if his Grace of Canterbury was to condescend to pay them a visit. Mr. Duche, one of the assistant Ministers of Christ's Church, in Philadelphia, and Mr. Wrangle (both names often occur in the Halle Reports), the Swedish Minister, have appeared more openly than the others in preaching up his doctrine and espousing his cause—they have set up private meetings in town, where they admit of none but such as they deem converted," p. 354.

RICHARD PETERS, whom we often meet in the Halle Reports, writes, as Pastor of Christ Church, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 17th, 1763, as follows: "I was under some apprehension, lest Mr. Whitefield's coming among us might have interrupted our harmony, especially when the Congregations (who I thought would have left it to me to judge of the propriety of inviting him into our pulpits), by the Churchwardens signified me, without giving me any previous notice, that they were one and all desirous, that Mr. Whitefield should be invited to preach in the Churches; surprised at such a request—I forthwith consulted Mr. Duche and Mr. Sturgeon, my fellow ministers, together with the Governor (either James Hamilton or Richard Penn, grandson of Wm. Penn, who succeeded Hamilton, this year, and whose sons had already gone over to the Episcopal Church), and some other friends to the Churches—and they were all unanimously of opinion, that I should comply with this request. Therefore, after Mr. Whitefield had shown his regard to the Governor and had paid me likewise a very kind and polite visit, I invited him to preach in the Old Church (Christ Church) the first Sunday his health would permit (for he has become asthmatic and inclinable to a dropsy) and he has preached four times in one or other of the Churches without

any of his usual censures upon the Clergy, and with a greater moderation of sentiment; he grows better in his health and talks of staying in these Northern Colonies till the spring; and I am in hopes his stay will be attended rather with good than harm to the Churches" Whitefield died in 1771.

²² This is the Society referred to in our notes on sections 12 and 14. "The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge" was founded in 1699. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was chartered in 1701, and, at the same time, united with the former named. (See "Verbesserte Sammlung von Beiträgen zum Bau des Reiches Gottes," III, p. 337, VI, 710, XX, 438.)

²³ Their first church in the city was a small frame building erected in 1695, at the North-west corner of Second and Chestnut streets, in which the Baptists also held Divine service for some time. In 1704 the Presbyterians built a church, long known as the "Old Buttonwood," in Market street, then called High street. In the early part of the century, it was renovated in Grecian style; but torn down in 1820, because of the increasing demand, in the vicinity, for places of business. The Baptists, at first, held their service in the small frame house in Second street near Strawberry alley. They erected a brick church on that spot in 1731, and then a larger structure in 1762, which also, in subsequent years, was altered in divers ways. (See Watson's Annals of Philadelphia.) The Quakers had a "meetinghouse," in 1750, on Market street, and another in the northern part of the city; probably at Sixth and Noble streets.

²⁴ They had a chapel with an organ in a house of attractive appearance in the south-western part of the city. (See Prof. P. Kalm's Reise, II, 194.) They were few in numbers in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania until the middle of the last century. Yet they had a station in Lancaster and another in the neighborhood of Sunnyside. Nevertheless, every now and then, complaints were made about the intrigues of the Jesuits, etc. Even Whitefield himself was brought into certain relations with them. (See, *e. g.*, "Papers relating to the History of the Churches in Pennsylvania," p. 203, quoted above.)

²⁵ A structure which had once been a fort, or rather a blockhouse, erected in Wicaco, in 1669, very near the Delaware, south-east of the city, was afterwards altered and occupied by the Swedes as a place of Divine worship. This became, in later times, the GLORIA DEI CHURCH. In 1677 they called, as their pastor, JACOB FABRICIUS, who had previously been a pastor in New York, in New Jersey, and in New Castle; but who, for drunkenness and his harsh treatment of his wife, had been punished by the civil authorities and pronounced incompetent to serve as a pastor in New York and New Jersey. For the happy influence of the Swedish Lutherans of those days, by which also they contributed materially to the success of Penn's Treaty with the Indians, see "Early History of the Lutheran Church in America," by Pastor C. W. Schaeffer, Philadelphia, 1868.

²⁶ These country congregations are New Providence (Trappe) and New Hanover (Falkner's Swamp), to which also Germantown and others were added afterwards. The three streams that had to be crossed were the Wissahickon, the Perkiomen and the Skippack; and the road by which they were crossed always ran east of the Schuylkill. The congregation at New Hanover, some miles east of the Schuylkill, is, as we have already remarked, no doubt, the oldest German Lutheran congregation in the whole United States. It is very difficult to determine

the precise year in which the Germans began to settle in this neighborhood. Most probably it was before 1700. At MOLATTON, near to the Schuylkill, now Douglasville, and bordering on New Hanover, the Swedes had established themselves in 1698. In OLEY there are deeds for real estate that are dated in 1704. The necessity for the services of a German Lutheran pastor was felt already in 1703. This circumstance attracted the attention of the Swedish pastors in Philadelphia towards New Hanover; and, no doubt, the Swedish settlement at Molatton, which had been begun in 1698, contributed to this result.

Accordingly, JUSTUS FALKNER was ordained in the WICACO CHURCH, Philadelphia, November 24th, 1703, by the Pastors RUDMAN, BJOERCK and SANDEL. This first ordination of a Lutheran clergyman in the new world was not a violation of order on the part of these pastors. The Archbishop of Upsala gave full authority to ordained pastors to administer ordination in those cases where he could not, himself, be present. (See "Clay's Annals of the Swedes, etc.," pp. 78, 121.) Falkner took charge of the congregation at New Hanover; but before long, Rudman, who was Provost of the Swedish churches, sent him to New York. Falkner, in company with his brother DANIEL, was the legal representative of BENJ. FURLEY, Wm. Penn's agent, in Amsterdam, for the sale of lands in Pennsylvania. Daniel Falkner was the agent of the FRANKFORD LAND COMPANY to which company Penn had sold the region of MANATAWNY, including more than 22,000 acres, and in which New Hanover lay. T. C. BJOERCK, son of Pastor Bjoerck, says in his work, "De plantatione Eccl. Svecanæ in America," that the neighborhood had received its name, "Falkner's Swamp," from *Pastor* Falkner, an opinion which Acrelius also advances. Others, however, think that the name is derived from *Daniel* Falkner.

The whole district of New Hanover was conveyed to JOHN H. SPROGEL, in legal form, by the "Frankford Land Company." A brook that flows near by the church is called "Pfarrersbach." In Falkner's time the essential principles of a constitution prevailed in the congregation. When the first church was built cannot be determined. The Frankford Land Company obtained their title to the land Oct. 25th, 1701. Their conveyance to Sprogel is dated Dec. 16th, 1708. In 1719 J. H. Sprogel presented to the congregation 50 acres of land, for the church and the school. A church and schoolhouse, however, had probably been built before this legal conveyance had been completed. In 1721 a log church was erected, which, however, had possibly been preceded by an earlier structure. Another church was begun in 1741 and finished in 1747. The corner stone of the present beautiful stone church was laid June 25th, 1767, and on Nov. 6th, 1768, it was consecrated. After 100 years, in 1868, the whole interior was renewed. Under the ministry of Muhlenberg 50 acres of land, for the use of the pastor and the schoolmaster, were purchased and a parsonage erected in 1749. The pastors who served, prior to Muhlenberg's time, regularly or, at least, temporarily, were, 1703, Nov. 4th, JUSTUS FALKNER; 1717 or 1718, GERHARD HENKEL, who labored here for some years. The Swedish pastor, SAMUEL HESSELIUS, residing at Molatton visited the congregation from March, 1720, till October, 1723. In the autumn of 1732, JOHN CHRISTIAN SCHULZE became the pastor. In October, 1733, he set out for Germany, in company with the delegates WEISIGER and Schöner, to collect money for the congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence. Before this he had ordained, at Providence (Trappe), JOHN

CASPAR STOEVER, who had arrived in America in 1728, accompanied by a relative of the same name, who afterwards went to Virginia. Pastor Stoever labored in Philadelphia, Providence and, probably, in New Hanover; but removed to New Holland, Lancaster county, in the autumn. Between 1735 and 1742, GABRIEL FALK, pastor at Molatton, visited the German Lutherans in New Hanover, until Nov. 26th, 1742, when Muhlenberg came and occupied the field. At that time the log church, which had been begun in 1741, was still unfinished. A schoolhouse and dwelling for the teacher was built in 1743, and in 1744 occupied by Mr. VIGERA and, afterwards, by NIC. KURTZ. In 1743 there were 250 communicants, and in 1748 there were 300. Some of these, of course, lived remote from the church, and, in course of time, organized themselves into other congregations. The Synod met at New Hanover in June, 1754, and again in 1778, Muhlenberg being still alive. He was pastor of the congregation from November, 1742, till October, 1762. During this time he had several assistants, under the various style of Catechist or Adjunct or Helper in New Hanover. From February, 1745, till December, 1746, Nicolas Kurtz lived in the schoolhouse; but, then, moved to Tulpehocken; where also J. ALB. WEYGANDT labored, for a short time, in 1748. A Conference held in January, 1752, appointed Frederick Schultz to take charge of New Hanover, who labored in New Goschenhoppen and Indianfield in addition; and probably moved away from New Hanover in 1754. WILLIAM KURTZ was the pastor in 1757; but in the next year he was sent to Tohicon. In the same year J. HELFR. SCHAUW was called from Tohicon to New Hanover, to preach there every four weeks and to serve also in Pikestown, Oley and Upper Dublin. In April, 1762, he moved into his own house. In May, 1762, JACOB VAN BUSKERK became his assistant, and also became a regular pastor of the church; but in September, 1765, he moved to Germantown; from which place JOHN LUDW. VOIGT was called to New Hanover, serving Providence and Pikes-town at the same time. He labored at New Hanover, most probably, until 1776. His successor was FR. AUG. MUHLENBERG in 1778, who, however, became a member of Congress in 1779. From May, 1779, till 1780 the pastoral office in New Hanover was filled by H. ERNST MUHLENBERG; from July, 1782, till July, 1785, by CHR. STREIT; from 1790 till 1795 by J. FR. WEINLAND, during whose time certain disturbances arose which the Synod had to handle and allay, and after this time his name disappears from the Roll of the Synod. Dr. FR. W. GEISENHAINER was pastor between 1796 and 1808; Dr. JACOB MILLER between 1809 and 1829; CONRAD MILLER from 1829 till October, 1852; NATHAN JAEGER from December, 1852, till October, 1857; H. WENDT from March, 1858, till October, 1864; ABR. GROH from February, 1865, till February, 1866; and LEONARD GROH from 1866 till the present time.

New Providence (Trappe), in Montgomery county, about eight miles north of its county town, Norristown, laid out in 1784, was probably settled soon after 1700. Bills of purchase, by Mennonites in the neighborhood, along the Skippach, date back to 1702. The earliest traces of a Lutheran pastor here, occur about 1732. At that time, John Chr. Schultz, named above, began his labors here as well as in Philadelphia and New Hanover. It was at this place, that, prior to his departure for Europe, he ordained John Casp. Stoever in the barn, in which the congregation were still holding their services upon the arrival of Muhlenberg in 1742, although they had had, even from 1733, a kind of organization under regular

elders and deacons. Stoever withdrew already in 1733, after which the Swedish pastors of Wicaco preached to the Germans here, occasionally. Upon Muhlenberg's arrival he found about 100 communicants. Measures for the building of a new church were taken in January, 1743; the corner-stone was laid on May 2d, following, and in September they began to occupy the church, although it was, as yet, in a somewhat unfinished state. On Oct. 6th, 1745, it was consecrated, the pastors Muhlenberg, Brunnholz, Tob. Wagner and Nyberg taking part in the exercises. On this occasion Muhlenberg baptized three negroes, the slaves of Mr. Powling, and the three other pastors were the sponsors (Providence Church Records). The church received the name "AUGUSTUS Church," possibly from HERMANN AUGUSTUS FRANCKE. The Latin inscription in the stone placed above the main entrance, is as follows: "Sub renigio Christi has aedes Societati Augustanae Confess. deditae dedicatas ex ipso fundamento exstruxit Henricus Melchior Muhlenberg una cum Censoribus I. N. Cressmano, F. Marstellero, H. A. Heilmano, I. Mullero, H. Hasio et G. Kepnero, A. D. MDCCXLIII.

In the cemetery adjoining the church rest the earthly remains of Dr. H. M. MÜHLENBERG, and of his wife; and also, beside others of his children, those of his eldest son, Gen. PETER MÜHLENBERG. John N. Cressman, named in the inscription above, was born in Pfungstadt, in Hessen-Darmstadt, Oct. 28th, 1695; came to America in 1718, returned to Europe in 1719, married there and came and settled at once, in New Providence. His only child died at a very early age. In later years he moved to Germantown and died in Philadelphia, Jan. 14th, 1755. The text at his funeral was Job. 14: 1-6. (See Philad. Church Records.) After Feb. 7th, 1745, Brunnholz, from Philadelphia, and Muhlenberg preached here alternately; but in the following June it was so arranged that Brunnholz preached in Philadelphia, whilst Muhlenberg moved to Providence and preached there in connection with New Hanover. Between 1745 and 1761, when he moved back to Philadelphia, he had the same assistance in Providence as he had in New Hanover, but usually availed himself of it in Providence only on occasions of his necessary absence. In 1761 Pastor HARTWIG became his substitute, but he remained only until April, 1762. In like manner JACOB VAN BUSKERK was his substitute from 1762 till 1765. In 1765 JOHN LUDW. VOIGT became the regular pastor, although Muhlenberg continued to stand in a certain official connection with the congregation until his death, on Oct. 7th, 1787. In 1776 he had moved back to Providence, and there continued to reside.

Pastor Voigt had charge of the congregation until his death, Dec. 28th, 1800; but about the time of Muhlenberg's coming back from Philadelphia, he moved to Pikeland, across the Schuylkill, and relinquished the special duties of the pastoral office, in Providence, some years before his death. These duties were undertaken by Pastor G. FR. WEINLAND, who had taken charge of New Hanover in 1790, whose name appears in protokoll of Synod in 1793, as pastor in Providence, and no other pastor is reported as being in charge there until 1808. His name, however, does not appear in the Roll of the Synod after 1796. In 1804 he sought, in vain, to be restored; yet, he was encouraged to hope for it. He died sometime about 1808, and was buried at Providence.

In 1809 JOHN P. HECHT was licensed to preach in Pottstown, shortly after this he was elected pastor in Providence, labored there for a while and April 15th, 1814, accepted a call as pastor to Easton, Pa. His successor, at Providence, LIM-

ERICK and POTTSTOWN, was HENRY ANAST. GEISSENHAINER, who lived first in Whippain, three miles from Norristown, and afterwards moved to Pottstown. In 1821 he moved to the West, having accepted a call to Pittsburg, but died on the occasion of a visit to Trappe, Feb. 12th, 1823, and was buried in the cemetery of Augustus Church. After April, 1821, his successor at Providence, etc., was his elder brother, FR. W. GEISSENHAINER, who, with his son FREDERICK WILLIAM, lived at VINCENT, on the West of the Schuylkill. The father and son were associated in the pastoral care of the Trappe charge and of Vincent. The father having been called to New York in 1823, the son continued the work himself until he, too, moved to New York in 1827. The congregation was served from July 22d, 1827, till April 27th, 1834, by JACOB WAMPOLE; from May, 1834, till April, 1836, by JOHN W. RICHARDS, during which time a parsonage was built; from April, 1836, till January, 1838, by JACOB WAMPOLE, a second term; from April, 1838, till May, 1852, by HENRY S. MILLER; from 1853 till October, 1854, by G. A. WENZEL; from December, 1854, till February, 1859, by A. S. LINK; from March, 1859, till 1864 by G. SILL; from 1864 till 1874 by JOHN KOHLEP; from 1874 until the present time by O. P. SMITH. A new church, very near to the old structure, was erected in 1852 and 1853. The ancient AUGUSTUS CHURCH, though no more occupied, still stands; and is cherished as a venerable specimen of the internal and external style of church architecture that prevailed in the time of its erection.

²⁷ References to him may be found in the Autobiography of Muhlenberg. We may here state that he had been released from his pastoral care in the principality of Zweibrücken, for reasons unknown to us; and, indeed, after he had been advanced in years. His name heads the list of passengers who arrived in Philadelphia, Aug. 25th, 1742, by the ship MARY, Capt. Maison. He asserted, at once, but altogether without producing any testimonials, that he had been sent to America by the Princely Consistory of Darmstadt to effect a regular ordering of the Lutheran Congregations. (See Hall. Report, 8th Continuation, Gem. Schr., IX, etc., fifth period.) This was about the time when the Moravian, PYRLEUS, was forcibly ejected, July 18th, by the Reformed, out of the house which Lutherans and Reformed used in common for their religious services. Kraft tried to secure the co-operation of several others, who here and there attempted to officiate as pastors of the Lutherans, in forming a union or kind of consistory, of which he himself was to be the head. However, although the congregation at Philadelphia took pity upon him in his great need, yet the stains upon his character became clearly manifest upon the arrival of Muhlenberg in November of the same year. Nevertheless, he continued for a short time to minister to the congregation at Germantown. Already in November, 1742, we find him adhering to J. Caspar Stoever and his party, at the conference with the Moravian pastor, Meurer, and his friends. (See Büding. Samml. V., 832. G. Ph. Fresenius bewährte Nachr. von Herrnhut. Sachen, Band III, p. 548, etc.) Jan. 20th, 1743, he consecrated the church at Moselle, Berks county, Pa., and appears to have served that congregation for a couple of years, until the spring of 1745, when M. Tobias Wagner was regularly settled as the pastor. Afterwards, as appears, he preached and performed other pastoral acts in and about Lancaster, Pa. (See Memor. Volume of the Lutheran Congregation in Lancaster, pp. 7, 8.) His connection with Lancaster was in no sense a regular one; yet he seems to have conducted himself in ar

orderly manner whilst there. (Hall. Reports, 2d Continuation, section 7.) In 1748 we meet him at Conewago (Hanover, York county, Pa.). (Hall. Reports, 3d Continuation, II. Handschuh's Diary, June.) He may have remained here for some time; yet, not as pastor, for the congregation was regularly served by JOHN H. SCHAUM, who had been sent to York in the spring of 1748, was ordained in the following year, and continued to labor there until 1755. (Hall. Reports, 3d Continuation, I, section 22. Evang. Review, VII, p. 533, etc.) In the 4th Continuation, section 25, he is described as "an old German preacher of irregular life, who caused much confusion and trouble by knowingly violating the law of the land; in consequence of which he was arrested and lost his property." Muhlenberg relates (5th Continuation, I, March) that another wretched character stole Kraft's clerical gown—an irony of fate! Kraft soon disappears and we have no information about the circumstances of his end. Max Göbel, in his GESCHICHTEN DER INSPIRIRTEN (Niederer's Zeitschrift für historische Theologie, 1855, Heft I, p. 131), speaks about a certain Parson Kraft who "went off, as a Separatist, to America," of whom we can discover no traces here, and who could not have been the same as Val. Kraft; although, in point of time, there may be agreement between them.

²⁸ In 1742 Zinzendorf made three missionary journeys to the Indians in Pennsylvania; and, in addition, brought his influence to bear upon the Lutheran Church, specially in Philadelphia, where, between the fifth Sunday after Epiphany and Jubilate, he preached eight times. These sermons with the addition of his last sermon in a Lutheran Church in this country, preached at Tulpehocken, Dec. 5th, 1742, old style, and of several other discourses and a few hymns were printed in divers editions. We have the third edition, that of 1860, now before us. In the preface the Count states, among other things, "As the Lutherans in and around Philadelphia, and in Tulpehocken, with the co-operation of the Swedes, who, on their part, individually testify that 'they can obtain no regular pastor from Europe,' have unanimously called me to be their Inspector, I have accepted the office." On the title page the name of Zinzendorf does not appear; but instead of it, the title, Ordinarius Fratrum. The "calls" above asserted are verbally reported in the BUEDINGEN SAMML., XII, p. 828, etc. The preface continues, "Afterwards I preached in both places and administered the Lord's Supper in Philadelphia. As the place of worship in Philadelphia was only a miserable shed, I had a respectable church erected, which, in my own mind, was intended for their special benefit." But the Lutherans never made any use of it. The "miserable shed" stood in Arch street, near Fifth, near the Friends' burying ground and the grave of Benjamin Franklin. The Reformed also used it as a place of worship; and, most probably, it had previously been occupied as a carpenter shop.

Muhlenberg arrived in Philadelphia Nov. 25th, 1742; Zinzendorf left that city Jan. 1st, 1743, and Jan. 9th, 1743, sailed from New York for Europe. During these weeks must have occurred the one solitary interview between these two men, in the new world, which is described in the 4th Continuation, I, section 41. It was held, Dec. 30th, in the place of worship occupied by the Moravians. (See Muhlenberg's Autobiography by Dr. W. Germann; Brobst, Diehl & Co. S. Loskiel's History of the Missions of the Evangel. Brüder among the Indians of North America Barby, p. 231, etc. Also the work of SCHRAUTENBACH, above referred

to, p. 334), which work, whilst fully admitting all that was unpractical in the Count's operations in Pennsylvania, is perhaps the very best apology for him that could be conceived, in view of the positive peculiarities of his character.

²⁹ The founding of Germantown is connected with the LAND COMPANY organized at FRANKFORD-ON-THE-MAIN, in 1682, and with FRANZ DANIEL PASTORIUS, a man of varied culture, well qualified for his position, who, at the head of some colonists, had been sent to Pennsylvania by the Land Company. He landed at Philadelphia, with about 20 German families, Aug. 20th, 1683. These were, in part, Quakers; the most of them, probably, Mennonists. Others followed. In 1677, William Penn had travelled through Germany and Holland for the purpose of extending and strengthening his spiritual fellowship. (See Address of Dr. O. Seidensticker to Hist. Soc. of Pa., delivered Dec. 10th, 1877, in Vol. II, Pennsylvania Magazine of Hist. and Biogr.; and Articles, by the same author, in the New York Belles-lettre Journal, August and September, 1880.) The next year after the arrival of Pastorius, William Penn conveyed to him the possession of several thousand acres of land, in consideration of a certain annual payment. In course of time more land was added, until the whole amounted to 28,000 acres. On Oct. 25th, 1685, Germantown was laid out upon a definite plan, and incorporated in 1689. Pastorius became the Burgess. The first preacher, whose name occurs, was HENNY BERNH. KÖSTER, from Blomberg in Lippe-Detmold; a regular oddity, both in theory and practice. ADELUNG, in his GESCHICHTE DER MENSCHLICHEN NARRHEIT, Vol. I, pp. 86-106, says that he had studied law at Frankford-on-the-Oder; that in 1685 he was employed by Otto von Schwerin, as domestic tutor, next, he prosecuted Oriental studies; and then, in 1693, he came to America, with 20 Pietists, including five candidates of theology, one of whom was Daniel Falckner, of Saxony. Köster himself was their leader. Thomas Fairmount, an Englishman, transferred to them a piece of ground near Germantown, upon which they erected a log house and undertook to raise grain. Köster began to preach German every Sunday; afterwards he preached in English also; and enjoyed the regard of the friends of George Keith, who, having occasioned the Quakers trouble enough in this country, went back to England, worked against them there and died as the pastor of an Episcopal congregation. Köster stirred up division, preached chiliasm, baptized his proselytes in the Delaware before the eyes of large gatherings, and asserted that he had as much right to do that as the Apostles themselves. His following, however, died out entirely; and leaving Philadelphia he went to Virginia, then to London, in 1702 he was a teacher at Stockholm, in 1724, like other kindred spirits, he went to Berleburg, under the protection of Count Casimir, and there published the "Schlüssel der ersten und letzten hebräisch-griechisch-deutschen Harmonie." About 1735 he was teacher of languages in Hanover and Westphalia; he could pray in Hebrew, Greek, German and Bohemian; he continued to be fresh and vigorous until his death in 1749.

All kinds of fanatical notions, in conflict with the practical principles of social life, came to the surface in the new colony; and the constitution originally adopted did not hold out long. In 1708 Daniel Falckner succeeded Pastorius in office. At the beginning of the last century there were certain enthusiasts who led the solitary lives of hermits, on the Wissahickon, near Germantown. They are referred to in Halle Reports, 14th Continuation, I, Remarkable Cases. The Mr. G. spoken of there may possibly be JOHN KELPIUS, the most singular of the whole of them;

who, however, maintained friendly relations with the Swedish pastors, Rudman and Bjork. An interesting account of him is given by Dr. O. Seidensticker in *DEUTSCHEN PIONEER*, of Cincinnati, 1872.

We complete our account of New Providence (Trappe) by adding the following. A certain regular church organization had existed there years before. In the oldest book of Church Records there are entries of baptisms and other official acts between Aug. 31st, 1729, and March 9th, 1735, clearly by the hand of J. C. STOEVER, who began the Church Records of so many different congregations in Pennsylvania at that time, and whom we shall meet again. The title page, as it now stands, was written by Pastor Brunnholtz. After Stoever's time there are entries by divers hands; and in connection with a list of baptisms recorded April 16th, 1745, in Muhlenberg's time, we find the expression that has now become so unfamiliar to us, "baptized by the ASSISTANT." (Catechist, 2d Continuation, section 6.) On May 27th, 1750, during Muhlenberg's time, the congregation adopted a constitution which requires of the "Elders and Deacons," that as they desire their own salvation, they shall diligently seek to experience in their own hearts more and more deeply the power of the Evangelical doctrine, upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and according to our Symbolical Books; and endeavor to adorn the same by a godly life; that they shall keep the deeds for the property in a chest closed with two locks, of which one key shall be held by the vestry, and the other by the pastor; that they must take pains to uphold and extend, in the church and in the school, the Evangelical doctrine, upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets and according to our Symbolical Books. Therefore it is their duty to exercise the spirit of believing prayer themselves, and to continue on in brotherly love and union with our spiritual fathers and friends, and their true successors, in London and in Halle, as also with the other united congregations, and their regular pastors, in this country." The pastors and the vestry were further required "to be watchful that no strange preacher, who was not in fellowship with us, whatever he may be pleased to call himself, shall be allowed to preach or to administer the sacraments in 'our Augustus Church and schoolhouse.'" On the day after New Year the congregational accounts had to be reported and examined at a congregational meeting; at which time also the amount paid upon the pastor's salary was inquired into. At the meeting of the congregation the pastor was required to open it with prayer, and then to state the business. The pastor himself had *two votes*, and was directed to take heed that everything should be done in an honorable, orderly and Christian manner; for God loves order, and not confusion, in the Church. It was specially enjoined upon the members of the church, to cultivate peace with everybody, according to the teachings of Christ, and rather suffer wrong than raise quarrels. Whoever, in matters of dispute, would not take the careful and conciliatory advice of the vestry, and would rather strive for the mastery than yield to the pleas of justice and reason, should be expelled, as an unworthy member, until he should repent of his error. When the great annual assembly of congregations (the Synod) was held, two members of the vestry were appointed to attend, without fail, to represent the congregation, to take counsel with others concerning the best interests of the Church at large; their traveling expenses being defrayed by the congregation. The vestry were required to add their names also to the reports to be sent to the fathers and benefactors in Europe. Every important undertaking, on the

part of the vestry, had to be explained to the fathers in London and Halle, and "if it be unanimously approved of, it shall be regularly recorded in the books of the congregation." No meeting of the vestry could be held in the absence of the pastor and no resolution could be valid without his signature. To this Constitution the names of the pastor and 16 members of the vestry were subscribed July 8th, 1750.

A special contract between the schoolmaster and the congregation is also regularly recorded. It provides that the schoolhouse shall always be in charge of a faithful Evangelical Lutheran schoolmaster, whose competency to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, as also to play on the organ (*Orgelschlagen*) and to use the English language, has been proved by the pastor; special regard being had at the same time, to the purity of his doctrine and his life. He was required to treat all his pupils with impartial fidelity, and to instruct the children of other denominations, and of the neighborhood generally. He should not allow the children to use profane language either in or out of school; but should carefully teach them how, both in church and in school, and in the presence of others and upon the highway, to conduct themselves in a Christian and upright manner, and "not like the Indians." He should never permit either parents or employers to quarrel with him in the presence of the children; persons having complaints to make should be referred, at once, to the pastor and the vestry. He was allowed 7 shillings 6 pence, and one-half bushel of grain every six months, for each scholar; in addition, he lived in the schoolhouse free of rent, to which a piece of ground was attached, had the collections taken in the church on two of the chief festivals of the year, together with other occasional perquisites. It was his duty also to enter a record of the baptized children in the books of the church.

All these items we have obtained from the old church books of the congregation at Providence. We present them here because they show what were the necessities and circumstances of the time, and what manner of spirit animated the Church. However, the effect of time and circumstances, in developing and shaping congregational constitutions, may be seen in the constitution of the congregation at Philadelphia, October, 1762. (See the end of 10th Continuation. Also, a Jubilee sermon, already quite rarely to be seen, viz., Sermon on Psalm lxxviii, 2—8. "THE FRUITFUL RETROSPECT," preached at the Trappe (Providence), Montgomery county, Pa., May 2d, 1843, on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of "Augustus" in that place, by Rev. J. W. Richards, of Germantown, Pa. J. C. Slemmer, printer, Pottstown, Pa.)

As to the congregation in GERMANTOWN, about which further accounts are given in the 14th Continuation, II, its first beginnings are yet involved in more or less obscurity. We have to admit that a congregation, though always sadly defective in its organization, did exist there, long before the arrival of Muhlenberg. The German Reformed had built a church there, in 1719, of which the Swedish pastor, DYLANDER, had laid the corner stone. The Lutherans seem to have begun in 1730 (Acrelius, p. 237), and Muhlenberg, in 1742, found a small church already built. About 1740 the whole population of Germantown was, probably, 400 souls, a very large proportion of which represented the different "persuasions" (*Gesinntheiten*), a term, then, in common use. Zinzendorf preached repeatedly in the Reformed Church; and, as his fashion was, he ap-

pointed a turner, by trade, a man after his own heart, by the name of BECHTEL, as the pastor. The Reformed pastor, J. H. BOEHM, who was serving the Reformed in Philadelphia and its vicinity, withstood Zinzendorf with as much decision as did Muhlenberg himself; and in 1742 addressed a warning to his congregations, covering 96 pages, 8vo, printed by A. Bradford, Philadelphia. He had obtained the necessary help from the work of a Reformed pastor of Amsterdam, published in that city in 1739, under the following title, "Die nackend entdeckte Enthusiasterei, Geisttreiberei und verdorbene Mystikerei der Herrnhuter: Gerhard Kuhlenkamp." (See J. PIL. PRESENTUS' Bewahrt. Nachricht. von Herrnhut. Sachen, Vol. III, No. 32, p. 562, etc.) After his arrival, Muhlenberg turned his attention to the Lutherans in Germantown, who had been served, for some time already, by the above-named Val. Kraft; but as his time on Sundays was altogether given to his three other congregations, he preached in Germantown, as far as time would allow, on week days. He was, in fact, the first regular pastor of the congregation. Upon the arrival of Pastor Brunnholz he took charge of the congregation in Germantown in connection with that in Philadelphia; preaching in the former every other Sunday. This contributed so much to the improvement of the congregation, that in 1746 the corner stone of an enlarged structure was laid; the new church was consecrated in 1752, upon the occasion of a meeting of the Synod in Germantown. Pastor HANDSCHUH, who had served the congregation in Lancaster, for three years, took charge of that in Germantown, in 1751; HEINTZELMAN, the Adjunct of Pastor Brunnholz, in Philadelphia, rendering him the necessary help. The next movement was that of a set of disturbers, haters of regular discipline, who effected a division in the congregation and drove Handschuh, and his friends, out of the church. Sustained by the better part of the congregation, he continued to conduct Divine worship in a private residence, for about two years. During this time, however, his experience was, in many respects, full of anxieties and oppressive cares. About 1754 he accepted the appointment of Professor of the French language, in the Academy at Philadelphia; and, after the death of Heintzelman in 1756 and of Brunnholz in 1757, he accepted a call to the congregation in Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, the ranks of the disorderly party, in Germantown, two of whom had even assumed to discharge the duties of the pastoral office, were being thinned out by death and other causes, until, at last, the honest and faithful members of the church were put in possession of the property by a decree of the Court in 1763. The members who lived about Chestnut Hill had already begun to organize another congregation and built a church at BARRENHILL, (Page 16, Continuation II, sects. 16, 17). In 1763, NICOLAS KURTZ of Tulpehocken was called to Germantown; he came at once, with the understanding, however, that he would remain but a short time, for the condition of his former charge in Tulpehocken was such as to require his early return thither. Leaving Germantown again in 1764 he was followed by JOHN L. VOIGT who, in 1765 accepted a call to the church in Providence, and so gave place to JACOB VAN BUSKERK who served St. Michael's in Germantown until 1769. During the ministry of JOHN F. SCHMIDT, 1769 to 1786, the congregation improved greatly both in numbers and in character, although the times were so disturbed by the War of Independence, and the church itself was the centre of a battle field, October 4th, 1777. Pastor Schmidt having accepted a call to Philadelphia, the congregation was served by

JOHN F. WEINLAND from September, 1776, till the autumn of 1789. He was followed by FREDERICK D. SCHAEFFER, whose ministry extended over a period of 22 years, and included the congregations at Barrenhill, Frankford, Whitpain, and Upper Dublin, at the same time. In his time already, the English language began to be occasionally used in public worship. In 1812, he accepted a call as pastor of St. Michael's and Zion in Philadelphia. He was followed by JOHN C. BAKER, who continued until 1828, when he accepted a call to the church in Lancaster. During his time the congregational school was discontinued and the Sunday school established in 1817. In 1819, a new church was erected, which the congregation occupies at the present time. BENJAMIN KELLER, who died in 1864, was the pastor from 1823 till 1835, and he together with his predecessor, Dr. John C. Baker, is held in pleasant remembrance by the church until this day. His successor, until 1845, was JOHN W. RICHARDS. About the time of his taking the charge, a second Lutheran congregation was organized in Germantown, under the influence of the so-called "New Measures," that were so prevalent at the time. The next pastor was S. MOSHEIM SCHMUCKER, a gifted man, who continued in charge until 1848, and in whose time the use of the German language was entirely abandoned. For 26 years in full, after 1849, the congregation was served by Dr. C. W. SCHAEFFER, who is now Professor in the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia. His successor is the present pastor F. A. KAEHLER. The greater part of the foregoing survey of the history of the congregation has been taken from an extended account furnished by Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, in the LUTHERAN AND MISSIONARY, April 4th to May 24th, 1866.

We have to admit that the earliest movements in the organization of St. Michael's congregation in Philadelphia have not been ascertained with historical accuracy. Pastor JACOB FABRICIUS, having been preaching for the Lutherans in New York from 1688 till 1671, then having spent some time in divers places in New Jersey and also in New Castle, then after 1677, five years after which he lost his eyesight, being engaged for fourteen years in preaching to the Swedish Lutherans in Philadelphia, preached also for the German Lutherans here, between 1688 and 1691, who, however, do not appear to have had a church nor even an organization of their own. This condition of affairs continued on for a score of years and more. The oldest existing record of baptisms, marriages, deaths is dated in 1733, and was begun by John C. Stoever, already mentioned, and who describes himself as "German Evangelical Lutheran pastor, now here." He also records, in the book, a description of certain sacred vessels that were presented to the congregation, with the names of the donors. However, from the preface and annotations of the Halle Reports we learn, that, in company with the delegates WEISIGER and SCHOENER, JOHN CHR. SCHULTZE, pastor of the Philadelphia Church, was sent to Germany by his congregation and by the congregations at New Hanover and Providence, to obtain help for these congregations, in 1733. From this journey Schultze never returned. For some time in the autumn of 1742, VAL. KRAFT whom we have already encountered, was connected with the Lutherans in Philadelphia; and, in other places, was wont to talk about a "Consistorium" which, he said, he had organized there. The Swedish pastor DYLANDER preached, for the Germans, in his church at Wicaco, for more than a year, every Sunday, at eight o'clock. He died November 3d, 1741, about the time when Zinzendorf, who had reached Philadelphia in the fall of 1741, began to

busy himself concerning the German Lutherans in that city. The German Lutherans and the Reformed held their public worship alternately in a building that had served as a carpenter shop. Zinzendorf, whom we shall meet again, aspired after being recognized as a Superintendent of all the German Lutheran congregations in the Province, had the congregation to give him a call, and drew up a kind of a constitution for them, which, however, lodged all the power in the hands of the pastor, although there is reference made to a "Collegium of Elders." (See Büding. Samml., XVI, p. 579 and XVII part, p. 702.) The unaltered Augsburg Confession alone is mentioned as the sole symbol. As was natural, the congregation as a whole, was by no means satisfied with Zinzendorf and his ways and policy; and on July 18th, 1742, under the ministry of Pyläus, whom Zinzendorf had appointed as his substitute, the resistance revealed itself in a very decided form. Of course, Zinzendorf had his adherents among the members of the church; but the congregation itself was liberated from his control, and a decree of the civil authorities confirmed the liberation.

The congregation entered upon a regularly organized existence, in fact, only upon the arrival of Muhlenberg, November 25th, 1742. True, prior to that time there had been a sort of organization, for the oldest book of Records reports that Muhlenberg found both elders and wardens already in office. But the necessity of a new constitution pressed upon them, and the Records of the Vestry speak of divers petitions and attempts made in that direction. This is also manifest in the great increase of the congregation and in the improvement in its circumstances. We have no space here to enter more fully into this subject; but, in all essential points, the difficult task of regularly organizing the congregation was completed in the autumn of 1762 (see 10 Continuation, XI). These Fundamental Articles were confirmed by the Charter of September 25th, 1765. According to this charter the Church Council consists of the rector (or pastor), vestrymen and church wardens, altogether numbering 22. A separate church of their own was as necessary as a constitution had been; and the corner-stone of St. Michael's was laid June 14th, 1743; the consecration occurred in 1748. This church had room for about 700 persons; but in a short time, on account of the rapid increase of the congregation, it proved to be far too small. Besides, about the middle of the last century, the immigration was so strong that in the year 1794 alone 12,000 souls are said to have landed in Philadelphia.

We have already noticed, that about five months after the arrival of Pastor Brunnholtz, the congregation at Philadelphia was placed under his special charge, whilst Muhlenberg ministered to the congregations in the country; an arrangement which did not interfere with their mutual participation in the burdens and cares of their official work. Yet, in the congregation at Philadelphia, Brunnholtz had, as his Assistant, Pastor J. D. M. HEINTZELMAN, who had landed here December 1st, 1751, who, however, departed this life already in 1756, Brunnholtz also himself following him into eternity, July 5th, 1757. His immediate successor in office, Pastor J. F. HANDSCHUH, died October 9th, 1764; Muhlenberg himself having already, in 1761, come to his assistance, under the heavy burdens occasioned by the constant rapid increase of the congregation in Philadelphia. During the preceding year it had become necessary to buy a lot of ground for a school-house; the school itself was opened July 27th, 1761. The house erected for it yet stands on the north side of Cherry street, east of Fourth

street, next to the corner house. A few years ago, after certain alterations, it began to be occupied as a place of business.

Meanwhile a much more important undertaking demanded the attention of the congregation, namely, the building of a new church; for St. Michael's had, for a long time, proven to be insufficient to accommodate the crowds that worshipped there. According to Halle Reports, 13 Continuation, II, sect. 7, the congregation included above 700 heads of families, about the year 1765. These indeed did not all live exactly within the limits of the city, a large proportion of them having their residence in the districts immediately contiguous. It was held to be a matter of prime importance that the congregation should always be bound together as a whole, under one corporation; an arrangement which was maintained until 1867. The result of this was, that throughout the period of one hundred years there were always two, and, sometimes, even three pastors associated together; a state of affairs which, in view of the diversities of talents and temperaments on the part of the pastors, and of tokens of approbation or of unpopularity on the part of the people, had at least one unattractive side.

Handschuh having died October 9th, 1764, Pastor FR. SCHULTZ then became the associate pastor with Muhlenberg; and on May 16th, 1766, a lot of ground at the S. E. corner of Cherry and Fourth streets, opposite the school-house described above, only a few hundred steps distant from St. Michael's Church, S. E. corner of Cherry and Fifth streets, was purchased for what at present would be equal to \$4,106; the corner stone was laid for a church that was to be 108 feet long by 70 broad, the building itself, complete in all essential parts, was consecrated as ZION CHURCH, June 25th, 1769, and stood for many years as the largest and most imposing edifice devoted to the worship of God, in all the land. The tower, the walls of which built, like the church itself, of brick, had been raised somewhat above the height of the roof was never completed. One hundred years afterwards instead of the old church we have the new, the Zion Church now occupied in Franklin street, west of Franklin Square; and the strong old congregation is divided off into several branches which are now flourishing in different parts of the city.

Dr. Muhlenberg formally resigned his office as pastor in 1779, having had, after 1770, Dr. JOHN CHR. KUNZE, his son-in-law, as his colleague. The successor of Muhlenberg was Dr. JUST. H. CHR. HELMUTH, who landed here in company with JOHN FR. SCHMIDT, April 2d, 1769. Dr. Kunze having accepted a call to New York in 1784, Dr. Schmidt became the colleague of Dr. Helmuth in 1786; and after his death in 1812, Dr. FR. SCHAEFFER of Germantown succeeded him, and served the congregation until 1834. In consequence of the infirmities of old age, Dr. Helmuth having resigned his office in 1822, he died in 1825, and was succeeded by CHARLES RUDOLPH DEMME who departed this life September, 1863. His colleagues were, 1833-37, Pastor E. PEIXOTTO, 1838-54 Pastor G. A. REICHERT, 1854-59, Pastor G. A. WENZEL, who, however, after Dr. Demme's resignation in 1859, continued to serve as pastor until 1864. Dr. W. J. MANN has been pastor since the year 1850.

The German language, naturally reinforced by continuous immigration, has been fully maintained until the present day, notwithstanding the fact, that a very large proportion of its older and younger members are natives of this country. Of course, a German-English congregational school, at present consisting of two

divisions with about 130 children, has always been connected with the church. For further particulars see the small volume "Zum Andenken an die hundertjährige Jubelfeier in der deutschen Evang.-Luther. St. Michaelis Kirche in Philadelphia am 14. Junius 1843 u. s. w. Philad., gedruckt bei Conrad Zentner;" and "Festgruss zum Zions-Jubiläum, 13. Mai 1866; der ganzen Gemeinde gewidmet von ihren Pastoren W. J. Mann und A. Spæth." Pastor Dr. A. SPÆTH was the colleague of Dr. Mann from 1864 till 1867, and at this time is Professor in the Theological Seminary. In the book last mentioned above there are references to a variety of historical sources. See also "Kirchenverfassung der deutschen Ev.-Luth. Gemeinde in und um Philadelphia," which has appeared in print.

³⁰ It is well known, that during the period of the Reformation, the Anabaptist furor, and social anarchy, under the leadings of THOMAS MUENZER and Pfeifer (executed in 1525), and afterwards, especially, in the city of Münster, under KNIPPERDOLLING, JOHN OF LEYDEN, and others, about 1734 and 1735, pushed forward, hand in hand, until the Government quenched them out in blood. The better part of the Anabaptists who survived were collected together into a new organization by MENNO SIMON, who had been a Romish priest, at Whitmarsh, near Franaker in Friesland, a province of the Netherlands. They gradually succeeded in obtaining toleration in Germany; and, as early as 1578, in the Netherlands. Menno himself never ceased to maintain the views of the earlier Anabaptists, who sought to supplant the existing (bürgerliche) Church, by a Church of true believers; but he thought to bring it about by a development from within the Church itself. His followers accommodated themselves to circumstances and departed from his teachings in divers particulars. They were of one mind in rejecting infant baptism, and in the principles of church discipline; differing, however, in their practice, a "Lax" and a "Strict" party growing up among them; differing also concerning the line of demarcation that should separate the life of the Church from the State. The diversity of views concerning the administration of church discipline began already in the time of MENNO, who stood with the "Strict" party. Their whole conception of the plan of salvation is near akin to the Zwinglian and Calvinistic view, and is opposed to that of the Lutheran Church.

From 1783 on till 1803 many Mennonites emigrated, especially from West Prussia into Southern Russia, under a pledge of divers privileges from the Russian Government and, specially, of immunity from military service forever ("auf ewige Zeiten"). Within a few years the Mennonite community in our country has been considerably increased by the arrival of brethren in their faith, the direct descendants of those earlier emigrants to Russia.

The BAPTISTS, the advocates of immersion, in England and America, are related to the Mennonites. They arose in 1633, under the Independents, who broke off from the established Church of England. In America, and specially in New England, they encountered, at first, a very decided opposition. They are cut up into many parties, among themselves. Of several Baptist factions we shall speak hereafter.

³¹ ATHEISTS are people who deny the existence of a God. David already understood them, Ps. 14: 1.

DEISTS do not absolutely deny the existence of a God; but fancy that God is wholly separated from the created world, and does not concern Himself about it,

that the world is a machine that runs of itself. Accordingly, they deny a Divine Providence and Government of the world; they reject also Divine Revelation as received by Christians.

NATURALISTS maintain that Nature is all in all and that there is no higher God.

FREEMASONRY is a secret association based upon certain universal moral principles, and dealing largely in all kinds of signs and symbols, specially such as are to be found in masonry and in architecture. It seeks to enlist the human race in general. It claims to have been founded in a period of remote antiquity; but, in fact, can be traced back no further than to the structures erected by the guilds of architects of the middle ages. The earliest records upon this subject date from the century before the Reformation. It can be shown that already in the 17th century, men of learning and of rank were initiated as members of societies of the art of masons and sculptors. At the time of the death of King WILLIAM OF ORANGE, 1702, there were four Lodges in London. By them the Grand Lodge of England was organized. After that time, when free-thinking was very prevalent amongst people of rank and culture, Freemasonry started up into importance, spread itself out over France, Germany and other European countries, and was translated also to the New World. (See a mournful account from Philadelphia, in connection with this subject, in *Acta Hist. Eccles.*, II, p. 1053, etc., of the year 1737.) The immense popularity, however, of this and of other secret societies belongs to the present century, Matt. 15: 13.

³² JOHN CONRAD DIPPEL, who wrote under the name of CHRISTIANUS DEMOCRITUS, was born at Frankenstein in Hesse, 1673, and died 1734, at the Castle of Wittgenstein, not far from Berleburg. (See *Acta Hist. Eccles.*, I, p. 390, etc.) Berleburg was the place of refuge for divers sorts of fanatics. Here also was the native place of the famous BERLEBURG BIBLE, which, prepared by divers hands, but especially by J. F. HAUG, attempted, under the pretence of penetrating more deeply into the hidden meaning of the Holy Scriptures, and by a phraseology that referred everything, out and out to the development of the divine life in the soul, to overthrow the biblical, evangelical doctrine of justification, to exalt Christ *in us* instead of Christ *for us*, to magnify sanctification instead of justification, and consequently, to propagate a religion of righteousness by works. True, the methods and example of most influential orthodox theologians and pastors were often so utterly destitute of the anointing from on high as to afford some excuse for these unhealthy excrescences.

DIPPEL'S youth had been one of restless agitation; he was always pushing around to learn a little of everything; and, indeed, all through his life he lived an adventurer. At first he entered the lists on the side of Orthodoxy against Pietism; afterwards made a hateful attack upon the doctrines of the Lutheran Church; rejected the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; denied the efficacy of the Sacraments; and instead of faith in the vicarious sufferings of Christ, taught the necessity of self-sacrifice on the part of man. Having been arrested and legally prosecuted for his peculiar teachings, he wandered around from place to place, now in Giessen, then in Darmstadt, then lost all he had through his infatuation for alchemy, then lived a while in Berlin but had to make his escape thence, went afterwards to Frankford-on-the-Main, then to Amsterdam, had himself dubbed doctor of the healing art in Leyden, was driven out of Holland by

the Government, was imprisoned at Altona, for seven years by the Danes, for being too free with his tongue, then went to Stockholm whence he was soon ordered off, then kept on roving about, until he found a place of refuge, at last, in Berleburg. He spread his fanatical notions abroad by his writings, and disciples gathered around him. Though peculiarly gifted with glittering talents, he was deficient in the meek simplicity of faith and in sobriety of spirit. His heart and his head were as unsteady as his life. The hymn which he composed "O Jesu, sieh darein und hilf mir Armen siegen," gives us a glimpse into his personal experience, is an indication of his gifts, and indeed, has been introduced into many hymn books in recent times. His theological system has been briefly exhibited in VAL. E. LOESCHER'S UNSCHULD. NACHR., 1702, p. 766, etc., WALCH, Relig. Streitigk. in der Luth. Kirche, Thl. I, p. 764, II, p. 721.

³³ A pound sterling:—The derivation of the term which arose in England under Richard I, about 1190, is obscure. It is regarded as an abbreviation of the word *Easterling*, an oriental coin introduced into England, or produced there by distinguished coiners from the East. The pound sterling is now represented by the *Sovereign*, a gold coin of the value of \$4.84. The pound, as it was estimated at that time, in Pennsylvania, was, according to the text, equal to \$2.42. However, according to the valuation of the present day, it is generally held that three pounds, Pennsylvania currency, are about equal to eight dollars in gold. (See also Preface to 10th Continuation, Sect. III.)

³⁴ That is, in parts of the city which, a few years before, had not been occupied by dwellings. It is not usual to erect a church beyond the built-up portions of a city. Otherwise, there was plenty of room for a church round about Philadelphia, as it then was. St. Michael's Church, subsequently erected in Fifth street, north of Arch, stood near the middle of the city, running north and south; but on its extreme western border as it existed at the time.

³⁵ That is, according to present valuation, \$280 in gold. In view of the scarcity of money then prevailing, and of the circumstances of by far the largest number of contributors, that was certainly a very encouraging offering.

³⁶ This refers to the ground on which St. Michael's was afterwards built, on Fifth street, corner of Appletree alley, south of Race street. The graveyard extended north of the church toward Race street. That portion that lay north of Cherry street began to be occupied by buildings 30 years ago.

³⁷ The steeple, itself a wooden structure, was, in fact, put up; but the bells were never hung in it, and the steeple itself was taken down again in 1750. KALM, the Swedish traveller, in his description of Philadelphia, states that the reason for this removal was the fact, that a bungling builder had erected the steeple before the masonry of the walls had become sufficiently dry, and the walls had begun to crack, as the result. Pastor Handschuh reports to the same effect in 9th Continuation, from the year 1758. On the first leaf of the congregational protocol we find the words: "Begun by me, John Casp. Stöver, at present German Ev. Luth. pastor, here, A. D. 1733"; and, under date of February 7th, 1750, Pastor Brunnholtz writes as follows: "By 23 affirmative votes against 8 negative it has been resolved that it is most advisable to remove the steeple; and that it shall not be re-erected until further orders." This may be considered as an indication of the confidence placed upon the administration of these 31 individuals. They consisted of 7 elders, 4 wardens, certain members of the church as advisory, and, in addition

to all, the pastor himself. Under date of November 1st, 1750, the record is: "A meeting of the vestry was held to consider the security of the church, in relation to the steeple. Muhlenberg made an address about the steeple and about the organ,—it must be kept dry;—girders sawn off;—too light to bear the steeple;—if we want to have an organ we must give up the steeple;—we must be concerned only about the security of the building;—it was well meant in the beginning; was, indeed, necessary on account of the Moravians. The meeting resolved that the steeple must come down. Few words were said, but calmly and quietly—." This is the way the protocol was kept at the time. So wrote Pastor Brunnholtz himself, in a somewhat running, but not very legible hand.

³⁸ This is a remarkable statement. The free exercise of his religion was accorded to every person in the land, of course. But the colonial government never passed any specific laws by way of defining what was comprehended in this free exercise of religion; except that, as we shall see, PROTESTANTS were the people distinctly referred to in the laws that had a bearing upon the concerns of the church. But for this very reason the old English Law was continued in the land, by tacit consent; and this law extended to dissenters the right of assembling in their "Meeting Houses," which however, does not include the privilege of building churches furnished with steeples and bells. The Lutherans built a church and erected a steeple. It would be hard to show what special privilege they could claim for so doing. At all events, no one ever entered complaint against them. Was the doing of it in any wise connected with the supposed relationship between the Lutheran Church and the Church of England; or with the circumstance that the reigning King of England, although himself head of the established Church maintained Lutheran pastors at his court? However, we must not forget that Episcopalians acknowledged the ordination of the Moravians as having a legitimate succession, which they did not admit concerning Lutheran ordination. (See Oehler's Symbolik, 1876, p. 313.) The language of the text clearly intimates that, in putting up the steeple, the congregation at Philadelphia had acted in accordance with some kind of special privilege or right which they possessed. The language of Pastor Brunnholtz also, just quoted "necessary on account of the Moravians" seems to prove that in erecting a steeple the Lutheran Church exercised its liberty, and intended, by that act, to give some expression of its peculiar spirit, and to indicate its independence as distinct from the fellowship of the Moravians.

However, the German Reformed congregation in Germantown had a bell on their place of worship after 1725, and in 1748, the Swedish traveller Prof. Peter Kalm saw a Presbyterian church with steeple and bells in New Jersey. The Assembly legislating for the Province of Pennsylvania enacted a law, January 4th, 1730, which extended to all churches and congregations of PROTESTANTS, the right, as such, to purchase and hold ground for grave-yards, church and school buildings and the like purposes, as also to plead and be impleaded before the law. (See Laws of the Commonw. of Pa., republ. by the authority of the Legisl., 1810, Vol. I, p. 191—194.) True, congregations had purchased property even before that law was enacted; but the transaction was always done by the intervention of personal trustees; and churches, at times, suffered loss in consequence.

³⁹ M. GABRIEL NAESMANN, who landed in Philadelphia, October 20th, 1743. Acrelius' Hist., etc., p. 241, etc. Halle Reports, 1st Continuation, Sect. 9; 3d Continuation, I, Sect. 12.

⁴⁰ See 1st Continuation, Sect. 12. At that time, in Pennsylvania, people could be imprisoned for debt; and even though the non-payment was not their own fault.

⁴¹ Among believing people in Germany benevolent contributions were collected for the Germans in America as for a missionary field. In this work regularly established Church Authorities also participated, for instance, the Ecclesiastical Council of HESSE-DARMSTADT, 3d Continuation, Sect. 26. See also Muhlenberg's letter of 1753, 5th Continuation, VI. A contribution from the Ecclesiastical Funds of WURTEMBERG is also mentioned in 3d Continuation, Sect. 23. In a word, there are frequent references to such beneficent acts. They helped to build up the Lutheran Church in the new world, and proved to be profitable investments. Congregations of other confessions were assisted in like manner by the old countries from which they came, ENGLAND, HOLLAND, etc. As to the Swedes, the Church Authorities in their mother country felt themselves officially bound to take care of them.

⁴² As a general survey we offer the following: Pastor Brunnholz was associated with Muhlenberg as the second pastor of the congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, New Providence and Germantown. The sphere of their labors was now enlarged, and KURTZ and SCHAUM, who shall be noticed afterwards, assisted them, specially in preaching and as teachers of the congregational schools, the specific design of which, very probably was, to furnish religious instruction also. Pastor Brunnholtz, being of weak constitution, found himself, in a few months, unable to endure the hardships of serving the congregations in the country to which he had to travel on horseback by wretched roads, fording streams in heat and cold, through rain and snow. So he retained charge only of the congregation in Philadelphia, and also of the neighboring church in Germantown. The Halle Reports often bear testimony to the zeal of his official labors. He attached much importance to the method of teaching the adults by questions and answers, on the occasions of public worship. In 1751 he transferred the congregation in Germantown to Pastor Handschuh. The building of St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia was finally completed under Pastor Brunnholtz (1745-47). His physical strength, however, was unable to endure, for any great length of time, the heavy burdens of his office; and after only 13 years of laborious toil this diligent and gifted pastor fell asleep, July 17th, 1758. He had never married. He bequeathed his library to the congregation in Philadelphia. See 9th Continuation, I, 5. This library was, at first, in an upper room of a building annexed to St. Michael's Church; afterwards, as far as we can ascertain, it was placed in book-cases in the vestry-room of Zion Church, erected 1766-69, where it was very seriously damaged by the great fire on the day after Christmas 1794. The volumes that were saved passed, partly, into private hands, and partly into the library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary now in Philadelphia. The memory of Brunnholtz continues to be held in honor for his great activity in works of beneficence, and for his devotion of self to the service of others. See 9th Continuation, IV. Letter of Muhlenberg, 1758; also, Appendix to 1st Continuation, the interesting statements from the Halle Archives, furnished by DR. W. GERMANN.

JOHN HELFRICH SCHAUM was the son of a pious schoolmaster at MUENCHHOLZHAUSEN, near to GIESSEN, the seat of the University in the Grand Dukedom of HESSE-DARMSTADT. The father's letters, abounding in wholesome admonitions,

followed the son even into the field of his labors in Pennsylvania. Schaum himself had been regularly trained in the Frankean Institutions and educated at the University of Halle. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia his chief work was that of teacher in the congregational school; but he preached also, and specially in Germantown. (Halle Reports, 12th Continuation, Journal of Muhlenberg, 1763.) After a short time we find him at SOMERSET, N. J., where he was appointed to serve as assistant until the arrival of a pastor who was expected from Germany. In the same capacity he went to RARITAN, N. J., in the spring of 1747 as "being sent by the ordained pastors, Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz." He was directed to be careful to keep a diary of his official acts, to be circumspect in his walk and conversation, to conform closely to the prescribed Order of Public Worship, and to catechise the children for half an hour after the regular services on Sundays. He was allowed also to baptize and to unite persons in marriage. (Halle Reports, 5th Continuation, I, Muhlenberg's Letter, 1748.) In the spring of 1748 he was sent to the congregation at York, Pa., and ordained at a meeting of the Synod at Lancaster, Pa., in 1749. (Halle Reports, 6th Continuation, I, II.) Many Divine blessings attended his work in York and its vicinity, where he labored for seven years, although he doubtless often felt himself prevented, by bodily infirmities, from extending his operations through a wider sphere. In 1750 whilst upon a journey to Raritan, N. J., in company with HANDSCHUH, he met with a serious injury in one of his lower limbs, from which he suffered for years, and for a long time was not able to preach. (Halle Reports, 7th Continuation, II.) On account of certain disturbances a part of the congregation forsook him in 1753, and attached themselves to a young intruder, who had come from Maryland, probably, LUDWIG HOCHHEIMER, who afterwards went to South Carolina. Schaum greatly enjoyed the exchange of letters with his brethren in office; and so much the more on account of the difficulties that were in the way of personal intercourse. In 1755 he accepted a call to TOHICON now FRIEDENS CHURCH, Bedminster, Bucks county, Pa., and to the congregations in the neighborhood; where, however, he endured many privations. In 1759 he moved to New Hanover, Falkner's Swamp, preaching also in the congregations at Oley, Pikeland, Lower Dublin, and, every fourth Sunday, at Providence, in the place of Muhlenberg. In 1761 he declined a call to Frederick, Md. In the spring of 1762 he added several other congregations to his charge. In 1763 he lived at WEITENDAHL (Whitehall), Lehigh county, Pa. As the church at Moselle had become vacant in consequence of HAUSILE's departure to Easton, he accepted a call to that congregation and remained there until his death, Jan. 26th, 1778. (See 16th Continuation, II.) His place was supplied for several months by Pastor H. E. MUHLENBERG. His actual successor in the charge was DANIEL LEHMAN.

JOHN NICOLAS KURTZ, older than his brother William whom we shall meet hereafter, was born at LUETZELINDEN, a few miles from Giessen, in what was then the principality of NASSAU-WEILBURG, in the circle of Wetzlar, now a Prussian Province, on the Rhein. He also descended from a family of educators. In his fifteenth year his father sent him to the high school at Giessen and afterwards to the University of Halle. There, whilst yet a student of Theology, he received and accepted, at the same time with Schaum, an invitation to emigrate to America; and both of them joined Brunnholtz, who had already had a call to Pennsylvania. They arrived in Philadelphia Jan. 26th, 1745. (Halle. Nachr.,

pp. 30, 41, 63.) Kurtz, at once, occupied the newly built schoolhouse at New Hanover, acting as teacher and catechist; at first, subordinate to Mr. Vigera, afterwards as the principal, yet always being the "assistant" of Muhlenberg. (Halle. Nachr., pp. 27, 45.) The school required great diligence on his part, and prospered under his care; the congregation being well satisfied with his work (p. 38.) Some time during the year 1745 he was sent to Readingstown (Raritan), N. J., (p. 189). In March, 1746, he went, for a season, to the congregation at COHENZI (Salem, N. J.); paid a visit in the same year to Raritan, N. J., and was also sent by Muhlenberg to Allemängel, Saccum and Upper Milford (pp. 177, 186, etc.). About the end of this year he began his work at Tulpehokon and vicinity, where he labored faithfully and stood high in honor for 16 years (pp. 248, 675, etc.). He occupied a parsonage near Christ Church, in which he preached; he preached also in the Old Reeds, or first Tulpehokon Church, at Northkill, at Heidelberg, or the Eck Kirche, which he had built in 1750, at Atolther or Rehrersburg and, probably, in several other places. The congregations of that district had succeeded in their petition to the Synod at Philadelphia to appoint him as their pastor; he was, accordingly, examined and ordained at once, and, having delivered a written obligation, he was formally installed into his office (p. 77, etc.). At first, he had his home at the residence of Conrad Weiser. Shortly afterwards he married ANNA ELIZABETH SEIDEL at New Hanover, the ceremony being performed by Muhlenberg, Dec. 9th, 1747. He had eight sons and three daughters born in Tulpehokon. The youngest son, John Daniel, was born March 30th, 1764. In a letter of the year 1757 he styles Muhlenberg his god-father (Gevatter—p. 704.) During the years of the wars with the Indians he had hard times (pp. 708, 715); but held out manfully, and about 1759 his circumstances began to improve (p. 730). We find him present at the meetings of Synod; and, on such an occasion in Philadelphia in 1751, he preached "a pretty long, and yet an edifying sermon" (pp. 533, 834). In 1761, Muhlenberg, who had resumed his work in Philadelphia, conferred with him about his taking charge of New Hanover and Providence, and about going on a visitation to New York (p. 870). This visitation he undertook in company with Provost WRANGEL, Sept. 29th, 1761, and returned with Pastor BRYCELIUS in March, 1762. To our regret, the report of this visitation to the churches of New York and New Jersey is yet lacking. During the meeting of the Synod in Philadelphia, June, 1762, at the request of Muhlenberg, he preached in the congregations at Barrenhill and Germantown, and again in November, 1762 (pp. 917, 927, 939). These congregations then called him, as their pastor; which was the occasion of trouble in the congregations at Tulpehokon and vicinity. This, however, was settled by Muhlenberg; and it was finally arranged, that Kurtz should not absolutely resign the charge at Tulpehokon, and that he should continue to administer the Lord's Supper there, at the usual times. He went to work then in Germantown, where matters soon got into better condition and where the believing part of the congregation were, by a decree of the Court, put in possession of the church property. In October, 1763, he paid a visit to Tulpehokon (p. 1135). In April, 1763, Muhlenberg speaks of him as having "already become old and delicate in consequence of constant riding on horseback," and it is probable that the hope was cherished, that a quieter time in Germantown would contribute to the recovery of his physical strength (p. 1148). In Oct., 1763, he served as Secretary of the Synod (p. 1124).

Meanwhile, the state of affairs at Tolpehokon, where his brother WILLIAM had been occupying his house, demanded his return, at least for a time; and so we find him there June 7th, 1764 (p. 1160). In 1769 he was called to York, Pa., where, for several years, there had been no resident Lutheran pastor; JOHN G. BAGER, from the neighboring town of Hanover, having rendered the congregation an occasional service. (Evang. Magaz., II, 21; Rauss' Memorial, by Rev. Dr. L. A. Gotwald, York, Pa.; Sprague's Annals, p. 22.) He continued for many years to labor according to his strength, in and around York. During these years he is said to have done much missionary work in the western parts of Pennsylvania, in Maryland and Virginia, visiting existing congregations, and organizing new ones, being, during the latter years, assisted by his son-in-law, Pastor GOERING. We meet him again, in attendance at the First District Conference, at New Holland, in November, 1771. In 1778 Muhlenberg describes him as "old and feeble, wearied by the cares of his office as President, and anxiously longing for rest" (p. 1412). As late as 1784 he attended the Synod at Lancaster. In 1792 he moved to Baltimore, to the residence of his son, Pastor J. D. KURTZ, who had charge of the Lutheran congregation there. He died there May 12th, 1794. He was grandfather of DR. BENJAMIN KURTZ, who died in 1866, and who had been for many years editor of the *Lutheran Observer* (Evang. Rev., VI, 261; VII, 152, 527; XV, 161, etc.). John Nic. Kurtz was the first Evang. Lutheran pastor ever ordained by a Synod in the New World. He died bearing the honors of "Senior Ministerii," after 46 years of pastoral labor.

The ordination of the Swedish candidate MALANDER by the Pastors TRANBERG and DYLANDER in 1741, had been authorized by orders, to that effect, sent from Sweden. But Dylander died before the instructions had arrived, and the ordination was never performed, Acrelius p. 330. The ordination of Justus Falckner will be noticed in 6th Continuation, I. Muhlenberg's Report, etc., 1750. Acts that were intended to answer as ordinations were occasionally performed, and corresponded to the general looseness that prevailed. In 1733, or shortly before, Pastor Schultze is said to have ordained JOHN C. STOEVER in a barn, for public worship was here and there held in barns, on account of the lack of more convenient places, as was the case in Providence until 1743, and in other parts. These occurrences, however, are to be regarded not as extraordinary, but as disorderly. (See BUEDIG. SAMML., 12, Vol. V, p. 832.) In a private letter of Aug. 6th, 1747, now in the library of the Hist. Soc. at Gettysburg, Muhlenberg incidentally remarks: "When a man is ordained as a preacher of the Gospel, he must have a certain specified field of labor assigned to him." This principle was maintained both by himself and by his associates.

Respecting the ordination in the "barn," referred to above, see the very sensible report written, if we mistake not, by the "Inspirationist" GRUBER, II, found in "Bewährten Nachr. über Herrnhut Sachen," von J. PH. FRESSENIUS, III, p. 548, etc.; also "Die Tulpehokon Confusion," vom Herrnhut. MEYERER.

⁴³ The word Cantores signifies Singers, Leaders of the singing; yet it is often taken to mean the teachers in Christian congregational schools, who were accustomed also to lead the singing at public worship, and, in the absence of the pastor, to read the prayers, the Scriptures and a sermon for the assembled congregation. In the 1st Continuation those two men are called CATECHISTS, *i. e.*, persons who were authorized to teach, to preach, and in extreme cases, to baptize, but who had

not yet been regularly ordained to the holy office. In 2d Continuation, Section 6, they are called Helpers, Assistants. It appears from the Church Records of that time, *e. g.*, New Providence, that they administered baptism. In the Journal of Muhlenberg, July 8th, 1762, it may be seen that the President of the Synod accorded to a CANDIDATE who had just passed his examination, the right to perform "actus ministeriales," which privilege was, in later times, enjoyed by the so-called LICENTIATES. In this sense the word LICENS-E is to be found in Halle Nachr., p. 1415.

⁴⁴ This good friend was the Grand Stewardess von MUENCHHAUSEN in Hanover. Brunnholtz speaks of her in his letter of April 21st, 1744. (See Appendix to 1st Continuation.)



APPENDIX TO THE (FIRST) BRIEF REPORT.

STATEMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE FRANCKEAN
INSTITUTIONS AT HALLE.*

I.

WEISIGER'S SHORT ACCOUNT CONCERNING AMERICA.

A new Colony under the name of Pennsylvania having been founded in the last century in America or what is also called West India, it is well known in what manner many German Protestants, from the Palatinate and other regions, emigrated thither, that they might enjoy freedom of religion and of conscience; so many indeed, that they occupy and cultivate a large portion of the land. Yet, for quite a long time

* We present here a series of documents copied from papers in the Archives of the Franckean Institutions and furnished by Dr. W. Germann. They throw sufficient light upon the difficulties that attended the efforts to secure pastors for the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania. The document published by Weisiger at Hildesheim is also given. In "Sammlung auserlesener Materien zum Bau des Reiches Gottes," Art. 24, Part 7, Frankfurt and Leipzig, there is a recommendation in favor of Weisiger and of his object to collect money for the congregations in Pennsylvania; also a document proceeding from the elders of the churches at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence; and which they had placed in the hands of the delegates. Besides, there is the official attestation of Gov. GORDON, of Pennsylvania, of May 1st, 1733, and a commendatory letter of ZIEGENHAGEN'S, dated Jan. 28th, 1734. See also Acta Hist. Eccles., Vol. I, Part 2, p. 165, etc.

they have been living without the services of competent teachers and pastors, as also without schools; and the consequence is that many have wandered off from the life of the Church and have strayed far in divers crooked ways. Many indeed, have deeply felt the necessity of regular teachers and of schools, both for their own benefit and for the proper education of their children; and therefore opened several schools in Philadelphia and provided for their regular instructions. Yet, on account of the increase in the number of congregations and of children, this provision was found to be insufficient to meet the growing demand; and at the same time, teachers who would really take to heart the instruction of children and the spiritual edification of adults, and who had themselves the necessary qualifications for this work, were very seldom to be found.

In each of the three towns Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, and immediate vicinity, there are five hundred German families, more or less, of the Evangelical Lutheran faith. These three congregations have joined together in the Name of God, and with prayer for His gracious help, to endeavor to secure the services of faithful and competent teachers, and to build a church in each place, in order that they may hereafter enjoy the preaching of the Gospel and maintain the usual exercises of public worship. They contemplate also, with equal earnestness, the establishment of schools for the instruction of their children.

They have obtained permission from his majesty, the king of England, to prosecute this work; but they are not able, by their own means alone, to accomplish it. Accordingly, they have been encouraged to send to England and Germany, John Christian Schultze, who has been their pastor, and the Christian brethren, Daniel Weisiger and John Daniel Schöner, for the purpose of collecting from our brethren in the faith, their benevolent contributions towards the building of the needful churches and schoolhouses. Daniel Weisiger, one of the delegates, having come to Germany, has already, in several places, received generous contributions from benevolent friends. But as it is impossible for him personally to visit all parts of Germany, he hereby publishes his commission, in the name of the said Evang. Luth. Congregations in Philadelphia, Providence and New Hanover; and addressing, in terms of due respect, all brethren of the Evang. Lutheran faith who may read this statement, he humbly entreats them to extend a generous sympathy towards their needy brethren in Pennsylvania; and, by kind contributions, to promote the work that may be undertaken in the several places of their abode. He doubts not that Almighty God will quicken, in fervent love and active co-operation, all persons who are concerned about the extension of the Divine Kingdom and the salvation of the souls of men, that He will richly reward them in return, and grant them, in like measure, His attention and favor in all their times of need.

In testimony and confirmation of the authority of Daniel Weisiger, aforesaid, to act as such delegate, he has appended to this statement the document given to him and his colleagues by the elders and deacons of the Evang. Luth. Congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, and signed by the English Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania; together with an Extract from a letter which the congregation in Philadelphia, in October of last year, addressed to Dr. Ziegenhagen, Royal English Court Preacher in the German Chapel at London; as also what Dr. Ziegenhagen thereupon communicated to a distinguished Evang. Lutheran divine in Hannover. He trusts that these testimonials will be the more confidently accepted, because that, in every place, further evidences of the truth of the matter may be so easily obtained.

DANIEL WEISIGER.

Hildesheim, May 3d, 1734.

EXTRACT

Of a communication addressed by Dr. F. M. Ziegenhagen, Court Preacher in the German Chapel at London, to a minister of the Gospel in Hannover, January 28th, 1734.*

It is alas! too true that the Evangelical Churches that are scattered here and there in America, especially in Virginia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, etc., are in a very deplorable condition, particularly in regard to the Word of God and the Holy Sacraments, and such appointments as are necessary for proper instruction in the Divine Word and the right administration of the Sacraments. (For continuation of the Extract see First Brief Report, sect. 6. After the portion there presented, the letter continues as follows:) Our inability to help ourselves, in our deep poverty, may be seen in this circumstance also; after we had resolved to send out our pastor, John C. Schultze, and Daniel Weisiger and John D. Schöner along with him, we were not able, out of our own means, to provide for the expenses of the journey. We were therefore compelled to borrow the money, which we did, from

* We are able to furnish this letter in full from the Archives at Halle. It begins as follows: "Most Reverend, Most Honored Pastor, Most Worthy Brother in the Lord! For your friendly communication of January 26th I return my sincerest thanks. The information you have given me about the happy condition of this and that household, and about divers other things has been heartily welcomed. However, since I have to prepare the missionary reports for Tranquebar and Madras, in time for the ship that is to sail in a few days, I shall turn, at once, to the chief subject of your letter, which relates to Daniel Weisiger, the collector. Judging from his disposition and his object, I have no hesitation in testifying to his honesty and integrity; and I do not doubt, that if the character and conduct of his colleague, the other collector, had been like his own, the collection which has been undertaken, would, with the Divine Favor, have been more successful both here and in other places."

Melchior Schultze, of Holland, who has a brother residing here. For the interest on this money we, the undersigned, are personally responsible. But we cling to the hope that God, in His mercy, will not forsake us, but will stir up the hearts of the benevolent to hasten to our help, that we perish not. Therefore we cannot refrain from appealing once more, in all reverence, to your Excellency, to grant us whatever help you can; to collect whatever contributions your congregation may be pleased to give; and then, either by bill of exchange or by the hands of some trustworthy friend, transmit the amount to some merchant in Philadelphia, etc.”

So far, the letter from the congregation in Philadelphia. To all this the Court Preacher adds the following: “In the forgoing, your Excellency may clearly see the grounds upon which Daniel Weisiger rests his appeal for pecuniary help. The congregation he represents, as well as others in America, is in very great need; this cannot be denied. The pressure of their need is not well understood in other places; and even where it is well known it fails to excite the requisite amount of sympathy; and the consequence is, that in their spiritual destitution, these poor people are ever growing worse and worse. My desire is, to entreat you in most persuasive terms, to encourage the undertaking of Daniel Weisiger. Have compassion upon the lambs and sheep of the flock of Jesus Christ in America, perishing as they are; and hasten to their relief, that they may be refreshed in due time. Although I have not, as yet, the means in hand. I, myself, will undertake to furnish, for several congregations in America, a supply of copies of the Holy Scriptures, Hymn Books, Catechisms and Primers.”

“If any considerable amount should, by the Favor of the Lord, be collected in your city, it may be forwarded to me, as the Philadelphia congregation have requested, in their last letter; and I shall transmit it to its proper destination.*

COPY of the Open Letter of the Evang. Lutheran Congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, placed in the hands of their Delegates to Europe.

To each and all Evangelical Christians, with due reverence, Grace and Peace!

It is well known that within about twenty years, many Protestant families who had been persecuted in Germany on account of their religious faith, or otherwise oppressed by Roman Catholic Rulers, have at great expense, resorted to this Province of Pennsylvania, which is under the Government of England. In numbers they already amount to thousands. Upon their arrival, the most of them, being poor and

* “If your Excellency should be of opinion that an extract from this letter, with permission to exhibit it whilst prosecuting his collections, would be of service to Weisiger, be good enough to grant him that privilege, as you may think proper.”

destitute of all means, scattered themselves here and there in the wilderness, and there took up their abodes. In consequence of this they continued to live without the privileges of the Church, without the services of a regular pastors, without the blessings of the Holy Sacraments, even as lost sheep, until at last, a Merciful Providence was pleased to send us a minister of the word in the person of the Rev. Henry John Christian Schultze, born in Scheinbach, in the Markgravate of Anspach.*

He has earnestly endeavored, according to his ability, by the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Holy Sacraments, to bring us out of the darkness and ignorance into which we had fallen when we were living without the light and pure doctrine of the Gospel. He has sought to awaken us as well as other adherents of the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine residing in the three places, Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence; and, by organizing three congregations, to renew and confirm our union in our most holy faith.

It is clearly and absolutely necessary that churches and school-houses should be erected for the regular observance of Divine worship, for the maintenance of good order and for the Christian training of the young; as also, that the reasonable support of the requisite pastors and teachers should be provided for. We however, ourselves, are not able to accomplish this work by our own means. We live in a country where money is scarce, and where every man has enough to do to support himself, under Divine assistance, by the labor of his hands. If this work, which is so good in itself and so well calculated to promote the Glory of God and the true Religion of Christ, should be neglected, then would all our fond hopes be blasted, and our children and descendants would finally slide back into the condition of the heathen.

Accordingly we, officers of the three congregations named above, hereby send our present pastor the Rev. John Christian Schultze and, in company with him, Daniel Weisiger and John D. Schöner, to our brethren in the faith in England, Holland and Germany, in order that he may, by his oral statement, explain our necessities and our interests more fully, and entreat our friends, by the love of Christ, to assist us by their benevolent contributions, in the erection of the churches and school houses so indispensable in this country. We have, therefore, furnished him with a collection-book, which we have ourselves endorsed, for the purpose of having the names of our benefactors written therein, together with the sums they may severally contribute. We have also requested His Excellency, our Governor, to attest and confirm this our petition by affixing the seal of the Province.

We doubt not that all persons, whatever be their rank or station in life, whom this petition may reach and who may be interested in the extension of the Kingdom of Christ in these remote regions will allow

* He is at this time in Germany, and being naturally of feeble eyesight, is now almost entirely blind, so that he will not be able to return.

their faith to work by love, and that each one will, according to his ability, contribute with a cheerful heart, to this collection, for the Glory of God and the propagation of the pure Evangelical doctrine, seeing that upon this depends the salvation of so many souls who, on account of the lack of the means of grace, wander off to the sects of which there are so many in the land, or, cut off from the privileges of public worship, lead lives of perfect indifference.

Not only we, but our descendants also will, with all sincerity and gratitude, acknowledge the value of these benefactions; and we shall continue without fail, to call upon God the Giver of every good gift to reward each and all of our benefactors richly with all kinds of spiritual blessings in heavenly places.

Commending ourselves to your sympathy, and offering all due respect to our noble and generous benefactors of whatever rank, we remain your most humble servants, the wardens and elders of the three congregation named above.

John Backer,
John G. Heger,
Adam Herrmann,

George Hollebach,
John N. Crössmann,
Jacob Schrack.

Patricius Gordon, Armiger, Provinciæ Pennsylvaniae in America Præfectus, omnibus ad quos hæc pervenerint, salutem! Hæc literas in hac provincia Germanice conscriptas mihi ostensas fuisse a D. Johanne Christiano Schultz, Ministro Evangelico, cujus curæ, nec non Johannis Danielis Schöner et Danielis Weisiger, itineris comitum, sunt commissæ, rogatus testor, Sigillo Provinciali minore affixo. Dabam Philadelphie primo die Maji Anno Dom. millesimo septingentesimo trigesimo tertio.

[L.S.]

*Ex mandatis Honorabilis,
Præfecti prædicti,*

P. GORDON.
Rog. Charles, Secretarius.

The Lord bless what is here proposed! that it may find favor at the hands of all who read our statement, so that in America also, by the preaching of the Word of God, the way of life may be made plain to those who confess the Christian faith; and also, by that Grace which extends towards all men, be opened up to the heathen tribes who occupy the land. May He, the Good Shepherd, who is not willing that any should perish, but that all should repent and be converted and live, graciously watch over his poor forsaken sheep whether among Christians or heathen, and all for His love and mercy's sake. Hallelujah!

II.

For as much as the delegate of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence in Pennsylvania, Mr. Daniel Weisiger has represented to us the condition of the said

congregations, adding that they propose to erect churches and school houses such as are demanded in the several localities; as also, that they ardently hope to obtain from Germany some true and faithful pastors and preachers of the Evangelical faith, and competent teachers for their schools, therefore we, in this city, are ready and willing, with the Divine help, to cooperate in this work according to our ability, and to take pains that these congregations may be supplied with one or more well qualified pastors and instructors as far as their wishes can be met in this place. Our desire is to secure such men as will heartily do their utmost, with all diligence and fidelity, in laboring for the spiritual good and the salvation of the churches and the youth committed to their charge.

In this matter the following conditions must be maintained:

1. Those persons who may be appointed as regular pastors and preachers must be ordained before leaving this country; and as a regular call to the work will be required, we shall expect that a plenipotentiary document to that effect, according to a certain form which we have arranged, will be prepared and signed by all the elders of the congregations concerned, and then transmitted to us; and that this document shall be so framed as that it may be used for the same purpose whenever occasion may require.

2. It is enjoined upon the said elders and Christian congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, to hold their pastors and teachers who have been regularly called, very highly in love and honor; to respect them and follow their advice in all reasonable things, and in what may be calculated to promote the Kingdom of God and secure the salvation of souls; not to make any unreasonable demands upon them, or such as may be in conflict with the Word of God, with the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church or with their own consciences; but much rather, to show all earnestness, so that, by the advice and cooperation of their pastors, every thing shall be kept in good working order both in the churches and the schools, with the hope that the end contemplated, that is, the building up of the congregations for the benefit of the old and the young, may be reached.

3. It is enjoined, with equal earnestness, upon the said elders and congregations to give good heed to furnish the necessary means of subsistence to the pastors and teachers who may be sent to them, to declare beforehand, the amount of the yearly salary, and to pay it in full, according to promise, so that the remuneration of those who serve them in the churches and schools may not be diminished, as has been the case in other places, by including contributions of tobacco or other articles of produce, by which these persons might be led to involve themselves in business operations not suited to their station; but that it be always paid in money, honestly and without delay, and that all the necessary arrangements be made to that effect.

A declaration to the foregoing effect subscribed also by the aforesaid

officers of the congregations is expected by us; and upon our receiving such declaration we shall not fail to help them in their good work, by the Grace of God, to the utmost of our power. To all which may the Lord graciously add His blessing, sending prosperity from above, and directing all for the Glory of His Name and the extension of His Kingdom for the sake of Christ our Lord.

Given at Halle, May 31, 1734.

FORMULA OF PLENIPOTENTIARY DOCUMENT.

Which the Elders and Wardens of the Pennsylvania congregations were asked to adopt and to subscribe.

We the undersigned, Wardens of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, in Pennsylvania, hereby announce and declare, that, whereas we have, through our delegate Mr. Daniel Weisiger, petitioned the regular Professor of Theology of the Royal Prussian University of Halle in Saxony, Dr. Gotthilf August Francke to inquire on our behalf, and to secure for us competent and worthy teachers and ministers of the Gospel as also school-masters, to serve as pastors and instructors in these our congregations: therefore, we will not only pay into the hands of the said Prof. Dr. Francke the travelling expenses arising in each individual case, but will also recognize and receive as our teachers, pastors and instructors whomsoever the said Dr. Francke may engage for such service, provide them with the necessary means of subsistence and hold them highly in love and honor. Also, in case they should hereafter, for weighty reasons, desire to return to Germany, we will furnish them with the money necessary for the journey; and treat them in all respects in an equitable manner, upon Christian principles and in accordance with the upright, established order of our Evangelical Lutheran Faith.

For this purpose, we hereby invest the aforesaid Prof. Dr. Francke, in the name of the said Evangelical Lutheran congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, with full power and authority to extend in our behalf, under the aforesaid conditions and couched in the usual terms, a regular call to such persons as, in accordance with our petition, he may send to us to serve as pastors, ministers of the Gospel and teachers in our congregations; and, in a word, to do and to transact every thing, in such cases, which we would, otherwise, have to do and to transact ourselves. All which, being done by Dr. Francke, shall be approved by us.

In testimony and confirmation of which we have had this power-of-attorney prepared, and sign it with our hands and affix our several seals. Done at etc., etc.

III.

There is an original letter of Daniel Weisiger dated July 12th, 1834, Rotterdam, and addressed to the Hon. Councillor Cellarius at Halle, in which he reports concerning the progress of his collections at the Royal Court of Denmark, and then adds as follows: "This year, only two vessels have sailed from Rotterdam, with passengers, for Pennsylvania. The number of passengers, with the Schwenkfelders, amounted to 340; there being 52 Evangelical families among them. I know not whether you have been informed that Mr. Spangenberg and Count Zinzendorf have been sending a good many letters to persons at the Royal Court in London, stating that it is their purpose to go to Georgia next year, accompanied by a considerable number of persons."

IV.

An original letter of the same, dated Rotterdam, Aug. 21st, 1734, addressed to G. A. Francke, reports that the mere copy of his original license was not sufficient to secure success in his collections in Holland, and that the Burgomaster van der Hüffe had advised him—"that I should go to London and get another license with the Royal Seal attached. So I can accomplish nothing in Holland, at present; and expect to be in London next Wednesday, confidently hoping that Pastor Ziegenhagen will help me to obtain a license from the king. Besides, as I am in expectation of the arrival of the regular call from Philadelphia, and hope to take the pastors along with me upon my return to America, it is very probable that I shall go back to Holland towards spring."

V.

Original letter of Weisiger to Cellarius, London, Sept. 3d, 1734, "The congregations in Pennsylvania, in order to begin the building of their churches, borrowed, in addition to the money contributed by themselves, six hundred dollars from Mr. Melchior Scholtz, merchant in Harlem, which money I have to pay back out of the collections which I obtain here. Now, as I have not yet undertaken to collect in Holland; and as Pastor Ziegenhagen thinks that I will hardly be able to return to Holland, I therefore have to request you to transmit the monies of the collections that may be in your hands to the merchant aforesaid. All the money should be deposited with him; both because he will be able to forward it safely to Philadelphia, and because it will be of great advantage to the congregations.

As to the preacher Schultz, I have just had a letter from him which, with the other letters, I have placed in the hands of Pastor Ziegenhagen. Schultz wants to be released from the work of collecting; in-

deed he even wishes that he were dead; for he cannot succeed in his crooked purposes. He is in Bremen at present; but soon expects to go to Holland. Accordingly, at the request of the congregations and after conferring with Pastor Ziegenhagen, I have authorized Mr. Melchior Scholtz to take possession of his license and his collection book. I have also written to Schultz himself and informed him of the wishes of the congregations.

The Lord who wisely overrules all things has, even in these circumstances, revealed the traces of His wonderful Providence. He has enabled us to see what mischief an ungodly teacher can work, in order that we may exercise the greater carefulness to send none but faithful laborers into His vineyard. The calls for the pastors are awaited with the arrival of the next ships."

VI.

Letter of Weisiger to Prof. G. A. Francke, dated London, Sept. 23d, 1734. "It seems that a report has reached your Reverence to the effect that I had fallen in with Mr. Spangenberg. To this I reply, with the full assurance of truth, that I have not been leagued in either with Mr. Spangenberg or with any body else; but I thank God that He has made known to me a place and a way where faithful pastors and teachers may be found. Indeed, I have often prayed, with tears, that God would awaken the hearts of men to take an interest in the condition of our poor people in Pennsylvania, so that they would no longer accept unprincipled men to be their preachers, as they have done hitherto. And as your Reverence and Pastor Ziegenhagen, out of love to God and His Word, have engaged to assist us in this matter, it would be the height of ingratitude if I were to resort to other expedients, and specially since the Hon. Councillor Cellarius has so minutely informed me of the circumstances concerning Mr. Spangenberg. It had already been reported, before I went to Halle, that Spangenberg intended to go to Pennsylvania; and, for that reason, I had written to Halle, and stated what was most important to be known. I trust, therefore, that your Reverence will not countenance any suspicion. There is no truth in the report.

I am not, as yet, certain about the time of my setting off to return to Pennsylvania. Prior to my departure I shall write to your Reverence again, as also to all our good friends. In the meantime, offering my respectful salutations to your family, I commend your Reverence and them to the Divine protection, and shall ever remain your Reverence's most devoted friend,

'DANIEL WEISIGER.'

VII.

G. A. Francke to Mr. Weisiger in Philadelphia, Halle, March 11th, 1735. In Halle 400 Thaler were collected, of which the sum of 72 Thaler, 9 Groschen, 3 Pfennige, were paid out by direction of Weisiger, and 300 Thaler were to be forwarded to Ziegenhagen. "As to the rest, my dear Sir, I trust that, by the Divine Favor, you landed safely, with the Salzburgers in Georgia; and have reached your own home again in good health. I hope that your friends will improve the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the Pastors Bolzius and Gronau. As to the condition of your congregations, and their desire to be supplied with worthy and faithful ministers of the Gospel, I wait for more precise information. However, I cannot conceal the fact that some time ago several things were asserted that almost puzzled me. It has been reported that among your people there is but little respect shown to worthy ministers of the Gospel; that they promise everything good but then take no interest in their pastors, and especially when they are faithful in their work and the preaching of the Word; that they allow them to be oppressed with anxiety and want; and that, in this extremity, they obtain no relief from the Government. Now, I am not willing to believe that this is true of all, and I hope better things of the congregations in which you are interested. But as to my supplying you with competent teachers, I must first have the confident assurance that I am not leading them into trying straits, but that they will be provided for in a becoming manner, and especially, that their salaries shall not depend simply upon the arbitrary notions of the people. Whatever is undertaken in this matter must be established upon a firm and sure foundation, and a minute report of the whole arrangement must be transmitted to me.

I have not heard a word about Pastor Schultz for some time, and I know not what has become of him. Notwithstanding all my efforts I have not yet learned whether there is any encouragement to hope for a collection in Denmark, towards the building of your churches and school-houses. I will, however, make further inquiry, and if anything can be done I will inform you. I commit the whole business to the Divine Favor, and remain, my dear Sir, both in prayer and ready co-operations, yours,

G. A. FRANCKE.

Halle, March 11th, 1735."

VIII.

THE LETTER OF THE THREE CONGREGATIONS.

Philadelphia, Feb. 28th, 1735.

Most Worthy, Most Learned, Most Honored Professor:

Your own most acceptable communication to us, and Mr. Weisiger's

verbal statements, have convinced us of the great pains and anxiety with which your Reverence has prosecuted, and still proposes to prosecute the work, both of collecting benevolent contributions in our aid and of sending us an ordained pastor for our congregations. For this, your fatherly interest on our behalf, we offer our most humble thanks, and beg you to continue to extend to our congregations your co-operation in promoting the Glory of God. Mr. Weisiger, having sailed from England to Georgia in company with certain Salzburg emigrants, has now come back to us. We learn from his statements as well as from certain written documents, that divers unjust reports about our Evangelical Lutheran congregations are circulated both in Germany and in England. But under the Grace of God we find comfort in our own innocence. We know very well that the great enemy, the devil, is always striving, through the operations of his lying progeny, to disturb the Kingdom of God, and to hinder the growth of Christianity. We have begged Pastor Ziegenhagen, Court Chaplain, to use his influence with the Royal Society, so that Pastor Bolzium may be authorized to investigate our condition, which is, in fact, so lamentable that any description of it must fall far short of the reality. People of a worldly spirit cannot understand the miseries that oppress our religious life in consequence of the lack of churches and schools. We, however, have to make the sad experience that, for this very reason, our children are betrayed into all kinds of crooked ways, and that those who, at first, encouraged us to hope that they would help us in advancing the interests of true religion, afterwards turned out to be its destroyers.

Mr. Siron, who is not unknown to you, is one example of such characters. When this man first came among us, the prospect of his usefulness in many of our congregations was quite promising; for he was known in Halle and also in other parts. But in a short time he broke off from the congregation altogether; and now seeks to pass himself off as one inspired. He cries out against all the exercises of public worship without exception; says that it is better to build stables than to erect churches; and strives, by his slanders and his lying letters, to make us odious everywhere.

Notwithstanding all this, however, we have the firmest confidence in God, that when the proper time comes He will rescue and maintain His own Honor, despite all obstacles. Until this time, in connection with the Reformed congregation, we continue to hold our public worship on alternate Sundays, in a house that is not otherwise occupied. The goodness of the Lord has lately brought a deserving man hither, John Alb. Langerfeldt, born in Halberstadt, who was a student at Halle some eight years ago, and afterwards served as private teacher in a family of noble rank; finally, coming to this country to escape the military levy. As there was no one at all to preach the Gospel amongst us, we asked Mr. Langerfeldt to undertake the work. He excused himself on the plea, that although he had studied theology as

well as law, yet he had never been inclined to enter the clerical office; and besides this, he had not been ordained. But as necessity knows no law and as he saw the pressure of our need, he added, that as all men are solemnly bound to employ their talents for the Glory of God and the benefit of their neighbor, he would comply with our request, by the help of God; and conduct our public worship, once in two weeks, until we should secure a regular pastor. In this we hope to succeed, by the assistance of Dr. Ziegenhagen, to whom we have given full authority to provide for us an ordained minister of the Gospel.

In conclusion, we thank your Reverence for the books you have so kindly sent us. In our spiritual hunger and thirst they have been a great refreshment for us. We humbly beg that your tender sympathy and your activity in promoting our spiritual welfare may be continued: and may our gracious God not only bless but also richly reward your faithful labors in His Name!

With profoundest sentiments of sincere respect we remain your Reverence's most humble servants, the present Wardens of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence in Pennsylvania.

JOHN F. HARTMANN,
HENRY MILLER,
CHRISTIAN SACKREUDER,

THOMAS MEYER,
ALBRECHT HAASSE,
JAN GEORGE.

A Monsieur Franke,

Professeur en Theologie et Ministre de la Parole de Dieu a Halle.

IX.

Under date of July 6th, 1735, G. A. Francke replied to the foregoing letter of the wardens; and having stated that he would rejoice if Mr. Bolzius should visit them and make the investigation they speak about; because, in the meantime, sad accounts had been received from America, he then continues: "I deeply regret that Mr. Siron has fallen into such extravagant notions—yet in view of the fact, that in his very temperament he is rash and inconsiderate, it is not much to be wondered at. Possibly, Pastor Bolzius may succeed in bringing him back to the right way; for in his earlier years he had made a good beginning. As to the rest Dr. Ziegenhagen will do his best, with the Divine Help, to supply you with an ordained pastor. Although no collection can be undertaken in this country without the royal permission, yet we have received from several benevolent friends, as voluntary offerings for the building of churches and schoolhouses, the sum of 425 Thaler, of which 72 Thaler, 9 Groschen, 3 Pfennige have been paid out here, by order of Mr. Weisiger. About St. Michael's day I propose to send the balance, 352 Th., 14 Gr., 9 Pf., by Bill of Exchange to Dr. Ziegenha-

gen. Efforts have been made to take a collection for the same purposes in Denmark; but, so far, without success. Still, we cherish the hope that some good friends of the cause in that country will freely forward their own contributions.

It appears also that the preacher Schultz is still running up and down Germany, and that contributions for the building of your churches have, here and there, been placed in his hands; in Cleve he is said to have received 50 Thalers. Whether he transmits any of these funds to the contemplated object I am not able to say; but I have a suspicion that he keeps it for his own uses. This I cannot help; since he is constantly passing along from place to place, so that I am not able to find him. I appeal to you, my dear sirs, to do what you can so as to arrest this mischief.

P. S.—I am just now informed that Pastor Mayer, of this city has received 200 Thalers, additional, given towards the building of your churches and school-houses. This money shall be forwarded at once. And I have yet to add, that a further contribution of 100 Thalers has been received from Moscow, and nearly as much from Silesia.

X.

G. A. Francke to Ziegenhagen. "I cannot withhold from your Reverence the statement, that I have lately seen a letter dated Germantown, Pennsylvania, June 15th, of the present year, which a man named John Christopher Sauer, whom your Reverence may be acquainted with, addressed to a person in this city, in which letter the following extraordinary statements are made. That the well-known preacher, Schultz, who, in company with several persons, had previously gone from Anspach to West India,* had returned to Germany last year in company with Daniel Schöner and Daniel Weisiger, and was collecting money in England and in this country, for the building of churches and school-houses at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence; but that he was making this collection only so as to enable him to make a display of his wealth and of his own importance upon his going back to West India; and further, that he had secured the Governor's license to make the collection, by bribing a lawyer named Ludwig Mathes, who is not unknown in these parts. In this letter also, even Mr. Weisiger is not very highly complimented; and it is said, that prior to his departure he had to pay 600 Gulden to Melchior Scholtz, merchant in Harlem, which the latter had advanced to him on account of freight and traveling expenses.

According to this report, the collection undertaken by preacher Schultz and his colleagues does not seem to be altogether square; and

* By West India was generally meant, at that time, the whole eastern coast of North America, as far as New England and Canada.

the letter aforesaid inspires but a faint hope that the money collected will ever reach the objects for which it has been given, etc. Weisiger took with him, from this place and from other quarters, a goodly store of bibles and other devotional books, and secured more to be sent off after him. Whether he will give account of this and of his other collections, to the congregation at Philadelphia, I am not able to say; but this surprises me, that since his return to West India he has never written me a word, though he promised most solemnly so to do.

Everywhere the condition of the Evangelical congregations in Pennsylvania seems to be discouraging; and although people of excellent character may emigrate thither, still there is very faint hope that even they will be able to effect any lasting good. It appears also that serious difficulties lie in the way of securing their temporal support. Sauer himself asserts, that the poor are not able and the rich not willing to give anything; and that if a man preaches the truth, that puts an end to his salary. As to the Government, that takes no interest whatever in the whole business.

The aforesaid Sauer requests, in his letter, that certain manuscripts may be purchased here, and sent to him to be printed by him in America; he proposes also to return the amount of cost, placing it in the hands of your Reverence. However, as we have other things to attend to here, we cannot comply with his request; and besides, I have my doubts whether any special good can be accomplished by a printing establishment in West India.

XI.

Extract of a letter written by Dr. Ziegenhagen, Court Chaplain, London, Oct. 17th, 1735.

“It has been a great grief to me to hear what has been said concerning Mr. Weisiger. I had already been puzzled about him upon his coming here on his return from Germany; not because I thought the whole collection a fraud, but because he used the money which he had collected, in buying so many things for himself.

After his arrival in Philadelphia, the Elders of the congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, wrote to me and expressed their joy upon learning from Mr. Weisiger, that a pastor would soon be sent to labor among them. They added further, that as they are not able to pay the salary of a pastor, they humbly beg that the Society established here may undertake to ensure his support for some years. This extraordinary demand astonished me in the highest degree; and I wrote to them in April, as also in June, very plainly, stating, that if they would not come together and send out to us a regular call for a pastor, distinctly specifying also the precise amount of salary they would give him, all their writing and begging for a pastor would

amount to nothing, At the same time I notified them, that the contributors in Germany and here, desired and expected from the wardens of the three congregations, a written report setting forth the result of their examination of the collection accounts of Mr. Weisiger; also, of the description and number of the volumes he had handed over for the uses of the congregation, and of the manner in which they were distributed. I also stated that as the impression had been, that Mr. Weisiger disposed of the medicines and books that were put in his charge, only according to his own good pleasure, I strongly disapproved of such action; and in a word, that so long as they continued to be divided amongst themselves, as to my great distress I hear they are, one party ever opposing the other, the funds that have been placed in our hands since Mr. Weisiger's departure, shall, in no wise, be forwarded to them, for in the midst of such contentions these moneys could do them no good, and might even be perverted to mischievous purposes.

From the foregoing, your Reverence may infer that I have, for a considerable time already, been aware of the deplorable condition of the said congregations, and also of the reprehensible conduct of Mr. Weisiger; and, that I have been striving, though in a quiet way, to correct the evils on both sides, as far as possible.

According to all accounts that I have had, the state of affairs, as far as Christianity and spiritual interest are involved, must be, in the highest degree, deplorable; and our most earnest prayers should be, that God, in His mercy, would so direct matters that they may be promptly supplied with a faithful pastor.

XII.

Extract of a letter written by Pastor John Henry Schmidt, dated Væels, near Aachen, April 16th, 1735.

At Easter, an Evangelical preacher from Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, called upon me. He had been sent hither for the purpose of collecting money in England, Holland and Germany, for building churches and school-houses, and for sustaining the pastors and teachers. He was born in Anspach. His name is John Christian Schultz. He was educated at Strassburg. He has two colleagues in Pennsylvania; for in that province which covers about 80 English miles, there are about 2,500 Lutherans, constituting three congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence. He remained with me over Easter, and on Easter Monday he preached for me. The congregation were gratified, and we gave him permission to ask assistance of some of the wealthy members. He collected 50 Rixthaler, and declared, that in all his collections he had never experienced so much courtesy and kindness as he had met with in our congregation.

XIII.

Part of a letter of Dr. Ziegenhagen's, dated Kensington, London, Feb. 5th, 1736, addressed to G. A. Francke. "Mr. Daniel Weisiger's perfidiousness and deception are now plain enough. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia, he handed over to the congregation neither the money nor books, except two or three bibles, and 200 little tracts of a page or two, each; and he affects to know nothing at all of the other books that were bought for those congregations. He pretends that there is, in Rotterdam, a chest, in charge of Mr. Van der Putten, in which these books are deposited, as he says. According to his account, the whole sum of money collected in Germany was not more than 494 Thalers, 17 Gr., 4 Pf., etc. Now I know that he got over 100 Thalers in Hannover, and 100 Rixthalers from the Consistory of Wolfenbüttel; and so, his statement of the whole amount appears to me to be very suspicious. As I hear, the miserable creature is, just now, cutting a great figure in Philadelphia, keeps a shop full of all kinds of wares, and sells beer, and rum and cider.

This whole business distresses me in my very soul, specially on account of the awful hypocrisy of Weisiger. Without any intimations on my part, your Excellency will readily perceive what damage will be done to others, and specially to those who have aided in this collection, and what value will be accorded to any recommendations which we may hereafter write, in case these miserable circumstances should become generally known. I must therefore beg, not only that the matter in general, but specially, that the particulars relating to H. may be kept as quiet as possible; and I think that it is most advisable not to give Pastor S——d any hint upon the subject. As to the other miserable collector, the ex-pastor John C. Schultz, I have heard nothing about him for a long time; but I do not doubt that, as he still retains his license in possession, he will keep on with his deception and his thieving practices. Might it be advisable to announce, in a general way, through the public papers, that he is no longer authorized to receive money intended for this collection? The congregations, in their last letter, expressed a strong desire to that effect. I submit it, however, to the consideration and decision of your Reverence.

The Lord have pity upon these congregations and send them a faithful pastor instead of the man that has run away!"

XIV.

Most Worthy, Most Reverend Court Chaplain.

It is not encouraging to hear what has at length come to light concerning the Philadelphia collector, Daniel Weisiger. Of course the affair is likely to give great offence, and specially to those who have

generously contributed to the collection. The best thing however, is, that the larger portion is yet safe here, in our hands. Out of what had been given by the Orphan House here, Weisiger had received not more than 15 bibles, 8vo., 15 copies, 12mo., and 50 copies of the New Testament. I know also that he received some money from several friends and acquaintances in Halle, but I cannot state the exact amount. It could not have been a large sum. To the best of my knowledge, it was regularly entered in his collection book; and as far as I remember, what he received in Hannover, Brunswick and other places was recorded there, likewise. Now if he produces his collection book, the total sum may possibly prove to be correct; and in my opinion, it will not turn out to be so very large. A donation of medicines was also given from the laboratory of the Orphan House, and I hope to be able before I dispatch this letter, to inform you what it amounted to. The accompanying specification will describe the books which Mr. Fossgraf in Halle, bound, at the order of Weisiger. He received nearly all the small tracts as free gifts. If the two boxes of books which, he says, he sent to Philadelphia, and the box which, according to his statement, he left in charge of Mr. Van der Putten, in Rotterdam, should arrive safely, then possibly, his proceedings in this matter may yet be justified.

Meanwhile we, in this place, will give all possible attention to the subject. Your Reverence is, no doubt, aware that the preacher Schultz, who came to Germany in company with Weisiger, has been arrested at Augsburg; for Senior Urlsperger has sent us word that he had informed your Reverence to that effect. Schultz, indeed, has already been liberated; but I do not doubt that his license to collect money has been taken from him; and so he will not be able to carry on his impositions any longer.

It may, therefore, not be necessary, as far as Schultz is concerned, to put any notice in the public papers. Such notice might be unwise, for the reason that the business would thereby come to be noised around among the people; and as to the other collectors and the money they have received, all this may yet be more carefully inquired into. The Rector at Oldeslor, Pezold,* is a restless character; he can never stay long at any one place; and in the position which he has hitherto occupied, people have not been satisfied with him. Besides, he is not a man of sound judgment, and we can make nothing out of him.

As to the congregation at Philadelphia, I wish most sincerely, that wholesome counsel may be given them; but as their condition has been represented to me, I could not encourage and advise any good man to go and labor among them; for I cannot, at present, see how he could be sustained.

* From this it would seem that Ziegenhagen had proposed to send Pezold to Philadelphia.

Men of good parts are needed everywhere; and I know of several places where such men may be employed. I therefore have my doubts about sending a good man to America, upon an uncertainty; and besides, such a man would hardly be willing to go, if he were aware of all the circumstances of the case. Now to keep these hidden, and to send a good man thither with the impression on his mind that matters are otherwise and better than they really are, is a movement for which we could not be responsible. We had better, then, wait for another more propitious occasion, when either the people themselves will be reduced to order by their very necessities, or we can obtain a stronger assurance, that when a good man is sent to them they will receive him and treat him in a becoming manner. Beyond this I know not what advice to give; unless perhaps, that some one who has the means, might be prevailed upon to pay for several years, the salary of the pastor whom we may send.

Further; it is a question whether it would be right to send one man alone; because, the people living in such confusion and distracted with all kinds of whimsical notions, would be sure to make his life a very bitter one. In view of these things he ought to be a man of solid, commanding character, well qualified to encounter such spirits; and where shall we find such a man? If found, would he be willing to accommodate himself to the task? So, the business is, even until the present hour, beset with many difficulties, and how to overcome them I, for my part, cannot tell.

A short time ago Count Zinzendorf, with his lady, his oldest son and several servants, went to Holland. Whether his purpose is to return hither or to go to West India, remains to be seen.

Halle, March, 14th, 1736.
Addressed to Dr. Ziegenhagen, Court Chaplain.

XV.

Philadelphia, Dec. 6th, 1736.

To the Rev. Prof. Dr. G. A. Francke.

Most Worthy, Most Learned, Most Honored Professor.

Your Reverence's most acceptable letter of July 6th, 1735, came safely to hand Oct. 24th, 1736; and although we have often been reminded of our obligation to answer it, yet we have not been able to return such answer even until the present time. All along our purpose has been to send a call at the same time with our answer; but we confess, with sorrow, that until this day we have not been in a position to do so; for Satan has been striving, sometimes in this way, sometimes in that, to distract and break up our congregation. In these operations Mr. Siron has done whatever he could; for he has not only instigated Mr. Schultz to arrest our work in sending our collectors to secure help

for our congregations, but he has also endeavored otherwise to create divisions; and by false representations sent to the Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, he has sought to oppose the undertaking. However, although as the result of all this, our congregation is becoming weaker, still, we persevere in our ardent desire to secure a faithful pastor, either by the help of your Reverence or by that of Dr. Ziegenhagen. Yet we must confess that the condition of our congregation is much worse than we are able to describe in a letter.

For the purpose of getting some one to hear truthful testimony concerning our condition we have invited Mr. Bolzius* to visit us, and requested Dr. Ziegenhagen to permit him so to do; yet, we have had no answer. In order, however, to come to something definite, we have written, under the present date, to Dr. Ziegenhagen and made this proposition, that as we can send neither money nor a call, Dr. Ziegenhagen, with the co-operation of your Reverence, should send us a competent pastor, defraying his traveling expenses and paying his salary for one year, out of the funds that may be collected for us in Europe, in order that he may investigate our circumstances, and then furnish a truthful report. In this letter we make the same request of your Reverence, hoping that you will do for us whatever lies in your power. We know no other means of relief and defence against the falsehoods that have been circulated. As to the money that may be contributed on behalf of these congregations, our opinion is, that it should be invested in land or put out at interest, that the revenue may be appropriated to the support of pastors and teachers; that the congregations should do whatever they can in addition, and that the matter of perquisites should be distinctly agreed upon. We solicit an expression of your Reverence's views upon these points.

Mr. Siron has persecuted Mr. Weisiger with much violence and brought heavy charges against him; of which, however, we have until this day, seen no proof; on the contrary we hope that all will turn out well. Mr. Weisiger has bound himself to repay the 72 Thaler, 9 Gr., 3 Pf., which your Excellency has advanced to the book-binder, Fossgraf. (See App. No. IX and XIV.) The volumes which your Reverence has presented and those that were purchased, have been received recently. For the active beneficence manifested we return our hearty thanks to your Reverence, and wish you the rich blessing of the Lord.

Some immigrants who have arrived lately, have informed us about what happened to Mr. Schultz at Nürnberg. If your Reverence should have an opportunity to secure the 600 Gulden which were given to him for our congregation, and afterwards taken from him, we know that your Reverence will be as ready to serve us in this matter as you have been in so many others already. Until this day Mr. Schultz has sent us nothing; and probably he is not willing to do so.

* Pastor Bolzius, of Georgia. See letter in No. XIX.

If any additional contributions for us should be placed in your Reverence's hands, you will yourself know how to dispose of them so as to be most useful for our congregations. As your Reverence has informed us that Pastor Maier has taken much interest in our welfare, we have felt bound to address a letter to him, which we enclose in this one, begging you to forward it to him.

We commend ourselves to your continued sympathy, both in encouraging the collection of money and in securing a good and faithful pastor; and upon the ending of the old year and the beginning of the new, wishing you the blessing of God in soul and body, in your person and in your family, we remain your most obedient servants.

The wardens of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, in Pennsylvania.

John Geo. Herger, Thomas Meyer, Adam H. Dod, John N. Crœsmann, Jacob Schrack, (Geo. Hollebach had died).

XVI.

Philadelphia, Dec. 6th, 1736.

To the Rev. Pastor John Aug. Maier, at Halle.

Most Reverend, Most Learned, Most Honored Pastor.

We have been informed, by letter received lately from Dr. Francke, of the fraternal interest you have taken in the collections set on foot for the benefit of our congregations; and although the special motive of this work is the advancement of the glory of God, yet it concerns the welfare and salvation of our own souls also. We therefore feel ourselves bound to offer you our hearty thanks.

We also beg that your Reverence will allow us most earnestly to commend to your continued favor whatever measures are calculated to promote the kingdom of God amongst us. Hoping that God will enable you to end this year in peace, and for the future, abide with you and with all who seek the Divine Glory, we remain your Reverence's most obedient servants.

John G. Herger, Thomas Meyer, Adam H. Dod, John N. Crœsmann, Jacob Schrack, wardens of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence.

XVII.

Extract of a letter addressed to the Rev. Court Chaplain, Dr. Ziegenhagen, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 6th, 1736.

In conclusion, it surprises us not a little, that as we have several times already explained to your Reverence the great poverty of our congregations, and based upon it our plea for assistance, you yet do nothing

more than simply insist upon our placing a regular call in the hands of Prof. Francke, a thing which it is not in our power to do under the conditions prescribed by Mr. D. Gerdes and Prof. Francke. First of all, our congregations are located far apart. New Hanover is 40 miles from Philadelphia, and Providence 30 miles. Besides, the people of each of these congregations are scattered over more than 20 miles of the surrounding country, are mixed up amongst Quakers, Mennonites and other sects; and worst of all, those of them who profess to be Lutherans are not willing to enter into any obligations, although they promise to do their part as soon as they find that some regular order has been established, which, however, under the disturbances attending the present collections, cannot be done.

But if the fidelity and competency of a pastor is made to depend upon a large salary, or if they who come to teach us have more concern about their wages and the fleece than about feeding the flock, then, indeed, we have but little to hope for. Such a man may well be described as a hireling who teaches for his own advantage alone. This, however, would be of little benefit to us. In view of the conditions annexed to the call, as they have been sent to us by Prof. Francke and specially by Mr. D. Gerdes, it seems very strange to us that men who consider such a call to be a Divine act should show such respect to the idols of this world as first to demand the assurance that they shall have a sufficient supply of them before they will consent to accept a call, thus putting confidence in God in quite a subordinate position. This looks very much as if money were the inward principle impelling them to labor in the Kingdom of God; whereas, a bishop should not be given to covetousness, which also the Lord Himself has signified, commanding his disciples not to carry a purse.

Of course, we do not propose to let our pastors suffer want, but much rather to support them according to our ability. On the other hand, we desire as our pastor not a covetous man, nor one ruled by temporal motives, but a man who out of a sincere heart and out of love to God is constrained to come to our help and to enter into the pastoral office amongst us. We live in a land in which a pastor cannot expect to enjoy himself in an imposing parsonage, in a life of luxury and with large revenues, but for a faithful pastor who is a true Apostle of Christ, and has the Spirit of the Lord in him, measures will certainly be taken to secure him an adequate support.

In order that your Reverence may thoroughly understand our views, we have now to state clearly and candidly that we cannot bind ourselves either to raise a salary of 50 pounds sterling per year, or to advance to you any large sum to meet travelling expenses, or to defray the expense of going back to Germany incurred by those who having come to us are not willing to remain, which conditions Mr. D. Gerdes has laid down to us, as also, in a measure, has Prof. Francke himself. On the other hand we do humbly propose that your Reverence, in

connection with Prof. Francke whom we have addressed in the same terms, may send to us some good man, one who is grieved for the affliction of Joseph; pay his travelling and incidental expenses and his salary for one year out of the funds that have been collected for us in Europe; give him full authority to investigate everything here thoroughly, and permit him to return to Europe in case he should not be willing to remain with us, in order that he may give you an extended verbal report of everything. It is impossible for us to send you the money for the expenses of the journey, because most people refuse to contribute to such a fund, fearing lest, as has happened already in New York, we might receive a teacher who would occasion more harm and offence than benefit and edification to the Church as Preacher Schultz himself has done. No person could expect that one or two individuals should advance the whole of this sum themselves, for by so doing they might soon lose everything they have.

In addition to this it is our opinion that besides expending the money that has been collected in the building of churches and school-houses, it should be used also in the purchase of land, the revenue from which may be devoted forever to the support of one or more pastors and schoolmasters according as circumstances may require; this support being increased by the addition of certain perquisites and adequate contributions to be agreed upon by the members of the congregations. We desire, however, first to be informed how much money we may expect and specially to be assured that it shall be transmitted to us, for it would be disastrous to make a purchase without being certain that we could make payment and whence the payment was to come. At all events, it would be well to put the money out at interest, and to devote the interest forever towards helping to raise the salary of the pastor.

In short, in due time, we hope to be able to make good, practical arrangements for the support of one or more pastors; although at first, only one faithful teacher, relying upon God and His Favor, should be sent to us. Such a man may help us to put matters into good order; for, we have no doubt, that many who have separated themselves from the Church may be brought back again, and the wounds inflicted by Preacher Schultz may be healed.

We therefore beg your Reverence to take all these things into consideration; and if you should use a portion of the money that has been collected for us, in sending over to us some one whose high aim is to extend the Kingdom of Christ, we doubt not, that God would add His blessing to it. We shall, at all times, be ready to do in favor of the work, everything that we possibly can. But if none of our propositions should be accepted, then we can do nothing else than patiently wait for the salvation of God; commit ourselves to the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, Christ Jesus, and pray that Heaven may grant the richest rewards to all those who have kindly contributed on our be-

half, although our congregations may derive no benefit from what they may have done. We entreat your Reverence still to extend to us the favor of your continued care, and we pray that you may be rewarded with every blessing from above. With the closing of the old year and the opening of the new, we wish you health and peace, and remain with profound respect your faithful servants,

The Wardens of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence.

XVIII.

Extract of a letter from Rev. Senior Urlsperger, to Mr. Inspector Sarganeck, Augsburg, Oct. 4th, 1736.

My Dear Inspector:

I received your favor from Neustadt, in due time; I hope that my answer has reached you in like manner.

Just now I write to state what the Rev. Pastor Rig (Rieger, in Stuttgart?) has made known to me; and to add for the information of Prof. Francke and Mr. Counsellor Cellarius, that Mr. Scholdhausen, a believing merchant of Venice, upon returning yesterday from Switzerland over Kempten, reported that Dr. Praun had told him in the latter place that he himself and all the clergymen there were of opinion that the Schultz who had been arrested as a forger was the East India missionary Schultz, which will have a very bad effect upon the reputation of the Mission.*

Now, as it is very probable that the same opinion may be entertained in other places, it seems to me that it would be wise to * * * * [illegible in the MSS.] the public; yet in such a way as that the name of Schultze's father and that of his native country should not appear; but that everything else should be stated in a judicious way. I have been requested to draw up a statement to that effect, in order to avoid offences that for divers reasons might otherwise be taken. If anything is to be offered in print, I confidently expect to see *it beforehand. Adieu.

XIX.

To the Wardens at Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence.

My Dear and Honored Sirs:

Your very good letter of Dec. 6th, 1736, was transmitted to me by the Rev. Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, and I have learned from it that you yourselves and other members of your congregations in Pennsylv-

* The missionary Benjamin Schultze did not return from Madras before 1743. He was the successor of Ziegenbalg, in Tranquebar.

vania continue to cherish a desire for a competent and faithful pastor. For my part, I should most willingly help you in this matter if any one could be found who would be willing to serve you under the circumstances you have described. But, my dear sirs, consider yourselves, that although there may be men in this country who are not swayed by temporal calculations, yet they might not be strongly inclined to go to a place where, as yet, there is no regular organization at all, and where they must ever anticipate that if they should not prove to be acceptable, they will have to retrace their long journey again in a short time. It would not help you if we were to send a young man who has had no experience. In this country there are many divers opportunities of useful service offered to all competent and experienced men; and, therefore, even though a man may not take mere temporal considerations into account, he may not be easily persuaded to accept the offer of a position in which it is uncertain whether he can effect any good, whilst many positions are offered to him in this country where he may employ his powers and his gifts so as to lead to useful results. Under these circumstances, and because amongst you there is no provision made for the pastor's support, and other regular arrangements cannot be effected, I cannot encourage you, my dear sirs, to expect that I will be able to secure any pastor for you.

I have written to Pastor Boltzius several times, requesting him, if possible, to undertake a journey to Pennsylvania and gather information on the spot concerning the Evangelical congregations. But he has answered me, that under the existing circumstances of his own congregation at Ebenezer, he could not well absent himself from his post. We must therefore wait patiently to see if the thing can yet be done; for, indeed, I have indulged the hope that by this means the way might be opened to provide better things.

I am sorry Mr. Siron has been the cause of any disturbance amongst you. I deeply lament his departure from the right way which he had followed whilst he was here with us, and I sincerely hope that hereafter he will help your work rather than hinder it.

The contributions yet in our hands, after deducting certain expenses, amount to the sum of * * *.

I had hoped that by this time you would have established a regular organization, so that this money might be applied in such manner as to satisfy those who have contributed it. I have, therefore, retained possession of whatever has been placed in my hands, because the donors themselves might take it in bad part if I should transmit their contribution without knowing how it was to be used. If you should not be able to come to a regular organization, I shall forward the sum above specified to Dr. Ziegenhagen, requesting him to dispose of it as he may think proper.

You request me, my dear sirs, to use part of the money in my hands for the purchase of certain books, to be sent to Captain Stedtman, in

Rotterdam, adding at the same time that these books ought to be in Rotterdam very soon. But, specially, as I have no copies of the Marburg Hymn Book at hand; and, further, because you have not given me the address of any person in Rotterdam who may deliver the books to Captain Stedtman, who is probably not always there, I have hesitated about collecting the books and sending them forward upon an uncertainty.

As to the money which was taken from Preacher Schultz at Nürnberg, Senior Urlsperger informs me that it amounted to 520 Gulden. Some time ago he sent me word that he would transmit this money to England, which I doubt not he has already done. However, I will myself write to Senior Urlsperger upon the subject.

As to the rest, in my very heart I hope that God will regard the trying circumstances of your congregations, that the sighing of those whose earnest souls yearn after better things may reach His ears, and that He may send them help according to their need. For the present, I can give you no higher hope than I allow myself to indulge. Otherwise, as I may be able to do so, I shall willingly contribute all that lies in my power to the building up of your Evangelical congregations. In submission to the guidings of God's grace, and with best wishes for the Divine favor, I remain, my dear sirs, ever your willing servant,

G. A. FRANCKE.

Halle, June 18th, 1737.

XX.

Most Worthy Doctor:

With the hearty salutations of the Rev. Court Chaplain, I send you the enclosed letter, which was received from the German congregations in Philadelphia, etc., a few days ago.

They repeat their request for a pastor, but, as usually, with a phraseology somewhat forward and unpolished. The Rev. Court Chaplain begs that you will not allow yourself to be shocked by this circumstance, so as to be hindered in your efforts to obtain a pastor who may be suited to those people and to their condition, and that as soon as possible. His hearty prayer is, that the Lord Himself may designate the right man—the man who, confiding in the strength of the Almighty, has the courage and capacity to gather together the lost sheep of this scattered flock, and bring them back to the Great Shepherd, Christ Jesus.

We have not yet received the last letters from East India, although the whole cargo has already been removed from the ship and delivered at the East India House. It looks as if they had been lost. Mr. Secretary Plemmon has taken much pains to discover them.

The missionaries now here are all well and cheerful. They will

scarcely set sail during this month; for the continuous cold weather, and especially the active levy that is now going on amongst seamen, interferes with maritime operations.

I remain most worthy Doctor,

Your most obedient servant,

Kensington, Feb. 8th, 1740.

SAMUEL BEREIN.

XXI.

Letter of the three congregations in Pennsylvania, addressed to the Rev. Court Chaplain, Ziegenhagen, in London, Oct. 15th, 1739:

Most Reverend, Most Honored Chaplain.

Your letter of Sept. 26th, 1738, was duly delivered by Preacher Klug,* and has been read with sincere respect. It seems, from your letter, as if you had not had any letter or answer from us for a long time, although your letter of Feb. 4th, 1736, was answered by us on Dec. 6th, 1736. Your letter had first been broken open by Mr. Siron, and then handed to us; but since then we have not had any answer or letter from him. So, for our part, we did not know what to do in the matter. But now we see from your last letter that was handed to us by Preacher Klug, that it looks as if you had never received our letter of Dec. 6th, 1736. We will then, in this place, write for your Reverence and for Prof. Francke, what our fixed opinion is about the calling of a preacher; because, your Reverence says in your letter, that we should, by all means, write to you openly and honestly, and endeavor, by all means, to come to a brotherly union amongst ourselves. As to our being united, we have already been united for a long time in this, that we have been hoping and longing for a good pastor, and have been living along in the hope, that your fatherly care would supply us with such a one. But after all your writing about it, it seems now, that you either cannot or will not do this until you first get certain positive and satisfactory assurances from the congregations; by which terms trust in God is altogether put out of sight. It looks as if money had more power than any spiritual principle has, to urge you to labor for the spreading of the Kingdom of God; although a bishop ought not to be covetous, and Christ commanded his disciples not to carry a purse. It is not, at all, our purpose to let our pastor starve or suffer want; but we desire a man who will come to us not with covetous views, or ruled by other carnal principles. We live in a country where a teacher or preacher cannot expect to have a showy parsonage, or a large salary, or an easy, comfortable life; and it is not possible for us to promise him these things. But due arrangements shall be made to secure an adequate support for a faithful pastor who has the spirit of Christ dwelling in him.

* See Muhlenberg's Report, 6th Continuation, June, 1749.

We, the wardens and elders of the congregations, though giving great labor and diligence, have not been able to send out to you such a call for a pastor as you have wished us to send; Dr. Gerdes and Prof. Francke having furnished a formula, according to which the call should be drawn up, by the congregations. We could not do what you demanded; and the first reason is this: Our people here are scattered so far around and are mixed up with so many sects, that no warden can tell who are members of his congregation until they come together to hear a sermon, or to have the Lord's Supper; and in respect to these matters, things are in a miserable state. If any of the schoolmasters who have come from Germany undertakes to give a sermon, in such places, hardly half of the people come together; because many have an abhorrence of such preachers, since they even, at times, take upon themselves to give the Lord's Supper, though they are not regularly called servants of Christ; and therefore such a ministry does not belong to them. The reason why some people have asked them to do this is the fact that, at the present time, there is not one German Lutheran preacher in the whole land except Caspar Stoever, who is now 60 English miles distant from Philadelphia. Besides, they see that they have no reason to hope for the assistance of your Reverence in securing a pastor, unless they first give you certain satisfactory assurances; although every man, according to his ability, would willingly contribute to the support of a pastor, if only one man whose trust is in God could be induced to come to us.

Our last reason is this: No one is willing to subscribe to the support of a clergyman, as you require us to do, until we first see what kind of a man we are to get, and know that he is worthy of confidence; so that we may not be burdened with great expenses out of which no good can come. Also, that we may not get another hireling like as preacher Schultz was, or like the specimen that was in a place called Raritan, which is connected with the New York congregation. Some persons called him and brought him over from Hamburg, at great expense. But when he came and began to preach in the congregations that had called him, it turned out that he had not the gift to preach the Word of God as it becomes a clergyman to do. The congregations bore with him patiently, for a long time; but when they found that he would not try to improve himself, they did not want his services as preacher, any longer. But as he determined to force himself upon them and kept at law with them for more than two years, the congregations were not only oppressed with great expenses, but also distracted with confusion and divisions, in consequence. Your Reverence, as also Prof. Francke, will understand therefore, that the congregations are afraid to subscribe to such a call as you have required. You see that they are afraid lest they might get such a man as we have described, or a man who would allow himself to be led astray by other sects, as several have already done in this country; whereby the congregations have been plunged into great confusion.

If your Reverence and Prof. Francke also could see with your own eyes the sad condition of the many poor people who are coming to this country every year and are put out to service among other sects; poor people who would be so glad to go, on Sunday, to a church of their own confession, so that they might not attend the meetings of other sects and thus be misled at last, as many indeed have already been, and in this very way, in consequence of our lack of reverend clergy and of our regular church service, if you could see this, then you would understand that in case you continue to hold back and delay any longer, you will surely have a great responsibility upon you in the presence of God, on that great Day of Judgment, because you have not so much as permitted the collected funds to be applied to the objects to which benevolent hearts have given them, that is the building of our churches and schools. The Lord reward all these benevolent friends a thousand fold, in every way; although you see proper to withhold it from us under the pretext, that we must first call a preacher whom you know and can trust, and must expressly promise and bind ourselves to give him a certain specified salary, every year, all which is directly contrary to the teachings of Christ, who says, Matt. 6: 33: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." So we believe, and we are convinced that if a faithful pastor whose trust is in the Lord, were to come to us, all these things would be added to him, and he would have a rich abundance to help him through. But so far the principle seems to be, provide for the body first, before the salvation of souls can be considered.

And now again we most fervently beseech your Reverence and also Prof. Francke not to keep on raising so many difficulties and objections by which, as far as the pastor's salary is concerned, trust in the help of God is entirely overlooked. As you had expressed so much fear lest the man you would send to us might be reduced to absolute want, we wrote to you before, requesting you to pay him his salary for the first two years, so that he may have no fear of being reduced to absolute want as you suppose—etc., etc.

You see then, your Reverence and Prof. Francke, that we once more make our request and petition, that as we cannot bring about such a vocation concerning the calling of a preacher as you want us to send out to you, this is what we three congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence ask of you, that you choose a preacher for us who, in your opinion, is a steady man, on whose honesty you and we can depend; that you pay to him the expenses of his voyage out of the money in your hands, which was collected for the building of our churches and schoolhouses; that you give him also a couple of bills of exchange, as much as you yourselves think proper, to support the preacher for two years, so that you may feel that you are altogether safe. Then we will take all the money that may be collected, in the two first years, towards the support of a preacher, and apply it to the building of churches and schoolhouses in the three congregations.

We expect to be able to make such good arrangements, during this time, that one or two preachers may be honestly supported. But if you cannot grant our petition in this way, then we beg you to inform us as soon as you can, so that you may not keep us any longer in suspense in such important matters, and so that we may have one called from some other place, that everything may not come to confusion at last. We request also that the books in your hands, and which were given by good friends, may be sent to us at the same time; but do not send any more for this time, until a preacher comes and sees what kind of books are most needed.

In the meantime we commend you to the care and gracious guidance of God; and continuing to rely upon your fatherly sympathy, we remain your Reverence's obedient children in the Lord, the Wardens and Elders of the three congregations at Philadelphia, etc.

HENRY NILBER, THOMAS MEYER, MATTHEW RINGER.
 GEORGE BECK, JOHN N. CRÖSSMAN, JACOB SCHRACK.

P. S.—We yet add, that the change in the names of the subscribers, which your Reverence will notice, is, because the congregations have elected new officers in place of the former ones.

Also, when you direct a letter to us, it should be delivered or addressed to Michael Helligass, in Second Street, Philadelphia, who will deliver it to us.

Also, we intended, in these few lines, to report to your Reverence and to Prof. Francke how our business with Mr. Weisiger and the Messrs. Schultze, of Holland, was settled; for Mr. Weisiger had left a box of books behind him, in Holland, in charge of Melchior Schultze. But M. Schultze himself left them behind. As soon as he arrived here he and his brother, George Schultze, called us to a settlement at once, and the result was, that we owed him 103 dollars, 5 shillings, 8 pence, Pennsylvania money. In this settlement he charged us with all the expenses of the box of books, including even its freight on the ship. But as Mr. Weisiger had no collection moneys to pay over and as we did not know, at that time, whether he had acted honestly, in all things, we, for the purpose of preventing the Messrs. Schultze from casting him into prison, felt ourselves bound to the Messrs. Schultze to allow the money which Weisiger had paid to Melchior Schultze in Holland to stand to his credit; and besides, to take upon ourselves something that had been charged against him. All this we did so that he might be free from Messrs. Schultze. But these men then began to press very hard upon us, to have their claims satisfied, before they delivered the books, before they would even give security for their delivery. They had two of our wardens arrested at once and brought suit against us at Court. This suit hung on for more than nine months; and even then it was not settled by the Court; for, the Court appointed three merchants who decided the case. Their decision was

that Messrs. Schultze must give us security for the books and we must pay them the money within the period of a month. But as they could not give us any satisfactory security they had to submit to wait for the money until they had received the books and delivered them to us. Which being done, we paid them the above-mentioned sum, at once; Mr. Weisiger giving them a note of hand for 42 dollars, which they accepted and the balance being paid by the wardens and congregations.

After all, Mr. Weisiger still owes the congregations 77 dollars, 15 shillings, Pennsylvania currency, for which he has given his note of hand, though the congregations will never get anything from him; for the merchants have taken possession of all he had, still holding a claim of 300 dollars against him; but allowing him a certain definite time for payment. Now if we should push him for what he owes us we should have considerable expense, and would get nothing from him, in the end.

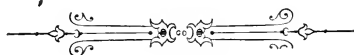
So, we hope that your Reverence will not encourage the thought that the wardens have squandered the money that has been collected. We have been deceived by the hypocrisy of the wicked collectors; and this hypocrisy you, no doubt, observe in their conduct yourself, although you would not have suspected it in Mr. Weisiger. To all these, our undertakings, we have given much toil and diligence; thinking that the Glory of God would be advanced thereby; but alas, what a ruin!

Now we once more, hereby, entreat your Reverence and Dr. Francke to write to us by the first ship that sails for Philadelphia, and inform us whether you will send us a preacher according to our petition as expressed in this letter, signed above by the wardens, giving him his salary for two years out of the collection moneys. If you cannot do this, then we beg you to inform us, during the next year, so that we may not be put off any longer. There are other persons who will send us preachers, if you are not able to help us; and in this important business we do not wish to be subjected to any more delay. We shall wait until we think we have had time enough to receive an answer to this present writing.

We commend you to the care and gracious guidance of God; and, still relying upon your fatherly sympathy we ever remain

Your Reverence's Children in the Lord.

P. S.—Also, if you write to us, the letter ought to be directed in this way, "To be delivered to Mr. Michael Hellengass, living in Philadelphia, Second street."



CONTINUATION OF BRIEF REPORT
CONCERNING
CERTAIN EVANGELICAL CHURCHES
IN AMERICA.

PRINTED AT THE ORPHAN HOUSE IN HALLE, 1743.

(27) 1. Last year a short report was printed and published concerning several evangelical congregations in America, in which, among other things, it may be seen how and in what various ways the German Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence had besought Prof. Dr. Francke, in Halle, and the Royal Court Preacher, the Rev. Frederick M. Ziegenhagen, in London, to send them a regular minister of the Gospel to become their pastor. It may also be seen how, after the removal of certain obstacles, the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was sent, in compliance with their desire; and how, upon his happy arrival in Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1742, he was most heartily welcomed by the congregations named above, to which also the congregation in Germantown had been added. It was also stated in the same report, that because the strength of one pastor proved not to be equal to the work required, Muhlenberg himself and the aforesaid congregations also renewed their earnest entreaties, begging that other assistants, both for churches and schools, might be sent to them. In compliance with this, Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, the second pastor, and the two assistants or catechists, Mr. Schaum and Mr. Kurtz, having accepted the call, set (28) off on July 1, 1744, from Hamburg, through England, on their journey to Pennsylvania.¹

From the same report it may also be understood that the moneys so kindly contributed by benevolent friends have been used to defray the traveling expenses of the several laborers who have been sent off, and also to meet the urgent necessities resulting from the building of the two churches in Philadelphia and Providence, though even this will fall short of what is needed. With all this, then, the reader may observe how favorable, notwithstanding all the difficulties, were the cir-

cumstances under which Pastor Muhlenberg began his labors in these congregations. Both the young and the old longed for his instructions in the Word, and received them with meekness; parents with their children, and people already advanced in years, were baptized. These and other adults, some of them married persons, were prepared for their first communion. In a word, the attention, the interest, the meekness with which these people received the instruction of the Divine Word were a very joy of heart to Muhlenberg, and tended greatly to lighten the burden of his labors.

2. It has repeatedly been asked whether we have any information of the arrival of Pastor Brunnholtz and his companions in Pennsylvania, and whether the Divine favor which marked the beginning of the work there still continues to the present time. Now as we believe it will be a joy to all good people whose hearts are interested in the advancement of the Kingdom of God in general, and in Pennsylvania in particular, and who, by their benevolent contributions, have promoted the work there, we cannot refrain from stating here that such information, though long delayed, has at last been received, and that quite recently. On May 22d of this year, the long-expected letters from Pastor Muhlenberg and Pastor Brunnholtz in Philadelphia, addressed to the Court Preacher Ziegenhagen and Prof. Dr. Francke, in Halle, arrived.

(29) These letters were written in the month of March, and contain an account of: 1, the safe arrival of the assistants above named; 2, many trials encountered by Pastor Muhlenberg and the Divine help which was granted to him; 3, the continued blessing upon the preaching of the Gospel; 4, many remarkable circumstances connected with the building of the churches. We propose now to gather the most important of all these items together, and to present them in order, as a thankful acknowledgement of the goodness of the Lord.

3. As to the first point—the safe arrival of the assistants. Any one who will call to mind what we have stated in our report, how many and weighty were the labors of Pastor Muhlenberg, how many and how long his journeys throughout the four congregations, how faithfully he met and discharged every duty, never considering his own ease, will readily comprehend with what anxious longing he must have awaited the arrival of the assistants that had been asked for. It was well known that it had become absolutely necessary to send him help, for without it he would be sure to sink under his labors; and, therefore, all diligence was engaged to send him the desired help at the earliest possible moment.

The desire of these assistants themselves to reach America at an

early day, and to join Muhlenberg in his work was very strong. Yet, they had to learn to submit the gratification of this desire to the will of God. On account, chiefly, of contrary winds, their journey from Hamburg to England occupied three weeks, and then not only was considerable time spent in England awaiting the departure of a ship, but even after they had embarked at Gravesand, Sept. 22d, 1744, they were detained in the harbor for nine weeks, until finally they put to sea on Nov. 29th, under convoy of the fleet of Admiral Davers.²

4. In regard to the voyage to Philadelphia and their arrival there we are informed, that when they were at sea, on the third day, a violent storm scattered the fleet so completely that there was only one man-of-war left in sight as their convoy, which attended them (30) through the Spanish Main to Cape Finisterre, and which they left there on Dec. 9th. For the first eleven days the voyage was prosperous, but after that, for four weeks, they were driven about by contrary winds and by storms, sometimes so violent that they had to lash the rudder; yet on January 26th, 1745, they arrived safely in Philadelphia. They met with no hostile vessel on the whole voyage, and upon landing, their health was good and sound. Having left the ship, and on their way to the city, they were met by a German coming out of the woods, who, noticing that they were strangers just landed from the vessel lying in the river, asked them whether any Evangelical clergymen had come with them. When they had told him who they were, he conducted them, at once, with great joy, to a German merchant,³ by whom, as well as by the elders and other members of the church, who had been informed of their arrival, they were received and welcomed with many demonstrations of gladness. All united in heartily thanking God for their happy arrival, even as they had previously offered public prayers that His special protection and blessing might attend these brethren upon their voyage. A courier was sent off at once, to convey the good news to Pastor Muhlenberg, who was then occupied in the congregations in the country.

5. Muhlenberg having returned to Philadelphia immediately, Mr. Brunnholtz preached to the congregation there on the following Sunday, and was received and recognized as their regular teacher and second pastor, his call being drawn up in their name, and confirmed and signed by the vestry and the members themselves. The same order was observed in Germantown on February 5th, the same at Providence,⁴ on Sunday February 7th, and in like manner, on the 9th, at New Hanover. Thus he was introduced, alike, into all four churches, because it was thought best that he and Pastor Muhlenberg should be-

gin the work, by laboring in common, in all the several congregations. Both having the same ends in view, in the different charges, they could thus be more helpful to one another, even if they should afterwards, upon a clearer discernment of the Divine Will, be led to make a regular division of the congregations.

As regards the two Assistants or Catechists, after earnest prayer and a careful consideration of all the circumstances, it was concluded, that Mr. Kurtz should take charge of the school in New Hanover and Mr. Schaum should remain in Philadelphia, each of them having a school, in which even people of advanced years are not ashamed to mingle with the children and to begin with the alphabet. In a word, the congregations thankfully acknowledge the blessing granted both to the churches and the schools through these new teachers, and offer hearty thanks to God on that account.

6. Pastor Brunnholtz states very particularly, that in all these congregations there is a very sincere affection and veneration felt and shown towards Pastor Muhlenberg, because they see what a different spirit he has from that which animates the people who, without a regular call, foist themselves as teachers upon the Church. He states also, that notwithstanding much attendant weariness, toil and anxiety, Pastor Muhlenberg has faithfully discharged the duties of his office, and that the Lord has stood by him in all the straits and trials that have befallen him. His faithful services have been so abundantly prospered, that not only is the external state of affairs considerably improved, but also, many souls have been truly blest and edified, and many encourage the hope of better things, many who have been attracted and won, in great measure, by his meek and loving example. In addition to this, Pastor Brunnholtz expresses the hope, that, by the Grace of God, he himself will be enabled to discharge the duties of his office in like manner, not only by publicly preaching the Gospel in its purity and simplicity; but also and especially, by laboring to bring it directly home, in its saving power, to the souls of his people. For the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the individual members of his flock, and in order that he might be able to reprove, instruct and exhort them according to their several circumstances and necessities, he has undertaken to visit them, from house to house. Having, upon this visitation, found many souls who were hungering for the Word (32) of the Lord, he and Pastor Muhlenberg propose to give them more specific instruction, teaching them how to build upon the true Foundation.

7. As to the second point specified above, viz.: the many trials en-

countered by Pastor Muhlenberg in his official work; that may be satisfactorily presented by furnishing certain extracts from his own letters. He states that, first of all, he was troubled, in no small measure, not only by the fact, that the coming of his assistants had been so long and so unaccountably delayed; but also by the circumstance, that owing to the existing hostilities at sea, letters addressed to him from Germany and England failed to arrive when due. In addition to his own personal anxieties and cares growing out of these facts, certain enemies had taken occasion to insult and ridicule him, stating that his friends and benefactors in Europe had cast him off; and still worse, others endeavored to arouse suspicion in the congregations against him; spreading slanderous reports, to the effect that he had applied to his own use the money which had been collected for the churches. This calumny, however, was completely silenced upon the arrival of the letters from Europe, which contained also the balance of the moneys that had been contributed.

The fabricator of these slanders was a certain man who had been deposed from the ministry in Germany;⁵ and who, on divers occasions afterwards, displayed his spiteful spirit. However, as Pastor Muhlenberg's faithfulness, both in ministering to the churches in general and to the spiritual wants of all his hearers, was abundantly manifest, their confidence in him was in no degree weakened; much more was it confirmed and strengthened by the convincing evidences of his integrity. Even persons who had been deceived by the slanderer were won from their delusion and numbered amongst Muhlenberg's faithful friends. But yet, even grosser and more barefaced slanders were sometimes put in circulation, before which, however, God brought forth his innocence clear and fully in the light of day. Whilst it would be superfluous to specify other reproaches that he had to endure for Christ's Name's sake we may, in general, state, that both in his person and in his office he was, here and there, openly and bitterly defamed and derided, his enemies seeking to hinder his work by inventing and applying to him such reproachful names and epithets as the world usually employs to express its hostility to true Religion. The Lord, however, did not permit them to succeed; but favored Muhlenberg the more powerfully in the conviction and conversion of many souls. Indeed, without (33) any direct efforts on his part, as we learn from the Report of Pastor Brunnholtz, the more his enemies sought to traduce him, the more respect did he enjoy at the hands of all who were not blinded by prejudice and the higher did his character rise in the esteem of all his hearers.

8. The third item we have proposed to consider in this writing relates to the continued blessing upon the preaching of the Gospel in Pennsylvania. Now the Lord has not only given to Pastor Muhlenberg the health and strength necessary for the faithful prosecution of his pastoral work, not permitting his foes to triumph over him or to interfere with his regular preaching of the Word; but He has also continued and even increased the Divine blessing which formerly attended the preaching of the Gospel, as has been stated in our first Report. Of this Muhlenberg gives us the following instances in the letters referred to above.

In the congregation at Germantown he has instructed a small class of young people and admitted them to their first communion. At the same place he baptized three grown children of one family and one married man nearly 40 years of age, with his two children, also well grown. These children themselves had, in much hearty simplicity, entreated and prevailed upon their father to be baptized himself. In Philadelphia he baptized an unmarried woman, 25 years old, the daughter of Quaker parents; this was done in public, and a married woman was confirmed at the same time. In New Hanover he baptized a Quaker and his four children. The wife of this man had received the sacrament of baptism on New Year, 1744. After the baptism of the husband, both he and his wife, in company with two other persons, were admitted to the communion of the Holy Supper; and they, with their house, are living as it becomes Christian to live. Finally, not long ago he baptized, in Providence, a German of good social standing with his five children.⁶ This man had, for some considerable time, been impressed by the Word of God; yet could not make up his mind to be baptized, because he had counselled with flesh and blood. At last, however, he broke through these restraining bonds, and overcame all hindrances. In regard to all these cases we believe that they were actuated by good motives; for in this free country they could not expect to enjoy any temporal gain or advantage, or to acquire any special honor or respectability, by the fact that they are baptized. In addition to these persons thus restored to the communion of the Evangelical Church, the Lord Jesus has caused His holy Word to work with (34) such power upon the hearts of many others, that there is hope that the fruit will remain unto eternal life. Some of them, indeed, have already departed in the peace of the Lord.

In addition to the foregoing cases, Muhlenberg says that he might give other indications of good results; but he thinks that it may be better to wait so as to ascertain more accurately whether they are sub-

stantial and enduring. Meanwhile the brief report we thus furnish may well arouse those who take interest in the work of the Lord, to thank God with their whole hearts, for the reason that He has caused His Word, in some cases at least, to prosper in the thing whereto He hath sent it. May He continue His blessing upon the work, so that His praise and His salvation may be spread abroad.

9. The fourth point specified in the beginning of the present writing yet remains. It relates to the circumstances connected with the building of the churches. We are specially bound to explain these matters, because, as already stated, it is to the building of the churches that the balance of the money collected in Germany has to be applied, after the traveling expenses of the several pastors and assistants have been defrayed; and the main object of this Report is, whilst giving thanks to God, to inform our friends and worthy benefactors to what uses their charitable gifts have been devoted. It may be remembered, as was stated in the short Report of last year, that the building of a large church in Philadelphia had been begun, as also of a smaller one in Providence, and that both structures had been advanced so far as that they could be used by the congregations for Divine Worship, although neither of them was, as yet, finished. The cost of the church in Philadelphia, according to a careful calculation, would be 1000 pounds sterling or 5500 Rix dollars, and the cost of the church in Providence would be 200 pounds sterling or 1100 Rix dollars; and, in addition to these two buildings, a school-house had to be erected at New Hanover, where a church already stood, although, as yet, in an unfinished state.

Many persons might possibly have considered the building of these churches unnecessary, or thought that the undertaking was too rash and premature, or that the style and appointments were too expensive. In view of such objections Pastor Muhlenberg has reported, that at public worship in the barn at Providence, the congregation had to suffer a great many inconveniences; that the barn itself was too small, the congregation increasing so much, that on occasions of Divine service many persons had to stand out under the open heavens, ex-
(35) posed to all the inclemencies of the weather. Under such circumstances, no blame can attach to that congregation for undertaking to build a church.

A similar necessity pressed upon the congregation in Philadelphia. The old meeting house, for which the Lutherans paid rent, was too small; and besides this, they were annoyed through a suit at law with certain parties who claimed the building. Moreover, although the German Lutherans had, at first, by special favor, obtained permission

to hold their public worship in the Swedish⁷ Lutheran Church, a privilege which was accorded them until their own church should be prepared for use, nevertheless, as has been stated in our former Report, at the time when the German church was in such an advanced state that the congregation could begin to occupy it, the long expected Swedish pastor arrived.⁸ So, the Swedes, intending to use their church themselves, could no longer accommodate the Germans. This accommodation was rendered even more difficult, at that season of the year, by the advancing shortness of the days.

These circumstances are quite enough to prove that the building of this church was not a rash and hasty undertaking. Much rather should we recognize it as an act of Divine Providence, in order that the church might be finished at the right time. Otherwise the public worship must have been suspended for a season, if not abandoned altogether; there being no place obtainable where the whole congregation could assemble for religious purposes.

10. That the number of members in this congregation is quite considerable we learn from a letter of Pastor Brunnholz, dated April 23d, 1745, and which we have received since we begun to write this present Report. In this letter he says that the church in Philadelphia is somewhat large in its dimensions; but, on Sundays it is always completely filled up; and that people who had formerly separated themselves from the Church now keep on coming back again. As an example of this, he mentions the case of a man now connected with the congregation in Germantown. This man called upon him and said that he had not been in church for 18 years; but he wished to return again and was anxious to have his five children, already well grown, baptized.

In view of these facts then, we must admit that the dimensions agreed upon were not too large. At the same time we must approve of the opinion of Pastor Muhlenberg, already presented in our (36) Report, that is, that the material used in a church of such a size could not be wood or lumber. True, he had himself, at first, advised the building of a frame church, so as to finish it at small expense. But as such a frame structure would have cost above 1000 Rix dollars and as the vestry stated that it could not last long on account of the liability to decay, which specially belongs to the timber of that country, for which reason certain members refused to contribute anything towards the building of a frame church, it had to be resolved and settled, that the church should be built of stone and that the people should trust in the Lord to supply them with the necessary amount of money.

To repeat here all the statements we have received upon this subject, would make our account too tedious; and in the mean time, the items that we have given are quite sufficient, we believe, to satisfy our readers, that the building of the church was absolutely necessary. In a word, it is very plain that Pastor Muhlenberg and the vestry of the church would never have launched out into such extensive and hazardous undertakings if they had not been constrained to do so by stern necessity.

11. It was in confident reliance upon the help and favor of the Lord that they entered upon the work; and the Lord has, so far, not only delivered them from shame, but also given them many encouraging tokens of His approbation. Such tokens they recognize in the fact, that not only is the church at Providence now completely finished but the church in Philadelphia also will be prepared, in a short time, for the public worship of the congregation. Further, the Lord has favored them in meeting the expenses, so that of the whole cost only about 400 pounds sterling or 2200 Rix dollars will remain as a debt upon the church at Philadelphia; and 50 pounds sterling or 275 Rix dollars, upon the church in Providence. Upon these sums an annual interest also, must be paid. They discern the Divine favor further in the fact, that whilst the congregations, as stated in our former report, had exerted their zeal and liberality to the very utmost, the congregation in Philadelphia especially, having raised 200 pounds sterling even before the building was begun, several neighboring congregations also sent them generous contributions. In addition to this they have received (37) the following contributions: 200 pounds sterling, of the sum formerly collected in Europe for Pennsylvania; 40 pounds sterling, or 220 Rix dollars, collected in the German Lutheran congregation in London, and 547 Rix dollars from Germany, as we have already specified. To all this must be added 30 pounds sterling, or 165 Rix dollars, forwarded to Pennsylvania at the beginning of this year, the contribution of benevolent friend towards the building of the churches; and finally, 150 Rix dollars, which shall be transmitted to them in a very short time.

12. The hope is fondly cherished that the Divine Favor will still abide upon them, so that these poor German congregations and their pastors may continue to flourish, and that the spiritual refreshing which has visited them may not only remain with them, but also be spread abroad, and all around them. There are good reasons for indulging such a blessed hope. Indeed we have a very positive confidence that God, by His Grace, will so move the hearts of some Christ-

ian people, that they shall willingly devote a portion of the means which He, from whom all good gifts come, has placed in their hands, to the glory of His name in promoting the great salvation in these churches. Truly, we have reason to thank God because He has prospered the work so far, that even those persons, who supposed that before the church could be finished, Pastor Muhlenberg and the vestry would be cast into prison for debt, or would be compelled to run off, have been convinced that the Hand of God is in the work. Yet, notwithstanding all this the debts that still remain are no light burden upon the congregations, particularly because in the church in Philadelphia, in addition to the payment of annual interest upon the debt, they have yet to provide sash and glazing for the windows, and furnish the inside with pews. Of course, with such a heavy burden upon them the congregations will find it very hard to support their pastors and teachers, for most of the members are themselves in straitened circumstances, and have already contributed so liberally to the building of the church.

It is proper to state in this place, that at the beginning, Pastor Muhlenberg was duly authorized to draw his own salary from the moneys regularly collected in Europe, in case the congregations themselves should not furnish what was necessary for his support. He also informed us that he would avail himself of this permission; and use (38) a portion of the 200 pounds sterling above referred to, for his own purposes as payment of his salary; because in the first years of his pastoral work, the congregations gave him hardly anything at all, and he had unfortunately lost two horses in consequence of long and frequent journeyings; which also, put him to considerable extra expense from the wear and tear of clothing. But after all, seeing how heavily the congregations were strained by the building of the churches and the school-houses, he declined to appropriate any of the money to his own use, passed it all over to the benefit of the churches, and hoped that the Lord, in loving kindness, would supply his own wants by some other means.

13. It remains for us to add a few more items taken from the last letter of Pastor Brunnholtz above referred to. He says that Pastor Muhlenberg, the two teachers and himself are all in good health; and that he, by no means, regrets his having accepted the call to Pennsylvania; although he feels the weight and responsibility of his office, and is deeply conscious of his own insufficiency and unworthiness. He is engaged, every day, in hunting up the members of the flock committed to his care, declaring to them the counsel of God concerning their sal-

vation, both in public and in private. The power of the Gospel is witnessed by the experience of many persons who often call upon him, and afford him an opportunity to notice whether they fall back, or whether they grow in grace; and indeed it is necessary to keep a careful watch over them, on account of the many dangers and temptations that beset them on the right hand and on the left. Generally upon occasions of public preaching he has something of a mixed mass before him,⁹ representing all varieties of religious notions; but at such times he is very careful to present the Divine truth that is regularly taught by the text, believing, that in the light of this truth, the opposing error will be at once revealed and reprov'd. For the sake of the members of his own flock he, sometimes, introduces into his sermons, testimonies from the writings of Luther himself, in order that they may see that he too, maintains the doctrine of the Divine Word even as Luther taught it.

The school in Philadelphia is still under the care of Mr. Schaum, and continues to increase in numbers. He too enjoys the presence and the help of God in his work, and occasionally preaches for Pastor Brunnholtz. In New Hanover Mr. Kurtz has a large school that engages his constant attention, and the congregation is much pleased with his work. When Pastor Brunnholtz is in Philadelphia on (39) Sunday he always preaches twice on that day. Before the writing of his last letter he had spent two weeks in Providence and New Hanover, and preached once in each congregation, Muhlenberg having been in charge of the church in Philadelphia for the same time. During these two weeks Brunnholtz visited a place about ten miles distant from New Hanover, called Ohley, where, finding the Lutheran congregation of that place assembled in a dwelling-house, he preached to them also. The season of Lent, however, he spent altogether in the city, instructing the young people and preparing them for the Holy Supper.

About a week before his last letter to us was sent off, in answer to a very urgent solicitation, he went to Cohanzy, on the other side of the Delaware and about 36 miles distant from Philadelphia, and preached to the Lutheran congregation there that had been long neglected. They have a church but no pastor, and are not able to support one. However, they had secured the services of a school-master and furnished him with a copy of Prof. Francke's Postills,¹⁰ out of which he might read them a sermon every Sunday. Invitations to visit many other places were addressed to the pastors, but as they had their own congregations, and felt themselves bound to devote their whole time

mainly to their own work, so that they might preach the Word in truth and in power, they were not able at all times to yield to these invitations, willing as they would otherwise have been to do so. Yet they could not always refuse, but readily went whenever it was possible for them. The people who approached them with these solicitations generally lived in thinly populated regions, for which reason and specially because, like most of the Germans in the country, they are poor in this world's goods, upon their first arrival they cannot well support a pastor. May the Lord in His mercy regard these congregations that are yet unprovided for!

14. So far then we have endeavored to inform our Christian readers of the efforts that have been made to furnish the Lutheran churches in America with the Divine Means of Grace, and of the blessings with which the Lord has been pleased to attend these efforts. Such facts have no importance whatever in the estimation of the world, but whoever remembers in what a state of destitution these congregations (40) have been, and considers into what a sad decline they must have fallen if the Lord had not raised up help for them in good time, will very readily acknowledge that the whole history is simply a special intervention of God's mercy. So it has been thought that a Report, short yet somewhat minute, of the progress of the Divine blessing recently bestowed upon the congregations in Pennsylvania, as it is described in the letters of the pastors and teachers, would be acceptable to the Christian reader. It is hoped also that the account here given will stir him up to thank God for the blessings already bestowed and fervently to implore a continuance of His favor. Now, to the Father of Mercies whose gracious will it is that no one should perish, but that all should come to the knowledge and the belief of the truth, and so obtain eternal life, let devout thanks be offered, because in the fullness of His compassion He has turned towards these congregations which had long been like lost sheep without a shepherd, and already done for them more even than we could at first have thought or asked for. May He keep all who have the privilege of hearing the Word and the voice of the Good Shepherd from despising His grace, and mercifully grant that by a genuine repentance they may turn from the error of their ways, and as recovered sheep come back to the fold of the Shepherd and Bishop of Souls. To this end may He ever continue to add new blessings to the preaching of His Word in these distant regions, and ever renew the strength of His servants in their great work for the glory of His Name and of His Saving Love, through Jesus Christ, Amen!

NOTES ON THE CONTINUATION (FIRST) OF THE BRIEF REPORT.

¹ This refers to the communications which, having been found in the Archives at Halle, are presented in the Appendix to this Continuation.

² In those days, even apart from the prevailing perils of pirates, a voyage upon the high seas was not without danger. England, under GEORGE II, was then at war with Spain and France; and the men-of-war of both nations threatened the capture of English vessels. For this reason they sought to sail under a secure convoy. Upon this subject PASTOR HANDSCHUH gives us further information. (See 3d Continuation, with regard to political affairs as then existing. See 3d Continuation, note on section 3d.)

³ This was Mr. HENRY SCHLEYDORN. (See Appendix to this Continuation.) We meet him again, and upon his death-bed. (See Pastor Handschuh's letter of Oct. 2d, 1759, in 9th Continuation.) He was an elder of the German congregation, and together with the Swedish merchant, PETER KOCK, (who died 1749), had endeavored to bring about a union between the Swedes and the Germans in their church interests. (See Acrelius' Hist., p. 245.) He had previously been a member of the Lutheran congregation in New York. (See Halle. Nachr., p. 363. Concerning his death, see p. 751, etc.)

⁴ In the Record of Providence congregation, on page 3, is the following: "On the third Sunday after Epiphany, 1745, I, Peter Brunnholtz, being regularly ordained and called by the Rev. Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, in London, and duly commissioned as second pastor of the Evang. Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, Germantown, New Providence and New Hanover, and colleague of the very Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, preached my introductory sermon, in this Providence congregation, upon the Gospel lesson for this day." This lesson was Matt. 8: 1-13—the centurion at Capernaum.

⁵ (See 2d Continuation, section 7 and the note on section 19 of the Brief Report.) Even Muhlenberg, noble as he was, had to go "through honor and dishonor, through evil report and good report," 2 Cor. 6: 8. (See the singular letter in the Appendix to this Continuation.) In 2d Continuation, section 7, John Conr. Andree, of whom we shall hear again, is mentioned as slanderer-in-chief. The other person there referred to is the notorious Val. Kraft, of whom we have heard already (Brief Report, section 19).

⁶ In the Church Record is the following: "Feb. 12th, 1745, NICOLAS KOESTER was baptized at New Providence in the presence of his wife and his mother-in-law, Anna E. Hopp, and his wife's sister, Johanna Chr. Hopp." Then the baptism of his children, CHRISTIAN, born Aug. 21st, 1734; JOHN, born July 18th, 1736; ELIZABETH, born Aug. 20th, 1739; GEORGE, born Aug. 21st, 1741; SAMUEL, born Nov. 27th, 1744. Appended to the above is the following: "Oct. 17th, 1746, Nicolas Koester's child was baptized and named PAUL, born Sept. 7th; of the same mother as were all the other children, her name being SUSANNA MARGARETA. Witnesses were the above-named mother and sister."

⁷ The Blockhouse or Fort, in which the Swedes held their religious services in the preceding century, must have presented a fine churchly appearance about 1700. (See Dr. C. W. SCHLEFFER'S Early History, etc., pp. 24, 25. Also note on

section 18, Brief Report.) In this church, so well known as "Gloria Dei," the services were conducted, at least partly, in the Swedish language, even into the present century. The last pastor who had been sent over from Sweden, Dr. NICOLAS COLLIN, preached, at least once a month, in the Swedish language as late as in 1813. Dr. Collin came from Upsala, arriving in 1771. He died in 1831. (See Clay's *Annals of the Swedes, etc., Philadelphia, 1835. Pa. Magaz. of Hist. and Biogr., by Hist. Soc. of Pa., Vol. I, p. 154.*) Also, at the present time there is another small Swedish congregation organized in Philadelphia, which holds its services every Sunday P.M. in ZION, the German Evang. Lutheran Church in Franklin St. below Vine St. This congregation is now negotiating with a view of purchasing a church for itself, in Ninth St., North of Noble St. The "Gloria Dei," formerly called Wicaco, has long since fallen into the hands of the Episcopal denomination. This is easily accounted for; since, an Act passed Sept. 10th, 1787, supplementary to the charter of the United Swedish Lutheran congregations of Wicaco, Kingsessing and Upper Merion, granted Sept. 25th, 1785, declares, in reference to the election of a "rector" or pastor, "that such rector and other ministers shall be in the ministry of the Lutheran or Episcopal Churches, and hold their faith in the doctrine of the same."

⁸ This was GABRIEL NAESMAN, of GESTRICIA, whom the Archbishop and Consistory of Upsala appointed for the service of the Church in America, in company with another named HEDSTRAND, who, however, never came over. They were both ordained in May, 1742, in the Cathedral at Upsala. NAESMAN arrived in Philadelphia, Oct. 20th, 1743. (See Acrelius' *Hist., etc., p. 241, etc.* Also 3d Continuation, section 12.)

⁹ People who belong to divers Churches or Confessions. It was the more important to give prominence to the fact, that the doctrine of the Lutheran Church was in harmony with the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. The reverse of this is, to belittle the matter in the pulpit and elsewhere, and to represent the Lutheran Church as teaching only what the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the other parties teach. This is a misrepresentation of the truth.

¹⁰ POSTILS, *post illa, viz., verba textus, i. e., following the order of the text,—* a mediæval Latin definition of a continuous exposition of Holy Scripture. In later times the word was applied to sermons and sermon-books. The FRANCKE referred to is AUGUST HERMAN, the founder of the institutions at Halle. Some of his works were published during his lifetime; others afterwards. *Sermons and Tracts, Halle, 1723; Sermons from Advent till Easter, 1738; Catechetical Sermons, 1758; Memorial and Funeral Sermons, 1723; Sermons on the Gospels for Sundays, Festivals and Apostles' Days, 1740; a second collection, 1746; Sermons on the Epistles, 1741; Methodus studii theologicæ, etc., Halle, 1723; Idea studiosi theologicæ, 1723; Monita pastoralia, 1712, 1717; Collegium pastorale, 1741, 1748.*

¹¹ We deeply regret that, whilst handling this Continuation and the first Brief Report, we have been able to furnish only such short statements as are contained in the extracts that have been supplied to us out of the letters that had been written from Pennsylvania, instead of our having the letters themselves placed in our hands. We supply this deficiency, however, in part, by presenting in an Appendix what we have obtained from the Archives at Halle.

APPENDIX TO FIRST CONTINUATION.

EXTRACTS

Concerning the Call of the Catechists Schaum and Kurtz, and their departure to Pennsylvania in the year 1744; with a Journal of the voyage and of their earlier official labors from March 13th, 1744, till July 11th, 1745.

I.

Letter of G. A. Francke to Mr. von Gensau of Farrenstadt, January 29th, 1744:

“As the Lord has lately given us such a call to His service in Pennsylvania, and as more laborers are absolutely required in this extensive field, if this man, Pastor Muhlenberg, is not to be utterly crushed by his burdens, I have thus far been taking great pains in compliance with his earnest solicitations which have also been strongly endorsed in letters from England, to discover some person who would be fitted for the work. The purpose is to appoint this person as second pastor and in addition to him to engage a Catechist, which position may be filled by a student of theology and to send them off together. To this day I have been wrestling with God in prayer, that He Himself would raise up for the work a man after His own heart. Several persons to whom the call was extended have declined it, from which circumstance I have concluded that these persons were not called of God to the work, and so I can do nothing more than watch the movements of the Lord and strive to follow them in all sincerity. At the very first, however, not only was I myself strongly drawn towards Mr. Brunnholtz, but many other excellent friends favored his appointment to this work. Accordingly, I have undertaken to follow up these indications, and so I respectfully request your Excellency to consider whether you can discern any Divine intimations in these circumstances, and then to decide, in view of the great good that may be done in advancing the Divine glory and the salvation of many souls, whether you would be willing to release Mr. Brunnholtz from his present official obligations in case he should actually accept the call that is offered to him? In this event I humbly request your Excellency to give these reports of Pastor Muhlenberg’s to Mr. Brunnholtz for his own perusal, and to ascertain from him himself whether he is willing to go to the aid of our brother in Pennsylvania and help him to draw in the net? If he is willing to do so, then I am ready as soon as I can find another man who may be acceptable to your Excellency, to serve you by filling the position thus vacated by Mr. Brunnholtz.”

II.

Hartmann von Gensau, Jr., answers February 3d, 1744: “Yesterday I took the subject into consideration, and found it far too important to

allow myself to attempt to hinder it in any way. I have therefore submitted the proposition to Mr. Brunnholtz, also given him your letter, and placed the Reports from Pennsylvania in his hands. I can truthfully assure your Reverence that although I am sincerely attached to Mr. Brunnholtz, and although his presence here is very necessary, specially in our schools, nevertheless I shall have pleasure even in releasing him from his duties here if the Lord should incline his heart to accept this new call from Pennsylvania. At present, however, I can say nothing positive, for the subject itself is so important as to demand the most serious consideration. Mr. Brunnholtz himself will most probably write to your Reverence in a few days and inform you as to his own conclusion. Just now I may express the opinion that although Mr. Brunnholtz has generally the appearance of a healthy man, nevertheless he is of delicate constitution; however, the Lord can make him strong and vigorous. I enclose ten dollars towards the building of the new Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. I embrace the opportunity to contribute a mite. May the Lord not only prosper the outward building, but especially advance and promote the spiritual building of His Grace in the hearts of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania."

III.

Pastor Brunnholtz to Pastor Niemeyer in Halle, February 29th, 1744:

"Having just now heard that Mr. Schütze proposes to send a messenger to Halle, I pen a few lines in haste to be carried by him. If you still live in communion with the Lord Jesus, it is to me an occasion of heartfelt joy; you may, perhaps, have thought that I have taken a long time to come to a conclusion in regard to the matters laid before me, but I could not do otherwise, for on the one hand I have had many a hard struggle in my own mind, and on the other, letters that I had been expecting from my friends at home have been delayed. Indeed, I have not even, as yet, had an answer from my father and brothers. But as the Lord has helped me into a peaceful state of mind and enabled me, by His Grace, to ponder the matter, not in view of my own strength, but in view of His abounding Might, and as I received letters yesterday from two dear friends in my native home, viz., Pastor Ulitsch and Pastor Kall, to whose impartial judgment I had submitted the decision of the whole question, in which letters they declared with one consent that they recognized the work as the work of God, etc., therefore my whole heart strongly leans towards undertaking the journey to America. Letters from my own family, even if they should urge a contrary course, cannot now influence me in the least, particularly because I know beforehand what kind of arguments they would urge.

"Accordingly, I beg your Reverence to present my most humble

respects to the beloved father Dr. Francke, and to inform him of my fixed conclusion to accept the call in the name of Almighty God the Holy Trinity, and especially in reliance upon His strength. If the Lord sustains my health I expect to go to Halle next Sunday in order that, through your Reverence, Dr. Francke may be duly informed of the arrangement of my affairs and of the appointments connected with my journey. Many circumstances make it necessary that I should spend four or five weeks in my native land. I hope that this will be granted, in which case my journey to Hamburg may be undertaken beforehand. My trust is that you have already, all of you, remembered me in your prayers; now, however, the prayers of my brethren and fathers ought to be so much more importunate. God bless your whole house!

“I remain ever your Reverence’s most humble servant,

PETER BRUNNHOLTZ.”

Another letter addressed to the Inspector of the Orphan House, dated Feb. 19th, 1744, exhibits, in impressive beauty, the thoughts and purposes of his heart.

IV.

G. A. Francke to his Grace, the reigning Count of Wernigerode, March 18th, 1744.

“As the Lord has already, so abundantly blest the labors of Mr. Muhlenberg, I cherish the hope that He will so favor the new assistant whom we send off, that his work may serve greatly to promote the Divine glory. It is however, necessary, that the preacher should be ordained before his departure. Hitherto, in the case of those persons whom the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel desired to send to East India or to Ebenezer, and whose ordination had to be attended to by us, your Grace has been pleased to have such ordination authorized by the action of your Grace’s regular Consistory. I therefore humbly express the hope, that as there appears to be no doubt about the fitness of the aforesaid candidate Brunnholtz, and as, in accordance with the wishes of the said Pennsylvania congregations, I propose to give him a regular call to serve them in the pastoral office, your Grace may be pleased to accord to him the privileges of ordination through the action of your Grace’s Consistory. As soon as I may be informed that it is your pleasure to grant this request, I shall promptly act so as to secure the attendance of Mr. Brunnholtz for his ordination, and extend to him a regular call to the ministry in the name of the aforesaid Pennsylvania congregations.”

Dr. Francke transmits to the Count a letter of Muhlenberg’s, in company with the above.

The Count replies, March 20th, 1744.

"I thank God that He has enabled you to secure a suitable person for Pennsylvania, and I shall very gladly have the ordination of Mr. Brunnholtz attended to as soon as your Reverence may send him hither."

G. A. Francke states, in a letter to Count Stolberg, April, 2d, 1744, that the business requires prompt action, and that Brunnholtz will be in attendance, immediately after Easter. He then adds: "It would be my sincere desire to be present myself and to render my humble services on this occasion, as I have been happy to do at the ordination of other missionaries." But a continued state of ill-health forbade it.

G. A. Francke to the Superintendent Lau, of Wernigerode—letter conveyed by Brunnholtz: "I doubt not that you will soon discover, in him, the spirit of Christ and a sincere desire to win souls for Christ. In this you will rejoice, and unite with me in the conviction, that there is good ground to hope, already, that God will bless his entering in among his future congregations. He feels, indeed, somewhat embarrassed in view of his examination, for the reason that he has not had much practice in speaking the Latin language; but he is well grounded in theology, and will not be deficient in the branches that belong to a scientific training. My dear brother, be so good as to bear these things somewhat in mind, during the progress of the examination.

May the Lord grant Mr. Brunnholtz an abundant portion of His spirit and grace; and not only bless his ordination, but also use his services largely for the advancement of the interests of His Kingdom in America."

V.

After several letters of recommendation addressed to Mr. Esaias Culemann, merchant; Secretary Waiz, in Hamburg; and specially to Madame von Muenchhausen, in Hannover, the lady who, (Hall. Nachr. p. 24) had transmitted 547 dollars to England. "In my former letter I have respectfully reported to your Excellency, that the Lord has provided an assistant for Muhlenberg, and that it is Mr. Brunnholtz's earnest desire to wait upon your Excellency. Now, as you have been pleased to take such a deep interest in this work, I have been quite willing to encourage him to make the short journey to Wernigerode in the expectation that he would derive special refreshment and encouragement from your Excellency."

Here follows the call to Pennsylvania, given to Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, Cand. Theol., of Holstein. We furnish it as the model for all subsequent calls—as also the ordination vow made at Wernigerode.

"In the name of the Holy Trinity."

"Whereas, the anxious desires of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, and specially in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, so long expressed, have, at last, through the mercy of

God, been gratified by the calling of the reverend and learned Henry Melchior Muhlenberg as their Evangelical pastor, and by his regular entering upon his work; and, whereas, the said Pastor Muhlenberg, from the beginning until the present time, has been over-burdened by the too oppressive labors of his ever widening sphere of action, and therefore stands in the greatest need of an assistant; and the more so, because another congregation, to-wit, the one in Germantown, has been added to those named above; and whereas, I the undersigned have, with the full approbation and at the urgent solicitation of the elders and deacons of the said congregations, been requested and empowered to seek out a candidate of theology to become a co-laborer and helper in this work, and, in the name of the said elders and deacons, to extend to him a regular call to the office of pastor in the said Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, Providence and Germantown.

Therefore, humbly following as God has led me, I have selected Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, a native of Holstein in Denmark, whose fine experience and success both as preacher and catechist are well known, and by the authority of the said elders and deacons, I have given him a regular call, in the name of God, to the office of teacher and preacher in the said congregations; and the said Mr. Brunnholtz will repair to Pennsylvania and to the said congregations as expeditiously as possible, there to teach the Word of God in public and in private, pure and incorrupt, according to the rule and guidance of the Holy Scriptures, and also of the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; to administer the Holy Sacraments, to wit, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as they were instituted by Christ; to preach forgiveness to the penitent in the name and according to the command of Jesus Christ; to publish to the impenitent, who continue in their security and persist in their ungodliness, the righteous wrath and judgment of Almighty God; to instruct the old and the young in the Catechism; and faithfully, freely and without holding back, to do everything that properly belongs to the office of an Evangelical teacher, and to the faithful administration of the same. And the said Peter Brunnholtz has accepted this call, in the name of God, and solemnly bound himself to obey it.

In testimony of this his regular call to the office of a minister of the Gospel in the aforesaid congregations, and by virtue of the authority given to me, I place this present written vocation in his hands, signed with my own name, and with my own seal attached; and I give it to him also in order that it may aid in securing for him a regular ordination to the pastoral office at the hands of the illustrious Stolberg Consistory at Wernigerode.

Now, a pastor having thus been regularly called by the authority of the aforesaid congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, if God should grant him a prosperous entering in among them,

it will remain for them to give him a hearty welcome and to cherish him in love as a servant of God and of Jesus Christ; and I have such confidence in them, that I can assure Mr. Brunnholtz that these congregations, both out of a sense of duty and obligation, and also out of gratitude to God and man, will specify and provide for him such a salary as may be necessary for his support, as they have done for Pastor Muhlenberg, and that they will do their part with a ready mind. As to the rest; the question, in which one of the several congregations Mr. Brunnholtz shall be appointed to labor, is referred to the decision of Pastor Muhlenberg and of the elders and deacons of the congregations themselves.

May God who is plenteous in mercy and grace, and who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of His truth in Christ Jesus, richly endow this His servant with His light and with the grace of His Holy Spirit, take him under His protection and grant him a safe and prosperous voyage to his appointed field of labor in the Lord, blessing his work therein with abundant fruit, so that all who hear him may be brought to a lively knowledge of God and faith in Jesus Christ, and be firmly established in the same; in short, that he, with his hearers, may obtain grace, salvation, life, and finally the everlasting inheritance. Amen.

(G. A. FRANCKE.)

Given at Halle, April 4th, 1744.

In the draught of this letter the signature is wanting.

The original call given to Muhlenberg, it seems, has not been preserved. The account of the first transactions had with him also fails; which, however, are described, at length, in his autobiography. For this reason, the regular call given to Pastor Brunnholtz is of considerable importance in an edition of the Halle Reports.

Then follow "Instructions for Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, called to the office of pastor in Pennsylvania." These "Instructions" include ten items, of which the seven first relate to his journey; the rest are as follows: 8) Should God grant him a prosperous voyage to Philadelphia, upon his arrival there, he will, first of all, exhibit to Pastor Muhlenberg and the elders of the congregations his written call and other testimonials that have been given to him; then, in the presence of God, he will confer with them as to the precise place in which he will locate, and as to the best arrangements that can be made for his work; and further, the field of labor for the two catechists, whether in Philadelphia or in New Hanover or in Providence, will be determined. 9) In respect to the discharge of his official duties he will be careful to confer fully, with Pastor Muhlenberg, about whatever may require attention, and undertake nothing without having first had such conference. He will earnestly endeavor to co-operate with Pastor Muhlenberg in the bonds of peace and in the love of God; and in order that Christian

harmony may be maintained the more firmly, he will accord to the said Muhlenberg the love and honor due to the elder brother. 10) Upon his voyage he will keep a short journal, and transmit the same to us at an early day; and, in future, he will report from time to time the progress and results of his official work, in order that the friends and patrons of these congregations may be well informed as to the condition of the Kingdom of God in America.

VI.

Mr. Brunnholtz to G. A. Francke, Wernigerode, April 12th. "My filial love and duty require me to report, that I arrived at Wernigerode in good condition, at 11 o'clock on Thursday; that I was, at once, warmly welcomed, and am now lodged at the castle. On Friday, April 10th, between the hours of 10 and 12, and in the presence of the entire reigning family and of the Count of Schwartzau, I was examined by the Superintendent Lau, and the Counselor of the Consistory, Ziegler. Thereupon I was put under solemn oath to contend for the true faith. To-day, in the public assembly of the Church, and with much prayer and supplication, on the part of believers, I was solemnly ordained and consecrated. Superintendent Lau preached the sermon and performed the act of ordination. Pastor Walliser, Court Deacon Hildebrand and Pastor Hermes assisted; and, this afternoon I preached in the castle. No doubt his Grace has already written to your Reverence about procuring for me a royal pass through Denmark. My examination and ordination papers cost me two dollars. Beyond this I had no expense."

VII.

Count Stolberg to G. A. Francke, April 12th, 1744.

"Mr. Brunnholtz sustained a creditable examination on Friday last; and this morning he was admitted to holy orders. Thank God, that He has inclined the heart of this, His faithful servant to undertake the voyage to West India. May special blessings rest upon it * * *. Yesterday I wrote to Denmark, requesting a passport for him as being a Danish subject; also requesting that the same document might secure protection for his companions Schaum and Kurtz, and for their baggage, so that they might be shielded somewhat against the fierce flames of the war now raging,"

VIII.

Superintendent Lau to G. A. Francke, Wernigerode, April 12th, 1744. "Mr. Brunnholtz has, no doubt, already informed your Reverence, among other things, that he was ordained to-day, the second Sun-

day after Easter, in the Court Chapel. In his examination he showed that he had made fine attainments in theological science, and that he had studied the Word of God with diligence. This afternoon he preached at the castle and acquitted himself very well. Even independently of these things, we have been well acquainted with the sincerity of his heart for two years already. We have, all of us, offered thanks to God for having directed your attention and your confidence to this man; and we are all of opinion that he will suit admirably as a co-worker with Muhlenberg, and that blessed results will follow. May the faithful Saviour raise up many more such laborers, and extend His Kingdom gloriously in all lands."

SAMUEL LAU.

IX.

FORMULA JURAMENTI.

I, Peter Brunnholtz, do, with my whole heart, and with the words of my voice, make oath before the Omniscient God.

Rev. August Gotthilf (the order of these names was erroneously inverted at Wernigerode) Francke, Prof. Ordinarius, at Halle, being fully authorized thereto, by the deacons and elders of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, and specially in Philadelphia, New Hanover, Providence and Germantown, has given me a regular call to the office of pastor and preacher in said congregations, binding me to be faithful to the Word of God, pure and incorrupt, even as the same is contained, according to the mind of the Spirit in the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles, and also as it is concisely repeated and distinctly set forth in the three chief symbols, and also, specifically, in the symbolical books of the true Lutheran church, to-wit: the unaltered Augsburg Confession, its Apology, the Schmalcald Articles, the two Catechisms of Luther, and the special Formula of Concord, all drawn with great diligence out of the Holy Scriptures, and prepared in direct opposition to all false teachings, and that I shall not only, for myself, by the help of God, abide steadfast in the same until I die, but also labor with the utmost diligence to build up the congregations which God may commit to my care, according to this rule, in the pure, true faith, and in Christian love, opposing with all my might, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, whatever may hinder this faith and love, and whatever errors might work harm to souls, also conducting myself in doctrine and in practice towards God, towards the authorities above me, and towards my neighbors as it becomes a servant of Christ to do, and as I expect to answer before God's judgment seat at last; to all this may God help me and His Holy Word.

X.

In a letter from Hamburg, dated April 21st, 1744, Brunnholtz states that he is sojourning in the house of a merchant, Waschmann, "with whom I had become acquainted when passing through this city four years ago." From this we may infer that he was engaged for that length of time at Halle, and in the office of Catechist, as founded by von Gensau, in Farrenstædt. In Hannover he extols the great kindness of Madame von Muenchhausen and of Mr. Bœttcher, a merchant, who showed him a letter of Muhlenberg's and gave him a present of 17 ells of black Göttingen camlet, "to make a coat for Pastor Muhlenberg, and also one for myself. My coat is to be made in Hamburg, and the rest of the cloth is to be cut into pieces of suitable length, so that the excise officers may not seize it."

Amongst others to whom Brunnholtz sends his compliments, in his letters, we find Sebastian Andrew Fabricius, youngest brother of the well-known Tamul missionary, John Philip Fabricius, a theologian by birth, private secretary of Francke after about 1740, then, for many years, inspector of the Canstein Bible Institute, who directed all the external arrangements connected with the regular sending off of missionaries and of pastors to America. He prepared the draughts of nearly all the letters that were sent to the preachers and missionaries, certain additions and alterations having been introduced by G. A. Francke. To Fabricius above all others our thanks are due for his careful collection of the records. Director Schulze* paid him the following tribute in 1790: "The inspector, Sebastian Andrew Fabricius, who has been so distinguished for his many services to all the interests of Christian missions, for more than 30 years, entered into rest, on Jan. 10th, aged 74. It would be ingratitude in us, to withhold from him the praise of untiring zeal in these matters that so intimately concern the glory of God. In them, indeed, he always found sources of pure delight; and all, even our oldest missionaries who yet survive, will bear him testimony, that both before and after their departure to their several fields, he always treated them as a father and a friend. For him many grateful tears will yet be felt to flow."

He kept the pecuniary accounts for missions in India and in America; afterwards he prepared the several Reports for publication, and subsequent to the death of G. A. Francke in 1769, had great influence in the general management of the missions. The unfortunate pragmatic style, as it may be called, of the First Brief Report and its continuations with their extracts from the letters, etc., is in marked contrast with the manner subsequently adopted of giving the fullest

* See Dr. W. German's Biography of John Ph. Fabricius, p. 69. This book and the biography of Christian Fr. Schwartz, by the same author, give us much information about the condition of affairs in Halle, London and Wernigerode; and specially, about the confessional relations of the men of Halle to the Church of England.

possible account of the matters discussed in the Reports that had been furnished. This improvement was effected by Seb. Andr. Fabricius, to whom so much honor is due for his services to the Church in America. It is not known who was the editor of the earlier reports.

A P. S. to Brunnholtz's letter from Hamburg gives the following plan of his journey in Holstein: "Upon my tour in Holstein I go from this city to Pretz, and spending one day there I go direct to Kiel, Eckernförde, to Schleswig, thence by coach to Fredrichstadt, which is four miles off. Here I remain several days, during which time I visit Mr. Ulitsch at Toeningen. From Fredrichstadt I go to Bredstadt in Husum where I expect to stay about two days. Thence I go to Flensburg to visit my brother and then my father who lives about four miles from Flensburg, and from Flensburg I go direct back to Hamburg. '*Homo proponit Deus disponit.*'"

XI.

Extract of letter dated Flensburg, May 13th, 1744: "On May 6th, I left Flensburg to visit my father. On May 10th, I preached in my native place (Nuebuell, not far from the parish of DUEPPEL, 'where my youngest brother, who is of gentle disposition and whose heart is longing for the grace of God, has become clerk and schoolmaster,' Journal). The theme of my sermon was the utterly perverse treatment which the world accords to the testimony of Christ. Many people came from all directions to hear me, some out of curiosity, and some because they were inquiring for the way of salvation. On May 11th, I left the house of my father, who was much affected when he bade me farewell. My father showed deep signs of grief, and in this I too had to share with him, but I tried to comfort myself and committed them all to God. O, Lord God remember my beloved relations and save them! In the evening I arrived safely at the house of my oldest brother at Clues near Flensburg." At Nuebuell he adds: "My only sister is also seeking the salvation of her soul, thank God!" At Flensburg he was entertained in the home of a wealthy merchant, Abr. Hall, "who had showed me much kindness at the university."

XII.

His journal or diary of his journey which he began to write on March 13th, and from which an extract has been given in the parenthesis () above, is quite full and interesting. The first thing recorded is, that on March 8th, Oculi, he preached a farewell sermon in a public hall at Farrenstadt, addressed to those who had been attending his preaching—text, Acts, 20: 21, 25, 32. "The Vice-Director, von Gensau, contributed one ducat towards the building of the church in Philadelphia, Mr. Wolff von Trebra gave two Louisdors and Madame von

Trebra gave three dollars." On March 13th, an estimable lawyer, Schuetze, accompanied him to Halle, where he preached in Ulrichs-kirche for Struensee, in the Schulkirche at the request of Dr. Francke, and twice in the Church Unsrer Lieben Frauen March 23d, 26th, traveled on foot and bade farewell to his friends in Koethen. March 26th, receives a letter from Schuetze with two Louisdors and the words: "Lord do good unto Zion, and by Thy Grace build up her walls in Philadelphia that the inhabitants thereof may praise the name of the Lord." April 6th, he departs from Halle and travels with Pastor Walliser, of Ilsenburg, to Wernigerode. "April 10th, Friday, at 8.50 A.M., the Consistory convened in the apartment of his Excellency the ruling Count, and examined me upon the article of the Resurrection, its certainty, its characteristics and its fruits; as also upon the article of Justification, its theoretical exhibition and its practical experience. After this, several subjects were given me to read and to reflect upon, and then I was required to certify my devotion to maintain the true faith by a solemn oath, which I did. * * * * In the evening, Mr. Richter, the catechist, not far from Wernigerode, called upon me and gave me his reasons for declining the call to Pennsylvania which had been given him. April 11th, spent the forenoon in writing a sketch of my life in German, so that it might be read publicly in the presence of the whole congregation. April 12th, second Sunday after Easter, whilst the congregation was singing the principal hymn, I had to engage in confession. Then the Rev. Superintendent Lau preached the ordination sermon, depicting the spirit of a good shepherd and of his flock, and so giving me many valuable lessons and encouragements for the discharge of the duties that belong to my future office. After the sermon a hymn was sung, imploring the presence of the Holy Spirit ('Komm heil'ger Geist,') and during the singing of the last verse I advanced before the altar. Then the Rev. Superintendent Lau made a short statement of my circumstances and read the sketch of my life which I had prepared, as also my formal call to Pennsylvania. This being done, the reverend assistants stood by the side of the superintendent, who performed the act of ordination, all of them uniting in the imposition of hands. Upon the conclusion of this, the reverend assistants congratulated and encouraged me, each of them addressing me in appropriate terms. After the solemn act was completed, I received the Supper of the Lord alone, and the whole service was closed with the singing of a verse ('Was ich gethan hab und gelehrt, etc.),' which made a deep impression upon me.

Whilst we were partaking of dinner afterwards, every one who sat at the table, gave me, for my encouragement, and as a memorial, a passage of Scripture, or a verse of a hymn, all written upon the same sheet of paper, and with their several hands. April 25th, dined with Rev. Mag. Buetzer, pastor in Kiel, whom I had previously known. His wife remembered that the preacher Schultze from Pennsylvania,

had collected money in Kiel, and that she had spoken with him." April 27th, Friedrichstadt: "I was entertained by the Rev. Chief Pastor Kall, an excellent man, and a good old friend of mine. April 30th, preached for Pastor Kall, and then, in the afternoon, rode out a couple of miles towards Toenning, to see the Rev. Pastor Ulitsch. He is an earnest man, with the savor of genuine salt, and bright as a burning light in the dark region of Eiderstaedt, where he lives. He took me through his orphan-house, which has been, quite lately, built and is well arranged. In this institution, Mr. Thomson and Mr. Dahl are regular teachers.*

May 2d, drove to Bredstadt in the afternoon, reaching the village late in the evening. In this place I spent six years; here the Lord laid His hand upon my soul, and here I endured much." May 20th, again in Hamburg; "I got my royal pass for Denmark (signed by the hand of the King himself, and the same favor for the two catechists, accorded by the King in answer to Count Stolberg's direct petition) also, letters from Halle. Among others was a letter from Mr. Oswald, in Greiz, requesting me to become his assistant. He can hardly have heard about the change in my plans. May 25th, to-day I enjoyed the prospect of greeting the catechists who arrived, in good condition, about 3 o'clock P. M., having travelled, at moderate expense, by ordinary stage.

June 1st, the Rev. Pastor Hoeck took me in his carriage out to his own house, and here I became acquainted with the Rev. Missionary Schultze from Madras, who arrived only a few days ago, and is entertained at the house of Mr. Culemann, to whom I also had letters of introduction. The Missionary gave us much information about India." (They met each other repeatedly afterwards.) June 17th, they went to Glueckstadt; and the convoy from England having been long delayed, on the 18th finally went on board of a large English ship under the command of Capt. Henry Hileke, of Hamburg. "I find it a great comfort to have my own bed; and one of my companions in travel shares it with me." After a stormy passage they arrived in London, only, on July 20th.

* In a large bundle of papers, a letter has been found, addressed by Thomson of Toenningen to Deacon Niemeyer in Halle, dated Sept. 3d, 1747. These papers contain also the accounts of receipts and expenditures for the Pennsylvania congregations, together with contributions for the years 1746 to 1768. In the said letter, Thomson says: "Your Reverence may, perhaps, remember that about a year ago I was constrained to decline the call which my dear friend the Rev. Dr. Francke had given me, though so unworthy of it. Now, as it has not been in my power to serve those precious souls in Pennsylvania by my personal ministry amongst them, the Lord has awakened in me a special interest in the work of collecting money for them, from benevolent friends in the fatherland; and this work I propose to prosecute as long as it may please God to keep me here."

XIII.

The call (vocation) addressed to the Catechist John Helfrich Schaum, and, *mutatis mutandis*, John Nicholas Kurtz, to go to Pennsylvania, is as follows:

“In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity. Amen.

“Whereas the Reverend and Learned Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, regular pastor of the Christian Evangelical congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, Providence and Germantown, has made known to us, in writing, the absolute necessity for the appointment of catechists in said congregations, for the relief of himself and of his assistant under the multiplied official duties that press upon them, and with the full approbation of the elders and deacons of the said congregations and at their special solicitation, has requested and empowered me, the undersigned, to select a candidate of theology for said position, and to give him a regular call, in the name of the said elders and deacons, to the office of catechist in these congregations;

“And, whereas, being convinced, that in this matter, I have been led by the Divine guidance, I have selected Mr. John Helfrich Schaum of Muenchholzhausen in Huttenberg, under the dominion of Count Solms-Braunfels (Mr. John Nicholas Kurtz of Luetzellinden, in Huttenberg, under the dominion of Prince Weylburg) a candidate for the holy ministry, who is commended by the valuable experience he has attained in the instruction of the young and specially in catechising, which is the most essential requisite for such instruction; and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the aforesaid elders and deacons, have given him a regular call, in the name of God, to the office of catechist and schoolmaster in said congregations, so that he may hasten his departure to Pennsylvania and repair to said congregations, and there by the grace of God, teach the youth that may be committed to his care reading, writing, arithmetic and other branches usually taught in schools; but specially, teach the doctrines of the Christian faith according to the rule and guidance of the Holy Scriptures, and as it is set forth in Luther's Catechism, doing this under the superintendence of Pastor Muhlenberg and of his assistant Mr. Peter Brunnholtz; also, that at the request of the said revered pastors, he may, on occasion, preach and catechise in the several congregations, in their stead, and, in short, faithfully, diligently and promptly do and perform whatever belongs to the office of a catechist and schoolmaster, and to the healthful administration of the same; the said John Helfrich Schaum (John Nic. Kurtz) accepting this call in the name of God, and obligating himself to abide by its specifications;

“Therefore, in testimony, that he is regularly called to be a Catechist in the said congregations, and by virtue of the authority vested in me, I do hereby place in his hands the present formal vocation, signed by my own hand and having my own seal impressed upon it, giving him

also the assurance that if it should please God to grant him a prosperous voyage, the congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, Providence and Germantown will welcome and acknowledge the same Mr. Schaum (Mr. Kurtz) with all affection and confidence as their catechist and schoolmaster; and, further, assuring him of my firm trust, that they will fix and secure whatever compensation may be necessary for his comfortable support.

“The Lord, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, grant him all strength by the power of the Holy Ghost, that he may do his part in building up Zion, that the youth committed to his care may be brought to know the true God and Jesus Christ; and then grow and increase in that knowledge until, at last, they shall be partakers of His everlasting glory. Amen.”

Given at Halle, May 21st, 1744.

XIV.

A series of “Instructions” for both catechists, embracing six items, admonishes them to be obedient to the pastors and faithful to the congregations at whose charge they are sent out; to be on their guard in respect to “*inconsulta res uxoria*,” and not to involve themselves in such affairs without the knowledge and advice of those who are set over them; also to acquire, whilst upon their journey, the art of writing in a clear and legible hand, “this being a requisition in which they are, as yet, deficient.”

The circumstance that although the catechists had studied theology, they were nevertheless sent off without having been ordained, is to be explained thus: At that time, at least in North Germany, as is generally the case even at the present day, the rule was strictly observed that no one should be ordained without having a definite charge assigned to him.* It was on this account that prior to the departure of Muhlenberg from Germany, Ziegenhagen and Francke had so constantly insisted upon a regular call and a specified salary in his case. This indispensable requirement of Church order however could not be met under the unsettled circumstances that prevailed in America. That two catechists were sent off instead of one, may be understood in view of the fact that they had been very intimate friends from youth up, and that each of them preferred to go in company with the other rather than to go alone. The close friendship that bound their two families together is indicated in a letter, in the writing of which the father of Schaum and the father of Kurtz united, and which is dated Muenchholzhausen, July 11th, 1744.

The letter is in the handwriting of the father of Schaum who, at the end, signs himself “your Reverence’s humble servant, and unworthy

* See note on section 29 of Muhlenberg’s private correspondence.

disciple of Christ, Preceptor Schaum;" then also, "John George Kurtz, school-teacher at Luetzellinden" signs himself with his own hand. The letter states as follows:

"At first the thought of the departure of our sons to Pennsylvania made us very sad and uncomfortable, particularly because we were then taking counsel with flesh and blood, and with people who thought more of what is earthly than of what is heavenly and eternal. This was because at first we could not at all give them up, nor submit to the appointments of our faithful Father in heaven. So, if matters had gone according to our indiscreet views, then this blessed work that is undertaken for the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus might, in this respect, have been seriously impeded by us; the Lord in heaven forgive us! As soon, however, as we had taken counsel of faithful followers of Christ we could not otherwise than say: 'The will of the Lord be done.' I, for my part, together with my whole family, had cherished fond hopes respecting my son who is now well nigh through his education, and his expenses at our favored Halle. Besides I had trusted that he himself might be helpful to his poor little brother who is also at Halle at this time, but whom he must now leave. However, the Lord has work for him to do elsewhere in His vineyard, so we must permit him to obey the call and not withstand the Lord, firmly believing that He will bless us the more abundantly and establish us in the experience of His grace. The Lord thus teaches us only the more clearly that we should not depend upon the things of this world, but rely upon Himself alone. It is His will that we should put our trust and our confidence in Him only, and if we do this, He will provide for us everything that is necessary and useful for the present life, and specially enrich us in the abundance of His spiritual favors. And now, may the Lord work His good pleasure in us through the Holy Spirit for the sake of Jesus, our Saviour. Amen!

We may yet add, that we parents, i. e., my dear colleague Kurtz, and myself, have received letters from our sons whom we have given to the Lord, from Hamburg or Cuxhaven, dated June 29th. The letters arrived July 10th, and opened the fountains of tears afresh, specially, with the two mothers, who continue their lamentations, saying, Tobit, 10: 4, 5, but we both answer them, at once, Tobit, 10: 6; and as we find in their letters, that God is their Shield; and, as their Guide, leads them, and in all places awakens believing hearts to treat them with Christian sympathy and love, we can but be satisfied. O Lord, God, Thou true Defence, Thou doest all things well.

As our sons, both of them, desire to hear from us by letter, we, the parents, wish to gratify them; and as they have instructed us to direct our letters to the care of your Reverence, we take the liberty, as your children in the Lord, to request our dearly beloved and Rev. Professor, to have our letters forwarded by the hands of some reliable person, who will not think the service to be burdensome. The Lord will not fail to reward it.

My Rev. Professor, to whom my heart fondly clings, I entreat you, next to God, be favorable to my little son (William Kurtz, who also came to America afterwards,) I hope that the dear child will be docile and obedient.

In conclusion, I beg your prayers on my behalf, and remain your Reverence's, etc.*"

XV.

We give here only a few items taken from the very comprehensive journal written by Brunnholtz whilst upon his travels.

"Monday, Oct. 8th, 1744—wrote to Dr. Ziegenhagen informing him that we expected to land at Portsmouth, and respectfully requesting him to greet us there, in a paternal letter. At the meeting for prayer, I spoke upon Psalm 4; at the evening meeting, I took Exodus, 5th chapter, and discoursed about faith. At this meeting I began to repeat, for the benefit of the Swiss, that hymn which the Rev. Court Chaplain has composed for the instruction of the young in Pennsylvania, and which contains the chief parts of the Order of Salvation." (Of this hymn we know nothing. Several German Reformed families, with their children, from Switzerland, accompanied him on his journey to Pennsylvania; as also, a Reformed preacher, Gordon, from Scotland,

* We can produce other testimony upon matters contained in this letter. Among the papers, etc. left behind by Pastor J. Helfr. Schaum, there is, in possession of Prof. Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, Pa. Univ., a collection of letters written by divers hands, which furnish answers to many questions that we have hitherto never been able to solve. In this collection is the following letter written by Pastor J. Ohly, of Cubach, who labored in sympathy with Halle, and who was quite intimate with the families of Schaum and Kurtz. It is addressed to Sebast. A. Fabricius, Inspector at Halle, to whose high praise must be ascribed the preparation of our Halle Reports. We now present the part of this letter that concerns the subject before us: "Mr. Schaum and Mr. Kurtz were not willing to listen to one word about their sons' going off to America, they had even pronounced an imprecation upon it; besides, the younger Schaum was called back from Halle at once. These and other matters are handled in the letters which their fathers had written to Eisenach. These letters were written in the first flames of their indignation, for which also the reverend clergy supplied fuel, insinuating that the call given them was no regular vocation, but only a mere attempt to talk them into it; and that Halle was full of Pietists and Quakers, and people ought to take their children away from Halle."

"After I had received a letter from Schaum himself (the son) and one from my dear brother, (Fabricius) I did not know what was better to do than to write, at once, to Muenchholzhausen and to Luetzellinden, that I might ascertain everything, which I did on the 5th inst. But I obtained poor satisfaction; and although, old Mr. Kurtz, moved by the statements of his son, addressed to him from Allendorf, and also, of my grandfather, had written another letter to Eisenach recalling his former letter; yet he very soon changed his mind again, and even had this letter taken out of the postoffice. *Hactenus tristiora, lætiora sequuntur.*"

The letter then goes on: "Just now, April 6th, the worthy elder, Messrs. Kurtz

who had been called to Virginia, and from whom Brunnholtz received instruction in the English language.) "I also sang this hymn, and shall have to repeat it, in their hearing, until they themselves shall have learnt it; and then I shall go over it with them in the form of questions and answers. The Christian education of the children of the Germans has been very much neglected; and, as I foresee that they will be bound to hard work in Pennsylvania, I have urged the catechists to give them instruction whenever the weather will admit of it."

In England, Brunnholtz became acquainted with a German Reformed preacher, named Zubly, who, however, sailed in another ship, and went to "Purrisburg" near Ebenezer. Upon their voyage they had to witness much that was dissolute and abominable in the conduct of the captain and the sailors.

ARRIVAL IN PENNSYLVANIA.

"Jan. 15th, 1745.—'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, then was our mouth filled with laughter and our tongue with singing.' Now, they will say, in Europe, the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. This morning the weather cleared up, and all at once a strong wind arose that drove us rapidly onward, so that about noon we cast anchor near Gloucester, four miles from Philadelphia. We changed our clothing and left the ship, in company

and Schaum, have left me, and after very deliberate consideration, have embraced sentiments altogether different, that is, they will commit everything to the will of God, and to the free disposal of the authorities there (at Halle). If your Reverence, Prof. Dr. Francke, will declare that this matter concerns the glory of God, the welfare of man and the temporal and eternal interests of the young, and further, that their sons have the requisite qualifications, and that their appointment is in submission to the will of God, then they, the parents, will not say one word against it, and will, without delay, recall whatever rash and inconsiderate language they have hitherto said or written, and declare it all to be void. It is not possible for them to defray the expenses of the journey of their sons. The worthy men left here in quite a pleasant frame of mind."

Dated, Cubach, (near Weilburg, Province of Hesse-Nassau, Prussia), April 6th, 1744.

Your sincere brother,

[Signed.]

J. OHLY.

Under date of July 11th, 1744, John Ph. H. Schaum, the father, in answer to a letter from his son at Cuxhaven says, among other things: "Both I myself, and specially your dear mother, and all your brothers and sisters who were all present, shed many tears at the reading of your letter. Your grandmother too, and your brother-in-law were present, and their sighs and tears were mingled with our own. Your mother wept too much; and many a time when she is alone; and I have often to try to comfort her. Then she says, if she could only hear some good news from you, that you were in a pleasant place and were comfortable and well, then she would be satisfied. Now, the Lord who has directed us so far will do all things well. My colleague, Kurtz and I, are on very intimate terms, we are united in the love of God, and our intercourse with each other is frequent and pleasant. The beloved Pastor Ohly spent a night with us not long ago."

W. J. M. AND B. M. SCH.

with Capt. Martin, Capt. Mesnard and several others. We had to travel on foot, over a miserable swampy road. As we went along, we wondered where we should first report ourselves in Philadelphia, when, all at once, a man came running up behind us, out of the woods, and, in a very anxious way, asked the captain, if any Evangelical clergymen had come along with him; whereupon I answered him in a cheerful tone: **HERE WE ARE.**

He informed us that prayer had been offered, on our behalf, in the congregations, every Sunday; that Pastor Muhlenberg was, just now, among the congregations in the country; but, that we should first of all, call upon Mr. Henry Schleydorn, merchant, a member of the Lutheran congregation, and he would give us further information.

We reached Philadelphia about 3 o'clock P. M., all in good condition, called upon Mr. Schleydorn, were joyfully welcomed, and with unusual kindness, by himself and his excellent family, and sumptuously entertained; so that, after the hard fare we had been used to, it was wonderful in our eyes. We tarried there, until late at night, he having sent for two of the deacons of the Lutheran church, who came, at once, and welcomed us heartily. I promised to place in their hands the letters which had been addressed to them by his Reverence, the Court Chaplain, as soon as Mr. Muhlenberg should be present. They afterwards accompanied us to the rented house of Mr. Muhlenberg, which is near the church. Here I united with them in prayer, and then retired to rest.

* Jan. 16th. In the morning we committed ourselves to the Lord. Our ship having reached the city during the night, the eldest deacon went with us to the vessel to arrange our effects for the purpose of removing them. Afterwards we went, with this deacon, to his own house; and then dined at Mr. Schleydorn's. Here I wrote a letter to my superiors in London and Halle, briefly reporting my safe arrival. Mr. Schleydorn sent this letter to New York by mail. The deacons sent an express to Mr. Muhlenberg, in Providence. In the evening Mr. Schleydorn took us to see Mr. Peter Koch, the trustee, and a member of the Swedish congregation here, who received us in a very friendly manner, made divers inquiries about our call and our credentials, and entertained us at supper.

Jan. 17th. To-day all the deacons were busy in transferring our effects from the ship to the house of Mr. Muhlenberg. We dined with the oldest deacon, and in the afternoon visited the others. Four of them are employed in the building of the church. They are, 1) David Seckel, a butcher; 2) Henry Keppler, a shopkeeper; 3) Leonard Hermann, a baker; 4) Henry Mueller, lives on a farm, one mile and a half from the city; 5) Lorenz Bast, lives on a farm, five miles distant; 6) Umstadt, quite an old man. Wherever I go, it is a very joy to me to hear how faithfully and heartily they have been praying for our safe arrival, ever since Mr. Muhlenberg, having been duly notified

of our appointment, had exhorted them from the pulpit to remember us in their supplications. On board the ship, I had often said to my brethren, perhaps there are many in Pennsylvania praying for us. In Europe they are pushing our vessel off; in America they are pulling it near; and this proved to be true, for we have been pushed and pulled across very successfully.

In the evening Pastor Muhlenberg arrived from Providence, whilst we were in the house of one of the deacons. The deacons all accompanied us to his residence. We met, face to face. We sang a hymn of praise, 'Lobe den Herrn, O meine Seele,' we united in prayer; then I placed all my letters in his hands; and the joy was great. "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

After this, there are eight folio pages, all closely written, where also we find as follows:

"Having closed the Diary of my journey on Jan. 17th, I append here a short account of my own pastoral experience, as also, of that of my honored colleague, in compliance with the 10th paragraph of the Instructions given me April 6th, 1744." This account extends to July 11th, 1745, and is signed also by Muhlenberg himself.

XVI.

From the letter of Muhlenberg, March 6th, 1745, occupying five closely written folio pages, we extract the following:

"Reverend Fathers in London and Halle! I know not whether to laugh or to cry at the arrival of our three assistants. O, how I have had to struggle against doubt, against despondency, against other evils. *'Wenn die Stunden sich gefunden, bricht die Huelf mit Macht herein.'* No doubt, I have been giving trouble and anxiety enough to my beloved fathers in London and Halle, and to my dear brethren in Ebenezer, by my frequent lamentations, for which I pray them kindly to forgive me. We cannot estimate, at their true value the great labors and the unwearied carefulness of our most beloved fathers and benefactors; nor throughout eternity, shall we be able to render adequate praise to our Lord Jesus for having done such great, such very great things for us, out of mercy alone. I have received, by way of Charleston, the first package of letters which the reverend fathers forwarded by the hands of Pastor Driessler (of Frederica in Carolina—full notice of him). During the following autumn, in 1744, after long expectation, I received letters a second time. Among them was the first letter addressed to me by his Reverence, the Court Chaplain, which conveyed the joyful news that assistants were to be sent over to us. This sounded to me as it must have sounded to Jacob when he was told "thy son Joseph yet lives!" His heart thought far otherwise and so did mine; but now I have seen that the Lord can do, and does more than we can

understand. It is not my work; it is the Lord's working, therefore rejoice, O, ye Heavens, and be glad, O Earth!

Pastor Brunnholtz still appears to have been specially called of God, and fitted for his position. The two catechists continue until this day, to give proof that, by the grace of God they are true and faithful in their work. Before these assistants came I had had many trials; but at the same time some remarkable instances of the Divine help. Among my trials I may state these:

1. The German printer, Christopher Sauer (comp. *Weisinger'sche Acten*) here, sought, both in private and in public, to make both myself and my office odious; and for this reason, because I had, as a matter of conscience, advised my congregation to be very cautious when they went to purchase any of the Bibles which he had lately printed, and carefully to examine whether he had not interpolated some notions of his own; for he is sure to embrace every opportunity elsewhere, in his almanacs and in his newspapers, to traduce the Lutheran church.

2. Another trial arose from the fact that a young Swedish preacher from Lancaster, publicly denounced me as a Halle Pietist, in a conference that had been called here by Mr. Peter Koch.

3. A miserable rabble employed an audacious female to bring a vile charge against me before the authorities. Through the influence of Mr. Peter Koch and others, this creature was arrested and required by the law, to produce proof. She then declared that a certain wicked man had advised her to go before the officers, take a false oath, and charge me with a violent attack upon her. If the devil had succeeded I would have had to resign my office; but God was my defence, and so directed matters that the base wretch acknowledged her wickedness, and was compelled, in writing, to confess her lie and to proclaim my integrity. Before she was let out of prison she had to bind herself to ask forgiveness of my congregations, publicly, in the church; which was also done. So, the attack of the devil resulted at last, by the help of the Lord in magnifying my office; but to me it was a time of much suffering.

After this was over, Preacher Andreae undertook to meddle in the affairs of the congregation at New Hanover. A widow had died there. On Thursday I had just reached my home, having made the long and wearisome journey from New Hanover, when a messenger came in the evening and wanted me to go immediately back that night, for the widow was to be buried on the next day, Friday. As it was impossible for me to do this, I directed that she should be buried on Saturday, at which time I would be present. Certain hard drinkers and men of base character took advantage of this, and engaged Preacher Andreae to attend the funeral. This gave rise to discussion. Some were opposed to opening the church, others were for breaking it open. They having ridden up on Friday through the oppressive heat of the sun and reached Hanover early on Saturday morning, I found that the

woman was buried and the congregation was divided. Nevertheless, I had to come right back again to Philadelphia, because I had engaged to preach there on Sunday. With what sort of weapons could I fight now? The Quaker civil officers say we have no use for preachers in this country; the hard drinkers commonly say, as we have to hire a preacher for money let us have a jolly one, for this Muhlenberg is too strict for us. Serious and earnest souls weep and sigh. ANDREE (a preacher dismissed at Zweibrücken) prowls about in the neighboring parts and denounces me openly as a Pietist and a Herrnhuter. Nothing was left for me save the love which the most of them still bear towards me. Accordingly, I laid hold of the matter on this side, and had the congregation informed that if they would tolerate such disorders I would leave them and never come again. This called forth weeping and lamentation. Some of the disorderly party begged to be forgiven, and the well disposed people promised to be more careful of the interests of the church. So I went back to them again. In Europe you can scarcely form a correct idea of circumstances as they exist here. The voyage across the ocean was very hard upon me, but the trials and burdens which I have had to bear in the two years of my pastoral experience here cannot be conceived. And yet I must chide my own unbelief and say the Lord is faithful, and there is no unrighteousness in Him.

Since my last Report I have been able to attend to my work without interruption, and have been protected against any continued sickness. The Lord has shown His mercies to myself and to others. I have instructed and confirmed a small number of young persons in the congregation at Germantown." (Here follows what may be seen in 1st Continuation, section 8.)

XVII.

(Copy from the Halle Archives.)

G. A. Francke to the congregations in America (written in 1744).

To the deacons and elders of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, Germantown, New Hanover and Providence, grace and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ in the communion of the Holy Ghost.

My worthy friends:

No doubt you remember yet very well with what earnest entreaties you besought the Reverend Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen in London, and myself also from the year 1734 onward for ten years until this time, to take an interest in the German Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, particularly in the places where you reside, and specially to meet their great want of instruction in the Word of God, and hasten

to their help by selecting and sending out to them a faithful teacher of the Word.

You know also what difficulties we had to meet, and even after the Lord, through the cooperation of many Christian people in Europe, had supplied us with material aid, how hard we afterwards found it to fix upon the man who might be fitted for the work. But you know too, how, in answer to long and importunate prayer, God at last took pity upon these congregations that had been like sheep without a shepherd, and pointed out your present beloved teacher and pastor, Mr. Muhlenberg; made him willing to accept your call, and under the Divine favor so led him that you saw him face to face in November, 1742.

I learn from the Report and letters of Pastor Muhlenberg that you and the congregations have given him a joyful welcome, and that you acknowledge the grace of which God has made you partakers. If there are some few among you who have not considered these matters as seriously as is meet, and who by failing to bring forth the fruits of true repentance, have been a grief to their pastor, I pray that they may humble themselves in godly sorrow, and may the Lord forgive them for having thus slighted the dealings of His love towards them. Yet, after all, I rejoice in the Lord because the most of you hold your pastor highly in honor and in love, and have given proof of a readiness to learn the will of God at his lips. My heart's desire is, that there may not be one of you who will be satisfied to remain a mere hearer of the word, but that all may become doers of the same.

Pastor Muhlenberg, who takes these things much to heart, has stated in all letters that the congregations are so large and are located at such distances from each other that the services of one pastor are far from being enough to meet their wants. Among other things he gives me also to understand that it is the wish of the people and your own wish, that other men should be sent to you both in your churches and in your schools. I have taken pains to have these your wishes gratified. So, although in this country and in other parts of Germany, faithful ministers of the Gospel, specially those trained at Halle, are in such great demand, yet behold, by the help of God, Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, now here a candidate for the ministry, well established in the personal knowledge of Christ, having recognized the will of God in it, has been found willing to accept the call to become your pastor, and out of sincere love for your congregations and concern for their eternal welfare is ready to forsake his kindred and his native land and to be sent far off to a strange country. But this is not all. In addition to Mr. Brunnholtz, two students of theology strong in the love of Christ, Mr. John Helfrich Schaum and Mr. Nicholas Kurtz, both now with us, recognizing the call as being according to the will of God, have accepted it as catechists to teach your youth and to serve you in your schools. I have, a well grounded hope of these new laborers in the Word that they

will show all good fidelity in their office, each one in his separate position, and in like manner I have full confidence in you my worthy friends and in your associated congregations, that you will receive these ministers with loving sincerity, and deal towards them as gratitude to God requires you to do. Now, I shall attempt in a few words and for your better information to present several things concerning their circumstances and concerning your duty towards them.

1. Concerning all three of them, you may be assured, not only, that they will keep the truth in a good conscience, but also, that they come to you constrained by sincere love for you and by earnest longing for your salvation. Therefore you will suffer this love of these servants of the Lord, yea, the love of God Himself, who has quickened them with such zeal for your welfare, to provoke you to receive them with the like affection; you will live in peace with them, and for the Lord's sake, show yourselves obliging, in all reasonable things. Above all, by a willing obedience to God and to His Word, which they will preach to you and to your children, you will cheer their hearts, so that they may fulfil their office among you, not with sorrow, but with the Divine blessing.

2. They do not seek yours, nor do they covet a superfluity of the things of this world. They will be readily satisfied with what is sufficient to meet their necessities. For this reason then, you will be the more willing, without constraint, but out of love, and of a ready mind to take pains to supply them with an adequate support. They require nothing but what is necessary; they have no worldly means of their own; you will therefore see to it, that they are not reduced to indigence, and so you will make suitable provision for their maintenance, according to your ability, and as soon as possible. Specially, after the expense occasioned by the building of your churches shall have been, in a measure, paid off, you will make such arrangements for the support of your teachers as that they will not find it necessary to seek a temporal livelihood by pushing themselves into such undertakings as would interfere with the faithful discharge of their pastoral duty.

3. In regard to your future preacher, the aforesaid Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, particularly, I have to say as follows: As a Christian and a diligent student in the University in this place, he conducted himself and employed his time in such a manner as to become sufficiently grounded in the knowledge of God and of His Word. Then afterwards, he was occupied in the institutions of the Orphanhouse, here, laboring to lead souls to Christ and showing all good fidelity both to the young and to the old. Then, next, he was engaged in a place not far from here, where a Christian nobleman took great interest in supporting a catechist, for the better instruction of the youth and for the spiritual benefit of the whole congregation, I myself having recommended him to this nobleman, on account of his piety and his talents. In this last position his labors and his preaching of the Word were often blessed to

the edification of the church. So, there can be no doubt about his qualifications and his faithfulness, of which indeed, ample evidence was given when he took his departure.

4. As he had been held in such high esteem by the aforesaid nobleman and by the congregation in that place, beyond all his predecessors, that they would gladly have retained him longer in their employ, and showed their love by shedding many tears at his departure; these circumstances afford a proof of his tried fidelity, and furnish so much more reason to hope that your congregation will give him their full confidence and their sincere affection.

5. He himself gives a proof of his own self-denial and of his love to you, in the fact of his undertaking so troublesome a journey, and one which, at this time, is specially dangerous, on account of the many disturbances arising from the prevailing war; for he would not have failed to enjoy certain promotion in his office in Germany.

6. At your own request he has been regularly called; and not only have I myself given him adequate proof of this, but he has also been regularly set apart and ordained to the office of the holy ministry, with prayer and the laying on of hands, by a Consistory of the Church. In his vocation, however, the Hand of God also has been manifestly working in divers remarkable ways. For, not only were all those who knew him, and understood the condition of your congregations, unanimously in favor of his appointment, but God Himself deeply convinced his heart that such was the Divine will, and besides, inclined his relatives to acquiesce in his acceptance of the call. It is not necessary to speak of any other indications of Divine Providence in the matter. Now, from all this you may easily infer that God has thoughts of peace towards you; since, amidst so many providential indications, he has raised up the second teacher for you; and so Himself entreats you by both of them, "be ye reconciled to God." My heart's desire is, that all the congregations together may take good heed, that they do not resist this Grace of God, nor wilfully waste this accepted time, this day of salvation; that there may not be one among you who will not accept this gracious call of God with his whole heart. You know well indeed, from your own experience, what a distressing judgment it is upon a land, when God sends upon it a hunger and a thirst for His Word; and so you should the more highly value that Grace that now sends forth the Word to be so freely preached among you, and not, by your neglect of it, put it away from you again.

7. What has been, thus far, said about Mr. Brunnholtz, may likewise be said, according to their several circumstances, of the two catechists. I can also testify on their behalf, that their desire is to walk uprightly with God and before men; that they will not covet what is yours, but will seek the glory of Jesus Christ; that they have been well trained in the art of teaching the young in our institutions in this city, not only attaining fine gifts and aptitude, but also, what is much

better, showing all good fidelity in their work. You should therefore esteem it no small token of the Grace of God that He takes pity upon your children also, and sends you faithful workmen to teach your children the knowledge of God. This is a blessing which you have not hitherto enjoyed; and if the Lord had not remembered you in good time, your children must have sunk into heathenism. It is therefore the duty of all Christian parents to take good heed, that the work of the catechists among the children may not be hindered, nor rendered painful; much rather, they should lend them a helping hand, so that their children, under the Divine blessing may grow up as trees of righteousness, to the glory of God.

This and everything else that respects your duty to all your teachers is laid down, very clearly, in the Epistle to the Hebrews 13: 17, and in other passages; upon which you should often meditate.

Further, I very seriously admonish you not to take up with everyone who comes in his own name, professing to be a teacher. You know from experience, how often you have been deceived by such persons. Nothing is more certain than this, that those persons who, without a regular call, push themselves into the office of teacher, are always seeking to make gain out of you, and either have been deposed from the pastoral office in Germany, as were Mr. Kraft and Mr. Andreae, of whose scandalous lives I have obtained and sent to you convincing evidence, or they were not fit to be trusted with the care of anything.

In conclusion; As God has already, in a very large degree, lightened the burden of expense incurred by the building of your churches and by the journeys of your pastors and catechists, with the benevolent contributions that have flowed from many Christian hearts, I assure you that I shall very willingly do my part to encourage the continuance of these collections. Yet, I would have you remember that, even in this matter, everything depends upon the blessing of the Lord, and that according to your treatment of your teachers you will either obtain that blessing or drive it away from you.

Now, may the Lord help these new assistants, all through their dangerous journey, under His own protection, and that of His holy angels; convey them safely to your own home, and send them prosperity in the work of building up the Divine Kingdom amongst you.

So then, my worthy friends and all the congregations, I commend you to the gracious protection and favor of God, and to His Word; ever remaining ready to help you hereafter, in all things, according to my ability.

[G. A. FRANCKE.]

XVIII.

Ziegenhagen, to the congregations in America, Sept. 13th, 1744.*

To the deacons and elders of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Philadelphia, Germantown, New Hanover and Providence, and to the several congregations, Grace and Peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour.

My Worthy Friends in the Lord!

With much joy of heart and sincere gratitude to God, I have learned, from letters and reports addressed to me by your Pastor Muhlenberg, that after a journey somewhat protracted and exhausting, he arrived amongst you safely, at last; and that after he had submitted his credentials to your examination, you received him with hearty good will, and practical proofs of your affection, as your regular pastor. He has, indeed, spoken of various difficulties he has met with, amongst you, for it is true of all things, that their beginnings are hard; but at the same time, he has stated that, by the Grace of God, he has met with many Christian people among you, who heartily and faithfully co-operate with him and with his office, so that he hopes to begin and to continue his ministry amongst you and in your neighborhood, prosecuting his work in peace and quietness, and with the blessing of God.

Now, my worthy friends, all that you have, so far, done for your pastor and his office, is simply, what your Christian duty and your own consciences demanded of you; and the result of it will be of great advantage and benefit, specially to yourselves, and to the congregations of which you are the officers.

Meanwhile, I cannot, myself, refrain from offering you my hearty thanks, particularly, because, as Pastor Muhlenberg informs me, you esteem me so highly in love and confidence, and received my last letter with so much kindness. By all this, my dear friends, you have refreshed my heart, and encouraged me anew to help you and your congregations to the best of my ability. Would to God, that I could do a great deal in supplying you with faithful teachers, and in the building of the requisite churches and schoolhouses! But alas! it is only very little that I can do in this direction; and may the God of all Grace bless even this, though it be so small, and make it useful in promoting your true salvation!

Now, I rejoice greatly, my beloved friends, that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has again remembered you in so much mercy, and, even in these trying times of destructive war, has so ordered it,

* Although Ziegenhagen is entitled to such high praise for his eminent services in the interest of the Lutheran Church in America, yet it appears, that comparatively little that he wrote has been preserved here. For this reason it may be well to print the following letter, although its contents may not be so very important.—Dr. Germann, of Windsheim, Bavaria.

that three persons have willingly resolved in God's name and out of love to you, to go to your country, and to devote themselves to the service of you and of your children, laboring for the salvation of your souls. These very persons will, the Lord permitting, themselves, deliver this letter to you. Their names are: Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, regularly called and ordained pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, Germantown, New Hanover and Providence; Mr. John Helfrich Schaum, and Mr. John Nicolas Kurtz, regularly called and authorized to serve as catechists in the aforesaid congregations. Whatever is to be said about these men, and about each one of them, in respect to their Christian experience and life, and also, in respect to their qualifications for the offices to which they have been called, all this has recently been presented, and in full, by the Rev. Prof. Dr. Francke, of Halle, in a special document which Mr. Peter Brunnholtz will himself convey to you; and upon this subject, it is therefore unnecessary for me to add anything more. Besides, he has been longer acquainted and more intimate with them than I have been, for which reason his testimony has more weight than mine could have. It is Dr. Francke himself who has been the instrument in the hand of God in selecting these men who are to serve you and your children, in calling them and in arranging their ordination and their passage to England. So far, I myself have had no share in the work, and could have none. Dr. Francke's heart is full of paternal love and concern for you all, — and among many other proofs of it, it is clearly shown in the fact, that he is so deeply interested in the church building that has been begun by Pastor Muhlenberg, in providing money for the great expenses of the same, and in giving his help in all possible ways, to assist you to bear your burdens. I speak of these things here, purposely, in order that I may stir up your hearts to sincere thankfulness to God for having inspired Dr. Francke with such love for you, and at the same time, to afford you occasion to recognize for yourselves, what strong reasons you, as well as many other people, have to praise God for this excellent man, both in public and in private, as your distinguished benefactor, and to entreat that long life may be his. If it should please God to call me away from earth in a short time, that would be of no disadvantage either to you or to your congregations, for the little that I can do might, by the Divine help, be very easily done by some one else. But if Dr. Francke should soon be called away, the loss even for the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania would be a very serious one. Therefore do not cease to pray to our Father in Heaven for the life and health of your beloved benefactor and for the Divine blessing upon his work; strive also to live that he may be cheered in heart by hearing of the prosperity of your congregations; for if his anxious efforts do not result in building up Christianity among you, you cannot expect that he will continue this laborious work. I have confidence enough in you, my worthy

friends, to trust, that as you have done in other things, so in this matter also, you will receive this my request and exhortation into a good and honest heart.

Now, let me say something more about the three men who are about to be sent off to you, in the name of the Lord, at this time. O, may our gracious God and Father take them into His almighty protection, deliver them from all evil, from all enemies upon the sea, and conduct them to you, safe and sound, full of the blessings of the Gospel. I do not doubt but that you will receive them in love, even as you received Pastor Muhlenberg, that you will thank God for their arrival, that you will hold them in honor, and according to your ability, aid them in everything in which they may need your assistance. Certainly, they are highly worthy of such loving reception and co-operation; for, not only are they excellent men themselves, coming to you with a regular call, and with their hearts willing and anxious to confirm you and your children in the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and thereby to secure your eternal welfare; but also, beyond this, out of true love to you they have submitted to many hardships and have boldly faced no ordinary dangers, and all for your sake. May the faithful God who has inclined the hearts of these His servants towards you, also incline your hearts towards them, and specially incline you so to apply the doctrines of the Word, its teachings, its admonitions, its consolations, which they may impart to you and to your children, in such a way, as to secure the highest good, the eternal salvation of your souls.

Even as Dr. Francke has done in his own letter addressed to you, so I too, would particularly entreat of you that you be truly united in heart with your teachers Pastor Muhlenberg and Mr. Brunnholtz, resisting and opposing whatever is ungodly and unchristian, so that the Evangelical congregations in Pennsylvania may not be like a desert or a field overrun with briars and thorns, but rather, fruitful and beautiful as the garden of the Lord.

Further, as to those people who seek to pass themselves off as preachers, but who have never been regularly sent to preach, who roam, according to their own fancy, from country to country, in quest of a living, I beg you, do not permit such characters to force themselves into your congregations, to occasion divisions and work mischief in other ways. Be only the more ready to uphold your own regular teachers, so that all disorder, disturbance and divisions may be prevented; and even be healed wherever they may already have broken out. The admonition of the Apostle St. John, 1st Ep., 4th Chap., "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God," concerns every Christian congregation. St. John also tells us, why such proving is necessary, for he says, that many false prophets, claiming to be teachers sent of God, but whom God has not sent, have gone out into the world, and do great harm to people when they are careless and do not stand upon their guard. You will take this the

more to heart, my dear friends, because, you know yourselves, that in the land and regions where you live errorists and false prophets are not scarce. Hold fast to the pure and saving Word of God, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures; be not tossed about with every wind of doctrine; love your teachers and be obedient, for they will preach nothing to you but the pure Word of God.

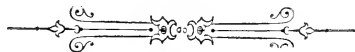
Out of love to you and to your children, I send to you also, with this letter, a short and simple explanation of the Christian faith. I hope that after you shall have conferred upon it with your teachers, you may possibly wish to have it printed, specially for the use of your children in the schools. In such case, I have to beg very particularly, that you will not allow either the printer or any other person whoever he may be, only excepting your teachers, to change the smallest word, or to substitute another word in place of it.

May the gracious God bestow His blessing upon the old and the young, so that the reading and learning of this explanation may serve to plant, to revive, to strengthen the true saving faith and the powers of genuine Christianity amongst you. And now, with my whole heart, and assuring you of my steadfast love, I commend you all, deacons, elders, the congregations, the parents, the youth and the children, to the love of God the Father, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. Pray also for me.

You will take measures to have this letter read to the congregations.

FR. MICH. ZIEGENHAGEN.

Kensington, Sept. 13th, 1744.



SECOND CONTINUATION
OF THE BRIEF REPORT OF CERTAIN
EVANGELICAL CONGREGATIONS
IN
PENNSYLVANIA AND NEIGHBORING PARTS
IN AMERICA.

PUBLISHED BY THE ORPHAN HOUSE, HALLE, 1746.

(42) 1. It may be remembered that, as was stated in the first Report and its subsequent Continuation, both already published, the Lord had some years ago begun a gracious work on behalf of certain Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, especially in Philadelphia, Germantown,¹ Providence and New Hanover, providing them with regular ministers of the Word and causing the light of his truth to shine forth upon them. For not only did Mr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the first pastor regularly called to the work, enter into the field of his labors on Nov. 25th, 1742; but also, Mr. Peter Brunnholtz, the second pastor, and with him, the two assistants, Mr. Schaum and Mr. Kurtz, having been sent to co-operate with Muhlenberg, arrived in Pennsylvania on January 26th, 1745. It will be remembered also, with what earnestness of heart they labored to restore and maintain a good Christian order in the congregations; and that, under the Divine Favor, they were so successful, that many persons who had previously separated themselves from the fellowship of the Church have already come back again; and some of them, with their wives and their children, have been baptized.

2. Although detailed accounts of the progress of this gracious work have not reached us as regularly as we would have wished, in
(43) consequence of the uncertainties incident to a voyage across the ocean; yet the frequent inquiries that we have heard on the part of good friends of the cause have encouraged us to prepare another Continuation of our Report, from the materials furnished in the last letters and statements that have reached us. We do this both as an expression of gratitude and praise to God for His Mercies, and in the

hope that our friends and benefactors will be gratified with the brief accounts which we furnish.

Observing a suitable order we shall notice—1st, the official labors of the two pastors and their assistants; 2d, the blessing that has attended the preached Word, the genuine fruits of the pastoral work, with sundry illustrative cases and incidents; 3d, the building of the churches; and 4th, the desires expressed by several congregations in Pennsylvania and adjacent parts to secure the services of faithful pastors.

3. As to the official labors of the two pastors and their assistants, we have stated already in the first Continuation, that until the time of the arrival of the new assistants, Pastor Muhlenberg attended to the charge of the four congregations, himself alone; also that Pastor Brunnholtz was afterwards regularly received by these four congregations as their second pastor; and further, that the two pastors, at first, by regular appointments, preached around in all the churches, waiting to see if, in the course of time, such indications of Providence would arrive as might encourage and enable them to make such a division of the entire charge that each pastor might take his special portion under his own direct personal care.

After they had carefully observed all the circumstances relating to the matter they finally agreed in June, 1745, and with the full approbation of the congregations themselves, that Pastor Muhlenberg should take special charge of the congregations in Providence and New Hanover; and that his regular residence should be fixed in the former place. On the other hand, the special care of the congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown fell to the lot of Pastor Brunnholtz, whose permanent home is in Philadelphia. In connection with this arrangement it was perfectly understood, by both pastors, that each one of them should still continue to be heartily concerned for the welfare of the congregations that were in charge of the other, and that neither of them should undertake anything of importance, in his own charge, without first having advised with the other. In fact, there are occasions on which they do come together in fraternal conference, (44) considering and determining their course of action in the true spirit of loving harmony.²

4. In their preaching they are very careful to consider the capacity of their hearers, accommodating their sermons to the circumstances of the people, so that they may be the more certain to effect substantial good. As an illustration of this we may state, that for some time before the arrival of the assistants, Pastor Muhlenberg, immediately after preaching, would recapitulate his sermons, in the form of questions ad-

dressed to his hearers and answers obtained from them. This he found to be a very useful exercise. Neither do they content themselves with the mere public preaching of the Word, but seek occasion to bring it home directly to the hearts of their hearers. For this reason they gladly welcome the visits of the people giving them personal instruction in the Word of God, according to their individual circumstances; and, for the purpose of examining and giving the needed admonition and exhortation to those who may desire to partake of the Lord's Supper, they have them to visit the pastor in his residence sometime during the previous week. Besides, they themselves visit the people, as much as possible, from house to house. Pastor Brunnholtz, especially, has endeavored, by such visitation, to become personally acquainted with the people of his charge. Special care has been taken to visit the sick; and as epidemics have prevailed on several occasions in Providence and New Hanover, this occupied a great deal of time, although it was not without a blessing. This added very much to the burden of the pastor's labors, because the members of the churches often reside at great distances apart, scattered through the country, upon their farms, sometimes 12 or 16 miles from the pastor's residence, for which reason the pastor has to keep a horse, to enable him to reach the distant members of his church, as promptly as possible, whenever they may require his personal pastoral care.

For the sake of those who live so remote from the church that they cannot regularly attend themselves nor bring their children along with them, public service is sometimes held on a week day, in some convenient place, so that they too may be instructed and edified by the preaching of the Gospel. About twenty miles from New Hanover there is a small congregation in possession of a church whom Pastor

Muhlenberg, and his assistant, Mr. Kurtz, visit and serve in the (45) Gospel every four weeks;³ whilst there are other places for public worship in the same neighborhood. As we continue on in our

Report we shall have occasion to relate more fully, how, without in any manner neglecting the care of their own flocks, they are ever ready to render all possible service to those congregations which are, as yet, unprovided with pastors.

5. As to the labors of the assistants we have to remark, that the arrangement agreed upon at first and reported in our first Continuation is still maintained, that is, Mr. Schaum resides in Philadelphia and Mr. Kurtz in New Hanover. In Philadelphia, and until the time of their arrival, Pastor Muhlenberg had employed a young man as schoolmaster, whom Pastor Brunnholtz kept under immediate personal instruc-

tion for several weeks, so as to prepare him the more thoroughly for his work, expecting afterwards to engage his services as a teacher in other places. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia Mr. Schaum took charge of this school at once, and now has his home in the residence of Pastor Brunnholtz in that city. His school being held in the same house, his work is carried on under the direct supervision of the pastor himself, who testifies that he is doing much good to many people by his own personal earnestness as a Christian, as well as by his faithfulness as a teacher of the young. In addition to this, Pastor Brunnholtz occupies his evenings in giving lessons in reading and writing to grown persons whose earlier education had been neglected.

6. In New Hanover, Mr. Vigera,⁴ who is repeatedly spoken of in the Reports of the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, taught the school in the new schoolhouse, to the satisfaction of Pastor Muhlenberg; and on Sundays, when the pastor was absent, he rendered a service acceptable to the congregation by reading some edifying discourse in the church. For some short time after Mr. Kurtz had taken charge of this school, Mr. Vigera continued to co-operate with him; but finally concluded to open a school for himself in some other place. Nevertheless, in the mean time, he offered to assist the pastor in instructing the catechumens, or in any other way in which he could be useful. In addition to this work in the schools, the two assistants preach every Sunday in those congregations which the pastors cannot themselves attend; (46) and so changing with them from Sunday to Sunday. For this reason the people call them HELPERS,⁵ a term not unfamiliar to us. It is about the same as SUBSTITUTE. In a word, the pastors testify respecting both of the assistants; that in their office and work they are faithful and true; and that the congregations are truly thankful that these men have been called to their office and sent forth to their work. Further, Pastor Muhlenberg seems to regard it as a blessing of Divine Providence, that he has found a promising young man whom he can employ for the instruction of the youth, under his own personal supervision.⁶

7. Seeing what a privilege it is that they not only have regular pastors, but are provided also with faithful schoolmasters for the instruction of their children, many of whom had previously grown up without any education, the congregations are sincerely thankful to God and to their benefactors in Europe, both for having sent these pastors and teachers to them and for having so generously defrayed all the expenses of their voyage. Indeed, they appreciate these blessings the more as they come more clearly to understand how sincere and faith-

ful their teachers are, how earnestly they labor for the true and lasting welfare of the people, and how patient and persevering they are under all their toils. They have not only requested their pastors to convey to us the expressions of their gratitude, but several of the elders themselves have transmitted to us a courteous communication in testimony of the thankfulness of the people. In this communication, speaking for themselves and for the several congregations, they thankfully acknowledge the kindness of the Court Preacher Ziegenhagen, in London, of Prof. Dr. Francke, in Halle, and of all their friends and benefactors, because, in the time of their need, they had come to their help in such a faithful, such a fatherly way, not only supplying them with competent pastors and teachers, but also adding contributions, in money, towards the building of churches and schoolhouses, the receipt of which they formally acknowledge. They thank God for these blessings; and pray that He who does not allow a cup of cold water to go without its reward, may, in His faithfulness, richly recompense all who have shown kindness to them in their need.

Beyond this they pray, not only that we may still continue to help them, but also, that whenever it may be necessary, their pastors (47) and teachers may have the benefit of our prayers, our counsel and our sympathy, of all of which they stand so much in need, because, as faithful and upright men, they have to submit to many assaults and trials. Such intercession and sympathy will serve to renew their courage, and strengthen them for the patient and efficient discharge of their official duties. One of the most barefaced slanderers and calumniators is the man referred to in our first Continuation, as having been deposed from the pastoral office in Germany; who still keeps on increasing his own infamy by all kinds of abuse.⁷ Also, the man mentioned in our first Report, as having, likewise, been deposed in Germany, who, before Muhlenberg's arrival, had worked himself into Philadelphia, seems to be on good terms with the slanderer just described; but otherwise he behaves, upon the whole, somewhat quietly in his own congregations. In their congregations they are not much annoyed by the Moravians; as these people never had much opportunity to work among them; in other places, however, they seem to keep busy.⁸

8. We proceed now to speak of the blessing that has attended the preaching of the Gospel, the genuine fruits of the pastoral work, with sundry illustrative cases and incidents. This is, indeed, a very important subject, cheering to the heart of the Christian teacher, and often, an occasion of praise to God, to whom all praise belongs.

The pastors report that they are deeply conscious of their own personal weakness in their work; and that difficulties and disorders that present themselves in the way are not to be overcome and corrected all at once. They strive, however, to be only the more diligent and untiring in the preaching of the Word, of the good fruits of which they have had very striking proof; each one of them noticing, with special interest, the success with which God has blessed the labors of the other. In a letter dated Nov. 1st, 1745, Pastor Muhlenberg returns his thanks for the appointment and sending of Pastor Brunnholtz, and then adds: "He accommodates himself admirably to existing circumstances. He takes heed unto himself and unto the doctrine; and is faithful in his care of the poor sheep. The Grace of God is made perfect in his weakness; and by that Grace he is able both to suffer and to contend for the faith, to bear honor or dishonor, evil report or good report.

The Lord has granted him a good entering in among us; and (48) has crowned his labors with a blessing. This is a great joy to me; and my hope is, that after patiently persevering in the preaching of the Word everything will, by the Divine help, be arranged, in due time, in proper order." In other letters he speaks to the same effect.

Pastor Brunnholtz bears similar testimony to the labors of Muhlenberg, stating that the happy influence of his ministry was manifest not only before his arrival, but also, that by his personal intercourse with the people, he had met with many who had informed him, that they had been awakened by Muhlenberg's preaching. Referring to this subject, in general, in a letter to a friend, dated Dec. 9th, 1745, he says: "The letters that have been sent from here will probably be submitted to your inspection, and you will then have an opportunity to learn what is to be said about the progress of the Kingdom of God in these parts. You will see many signs of weakness, and yet, evidences of good results. We are not disposed to make such a display of our affairs as others have a fashion of doing, who, out of three or four half converted people (yet God knows them) will create an astonishingly pious congregation. I have an abhorrence of all such boasting, because an unsound principle lies at the bottom of it."⁹

He has sent us a Report of the labors of himself and of his colleague during the first half of the year 1745, in which he speaks of many whom he visited at their own homes, or who had themselves visited him; in whom he had discovered a hungering and thirsting after righteousness; some of them not being without experience in the Grace of God, others having a good foundation laid; in all which he heartily rejoiced.

9. He has spoken of certain cases at considerable length; and we report them here in his own words. "On Jan. 23d, 1745, I baptized, in the church, a child of Reformed parents who had been companions of my voyage across the ocean. There were, upon the ship, several German-Swiss families also, to one of which the mother belonged. She herself was much impressed by the Word, as presented to these families, on the voyage, and has made a good beginning in the Christian life. Whilst on board the ship I had a prayer-meeting every day with these Swiss, and observed in several of them, evidences of the power of Divine Grace. On Jan. 30th, in company with my colleague, I visited a sick woman and was greatly cheered by her meekness and her love for the Lord Jesus. It is, indeed, a great comfort to me to meet with a sincere soul, here and there. On Feb. 15th, I visited a woman of the Reformed Church who seems to be truly penitent. A negro slave, a female, came in, who claimed to wish for a correct knowledge of religious truth, and to be earnestly desirous of becoming a Christian. I spoke with her in the English language, and sought to encourage her in her inquiries. On Feb. 26th, I was called upon by a man who stated that he had often been deeply impressed by the preaching of my colleague; but that he had never yet begun in the right way to become a Christian. He saw clearly the absolute necessity of such a beginning, and he had now made up his mind to undertake it. I spoke with him about the genuine renewing of the heart and mind; and endeavored to encourage him in his good resolution.

On March 22d, a woman of the congregation, who has been attending the night school in which I teach adults reading and writing, came to me privately, and told me of her trouble and distress of mind on account of certain offences, of which she had been guilty in Germany. I endeavored to lead her in the way of a true repentance of heart. She told me that she would be perfectly willing that I should spread her case before the whole congregation, if she could thereby be relieved of her distress. I replied that this was not necessary, for no one in our congregation knew anything at all about these matters; that it was not advisable, in this way, to publish her offences abroad; and that such a course would, by no means, quiet her troubled conscience. I advised her that, most of all, she should pray earnestly to God, that in the light of His Word He would show her the evil of sin and the wretched condition of the unrenewed heart; and then come to Him as a weary, heavy-laden sinner. In this way she would find peace for her soul.

On April 3d, this woman came again and I was glad to find that, (50) to all appearances, the Lord has been leading her in the way of true repentance."

10. Under date of June 11th, he speaks of a man and his wife who, although they had been baptized in their childhood, had yet never been connected with any Church, nor received any instruction in the Christian Religion, until after the arrival of Pastor Muhlenberg, whose preaching they diligently attended and, in consequence, were awakened to an earnest desire for their salvation. Pastor Brunnholtz paid special attention to the instruction of these persons, and prepared them for admission to the Holy Supper.

Under date of April 26th, 1746, Brunnholtz shows the good effects of their pastoral faithfulness in another form, as follows: "The churchly Lutherans (as the surrounding sects are wont to call them) are now rising into high consideration among those parties who had previously looked upon them with contempt, in consequence of the scandals occasioned by base characters who, without a regular call, had obtruded themselves into the pastoral office. O, that we might ourselves shine as lights, illumining the darkness of our people; then, whilst the number of the children of the light would increase amongst them, the offences thrown in the way of others would finally disappear."

11. He gives us also several cases of adult persons who, having never been baptized, maintained a kind of connection with some sect or other, or kept aloof from all forms of religious fellowship. Some of these, after due instruction, as well as their children, have been baptized; and of such cases he gives, in the letter mentioned above, the following example. "On Feb. 28th, 1745, my colleague came from Providence to see me in Philadelphia. He stated that he had baptized a father and his four children. The father himself had long been convinced of the necessity of baptism; yet, he could not readily make up his mind to submit to its administration. In the meantime, however, he had faithfully attended the preaching of the Word, and the Grace of God enabled him at last to triumph over all obstacles. On March (51) 24th my colleague baptized two daughters of Mennonite parents in New Hanover; and it is expected that, in a short time they will be admitted to the Holy Supper. On March 31st I went to Germantown, preached and baptized several children. After the service a man who is the father of five adult children not yet baptized, called upon me, and begged me to give them the needful instruction and then to baptize them. (To this case we have already made a slight reference in our first continuation, page 35). I accompanied this man to his farm, some five miles from the church, conversed with his children, and made arrangements to give them the needful preparatory instruction. This man has been 17 years in this country; he has considerable knowledge of Christian truth and has some very good books."

“From the foregoing facts it may be seen into what a ruinous condition these congregations would have fallen in the course of time, if they had not been supplied with regular pastors. Seeing that parents even, who had themselves been instructed in Christian doctrine, allowed their children to grow up without baptism, we may infer that much greater neglect must have marked those families the heads of which were themselves without the knowledge of the Truth. Wherefore we must the more heartily thank God, that He has, at last, in good time, caused the light of His Word to shine in upon the gross darkness. Of the five adult children just spoken of, the three oldest, after the needful preparatory instruction, were baptized on Trinity, June 9th, 1745; the other two were baptized some weeks later, all in the presence of the congregation. On June 16th, in Providence, I baptized a married woman and her two brothers, having previously given them the requisite instruction.¹⁰ The occasion seemed to produce a very deep impression, as well upon the whole congregation as upon these persons themselves. Their residence is in Matetscha, four miles from Providence—to which congregation they belong.”

12. As this Report extends only to the end of June, 1745, we have no specific information concerning the latter half of the year, save what may be gathered from certain letters of Pastor Brunnholtz, (52) a couple of extracts from which may be acceptable. To a good friend in Tönningen¹¹ he writes, among other things, as follows: “When I attend a funeral I always preach a sermon; and often have, among my hearers, representatives of all existing religions and sects; for it is the custom here, to invite all the neighborhood to attend the funeral. So, I have many opportunities to speak a word of edification; and the people of all the sects can hear that we insist upon a genuine Christian experience and life, the contrary of which they prefer to ascribe to us; for they fancy and say, that church-people, as they call those who attend churches, build their hopes of salvation only upon their church-going. I have recently attended the funerals of several children in Germantown. The exhortations on these occasions produced such a good impression upon a certain Separatist,¹² that when one of his own children died he begged me to preach a sermon at its funeral also. Upon arriving at the house I learned that the child had never been baptized; for which reason I at first refused to proceed further; but upon ascertaining the views and feelings of the father, I buried it, and afterwards baptized his four young children in the presence of all kinds of people, whose hearts appeared to be moved as they witnessed how the children, according to their capacity, answered my few questions and how meekly they kneeled down to be baptized.

The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Pastor Brunnholtz to his own personal relatives. "Since my arrival in this country we have baptized many adults. On the Sunday after St. Michael's day the church in Providence was solemnly consecrated. Two other Lutheran pastors besides ourselves were present; and the people in attendance amounted to many hundreds. On the same day we baptized three colored people, who had also been examined in the presence of the congregation."¹³

In regard to these colored people, we must say, that it is much to be regretted that a more circumstantial account could not have been sent to us; for the fact is, in itself, most wonderful that the Lord, in His mercy, has caused the light of His salvation to shine upon these persons born and reared in heathenism, and granted to them repentance unto life.¹⁴

(53) 13. We proceed now to give some short account of the building of the churches. The consecration of the church in Providence is briefly reported in the extract, just now given; and in another letter Pastor Brunnholtz gives the following particulars: "The new church at Providence is a remarkably fine building. It is entirely finished, except that some little work has yet to be done on the galleries. It is built of stone, and therefore is not, by any means, as costly, in proportion, as the church in Philadelphia, where bricks alone are used as the building material, which are very high in price, because several hundred houses are built in that city every year."¹⁵ As it had previously been announced that the church would not be consecrated before it was finished in all its parts, we are of opinion, that the work on the galleries was likewise completed before the consecration, although we have not been positively informed to that effect. In the church in Philadelphia the windows have yet to be glazed and quite a variety of other matters have to be finished up. The sharp draughts of air that pass through the window openings in cold weather are often a very serious inconvenience at the time of public worship. The weight of the debt incurred presses heavily upon the congregation; and they have not, as yet, felt themselves able vigorously to push forward the building to its completion.

Under date of April 22d, 1746, in the last letters received from him, Pastor Brunnholtz refers to the expenses that are yet to be provided for, and gives the following particulars: "On March 14th, the vestry of the church in Philadelphia presented to my colleague and myself a statement of the pecuniary affairs of the congregation. It appears, that after the congregation had received, from the late collections, 150

pounds currency, they yet have a debt of 694 pounds currency, or 2540 Rix dollars; and upon this they have to pay, annually, 42 pounds or 154 Rix dollars as interest. As the church stands at the present time, the windows unglazed, having no pews, no floor, no pulpit, and equally defective in other respects, for all of which provision has yet to be made; the expense already amounts to 1310 pounds, 17 shillings, 9½ pence, currency, or about 4800 Rix dollars. Of this amount 616 pounds, 4 shillings, 9 pence, have been paid, and the debt mentioned above remains. Our trust is in God, that He will enable us to reduce the debt to about 400 pounds. This would require 24 pounds yearly interest, which (54) the congregation would have to pay until the whole debt shall be extinguished."

"We need also a church-bell of good tone; but in regard to this we must have patience until Providence may furnish us with the means to pay for it, because we do not wish to become so deeply involved that we cannot extricate ourselves again."

"The congregation in Philadelphia is one of the largest, but also one of the poorest, and is subject to many changes in its membership; for very few of its members are settled as permanent residents in the city. Those of the Germans arriving here by ship, who have not been able to pay their passage, from their own means, have to sell themselves, so to speak, and their families; and, accordingly, have to render service to their purchasers, until they shall have worked out the expense of their passage. Such persons are called 'servants.'¹⁶ When they have thus paid for their passage by their labor, and earned something in addition, they usually remove further inland and seek to secure some property for themselves. Nevertheless, may the Lord, who is so rich in mercy, not forsake us but abundantly help us in the building of our Church. May He grant that Zion shall be built up in spirit, may He arise and have mercy upon her!"

"I cannot exactly state what was the cost of the church in Providence, nor what is the amount of the debt yet due. That congregation is under the immediate charge of my colleague, who will himself forward a Report in a short time. He does not write at present because, as he lives in the country, he had no information of the sailing of the ship by which this communication is sent. I know this, however, that the congregation in Providence has received its appropriate share of the moneys collected and forwarded for the building of the several churches."

It became absolutely necessary also to enlarge the church in Germantown. Pastor Brunnholtz had not only referred to this previously

on different occasions, but in his last letter to us he informs us of the actual commencement of the work, as follows: "On April 15th, of the present year, we laid, in the Name of God, the corner stone of the new building of the Lutheran church in Germantown. The church will be 30 feet longer and six feet broader than it was. The expense is estimated at about 160 pounds currency or 568 Rix dollars. Mem- (55) bers and friends of the congregation have subscribed and promised 60 pounds, and the balance will have to be taken on interest. The work is now vigorously pushed forward. Six years ago we could hardly count six members here; then the church was too large; but at the present time we have about seventy very worthy families."

14. The building of these churches being, in the highest degree, necessary, the pastors and officers of the several congregations undertook the work; believing that God in His mercy, would supply the means which they had not, as yet, in their hands. They now express their gratitude for the reason that the Lord has prospered the work so much that nearly one-half of the expense of building the church in Philadelphia has been paid; the larger part of the collections gathered from the churches in Germany having been allotted to the church in Philadelphia, as it was a more expensive building. They inform us, at the same time, that the debts yet remaining are too heavy for them to bear; and, if they do not obtain some good measure of help yet, they will not themselves be able to liquidate them. In a letter dated Nov. 1st, 1745, Pastor Muhlenberg writes: "I have asked of the Lord what, to human sight, might have seemed impossible, that is, to send me some good men as helpers in the pastoral office, and He has granted it. The load that yet oppresses us is the debt incurred by the building of churches, which we are not in a condition to pay. In such matter, however, our friends in Europe have helped us much; and still continue to do so." We omit further extracts of like import; and simply add, that their trust is in God, that He will continue His favor; and not permit them to be brought to shame, so that the glory of His Name and the good work which He has begun may still continue to advance.

15. We have great reason to thank God that He has had mercy upon the scattered flock of these four associated congregations, and provided them with shepherds to seek the lost sheep, to heal the (56) sick, to bind up the broken, to bring back those that were driven away and to lead them to the green pastures of the Word. All this they have faithfully endeavored to do, according to the ability that God has given them; and they have richly enjoyed the blessing of God in their work. Besides, it will surely be gratifying to the

whole Evangelical Church to observe that by these means the pure doctrine of the Divine Word is maintained in these congregations. Otherwise, there had been great reason to fear, that as time went on, there would be more and more of the members of the Church who would have entirely forsaken the fellowship of the Church, rather than recognize the ministry of men who had boldly pushed themselves into the pastoral office, occasioned great scandal by their misconduct and brought great reproach upon the Christian name. Besides, as the youth were growing up in utter ignorance, perhaps even without baptism, the necessary result of all must have been, that the light of Divine truth would, at last, have gone out in total darkness. The good fruits of what has been done for these four congregations are not confined to them alone. It appears to be the will of God to extend the good work all around, and to drive back the ruinous darkness, by causing the light of His Word to arise and shine upon other congregations and in other neighborhoods. Of this, we now proceed to give an account.

16. It remains for us, then, to state what desires have been expressed by other congregations in Pennsylvania and adjacent parts, to secure the services of faithful pastors. As the faithfulness of the two pastors, Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz, in ministering to their several congregations came to be more generally known, it awakened among the people of many other places an ardent desire that they, too, might be favored with similar privileges in the preaching of the Word. Certain neighborhoods which, chiefly on account of their poverty, are unable to support a settled pastor, have often solicited them with much entreaty to favor them, at least, with an occasional sermon; and, although (57) they have been over-burdened by work in their own congregations, nevertheless, they have yielded to these requests whenever they could do so without neglecting their duty to their own churches. Such congregations are found at Ohley,¹⁷ Cohanzi, Chester and Schwartzwald. At Ohley, before the arrival of Brunnholtz, Muhlenberg, at the request of a mother whose heart seemed to be hungering after righteousness, baptized her four children, already well grown. True, this, at first, excited the displeasure of the father; afterwards, however, he approved of it, allowed his children to go to church and to school, and visited the pastors himself, showing a very friendly disposition. They have preached several times at this place and at Cohanzi also, and noticed that the impression produced was quite favorable. Cohanzi is about 36 miles from Philadelphia. The young man of whom we have already spoken (p. 45) as having taught a school in

Philadelphia, and to whose further preparation for his work Pastor Brunnholtz had devoted considerable attention, was sent to teach the school in this congregation, and also furnished with an approved Postil, with instructions to read a sermon to the congregation every Sunday.

Referring to a sermon that he had preached in Chester, Pastor Brunnholtz gives us the following extract from his diary: "On March 25th, 1745, a man called upon me and requested me to go to Chester and preach to the Germans there. He said also, that the English preacher there had promised to allow the Germans the use of his church, if they could get a regular pastor to preach a sermon. Accordingly, after service on the morning of June 30th, I went to Chester, which is about 16 miles from Philadelphia, arriving there at two o'clock, P.M. A good friend of mine and several officers of the church in Philadelphia went along with me. The Germans here who, for the most part, are 'servants,' as they are called, employed by English people and so speaking a mixture of German and English, had gathered together and the English preacher had kindly allowed them to occupy the English church for their service. There were also many English people in attendance at the same time. After the sermon I had (58) a meeting of all the Germans in the private residence of one of them, and exhorted them to come together every Sunday, and have some one who could do it well to read a sermon to them, for which purpose I promised to send them a Postil. They stood around me like children, or like famishing sheep without a shepherd, and began to cry. This melted the hearts of the men who were in company with me; and they thought of the blessings bestowed upon themselves, now no longer famishing, as they once did, for the Word of the Lord. In Germany there are very few who appreciate the privilege of being permitted to hear one, two or even three sermons every Sunday; but here there are many who are very glad if they can have but one sermon in a year. It is six years since these people in Chester heard the Gospel preached in German, the last time."

Schwartzwald is a place lying between Tulpehocken and New Hanover. Here the Lutherans, in union with the Reformed,¹⁸ have built a new church, and taken a certain person, who had been a schoolmaster in Germany, as their pastor. Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz upon returning from a visit to Tulpehocken passed through this neighborhood, and the former, at the earnest request of the people preached in their church; the people heartily enjoying the service. These statements may serve to show how those congregations that have no pastors of their own, do now and then enjoy some of the privileges that are more regularly and abundantly granted to others.

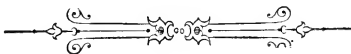
17. Besides the foregoing there are other congregations, some of them having never had a pastor, others having been left by the late pastor, which have addressed to us, through Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz, most earnest appeals for faithful teachers of the Word, pledging a salary adequate to their support. In a certain town located somewhat more than a day's journey from New Hanover,¹⁹ there is a Lutheran congregation which Pastor Muhlenberg has visited several times, in accordance with the urgent invitations of the people, and in which he has prepared a number of young people for the Lord's Supper. This congregation has placed in Muhlenberg's hands a regular call for a new pastor, entreating him to do the best he could for them himself until the new pastor may arrive; and Muhlenberg says that a (59) faithful servant of Christ will be sure to find a great field opened before him here, for there are many Germans living far and wide around. Another congregation in New Jersey²⁰ has earnestly begged that Mr. Kurtz, the teacher, might be permitted to serve them for a season; and that, meanwhile, letters should be written on their behalf, with the view of securing a regular pastor. In accordance with this, Mr. Kurtz went to this congregation, as a temporary supply, on March 18th, 1746; the young man whom Muhlenberg had employed as schoolmaster in Providence (p. 46) supplying Mr. Kurtz's place in the school at New Hanover, under the superintendence of Mr. Vigera.

Upon the invitation of the people, Muhlenberg visited this same congregation several times during the last year and instructed a class of 24 catechumens, preparing them for the Lord's Supper. He has visited them twice this year; and, as we learn from his last letters, Pastor Brunnholtz also proposes to visit them during the summer. The German Lutherans in the Maquaischen District,²¹ New York, have likewise importuned them for pastoral service, with whom however they have, as yet, not made any positive engagement. Meanwhile, the pastors both, in all their letters beg us, in the strongest terms and as a most useful service, to seek out two good and competent men, to place a regular pastoral call from these congregations in their hands and to send them to America that they may minister in the Word. This depends chiefly, however, upon the good will of God, that He may point out the persons who may be fit for the work, and remove the hindrances that obstruct the way, of which one of the greatest is the circumstance, that the congregations themselves are not able to bear the expenses of the journey. They ask, that these expenses may be defrayed out of the moneys collected for the churches in Philadelphia, Providence, etc., and propose to re-imburse these congregations by contributing an

equal amount to the building of their churches. But since the last collections have been transmitted, very little has been placed in our hands; and we are not able to make any advance to defray the expenses of the voyage.

18. We are persuaded, however, that God, who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can ask or think, is able to remove all these hindrances, that He will do it when the proper time (60) comes, and that He will make it manifest by overruling all circumstances and employing all needful means for the advancement of His own work. Meanwhile, it is our duty to magnify His Name for what He has already done; to plead with Him in earnest and believing prayer, on behalf of these desolate congregations; and to entreat Him to cause His kingdom to come to them, so that they may be led, by the light of His Word, in the way of salvation through Jesus Christ. He has no delight in the death of a sinner, much rather is it His will that the sinner should repent and live; and therefore He will graciously hear and answer these, our prayers, for His mercy's sake.

In conclusion, we pray that those congregations that are already favored with the privileges of the Gospel may receive the Word into honest and good hearts; and that their pastors and teachers may obtain ever new supplies of grace and power from on high, patiently and successfully to teach their people the whole counsel of God, for their salvation. Further, for their work of faith and labor of love, in which all the friends and benefactors of these congregations have come to their help, the Lord reward them according to the fullness of His Grace, accept their offerings as a sweet smelling savor and ever supply all their need according to the riches of His Glory in Christ Jesus, to whom be praise forever. Amen.



NOTES TO THE SECOND CONTINUATION.

¹ Germantown is now a part of the consolidated city of Philadelphia, although it is several miles distant from the centre of business. See Note 29th, Brief Report, page 60.

² The time had not yet arrived for a regular, synodical organization. But out of these pastoral conferences, of which we now hear, and by the force of circumstances, there grew up what is properly called a *SYNOD*; a name, however, which was not exclusively employed until after some years had passed. It will be noticed in the 3d Continuation, I. Sect., 19.

³ Does this mean *Saccum* or *Saucon*, on a stream of the same name, north east of New Hanover? The Saucon empties into the river Lehigh, at Freemansburg, three miles below Bethlehem.

⁴ We have not been able to ascertain anything about the origin or the youth of this man whose memory is held in such honor, by the Salzburger Reports of Ebenezer, Effingham Co., Georgia, as well as by the Halle Reports of Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, from the long introduction, towards its end, of the 7th Continuation of the Salzburger Reports, we learn, that he was born in Strassburg, was a "protestant merchant," and unmarried. We know also, that in the fall of 1741, he conducted 61 Salzburg emigrants, the *fourth* transport, from London to Ebenezer. The diary of this voyage is given in the 9th Continuation of the Salzburger Reports, No. III. There also may be seen a letter of his, to a prominent banker in Germany, dated May 18th, 1742. He owned a small piece of ground at Ebenezer, where he, at first, undertook to raise silk-worms; but in July 1742 he lay sick of a fever, at the house of Pastor Bolzius, by which time, however, he had already undertaken the superintendency of the Orphanhouse at Ebenezer. He had also been much occupied in preparing to build a house for himself; but his health having failed, he set out upon a journey to Pennsylvania, Aug. 8th, 1743; Pastor Bolzius bearing him company as far as Savannah. Beyond what we read about him in this 2d Continuation, to wit, that he taught school in New Hanover, and would, now and then, read a sermon, in the absence of the pastor; and, in the occasional absence of the catechist John N. Kurtz, would superintend his school also (see pp. 59, 180), we learn that in 1746 he lived in the house of Muhlenberg in Providence, and taught school there. Muhlenberg calls him "our dear friend" (p. 178). About the end of April and the beginning of May, 1748, he accompanied the pastors Muhlenberg and Handschuh to Lancaster, Pa., and when the latter went a second time, to take charge of the congregation at Lancaster, on May 23d of the same year, he accompanied him also, "zu dessen Erleichterung im Aeussern" (see p. 102-104). He went with Handschuh and the catechist Schaum, on a visit to York, Pa., and the borders of Maryland (pp. 105, etc.). When the school at Lancaster was divided he took one of the sections under his care. July 3d, 1748 (p. 110).

In the Record of Marriages in the congregation at Philadelphia, we read the following, in the handwriting of Pastor Brunnholtz: "April 19th, 1749, at the

residence of Muhlenberg, in Providence, JOHN FREDERICK VIGERA with ANNA STEPHANS." Muhlenberg himself gives us an interesting account of this in the Halle Reports (p. 325). From this time Mr. Viger is employed as schoolteacher in Philadelphia, where, in the absence of Pastor Brunnholtz, he reads a sermon in the church (p. 124), and has his home in the house of Brunnholtz for a time (p. 316). In 1752 he applied to the congregation to pay him what was due; and on Feb. 20th, 1752, the church council resolved, that if he should cease to teach school at Easter, a new arrangement would have to be made; he should be paid one pound and ten shillings as reader in the church; that the additional fifty pounds due to him should be paid, as soon as possible; and that they would otherwise hold him high in their esteem. (See Minute Book of Church Council at Philadelphia.)

In 1750 Brunnholtz bears witness that "he had a flourishing school this winter and so instructed the children as to give great satisfaction to the parents. God has so ordered it, at last, that he will hereafter remain with us and continue in charge of the school" (p. 375). On page 387, 8, there is a reference to his reading of sermons to the congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown. He joins Brunnholtz in furnishing Ludolf Schrenk with a letter of recommendation to Muhlenberg (p. 390), and in 1751 introduces the newly arrived Pastor Heinzelmann to Muhlenberg (p. 547). In April, 1752, he retired from the school at Philadelphia, and then it was taught by Heinzelmann and the organist of the congregation (p. 559).

At this point he disappears from the Halle Reports and from the Minutes of the congregation at Philadelphia. From letters of him, in the Schaum correspondence, in the possession of the Muhlenberg family, it appears that whilst residing in Philadelphia he attended to a great variety of commissions laid upon him by the pastors in the country, such as ordering, and forwarding books, etc., etc. A certain vein of humor also pervaded his style of writing. He would entitle the pastors Schaum and Kurtz his *fratres*; and, in his letters, send the compliments of his *costa* (rib), etc., etc.

⁵ "Helfer": In Württemberg and in other districts of Germany those persons who were officially associated with the first clergyman of the place, and who, in rank, were second pastors, were called "Helfer." There are also Oberhelfer, Archdeacons. The position held by the two "Gehülfen" Schaum and Kurtz may remind us of the office of vicar that was common in Württemberg. Young theologians who had passed their examination in the University were associated with older pastors, or with those whose congregations were too large for their own strength, as assistants. They made their home with these pastors, were trained by them in the practical duties of the pastoral office, and were subject to their control. The whole responsibility rested upon the senior pastor.

⁶ This, no doubt, refers to Jacob Loeser, who afterwards taught school in New Hanover, and after that, also, in Lancaster. (See "Gemeinschaftliches Schreiben" of the three Senior Pastors, 8th Continuation, Art. IX.)

⁷ See Note 27 to First Brief Report.

⁸ See more about this in "Gemeinschaftliches Schreiben" of the three Senior Pastors, of the year 1754. 8th Continuation, Art. IX, p. 682.

⁹ This probably refers to the reports of divers kinds that proceeded from the Moravians, and from the extravagant importance that was ascribed to the arous-

ing of pious emotions, a thing so highly extolled by Whitefield, at that time, and often so loudly gloried in by bragging sects. Muhlenberg saw through the whole business. His cool judgment detected the animal elements that marked it, its weakness and hollowness; and he never allowed himself to be deceived by it. The same is true of his colleague, Brunnholtz. See Note 19.

¹⁰ The following is taken from the Church Records: "June 16th, 1st Sunday after Trinity, were baptized, in the church: 1. Maria, aged 18 years, wife of Feld Scherer, of Matetscha; 2. Andrew Juengling, aged 22 years, of Matetscha; 3. His brother, Christian Juengling, aged 20 years. Witnesses, Maria Gertrude and Feld Scherer."

¹¹ This is probably the town of Toenning, on the river Eider, in Schleswig-Holstein. It had once been a fortress. Brunnholtz was a native of this province. It is likely that the "good friend" is the person spoken of in Section 12 of this Continuation, viz., Pastor Ulitsch, of Toenningen.

¹² These are people who separate themselves from the regular communion of the Church, because the preaching or the practice of the Church, or, it may be, both are not good enough for them. Such characters often suffer under the lack of better knowledge, and from spiritual pride; and both congregations and pastors should be careful not to give them any footing or any encouragement. Whoever is smitten with separatistic notions should not forget, that he himself is as far from perfection as is the regular congregation, that a Divine blessing is promised to the communion of the Church, and that each individual member is bound to render it his support. Separation can be right only then when the congregation rejects the Word of God and the Confession of the Church, when, after due admonition, it persists in this rejection, admits those who are openly ungodly to the Holy Supper, and, in short, refuses to maintain church discipline.

¹³ The following is taken from the Church Records: "At the time of the consecration of the church, Oct. 6th, Mr. Pauling's three negroes were baptized, and named, John, Jacob and Thomas. Pastor Brunnholtz, Wagner and Newberg were the witnesses." (This Record is in Muhlenberg's hand.)

¹⁴ At that time the slave trade was in full bloom in this country, and negroes were imported direct from Africa. On March 1st, 1780, the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania enacted a law (34 ayes, 21 noes) providing for the gradual abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the state. See Dr. Egle's Hist. of the Commonwealth of Pa., p. 193. However, we should not forget that it was a very rare thing for a German in Pennsylvania to be a slaveholder; and that the first protest against slavery in general proceeded from the meeting of German Quakers, in Germantown (Philad'a), April 18th, 1688. The English Quakers, at their quarterly and yearly meetings, laid this protest upon the table, regarding it as of too explosive a character. The original German protest is yet in existence. On this subject, see Article by Prof. Dr. O. Seidensticker, in the "Deutscher Pionier," Cincinnati, 1870, '71.

¹⁵ At that time, large quantities of bricks, for building, were imported from England. In the Historical Soc. of Pa. at Philadelphia there are to be seen written contracts with brickmakers drawn up as far back as 1710-1715.

¹⁶ Upon this subject see what Muhlenberg says, at length, in his observations on Example 6th, in the 11th Continuation; also the extract from Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey, etc., 1754, and whatever refers to it in Prof. Dr. O. Seidensticker's "Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pa." 1876, p. 21, sqq.

¹⁷ Upon this and other localities consult the List at the end of this work. Chester, formerly called Upland, on the Delaware, 16 miles south of Philadelphia, was a station of Swedish pastors. It was here that William Penn first trod the new world; and here also the first Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania met, under William Penn, Dec. 4th, 1682. An Episcopal church was built there as early as 1702, upon ground that originally belonged to the Swedes. See Papers, relating to the Hist. of the Church in Pa., 1871, p. 78, sqq. There was no Evangelical Lutheran church there. In recent times the Synod of Pennsylvania has endeavored to organize a congregation in this place.

¹⁸ It was owing to the necessities of the times that such so-called Union churches were erected. In the course of time much ecclesiastical confusion resulted from this; and the fewer we have of such churches the better.

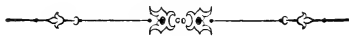
¹⁹ This refers to EASTON, Pa. True, Easton can hardly be spoken of as a town in 1745. At that time the locality bore the name "Forks of the Delaware," for the Lehigh and the Bushkill empty into the Delaware at that point. PHILLIPSBURG, on the east of the Delaware, opposite Easton, was Indian-village already in 1654. The name Phillipsburg occurs on a map as early as 1749. Here there was a Mr. Martin who held the ferry rights, from Tinicum, an island, a few miles south of Easton, up to Marble Mountain, one mile above Easton. The town was laid out in 1750; and some years before this, about one mile from the town, on the Philadelphia road, and on the land of Leonard Walter, there stood a church in which the Lutherans held their services. Two baptisms are recorded already in 1733. See 5th Continuation, I. 1747, "In March," etc. It is not known by whom these baptisms were administered. The first preacher was John Justus Jacob Birkenstock, 1740-1744, who preached also in the Jordan Church, at the same time. As early as 1745, 1746, Rev. David Brainerd preached, occasionally, here. This zealous and faithful missionary, who had been sent to the Indians in New Jersey and neighboring provinces, by the Scotch Society for the Propagation of Christianity, remained over a year at the Forks of the Delaware, afterwards Easton, and preached to the English inhabitants, and also, to the Germans settled there. (Fresenius Pastoralsammlungen. 3. Theil, p. 164, sqq., 175, 178, etc.; 4. Theil, p. 70.) We infer from Halle Reports, p. 58, Sect. 17, that Muhlenberg visited the Lutherans here in 1745, and after due instruction, confirmed several young persons. He understood, soon enough, the importance of the place. We find him there again in March, 1747, (Halle Reports, p. 215), and 1745-1749, he and Nicholas Kurtz operate there as occasion requires. In 1749-1753 Pastor Ludolph Henry Schrenk served the congregation, and, at the same time, those in Saucon and Upper-Milford. When Pastor Schrenk took charge of the church in Raritan, N. J., a vagrant sneaked in and disturbance followed until, in 1754, Pastor John Andrew Friderici settled in Saucon, and then, some years afterwards, became pastor at Easton. In 1762 he moved from Saucon to Smithfield. From May until Dec., 1768, Pastor Daniel Schumacher preached there, once a month. Already in 1762 the congregation on the Philadelphia road was united with the one in Easton, and a building for Divine worship and for a school, in South 3d St., was purchased for 400 pounds (\$1066), the congregation in Easton, as appears in the Journal of Pastor Schumacher, having previously worshipped in a schoolhouse. In Dec., 1763, Pastor Bernhard Michael Hausihl, whom we meet repeatedly in the Halle Reports, was called to Easton, but he did not remain long. In 1769, Pastor

Christian Streit took charge of the congregation and began the regular Church Records, which were in the possession of the congregation at the time when Pastor J. W. Richards preached a sermon upon its history. Since that time, these Records have been lost. The oldest Book of Records now known was begun by Pastor Dr. Endress.

The corner-stone of a stone church, in which the Reformed also had a share, was laid June 8th, 1775; and the church was consecrated Nov. 17th, 1776. It is now wholly in the possession of the Reformed. Pastor Frederick Ernst had charge of the Lutheran congregation from June 1780 till 1782; Solomon Friederici 1782 to 1798; Pastor Aug. Henry Schmidt 1799 to 1801. Upon his arrival in America he had settled at Tohikon, Pa., in 1795; and furnished an interesting report of his visit to the Synod in York, Pa., 1796, for "Henke's Archiv," Vol. 5, pp. 237, 569. In Nov. 1801, Pastor Christian Fr. Louis Endress took charge of the congregation, and, excepting one year, served it until 1815, when he succeeded Pastor Dr. G. H. Ernst Muhlenberg at Lancaster, Pa., where he remained until his decease. Rev. John P. Hecht was pastor in Easton 1815 to 1845. In 1830 the Lutherans separated from the Reformed and erected their own church, St. John's, which they occupy at the present time. The corner-stone of this church was laid May 31st, 1830; the church was consecrated Jan. 1st, 1832. Since then the pastors have been as follows: Nov. 1845 to March 1851, Dr. John W. Richards; April 1851 to April 1856, Dr. Charles F. Schaeffer; April 1856 to May 1862, Dr. B. Sadtler; Aug. 1862 to Nov. 1867, Pastor B. M. Schmucker; 1868 to 1874, Pastor Ed. Belfour; and since 1874, Pastor J. R. Groff. See M. S. Henry's History of Lehigh Valley, p. 48, sqq.—Sermon of Rev. Dr. J. W. Richards, Easton, 1851.

²⁰ Probably this is COHANZEY (Bridgeton), Cumberland Co., N. J.

²¹ This is the region of the river Mohawk. See Fred. Kapp's History of the Germans in the State of N. Y., etc., 1867, pp. 83, 146, 153, sqq. Many Germans had been settled in these parts for a long time, and here the names of the WEISERS, father and son, were well known.



APPENDIX TO SECOND CONTINUA- TION.

I.

Reverend Fathers in Christ!

Twice already this fall, have we been refreshed by your fatherly communications. Having been informed in both of them, that the results of collections and benevolent contributions would authorize us to draw, by Bill of Exchange, for 70 pounds, and again for 50 pounds, we have done so, through Messrs. Baker and Broughdon, Secretary, etc. As some vessels are about to sail we send reports of our work, by them. Two weeks ago I sent a letter and Bill of Exchange by the ship of Mr. Peter Koch, which sails via Ireland. In that letter I have reported certain matters only in a general way; but I hope, at an early time, to speak more particularly.

Since the arrival of my brethren and assistants I have had very little leisure or rest. I have to be continually traveling upon my horse; the work grows larger and heavier. I was obliged to travel twice, to the province of New Jersey, for the purpose of settling an old, complicated, troublesome conflict between Magister Wolf and the congregations at Raritan. I have also visited Tulpehocken twice. Two diseases have been raging in the country congregations; and this has given me very much to do. Here and there, are congregations in the country which I have visited occasionally. The building of my house also, has embarrassed me. There are two subordinate congregations (Filials) connected with the church at Providence, for the members are very widely scattered, some of them living as far as ten and twelve miles distant from the church. Now, because many of the weak and aged members cannot travel so far, and the little children cannot be brought over such distances, to be baptised in the church, I therefore have an occasional service during the week, somewhere along the Skippach, and also, on the other side of the Schuylkill; for it is often a very troublesome thing for the people to have to ford the river.

My method in conducting the public services, for about eighteen months, has been this: The sermon itself occupies an hour or three-quarters of an hour. Afterwards, I catechise the whole congregation upon the subject of the sermon; and I have found this to be useful, and not without a blessing. It would seem as if a catechism were as necessary for us as is our daily bread; for, in the schools, the children ought to be well grounded in catechetical doctrines; and to do this, the adoption and uniform use of the most suitable terms for expressing such doctrines is important. If our hopes that our beloved Father

Ziegenhagen will help us in this matter, should fail us, then we shall have to prepare another regular catechism as the basis of our instructions. If one pastor or teacher adopts his own plan, and another uses the Württemberg catechism, the third that of Giessen, and a fourth the Holstein catechism, confusion would be sure to follow.

I have therefore, both with heart and voice, continually expressed the hope that his Reverence, the Court Chaplain, would furnish us with a catechism. We prize his beautiful hymn of the Faith, or Order of Salvation (Glaubenslied) most highly; but it has no reference to the holy Sacraments; and I fear that any attempt to introduce such reference might damage the hymn itself. We might thereby put ourselves in the position of Melancthon when he undertook to improve the poetry of the hymn, "Nun freut euch lieben Christengmein."

After closing my last letter I added a note in which I said, in effect, that I had wished to have two pastors instead of the two catechists. I hope that my reverend Fathers will not take this as though I complained about the catechists. Far from it. On the contrary, our testimony is that they are true and faithful in their work and that they encourage us to hope for good things. We cannot be thankful enough to God, and to our Fathers for having selected them and sent them to us. I have not yet been informed whether my letter to Dr. Francke, and also my letter to Madame von Münchhausen, and to my own relations, which I had sent via Amsterdam, by a Dutch ship, have been received. Thank God, we are, all four of us, well, so far, and each one is active at his work.

After long consideration and carefully conferring with each other, my colleague and myself have made the following arrangement: He takes special charge of the two congregations in the city (Philadelphia and Germantown), and I, of the two in the country, yet with the understanding that we confer with each other about all our official duties, discharge them as associated pastors and occasionally exchange pulpits, etc. My colleague has secured the confidence of the congregations in the city, and his labors among them have been blest; which is a great joy to me. I hope that patience will still be maintained, and with the help of God, everything will be brought into good order, in due time. The reason for our begging so earnestly that Brother Albinus or some other faithful servant might be sent to us is this: several congregations are worrying us to help them; and two congregations on the Raritan, in Jersey, are specially importunate for speedy assistance. They are even willing to bear a portion of the expenses of the voyage. But, delays are dangerous, for false teachers are sneaking about on all hands, and the office of an Evangelical Lutheran pastor has been much scandalized by the misconduct of Magister Wolf. I instructed and confirmed twenty-four adults, a short time ago, at that place. The people expressed their wishes to me, with many tears and great earnestness.

Philadelphia, Nov. 17th, 1745.

MUHLENBERG.

I hope that our reverend Fathers will be pleased to give prompt attention to the matter concerning Mr. Albinus or some other faithful laborer; for there is *periculum in mora*. If we should be so favored as to have Mr. Albinus sent to us, then our wants would be met. Under our circumstances, the object contemplated by the appointment of our worthy catechists is not so satisfactorily attained as it is in the case of regular pastors. It requires as much to support a catechist as it does to support a pastor; and a pastor can himself teach a school, or place the school under the care of some young person; but a catechist cannot do the work of a pastor, nor administer the sacraments; and catechists are apt to think that they are of too much consequence to keep school. The school is kept open only in the winter; in summer it is closed, and the support of the catechist is somewhat expensive. In Providence I have a bright young man who teaches the school during the winter, and in summer supports himself by manual labor.

Congregations are being formed all around, and if the pastors and catechists are to have a respectable support many a shilling will be required. My colleague, Brunnholtz, has to keep a horse in the city, which Mr. Schaum also uses, occasionally. Mr. Kurtz has a horse in New Hanover, and I one in Providence. Here we have first the cost of the purchase of a horse, and afterwards the cost of feeding him; and yet without horses it is not possible for us to do our duty. I should have written, long ago, to our excellent and sympathizing benefactor, Rev. Pastor Meier, in Halle; but I could not find time to do it. During the whole year I have had very little rest, for there is no end to my having to move hither and thither, always on horseback.

II.

Reverend Fathers in Christ!

I have promised, several times already, to report to you more particularly, upon the state of affairs as it is at present. As long as I was the only preacher in this field, not being able to operate at three different places at the same time, wailing and lamentation for the want of teachers and assistants prevailed. As soon, however, as God in His wondrous grace, and by the action of His servants, had sent us three assistants, a heavy burden was taken off of my heart, and I began at once to divide my work, and to lay a portion upon the heart of each of my faithful brethren. It soon began to be noised abroad through the land, that three preachers had arrived. The people here know nothing about catechists, and every servant can play the part of a schoolmaster, who makes his living by school-teaching in the winter and by farm work in summer. We explained, however, to the church officers that Mr. Brunnholtz was an ordained preacher and the other two were students of theology.

First of all, we drew up a call in the English language, for the congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown, entering our own names as on behalf of the congregations: "By our supplications sent and represented Ministers of the Gospel, according to our unaltered Augsburg Confession, etc., to keep and to maintain, etc." This call or certificate of a call we also wrote in the church book, and then requested the deacons and members of the congregations to subscribe it with their own names, and at the same time to put down, each one for himself, the sum of money that he would contribute every year for the support of the pastor. After this obligation was finished, some dissatisfaction began to be expressed in Germantown, as though they had bound themselves for life; we preachers might depart from the true faith, or we might grow too old and incapacitated to serve as their pastors; specially they had two notable examples that constrained them to say: "vestigia me terrent." Preacher Andreae had once made a written contract, for life, with his congregations, and when a member, on account of Andreae's ungodly life, refused to pay, it led to a violent law suit that was expensive for both parties. The other example was that of Magister Wolf, who had been sent from Hamburg to the Raritan, in the neighboring province of Jersey. Instead of building up the congregations he miserably broke them down; and has been prosecuting a suit in court against the people for about eight years already.

The dissatisfaction, however, above referred to, arose from another source, which I shall now explain.

Mr. Brunnholtz and myself united together in administering the Lord's Supper in Germantown. During the examination at confession I had, in a spirit of love and meekness, admonished some of the deacons, with reference to certain offences which were so open and public, that even the children on the streets had witnessed them. This enraged these men; and so they began to work against me in every way. Yet when I stated to the congregation that I would erase my name from the call and see if they would show more respect to my colleague, Brunnholtz, the congregation rose at once against these disorderly deacons and moved to excommunicate them; but the matter was compromised and peace was restored. On that same occasion, I requested another man to tarry a few moments as I wished to speak with him in private. He did remain, and I spoke with him about his wife who was often intoxicated, and whose conduct was grossly indecent. Hereupon he was so enraged that it was with difficulty that I escaped his cane; and afterwards he even threatened to require me to give proof of this charge before the law. This man was excommunicated. He has a house-full of children, the most of whom I have instructed and confirmed. The children walk upon the whole, uprightly and in a Christian way; they also attend the church. There is yet a considerable number of such rough branches; and if we come too close home to their consciences, then they let loose and cry out "What right has the

priest over me? of course I pay him by the year; but if his preaching does not please my taste, I'll go to another church and get my preaching for nothing."

Other people, however, are so friendly that if they could they would divide their own hearts with their pastor. Such persons often plead with tears that we should not let them suffer for the acts of our opponents. These devout people are for the most part poor. It is a hard thing when the pastor has to depend for his support upon congregations the larger part of the membership of which is yet unconverted.

Now, to return to the first point: the question arises, what shall be done with the catechists? Are we to introduce them as mere schoolmasters? In that case they would hardly command the respect or the support to which they are entitled. Shall we describe them and treat them as students of theology? Then people would directly demand that they should preach also, for in this country there are many who, though they have never studied anything at all, do preach nevertheless and often three times a day. But if there are four clergymen in four congregations, then there will have to be a sermon preached to every one of them every Sunday. Whenever a congregation is not supplied in this respect, then other preachers show themselves, preaching here and there in some dwelling-house and holding meetings, and as the people want to hear something they gather about such places. If we would offer to appoint some one to read a sermon to them, we were told that this would not satisfy the people, also "viva vox docet," they added further, we can read sermons for ourselves at home and need not to travel four, five, six, seven miles, and to pass through rivers, swamps and thickets for such a purpose. Whilst we dutifully respected the instructions of our fathers forbidding the catechists to preach, we had to consider very carefully what was best to be done under the circumstances. So we had the schools commenced at once. Mr. Kurtz was sent to New Hanover to Mr. Vigera to occupy the new school-house, and the congregation was publicly informed that he was "assistant" (helper) a name well known along the Rhein and equivalent to "substitute." His chief duty was to teach the school, but besides that he was to assist in preaching, and in the absence of the pastor, in *casu necessitatis*, to baptize infants, which midwives are otherwise permitted to do. Mr. Schaum began the school in the city, and it was settled that he too should render assistance in preaching, and also baptize in *casu necessitatis*.

However, as we knew that they had had very little experience in preaching and in catechising we thought it would be advisable for them to commit to memory one of Rambach's sermons on the catechism during the week and then to deliver it on Sunday. In this way the catechists themselves would have catechetical truths impressed upon their memories, the congregations would hear a Rambach preaching upon the chief points of the catechism, and so all parties would be well

served. Mr. Schaum applied himself very diligently, but it is a pity that he stutters; he often repeats a word five or six times and makes mistakes. He has acquired more confidence through his practice, but he has not yet laid off his stammering. Mr. Kurtz was "substitute" in the country congregations, preaching one Sunday in New Hanover, the other in Providence as it is usual for the catechists to interchange with the pastors. At first he confined himself to the memorizing of his sermon. But as he got along so well in his own opinion and as some foolish people flattered him he began to preach sermons partly extempore and partly his own composition. This we forbade and undertook to prevent, but we cannot ourselves always be present. In a word, in writing his discourses he went so far as to parade personal and private affairs openly in the pulpit, matters and things that had occurred in the private history of the deacons and members of the congregation. This gave me much trouble, and as nearly the whole of my time was occupied, partly in the city, partly in the country and I could not be always with him, the old Adam grew so strong in him that he began to think that he himself was the only preacher in the land and all the rest of us were blusterers.

He bought a horse and saddle for himself for 12 pounds, of which I had known nothing, and he promised to pay during the next autumn. With the meadows and other grounds connected with the school-house there is land enough to support two horses. The members of the congregation offer so many kind gifts in the form of meat and drink that there is a superabundance. So a man and his wife, themselves poor people, have been allowed to occupy the old school-house, so that they may wait upon the catechist and attend to his cooking and washing. He raises fowls and capons. In the winter he teaches about thirty or forty children, but this work continues only for half the year because the people in the country require their children to work during the summer. He gets five shillings per quarter for each child. When he baptizes a child he is paid one shilling for recording it. When he attends a funeral in my absence, whether of child or adult, he is paid from five to eight shillings according to the circumstances of the family. He can live like a nobleman in Germany. In my heart I wish that he may live in meekness and walk in an humble spirit.

My reverend fathers, I have to say that if a preacher or catechist from Europe has not been thoroughly converted then we can entertain but poor hopes of him in Pennsylvania. The condition of affairs in this free, strange country is such that people are very easily seduced into carnal indulgence and dissolute habits, and for young beginners especially the danger is imminent.

After great toil and trouble I have, with the help of God, brought the congregation at New Hanover into such a condition that it is now, perhaps, the largest congregation in the whole country; and although it may yet have some wild old branches, nevertheless the Divine bless-

ing abounds upon it, and some of its members are specially rich in good works. If Mr. Kurtz were ordained he could, perhaps, live here alone, and, at the same time, serve other congregations in the country. My colleague, Brunnholtz, and myself, had prepared a call and instructions for Mr. Kurtz, in English, and designated him as schoolmaster and assistant at New Hanover. This he casually saw and examined in my absence, and complained about it in a letter to Mr. Schaum, in this style: that we had put our heads together and spelled out a call for him, intending to make him a schoolmaster; but that he must have patience and must put up with it. For this I took him entirely alone, and, with the earnest heart of a brother, I urged him to sincere repentance. He then promised, with tears, to follow the thread, (Faden, Filum) which the fathers had given him. Mr. Viger a vacated the school-house and moved to the house of a member of the congregation at New Hanover, intending, contrary to my wishes, to keep a private school. However, he is now ready to move to some other place, as we may direct, and take charge of a public school.

Afterwards I had opportunity, in the country, to become more intimate with him; and now I have no cause to complain. He is willing to take advice, is attentive to the school, and whenever he preaches he delivers a sermon of Rambach's which he copies off beforehand. I hope that my reverend fathers will not misunderstand me in these complaints of my heart, concerning matters which have given me trouble.

I have also to request that my reverend fathers will not allow what I have here written to come to the knowledge of the catechists; for it might excite in them a secret mistrust towards us, and even array them against us at last. Mr. Schaum has said, several times, that he would go back to Germany at the end of his three years. Now, I do not know whether our reverend fathers have contracted with him for three years or not; neither do I know what reason he has for going back; particularly since his salary is certainly enough to meet his necessities, and probably he has things more comfortable than either my colleague or myself. I have represented to him the great expense of the voyage and the gracious and wonderful leadings of God; and now he is satisfied again.

To end this subject, here is *ecclesia plantanda*, in a juncture that is quite critical; and for this work experienced men, strong men are needed, men who will stand in the breach, and in whom great patience and self-denial shall be joined with the daring of a hero. I am not the man, as my reverend Fathers well know; but I hold my excellent colleague, Brunnholtz, to be such a man; and my wish is, that he had two or three assistants like himself. Then the work would prosper. God could easily find work for me in some obscure corner.

2. As to my having taken a wife, I can say, that it had always been my intention to remain unmarried; but, very likely, the devil, in his

cunning, tried to involve me in a dilemma. I was often vexed to find how many people were concerned about securing my welfare through a marriage. When I was in the city I was told, "Sir, you must stay in this country and be with us. I know a good espouse for you. Here or there is an opportunity," etc. When I was in the country, some rude, blunt settler or other would say, "The parson must become my son." Besides, circumstances of a private nature often occurred in the course of my pastoral duty, visiting the sick and the like. Now, had I yielded to the spirit and fashion of the world, and made wealth an object, I would have been involved, very soon. But when I made up my mind to live unmarried then the devil went to work in an infamous way with gross and outrageous slanders to befoul me and my work, of which I have already given an instance, to wit, the case of that creature who had to undergo public penance in the church. I could not get along without some female attendant. I could not and would not employ young girls, and old women require servants themselves, etc. Also, when a clerical brother would visit me then such attendant became specially necessary. As to the principle of selection I considered nothing than sincere piety as requisite, such as might be "conversable" both for myself and for my work. The Lord also regarded my prayers and granted me a young woman who is pure of heart, pious, unpretentious, meek and active.

My wife's parents are Lutherans by descent, but as religious affairs were in such confusion in this country, my father-in-law has had a very varied experience in that respect. He was first awakened by the reading of the church-postils of the sainted Prof. Francke. Afterwards he had some connection with the so-called Sabbath Friends, who insisted so much upon the matter of self-denial and at first had a great following. At the beginning he thought well of them, because they made such diligent use of the writings of the fathers at Halle. This, however, did not last long; then came the followers of Dippel, disseminating his writings also, and the result was that people began to reject Jesus Christ. So my father-in-law left them at once. When Count Zinzendorf appeared and presented the doctrine of atonement through the Redeemer so prominently, he thought he had found the truth at last. The Count paid him great attention at once, for he supposed that by my father-in-law's influence he might find his way open to reach the wild Indians. Indeed, the Count prevailed upon him to teach several persons the Indian language. He made extraordinary efforts to secure this man and his family for his cause. Whenever in the conferences held by the Count any reference is made to a personage of official rank, that personage always is Conrad Weiser. However, he has a wise head and does not commit himself, and as he would not adopt all their plans, the Count said that he had too much judgment (*zu viel Vernunft*), and that was the reason why he could not go the whole length with them. Whilst the matter above spoken

of was as yet in progress, the Moravian preacher, Pyrlaeus, entered his complaints and said that it was not at all right for him to give me his daughter as my wife, for the child could have been married to much greater advantage amongst them. *Caetera transeant.* The whole affair was the occasion of much talk and gossiping, pro and con. But my congregations are well satisfied, and extend to my wife many proofs of their regard and love.

At first my wife and I lived three months in Philadelphia, and my colleague Brunnholtz was occupied in the country congregations. After much deliberation and viewing the matter on all sides, we finally agreed to exchange our positions, and for the following reasons:

1. When I was the only pastor here, very rarely receiving letters from Europe, and when Preacher Andree had almost succeeded in raising a rebellion in the congregation in the city, the congregations in New Hanover and Providence united in the petition that I should promise them to live and die in the midst of them; that if no help should arrive from Europe and I would find myself unable to endure the labors of the three congregations, I should then leave Philadelphia and stay with them. Upon this they gave me a regular call, in English, as pastor of the country congregations for life, and a deacon purchased for me a good and convenient piece of ground for a pastoral residence. As the movements of Andree, however, were arrested, this whole business remained stationary until the arrival of my colleague Brunnholtz, and then the congregations in the country renewed their request that I should go to them and build my house.

2. My colleague is of quite delicate constitution, and in the city he can have more prompt attendance and more of the advantages of friendly care.

3. Again, I will find it more convenient to keep house in the country where the people, though not able to raise much money, can nevertheless easily pay a salary in the form of provisions and such produce as is necessary for housekeeping.

4. My colleague would have to rent a house in the country, and I would have to pay a heavy rent in the city, and in the meantime my land in the country would be untilled and unproductive.

5. The congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown are smaller and more compact than those in the country.

6. It is much more necessary for a pastor in the country to keep riding about, than for one in the city, and my colleague preferred to stay with Mr. Schaum in the city, and that I should labor with Mr. Kurtz in the country.

7. Our reverend Fathers had specified Germantown as a supplement in the call given to Mr. Brunnholtz, consequently he has the first right to it.

8. My colleague in his personal intercourse with city people is able to speak more to their edification than I am. In short, after much

consideration this arrangement seemed to us to be the best, and so it shall remain until our reverend Fathers approve of it, or order otherwise. In addition, we have agreed to exchange with each other every four or six weeks, and to confer together upon our work as often as we may have time to do so.

Now, as the result of all was that I had to move into the country, I found that I had a very heavy undertaking in the building of my house. I am yet in debt for the land, and besides I had to begin the serious work of building empty handed. The congregation itself indeed ought to have built a house for the pastor, but their poverty forbade it, especially as the debt on the church has not yet been paid. So I was compelled to begin the work myself, and it cost me about 200 pounds, current money. Although it brings me somewhat into debt, still I have a respectable home where I can raise the necessary grain for my bread, keep a horse, a pair of horned cattle, and keep house with more comfort and economy. Here then we have our earthly abode where we can dry our garments after exposure to storms and rains. We rejoice in the lot assigned to us, that our home is in Providence until we reach the true Fatherland at last.

During this year in which I have been married I have gone to Tulpehocken three times. The first time was when I visited the congregation there in charge of Mr. Wagner. The second time was when I went to my wedding in company with my colleague Brunnholtz. The third time I went to visit the congregations again, because they had had some disagreement with Mr. Wagner; I went also for the purpose of instructing the brothers and sisters of my wife and preparing them for confirmation and the Holy Supper.

As these congregations were not altogether satisfied with Mr. Wagner, they begged me to write to our reverend Fathers and so to secure a faithful pastor for them. Accordingly I drew up a petition in the shape of a call in English, which included also a pledge regularly signed by the congregation, that if Mr. Wagner would withdraw, either I or my colleague should serve them ad interim, until our reverend fathers would supply them with a competent pastor. Now, as this congregation is thus connected with Mr. Brunnholtz and myself, we can give a call to any faithful servant whom our reverend Fathers may appoint, in the following articles:

“We, the Church-wardens and members of the Congregation, desire, call and denominate the Rev. H. M. Muehlenberg to be our lawful and true Minister of the Gospel according to the Augsb. Confession as long as he pleaseth and continues to be a true Minister upon the following Articuls vid: 1) we will assist in every good direction the Rev. Muehlenberg or his successor or whom he sendeth to be our Minister etc. 2) Our lawful Minister H. M. Muehlenberg shall have liberty to send another Minister of the College etc. 3) No other Minister shall be admitted to preach or to administer the ordinances in our

newbuilt Church without the consent of Mr. M. 4) We promise to build a house upon that piece of ground, belonging to our Congregation for the use of our Minister, and leave the whole church land to him to improve etc. and to feed and to furnish him with all necessaries—as our subscription witnesseth etc. 5) For every funeral sermon shall be payed 5 shillings and for a couple to join 6 shillings.”

However, as Mr. Wagner had settled matters with them again, I took no further action. But now they have given Mr. Wagner notice to quit, which he himself has reciprocated, and so next spring he will go somewhere else. What is to be done now? The church stands here forsaken. According to my contract we ought now to serve them. If we fail to do it, the Moravians are around deceiving the people, and on the other side Stoever is working in his improper ways. Some of these people are willing to contribute something to the expenses of the journey, as my father-in-law is willing to do, but upon the whole they want first to see their pastor. Further, these good people have, by their own efforts, erected a fine, large, stone church, and it would be a very heavy undertaking if they had to build a house for the pastor in addition. If our reverend Fathers could and would send them an experienced and gifted man to serve them, we are willing to do what we can ad interim. The Moravians are carrying on their business after a fashion, and still continue to give out that they are Lutherans; they have also recently built a small stone church. If a faithful man should come he would find a large field to work in, for the whole country is occupied by Germans, and my father-in-law who is Justice of the Peace is willing to render help in every good work. But what shall we do at the present time? The people want us to send Mr. Kurtz ad interim until our reverend Fathers shall send them some one. They are willing to be satisfied so long with a catechist or substitute. If we do not occupy the field others will reap where they have not sowed. So I beg for God's sake that our reverend fathers will again stretch forth their hands to save this new congregation that seems now to be in the last extremity. The Lord who has already shown His power and grace so clearly, and who in answer to so many prayers thrust three brethren into the field last year, the same Jehovah to whom all things are possible will be able yet to find a couple of good men and send them to us. The bad fish as well as the good strain the net and threaten to tear it. Come brethren from Europe and help us to draw it in. Meanwhile we shall sing “Commit to God thy ways.”

2. Last summer several men from the neighboring country called New Jersey came to visit me. They live on the Raritan, where there had been two large Lutheran congregations from 1732 until 1736. These congregations engaged Pastor Berkenmeyer to write to Hamburg, and in their name to ask for a pastor. In answer to this the Reverend Ministerium of Hamburg, sent a Magister, August Wolf, of

Lebegin, to Jersey with appropriate instructions. This Wolf began his operations by showing himself in New York in the presence of witnesses yet living to be a "capricieuser" character, full of pride and self-importance. He gave evidence that he had made progress in "humaniority," but that he had neither gifts nor experience in theological subjects, and specially in preaching. His congregation welcomed him with sincere affection, and although he read all his sermons from a manuscript, still the congregation had patience with him, because he gave out that he had lost his memory at sea.

At the very beginning this Magister made himself very familiar with the young women; he wanted to get married, and for his bad conduct in this respect he fell into discredit. So two parties were arrayed in hostile strife, which, however, was settled by Pastor Berkenmeyer and Mr. Knoll, of New York. Yet even after this, Wolf did not attend well to his work, and neither could nor would preach at any time without reading off of his manuscript. He married a farmer's daughter, but he led her a scandalous life, quarreling with her, even beating her. At last he cast her off, after two children had been born to him, bringing a scandalous and infamous charge against her. Yet he was not able to produce before the magistrate any proof of the charge. This miserable life of his, and his unfitness for the pastoral office awakened dissatisfaction in the congregations, so that they refused to pay him the salary that had been promised, and wished to have nothing more to do with him. They offered to pay his expenses if he would go back to where he came from, but this he refused to do. He claimed to stand up for his rights, and that he had a call from Hamburg regularly written and sealed. Mr. Berkenmeyer and Mr. Knoll both took hold of the matter, and complained of the obstinacy of the congregations to the governor. The governor gave orders that the congregations should pay him his salary and retain him in their service. Against this the congregations entered complaint, and plead that he failed to discharge the duties of his office. This led to an exciting suit at law. After a year had passed Mr. Wolf declared, under oath, in the presence of the magistrates that he had fulfilled his office according to his contract; by "contract" he meant the call that had been given to him in Hamburg. After he had so taken oath the members of the congregation were "exequiret," prosecuted, and many of them were arrested even upon the highway.

In a word, the result of this matter was, that the office of pastor was miserably slandered, the young people were utterly neglected, the Lord's Supper was not celebrated, the sick were not visited; in fact the desolation was so complete, that it furnished street ballads among the Germans all through America. The congregations, excepting a few families, were completely broken up. These complaints and suits in court continued on for nine or ten years. The civil authorities themselves, at last, grew tired of it; but they did not know how to put

an end to it; for, the English authorities have no power to decide in spiritual questions, since these matters belong to the Forum Ecclesiasticum.

Finally, the subject was brought before the Supreme Court, which involved the congregations in heavy expenses. The lawyers got the best of it. The members of the congregation sold their property, in part, and moved off to other regions. Mr. Berkenmeyer and Mr. Knoll made several attempts to settle the matter amicably. At one time Mr. Wolf would agree to accept a sum of money and to leave the parts; but the congregation would not consent to pay him anything. At another time the congregation would offer to pay him a certain sum; but he would not consent to take it. A union and reconciliation of the two was not possible. Wolf was obstinate; he would not take any notice of his wife, nor amend his own habits and ways. The congregations, exasperated by the stubborn law-suit, were likewise obstinate, and called Wolf a hireling. In short, within the last ten years, there has been so much scandal, and so much harm done to souls, that even eternity itself might seem too brief to afford a sufficient answer for it.

These two congregations were importuning me for two years to come and help them out of their troubles. They shed many tears on account of their children who, they said, despised religious instruction, because everything was in such miserable condition. At last the congregation got Wolf to agree, in the presence of the magistrates, that both parties should bind themselves to refer the matter, for final settlement, to an arbitration, according to English law. The arbitrators should be four pastors. Mr. Wolf, for his part, chose two, namely, Mr. Berkenmeyer and Mr. Knoll. The congregations named two of us, on their part. My colleague, Brunnholtz, declined to accompany me, because we could not both be absent from home at the same time. So I took Mr. Wagner along with me, having previously, by letter, informed Mr. Berkenmeyer of these circumstances.

Mr. Berkenmeyer acted as though he had known nothing about it. He also said that he would have nothing to do with it, because it was a matter of vital importance, which had already been brought before the Supreme Court. He wanted to be considered only as a Supernumerary. As I was on the ground at the appointed time, with Mr. Wagner, Mr. Knoll was there also; but Mr. Berkenmeyer did not appear. Now, what should we do? Mr. Wolf was not much disposed to settle the business; for he preferred to lead a lazy life, and to spend the money which he obtained through distraint. What was the reason for Mr. Berkenmeyer's absence? On the part of Mr. Wolf, the affair seemed to be only a sham-battle; and it looked as if we would have to go back to Pennsylvania like April-fools, not having accomplished anything, in which case the authorities might have brought an action against us. All the lawyers and interested parties were anxiously waiting for the result of the arbitration. As I had possession of the

bond which had, previously, been signed by both parties, I prevailed upon them to make a new bond, and to appoint us, the three pastors then present, as the arbitrators. This was done; and then we gave a hearing to both parties. We were occupied for four days and nights in trying to steer through the old law-suits of many years; and, I can say, that in all my life, I never spent so hard a time or had so disagreeable a work. There was such bitterness of feeling between Preacher Wolf and the congregations, that reconciliation was altogether impossible. The congregations asked for nothing but to be set loose from their connection with the wretched character; and Wolf on the other hand, knew how to philosophize and make oratorical flourishes, like a skillful lawyer, and all to his own advantage. We would willingly have declined taking any action, and referred the matter to the Reverend Ministerium of Hamburg; but that would have been contrary to the object of the arbitration. Besides, the civil authorities wanted a settlement, before it should go any further; and we must act in accordance with the laws and constitution.

1. After much investigation we found, that Mr. Wolf himself was the prime mover, in all the quarrels, and the original cause of the whole scandal.

2. We found that he was an adulterer, who without right, and without cause had cast off his wife.

3. Also, that he refused to be reconciled to his wife.

4. Further, that he had taken oath, several times before the magistrate, declaring that he had done his official duty, according to the contract; and we found the very reverse.

5. Again, that he had not shown so much official and paternal faithfulness to his own son, as to teach him the ten commandments, though he had had him under his care for years.

Now could we, with any kind of justice, have forced these congregations to acknowledge, as their spiritual guide, a lazy servant, an adulterer, a perjurer, a wolf, a destroyer of the flock, a man who did not rule even his own house, and compel them to pay him so much every year for his wickedness? The congregations themselves, indeed, had in a measure given offence, by hard speeches; yet the most of the people were innocent; and Wolf himself always gave them the provocation. If we had acted with strictness there seemed to be no other way of ending the matter than by releasing the congregations from all connection with Wolf, for a reconciliation could not be effected.

Before reaching our conclusion we asked Wolf what he would demand. He answered in writing, that he required a sum of money in consideration of his resigning, when he would surrender all the jura and claims connected with his call. I and Mr. Wagner terminated the arbitration, and decided, according to action previously recorded, that the congregations should be released and free. But before we had signed and sealed this decision, another plan was proposed and ac-

cepted, to-wit: Mr. Wolf declared in writing, that he resigned and released the congregations from all claims and rights that he had ever demanded from them or could demand in future, by reason of his call. In a word, he resigned from both congregations; and in consideration of this he claimed, after long bargaining, the sum of 90 pounds Jersey money.

The raising of this money was then demanded of those persons who had not, as yet, been distrained by the authorities, and who had not yet gone to other sects. Those members who had been forced by the law to pay up from year to year said, it is but fair that those who have, never yet, given anything should now help somewhat to bear the burden. Now as Mr. Knoll insisted upon it, and Mr. Wolf asked for nothing but a sum of money, and the members of the congregations, in part, as already stated, agreed to this, therefore I and Mr. Wagner yielded the point and declared the conclusion of the whole arbitration in this way: Mr. Wolf sells his call and all his rights for 90 pounds, and the congregations were glad that they could be released for 90 pounds, from the grasp he had upon their throats; although it drew many drops of sweat and blood to raise the 90 pounds, for which Wolf had given them nothing but trouble.

As the 90 pounds had been accorded to Wolf, it was insisted upon that he should defray the costs of the lawsuit that were yet unpaid, which amounted to between 24 and 30 pounds; and further, that he should deliver up the call and the instructions given him by the Rev. Ministerium of Hamburg, which he had so terribly misused and which had been like a sword in the hand of a maniac. He did deliver up his call and his instructions. The deacons who had subscribed their names thereto, tore off the seal and their names, and gave both seal and names to me; and if the Rev. Ministerium of Hamburg so desire, the seal that has been so long abused may be transmitted to them or be destroyed, so that it may never come into the hands of a man who might cause such a Reverend Ministerium to be blamed, and cast such a blemish upon our Evangelical Lutheran religion in this western land. Mr. Wolf was so highly pleased with his money that he forgot his troubles.

As the business had now come to an end, Mr. Berkenmeyer began to storm out against us in a long letter, in which he cries and laughs and groans, and calumniates, and slanders and reviles, and threatens to enter a complaint against me before the reverend Consistory of Hamburg. For this reason I have written to the reverend Fathers so as to be ready for whatever may come out of it. I can produce writings and living witnesses in proof of all that I have said above, and even of much more, if it should be demanded. The arbitration was held last August. In November, the two congregations on the Raritan requested me to visit them, and to help them into some kind of order. I could not refuse although it was more than seventy miles dis-

tant from Providence. Accordingly I went, expecting to spend about two weeks with them. I gathered their youth together; I instructed twenty-four young and older persons, and afterwards confirmed them, on which occasion they were deeply impressed in heart.

The young people had indeed been very successful in learning the chief parts of the catechism; and although they had done this in the Dutch language, nevertheless, they understood the German, and could give very correct answers. I administered the Lord's Supper in both congregations, which had not been done for many years. Those who went to the communion were, for the most part, people who had had nothing to do with Wolf, having come into the country after the troubles had been begun. The older members of the congregation also had first given Wolf what was due him and had made friends with him. O, there were many tears of joy shed among the older people as they witnessed the confirmation of their children. Their spirit revived as did the spirit of Jacob, and they said, it is enough, if our children who have been wandering like lost sheep are only found and brought back again. Both congregations have instructed me to petition our reverend Fathers to send them a pastor, under the following conditions:

1. That he accept the call by way of trial, for three or four years. They have been so terribly disappointed once already, that a chill runs over them whenever they hear anything said about "subscribing;" and, whilst trusting in God, we ought to be a little easy with them in this matter.

2. The two congregations are willing and able to give a faithful pastor a generous support.

3. They are also willing to pay the expenses of the pastors' journey; provided, they obtain a good one.

Now, if the door be once opened for us here, we can extend our operations in the surrounding regions. But alas! alas! The congregations are open, and the Moravians are already on the borders, and working for opportunity to enter in. According to my experience, the people in Jersey have much more reverence and respect for religion and Divine worship than they have in rough Pennsylvania. The congregations have entreated us to allow our assistant, Kurtz, to serve them until our reverend Fathers can send them a regular pastor. Now, what should be done? If we act too promptly we may deserve to be reprimanded. If we delay to act, conscience might reprove us. If I were one with the Moravians, I would soon have laborers and assistants enough. O, my God! Thou hast all power to help, and wilt help in time of need. "Thy every act is blessing, thy course is perfect light." I will sing with my brethren, "Commit to God thy ways." O how gladly would I see our Evangelical Church set forward on a better course in this land. Here the old saying comes in, "Either—or." If we sleep, others will enter in. The expenses of the journey

would, perhaps, be the heaviest item; but I hope that, with the help of God, they can be met. So, for the present, our petition and earnest desire is firm in this, that two messengers of peace may be sent to us, who will be satisfied, *salario Apostolico*, and help us to build up the walls.

4. The affair of preacher *Andreæ* still awaits the decision of the court. He is a vile slanderer and calumniator, ever abusing us and our Fathers and the Court Chaplain *Petersen*; one while calling us all Moravians, and another while, cursed pietists. He slashes about violently in his responsis, specially where the title of our gracious King appears in capital letters. The authenticated copy was quite useful and satisfactory to me; but it would be still better if we could obtain also the *Acta* from *Zweibruecken*.

5. The last new pastor in charge of the large German congregation in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by the name of *Neuberg*, from Sweden, openly joined the Moravians, last November. The Moravians appointed a great conference in Lancaster; and this brought out *Mr. Neuberg* and those of his congregation who were like-minded with him, to declare themselves. They attended the meetings of the conference. When *Mr. Neuberg* after this, undertook to preach in the Lutheran church, there were about eighty persons who opposed his preaching in the church, any more. Another party stood up for him and led him in and, between them, they came very near to blows and violence. Some of them went to the church with guns and swords in their hands; and even the women mixed themselves up in the mess and were among the loudest and the boldest. The affair will, no doubt, be regularly investigated by due course of law, in the court. *Mr. Neuberg* professes to be a genuine Lutheran; and calls us Pietists, against whom so many royal *Mandata* can be produced. *Mr. Neuberg* also maintains the following proposition, to wit, that a man can be a genuine Lutheran and also a Moravian at the same time. Now we are publicly recognized as Lutheran preachers, in this country. We must either maintain the opposite, or acquiesce in the above proposition. *Neuberg's* congregation, for the most part, appeals to us, and says that we are Lutherans, and cannot harmonize with the Moravians either in doctrine or in government. But as *Neuberg* does harmonize with the Moravians, therefore he cannot be a genuine Lutheran preacher; consequently cannot be our pastor. *Neuberg* runs in the opposite direction, and argues thus: a man can be a genuine Lutheran teacher according to the Augsburg Confession and the Symbolical Books even if he does maintain a connection with the Moravian brethren. But Pietists and Moravians cannot harmonize. Now, as this affair may lead to serious results, I respectfully beg our reverend Fathers, to obtain from unbiassed Universities, specially from *Tuebingen*, and if possible, also from Sweden, an answer to the following question: "Do the Moravians of the present day come so near to the Lutherans in doctrine and in church order, that both par-

ties can unite in common, teaching and helping each other in the official work of the church and the school?" As for ourselves, we have reason to believe that it cannot be. But if we have responses from the Universities our views might probably be more distinct. We shall exercise all possible caution, so as not to become entangled in the matter. We shall remain neutral. However, if the civil authorities should demand an explanation of us, we must be able to give our reasons, for here we occupy a public position.

6. I have spoken about the affairs of the churches in letters sent off already. I cannot, at present, report any special official acts; this I reserve for my next communication. As to the rest, I commend our whole concern and work in this land, and specially my beloved brethren, myself and my wife to your paternal and continued affection, to your prayers and intercessions.

I remain, for life, your Reverence's
Most obedient son and servant,

MUHLENBERG.

Providence, Dec. 12th, 1745.

P. S.—The letters accompanying this, relate to our own affairs and connections. The Fathers will excuse us, if they prove to be burdensome. If they reach Europe safely, opportunities will offer from time to time, for transmitting them to their proper places.

P. S.—Perhaps Mr. Fabricius will be so kind as to enclose the letter for the Consistory of Darmstadt in an envelope, and direct it properly.

III.

REPORT OF THE ARBITRATORS ON THE AFFAIRS OF WOLF.

Reverend, Learned and Honored Friends and Brethren in Christ.

May it please your reverences and honors to accept the Report which we the undersigned venture to lay before you respecting a controversy that has long been notorious and lamentable, and now, at last, is terminated between the Rev. Magister Wolf and the congregations on the Raritan in Jersey. It would be too great an abuse of your patience and your time, which is demanded by much more important interests, if we were to repeat all that belongs to the case, part of which has been noised abroad for the last ten years, and part not yet reported. We describe this controversy as a lamentable "action," for our experience has sufficiently convinced us that it has brought much odium upon the Evangelical Lutheran Faith, which is as yet so little known in this free country, has requited the praiseworthy zeal of your reverend ministerium with ingratitude, has broken up the congregations and reduced Mr. Wolf himself to actual poverty.

In the year 1743, three men came from Raritan to Pennsylvania

and requested the Lutheran preacher in Philadelphia, Henry M. Muhlenberg, to visit them and to make an effort to bring the unhappy quarrel to an end. He declined, however, so to do, saying that he was so overwhelmed with work in his own field that it was impossible to grant their request.

In the year 1744, they came a second time begging him with tears and for God's sake to inquire into the matter, because everything was in a state of the deepest confusion and their poor, young people were in danger of being utterly ruined. His answer was that he could do nothing at all in the affair, because it had been placed in the hands of the civil authorities.

In the year 1745, these men came again and stated that a Justice of the Peace, Mr. Mueller, of Raritan, had advised both parties to commit the matter to the judgment of an arbitration, adding that the civil authorities were tired of the whole subject and not disposed to handle it any longer, because they saw that, however it might be decided, ruin was sure to come at last.

Your reverences will allow us to make a statement at this point. It is well known that, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, all Protestants from foreign countries have the privilege of taking up their abode in the English-American colonies, and of becoming naturalized after seven years residence, and thereby partaking of all the privileges that belong to a native Englishman. As to religion there is only one church recognized as established and which depends upon the Archbishop of London* as its Chief Inspector. All other associations of Protestants are tolerated, according to another Act of Parliament, and enjoy the right of conducting their religious services according to their own confession and order; provided only they continue to live as law-abiding and peaceful subjects of the king. Now, according to this, whenever a dispute occurs in the high church, the Archbishop is the Chief Judge. But when a quarrel breaks out in any of the other Protestant congregations the Archbishop has no power to act, and the civil authorities have no right to decide upon questions concerning religion and the church, because the laws do not cover these matters. For this reason the Protestant congregations in this country, if they really wish to maintain their order, have to take the greatest pains to secure among their own numbers the presence of wise men who will know well how to judge in small matters, I Cor. 6; and how in weightier affairs to take counsel with their several consistories and their inspectors regularly chosen. If we make an appeal to the civil authorities we thereby show disrespect to the duly constituted consistories and superintendents of the Church, expose our own infirmities and give ourselves over into the hands of the lawyers, and then tedious and expensive law suits follow. The lawyers know well how to twist spiritual things into a worldly shape.

* This should be *Bishop*; there being no Archbishop of London.

For example, when a dispute about the salary breaks out between a preacher and his congregation, then the lawyers take up the call given to the preacher, the instructions and other documents that have been regularly signed and sealed, and make it out to be a business contract or bargain, such as between a master and a servant. The master refuses to pay the stipulated wages and finds fault with the work of his servant; but the servant maintains, with the aid of witnesses, or under oath, that he has rendered the service required by the contract, consequently the master is obliged to pay. If he refuses to pay, a writ of execution is issued, a matter of such prompt action that men are often arrested even upon the highway and soon forced to come to terms. We cannot deny that Magister Wolf committed a great mistake when he brought this business to the notice of the civil authorities in the way in which he did it, maintaining for years that he had lived up to his contract, giving occasion to so many writs of execution, forcing his spiritual children to pay what they had earned by hard work into the pockets of the lawyers, and showing so little regard for his call and instructions, especially since there are so many places in the world where men may find bread if they will first seek the Kingdom of God and His righteousness.

According to the English laws, when a disputed matter has long been before the court and the lawyers of both parties have grown tired of it, seeing perhaps that their clients have been already plucked bare, the judges usually refer the business to an arbitration.

1. For such an arbitration both parties must agree in selecting three, four or more impartial men who may be able to investigate the subject fairly, and who know so much about English law as to avoid a decision that might be in conflict with it.

2. The parties bind themselves by mutual obligations, pledging a sum of money, to abide by the decision which the arbitrators having first made their investigation, draw up in a written document, regularly signed and sealed.

3. Each party has the right to choose its own men, who may be either clergymen or laymen, provided only they are subjects of the king.

4. In the agreement a certain time is specified at which the whole business must be finished.

5. The arbitrators are bound to affix their names and seals to the final decision before the expiration of the day that has been agreed upon.

6. If the specified term should prove to be short, both parties may agree upon a new arrangement for extending the time.

7. In case one party should prove refractory and refuse to comply with the terms of the obligation, that party is mulcted in the amount of money specified in the agreement.

8. If the arbitrators, having investigated the matter, fail to reach a

unanimous decision, then the majority of their votes determines the business. For example, if there are three arbitrators, two of them may declare the final sentence, although the third may dissent, and so too when the number is larger.

9. The final decision having been regularly signed, sealed and published on the appointed day, in case either party should refuse to accept it, the fine specified in the agreement is exacted of that party, and the whole affair may have to be handled again from the beginning.

10. In case the protesting party should discover that the arbitrators have drawn up their final decision in conflict with the English laws, they may give the arbitrators great trouble and have them fined, etc.

Now, the men from Raritan, spoken of above, would not stop annoying the preacher Muhlenberg, and begging him, with tears, to act as an arbitrator, in their interest. To the same effect they solicited Magister Tobias Wagner, an Evangelical Lutheran preacher, who formerly had labored as a faithful pastor at Horkheim in Württemberg, afterwards in a German colony in New England and finally, in German congregations in Pennsylvania, to serve them as a second arbitrator. Magister Wolf selected the reverend Pastor Berkenmeyer and Pastor Knoll, of New York, as arbitrators on his side.

Of course, no one would willingly consent to take part in a quarrel of such delicacy, complicated in the highest degree, odious and of long standing, a quarrel in which the civil authorities and crafty lawyers had already worked themselves weary. Neither would it have been necessary to give the affair any attention, if the interests of our whole church, the integrity of a Reverend Ministerium, the welfare of Mr. Wolf and of the scattered congregations had not appealed to our hearts. As it was the earnest wish of both parties that the matter should be settled by an arbitration, and as the civil authorities also urged it, it might have been decided by other persons, without our taking part in it, and perhaps, with greater precision.

In advance of a writ of execution Mr. Wolf had always to declare, under oath, or prove by witnesses, that he had rendered the service prescribed by the contract; but the congregations also were able to show, that he had not complied with the required terms, in all respects; for his unhappy marriage and other hindrances rendered such compliance impracticable. Before Preacher Muhlenberg and Magister Wagner had given their consent to act as arbitrators, the former addressed a letter to the reverend Pastor Berkenmeyer referring, with the best intentions, to the subject in dispute. In this letter he distinctly presented the question whether we would not be rendering a service to Mr. Wolf by encouraging him to go back to Europe? It was not intended, in the least, to do harm to any person; but the humble opinion was that in Europe, there occur, both in churches and in schools, opportunities of many divers kinds for putting a weak instrument in strong hands to do such work as it may be fitted for; that such opportunities are more

frequent there than in this free country where the Church is yet to be planted; and especially, in this place, where it is impossible to rectify the unhappy marriage of Mr. Wolf, or to cover over the offences that have resulted from it. The answer to this and to other questions may be found in the accompanying extract from the communication of Mr. Berkenmeyer, under Letter A.

In July 1745 the three men from Raritan came to Pennsylvania again and reported that Mr. Wolf had made a solemn contract with them before a Justice of the Peace to secure an arbitration and a "final sentence," both parties obligating themselves to abide by the decision in all points, under a penalty of 55 pounds. If Mr. Magister Wolf had had the slightest respect for his Superiors, the Rev. Ministerium in Hamburg, he should have first asked of them, whether he could, without prejudice, enter into any such contract? But the affair had already gone too far under the reach of the civil law; and the authorities wanted to be rid of it, because they saw that it was working ruin to the subjects of the king. A correct copy of the contract is furnished, marked B. Among the items of this contract it may be observed, that Mr. Magister Wolf made choice of the reverend Pastors Berkenmeyer and Knoll; and the congregations, for their part, selected Pastor Muhlenberg and Mr. Magister Wagner, to serve as arbitrators in order that a "final sentence" upon the whole quarrel might be delivered on or before the first day of August, 1745. In fixing the date, Mr. Magister Wolf might have shown more wisdom than he did; he might have postponed it for about a year, and this would have afforded us an opportunity to transmit a respectful statement of the whole affair to the Rev. Ministerium in Hamburg. We Pennsylvanians had no other thought than that Mr. Magister Wolf would, without fail, secure the attendance of the reverend pastors from New York. So, we set off upon the journey. Mr. Magister Wagner had the distance of 126 English miles and Muhlenberg 70 miles to travel. High waters and muddy roads delayed us so much that we did not reach Raritan before July 31st. Here we met his reverence, Pastor Knoll, but not Pastor Berkenmeyer. This circumstance disturbed all three of us, very much, for only about 18 hours remained before the time fixed upon for the settlement to expire. His reverence, Pastor Knoll, promptly addressed a friendly invitation to Mr. Magister Wolf, dated July 31st, a copy of which we furnish herewith marked C.

On August 1st, Mr. Wolf and several members came to the appointed place. Now, it was impossible to settle up this prolix and complicated affair within the space of 12 hours; so, another arrangement had to be made; and we could not expect the attendance of his reverence, Pastor Berkenmeyer. Three plans had to be considered.

1. Mr. Wolf would have to appoint some one in place of Mr. Pastor Berkenmeyer, yet with the consent of all parties; but this could not be easily done.

2. With the consent of the congregation, he might make another contract, and, invest the three arbitrators, then present, with full power. If something like this were not done before evening, then nothing remained but

3. He would have to pay the penalty of 55 pounds.

For us three it would have been the easiest thing to use the existing circumstances as an excuse, and to go home at once. Mr. Wolf would have had to pay the 55 pounds, or been reduced to submission and brought to utter ruin,—however, if we respect the Rule of Christ, “whatsoever ye would that men should do,” etc., we can follow a gentler way. If the principle of worldly legislation, fines and penalties, be insisted upon, then honor, reverence, love are slighted, and nature, flaming with unholy passion, has the mastery. So, Mr. Wolf could not otherwise help himself; with the consent of his opponents he had to enter into another contract, appointing three arbitrators, and fixing the period on or before August 8th.

Here, your Reverences might remind me of what I have already said; and inquire why the period was not extended for one year, as has been said above? We answer with all reverence, that this was impracticable for either party. Mr. Wolf wanted money, and the authorities were not willing to wring out any more by writs of execution. Besides this, as he said, he owed 30 pounds to his lawyers; and the members of the congregation were not willing to depart from the provisions of the contract. Under the terms of the first contract it could have been more easily done, before Mr. Wolf had signed and sealed it. We began on August 1st, and continued the hearing of both parties in the presence of each other, until August 5th. I cannot describe how wearisome, tedious and confused we found the affair to be, the one party always denying what the other party confirmed. The time was wasted in accusations and recriminations. His reverence, Pastor Knoll, represented and defended Magister Wolf honorably, in the best spirit, doing everything that a father could do for his own child. The other two arbitrators defended the interests of the congregation; and when all three of us were alone we were unanimous in the earnest wish that both parties might be favored with the very best advice, that the interests of the whole church might be promoted, and that the praiseworthy zeal and labors of the Very Reverend Ministerium of Hamburg might be held in thankful remembrance.

Although his reverence, Pastor Berkenmeyer, was not willing to attend, yet we proceeded diligently to work, in accordance with the instructions you had given us, under Letter A. It was, however, impossible for us to make everything practicable, as Pastor Knoll himself testifies, in a letter to Pastor Berkenmeyer, dated Sept. 16th, 1745. See copy under Letter D. We spent the half of one day in trying to reconcile Mr. Wolf and his wife, and to bring them together again; in the belief that thereby a great stumbling stone would be taken out

of the way. But it was all in vain. Mr. Wolf could not give up his suspicion, which appeared indeed to be rooted in him, that his wife had been guilty of gross adultery; and his wife said that she bore yet, upon her body, the blue marks of the blows he had given her. She added, that she would rather go about begging, with her two youngest children which Mr. Wolf had allowed her to keep; that ever since he had left her she had supported herself and her children, living in great poverty; and that she had got nothing from her husband, and nothing at all of the money which the writs of execution had wrung out from the congregation, as Pastor Berkenmeyer supposed she had.

We then undertook to ascertain whether it would be possible to effect a reconciliation between the pastor and the congregation. We discovered, however, that the long continued and odious law-suits had wounded the feelings of both parties too deeply. Some of the old members who had put their names on a list for paying the salary of Mr. Wolf were dead; some of them had moved off to other places; others of them had joined the Anabaptists; for every person was very anxious to get out of the quarrel. The young people had grown up untrained and wild, and the Germans who had come to the region in the meantime, would not add their names to the list of the congregation. Very few of the old subscribers yet remained; and those of them who, as elders of the church, had signed the call and promised to pay the salary, had to bleed miserably; for Mr. Wolf insisted upon the payment of his salary, though he was unable to conciliate them, and to discharge his official duties, having on so many accounts become incompetent. In addition, these men were the more deeply irritated for the reason that the payment of the salary depending upon them, they were often hunted up by the constable and the sheriff, and even seized and arrested upon the highway.

Whoever understands the condition of affairs in America will feel his heart sink within him as he takes an impartial view of such proceedings; which, he will be constrained to add, bring irremediable injury and scandal upon our Lutheran religion. However, we ought to make a distinction and judge righteously. Although the people may be described in general, as uncivilized and barbarous, as indeed they are in a measure, yet we should remember that such communities include people of all classes. The smallest number have had the advantages of an education. Generally, they have been brought up in the hamlets of Germany and among the ruder classes. So, if they lack culture, and now and then indulge in uncouth phrases, we have to put up with it; for they still seem anxious to hold on to the religion of their fathers, and are ready to contribute a portion of their own limited income towards the support of a pastor who may know how to accommodate himself to very straitened circumstances. Under these conditions, we preachers ought to be the more careful to watch over our infant congregations with a father's love, and not to conduct

ourselves as their taskmasters. If some bold, audacious spirits occasionally talk loudly about shooting you, it does not follow from this that they will do it; and it is not always fair to reason a particulare ad universale.

After all our laborious efforts to reconcile the two parties, we did not know of one solitary person who was willing to support Mr. Wolf any longer; and Mr. Wolf himself was as immovable as rock. In a paper written by himself, and which he delivered to us Aug. 2d, Mr. Wolf stated that he would surrender his call and release his congregations from their obligations to him, upon condition of their paying him in cash; his reasons for this offer being, the great infirmity of his memory, an overwhelming depression of spirit and the irreconcilableness of his congregation. For all this see copy, Letter E. If we had strictly obeyed the rules for an arbitration, we would not have taken any notice of any proposal either on the part of Mr. Wolf or of the congregation. During the following days we endeavored to make a more thorough investigation of the quarrel and of its causes. Mr. Wolf demanded that we should start out with the last agreement that was made between the parties, renewed in 1735 and written both in German and in Low Dutch. This agreement, he asserted, had been violated first of all by the congregation, and that the congregation thereby became responsible at law. But we decided: 1. That Mr. Wolf himself had caused the first violation of the agreement by declining to administer the Lord's Supper to a sick person when he had been requested so to do; 2. That he had not made diligent efforts to preach ex-memoria as he had promised; 3. That he had not strictly adhered to the New York Kirchenagenda, as he had been bound to do; 4. That he had applied the force of law to extort from the people his payments in money of a different kind and more costly than that which had been specified in the agreement; 5. That he had kept on increasing his offences connected with his matrimonial relations. Under these circumstances we could not throw all the blame upon the congregation, nor pronounce Mr. Wolf entirely innocent. We could discover no decretum curiæ, for there had been none pronounced. In some points the congregation pleaded guilty and professed its readiness to submit to the proper penalty, but we could not possibly prevail upon them to accept of Mr. Wolf as their pastor any longer. After this we begged Mr. Wolf and the congregation to allow us to petition the civil authorities for permission to refer the whole matter to the Right Reverend Consistory of Hamburg with the view of obtaining their "Final Sentence;" all legal processes being suspended in the meantime until the answer should arrive. Against this the congregation raised no special objection, but Mr. Wolf strongly opposed it as soon as he heard that the legal processes would be suspended, which, however, was sure to be the case in any event, because the civil authorities were heartily tired of the whole affair.

His Reverence, Pastor Knoll, was very urgent in begging Mr. Wolf to accompany him to New York and establish a Latin school in that city in the meantime. The other pastors requested him to go with them to Pennsylvania and teach school there. However, his own opinion was, that as he had been called to preach the Gospel, the work of teaching school would injure his character. Now, as he could not be persuaded to anything and seemed bent upon bartering his vocation and his claims, for money, or going on to the utter ruin of himself and the congregation, and as we ourselves were in a sharp dilemma, we considered at once how we might put an end to the matter.

Accordingly, with the aid of the protocol we drew up several questions, general in their character, which we submitted to Mr. Wolf and the congregation, requesting answers from them. These questions he did answer, signing the answers with his own hand in the presence of the whole congregation and of disinterested witnesses. See Letter F. Now, simply as an experiment, the two arbitrators who represented the congregation extracted from this document, written and signed by Mr. Wolf's own hand, a certain kind of declaration in the form of a "Final Sentence," and submitted it to his Reverence, Pastor Knoll, so as to obtain his opinion. Pastor Knoll did not judge it advisable to affix his name to this paper, consequently the other two arbitrators erased their signatures. This form of "Final Sentence," which had been prepared by way of experiment, might have been thoroughly amended and so arranged that the whole business could have been referred to the judgment of the Very Reverend Ministerium of Hamburg if Mr. Wolf would have consented to such reference. But as he did not show the least inclination so to do, we three arbitrators kept very quiet and allowed Mr. Wolf to go on talking and proposing to suit himself. Mr. Wolf wanted a considerable sum of money, and the congregation were not willing to pay him much, because, as they said, they had got very little for it. The few deacons who were under bonds for the payment of the salary, and who had been suffering for a long time from the burden and the heat, anxiously desired to have the business settled, so that they might be released from their oppressive load. Others were more resolute and would not listen to any proposition about paying money. Mr. Wolf advanced in his demands, and at last stopped at 90 pounds. At first he had offered to surrender his call and all his claims for 50 pounds, then again for 70 pounds; but now he insisted upon 90 pounds. Now, as he would not yield a farthing from this sum, we were compelled to address the congregation in very positive terms, and to employ divers arguments in order to persuade them to consent to pay it. After much talk on one side and on the other, the three men of the other party who had been personally responsible for the salary agreed to pay the 90 pounds on condition that Mr. Wolf would pay his own expenses incurred by the prosecution of the suit. But how were the 90 pounds to be raised? The men

who had been bound for the payment of the salary had paid Mr. Wolf in part already, a writ of execution to that effect having been issued against them. The members of the congregation, among the hills, fearing an execution, had also paid in great part. Against the majority of the other members living at Rahway an execution for part of the salary had already been issued. So nothing was left for us to do save to impose the heaviest tax upon the people of Rahway, although the church was very weak, having lost some of its people who had gone off to the Anabaptists, and including in its membership two poor, honest negroes who had been converted by the Lutheran doctrine, and other poor persons besides. The levying of this tax stirred up a very bitter feeling in the hearts of all upon whom it fell, except the two poor negroes. Some were enraged and asserted that Mr. Wolf was a very Judas, and that he was more concerned about his purse than about needy, perishing souls. He did not mind this, however, and was well pleased that the business had progressed so far. We arbitrators had to put up with many a hard speech; the people informing us that as Lutheranism was so unjust they would never have anything to do with it hereafter; that many a poor man would have to sell his clothes and his cattle before the money could be raised to pay these wages of unrighteousness. We, however, heard all in a patient spirit and held our peace.

Now, as the two parties had thus entered into a final contract, Mr. Wolf himself having specially proposed it, our arbitration came to nought; and there was nothing left for us to do but to direct our influence towards the raising of the money and also, to act as witnesses of the agreement. Accordingly, his reverence, Pastor Knoll, in the name of the individuals representing the two contracting parties, drew up the agreement, in writing, embodying therein the 90 pounds as the sum specified. See copy, Letter A. After this document had been regularly signed, the men whose names had been attached to the call and agreement of 1735, asked Mr. Wolf to surrender the papers by which he had hitherto been worrying them with his writs of execution. Mr. Wolf delivered them up very willingly. As far as we could observe, they did not disturb the body of the document, but satisfied themselves with tearing off their own names which had been subscribed to it. To tell the truth, these papers were already pretty well used up in the tedious law suits and the skirmishes of the lawyers. As arbitrators we had nothing to say about this affair; because as soon as the parties had closed the contract, our power of arbitration was ended. Even Mr. Wolf himself took no further interest in these papers; but kept in a good humor, being busy in receiving a part of his money and in writing receipts for it.

After these men had torn off their names, the pastors from Pennsylvania took charge of the papers, and are prepared to deliver them up to the Right Reverend Ministerium whenever they may be demanded.

The foregoing is the whole history of the affair; this we have certified by our names subscribed; and if the Right Reverend Ministerium should require it, we are willing to confirm it by a solemn oath, here, in the presence of an officer of the government. We therefore most humbly beg, that your High and Most Excellent Reverences may take the foregoing statement into your calm and impartial consideration, and then kindly inform us whether, whilst thus acting under the imperative force of circumstances, we have erred in the conclusion we have reached. If we have erred it was certainly the result of infirmity and not of intention. We declare, before God, that His own glory, the welfare of the whole church, the noble efforts of your Right Reverend Ministerium and the peculiar circumstances of both parties pressed heavily upon our hearts. We would have pronounced ourselves happy if we could have kept ourselves clear of the matter, with a good conscience, as Pastor Berkenmeyer did! Happier still would we have been, if we could have snatched away from the jurisdiction of the civil authorities a matter far too weighty for our weak judgment, and transferred it, for full and final decision, to the riper judgment of our Fathers of the Reverend Ministerium; thus bringing so many impossibilities within the range of the possible. But, 1st, we were not able to furnish Mr. Wolf with a good memory in spiritual things, although in worldly affairs his memory was so keen that he knew and could relate all about the veriest trifles that had occurred twelve years ago; 2d, we found it impossible to reconcile him to his wife. His reasons for discarding his wife and their two youngest children proceeded chiefly from his own suspicions and prejudices, as appeared in an accusation touching this matter which he laid before us in writing. He asserted that the youngest child was the offspring of a negro, though no one could detect the slightest sign of this; but on the contrary, his own features were very strongly displayed upon the face of the child. In the mean time the poor woman had found it hard to get along with her two poor children, not having had the least help from the father, and indeed, nothing at all, except what some compassionate people bestowed upon her. We examined these two children who had been under the care of the mother, and found that they could read somewhat and had learnt some out of the catechism. Mr. Wolf himself had had his son, of ten years of age, under his care; and led a very irregular life with him, during the time of his separation from his wife. We examined this poor child, but he did not know even the ten commandments. Their separation was scandalous, but their living together as man and wife was even more absurd. He had the creature with him for three months before he married her. For some time after their marriage, he would put a seal upon his doors at night, and if per chance, the night-frost or an agitation of a door would produce a crack in the sealing-wax he would call his wife the most infamous w——, cuff her and beat her, so that he became the song of the young people, and the old made

themselves merry over their dominie; 3d, Mr. Wolf did not possess the graces of meekness and patience, and a friendly manner. For this reason a certain mistrust was started already, upon his first arrival in New York. Yet, notwithstanding this, he was received by the congregation as an angel from heaven, and many gifts were liberally bestowed upon him. Mr. B. P., a man of easy circumstances, offered to give him a home in his own large and comfortable residence; but he declined the offer and that in a rude, harsh manner. When, at the beginning of his work, he was advised to make earnest efforts to preach from memory, as having been sent to be a preacher and not a reader, his answer is said to have been, "these boors will have to put up with it, and even if they do not, still they will be compelled to pay me my salary." Several of them testified that he very soon became enamoured of a farmer's daughter; that this young woman had acted as sponsor for the first infant he baptised, and that directly after the baptism he asked the deacons, where this girl lived? (We pass over the very offensive observation that follows.) Now, although his reverence, Pastor Berkenmeyer, and Pastor Knoll had taken the deepest interest in him, admonishing him kindly and earnestly, and had effected a reconciliation in 1735, and established a new contract thereupon, still, it would not stand. In this new contract he pledged himself to do all that his call had demanded of him. He promised to preach from memory. He bound himself to observe the Order of the New York Kirchen-Agenda, strictly, and, in the payment of his salary, to be satisfied with New Jersey money. At the same time, the congregation was bound to erect a pastor's residence for him within four weeks. The day after the making of this contract had hardly dawned, before Mr. Wolf, having been earnestly entreated to visit the daughter of Christian Streit, then on her death-bed, and to fortify her with the Lord's Supper, refused to do it; and this gave occasion to new and deep dissatisfaction. Further, he made no effort to preach from memory, but kept on insisting upon the new house that was to be built. After the contract was closed he continued to be as stubborn as before, would not follow the Order of the Kirchen-Agenda, as had been stipulated, and did not understand, at all, how to catechise the children, asking them questions on deep, theological subjects the first time he met them. On one occasion he visited the school and plunged, at once, into a quarrel with the school-master. It is true indeed, that the people reported hard things against him, but he himself did not spare them, giving them the same measure as they had given him.

The congregation had begun to build the house according to the contract, but it was not finished within the four weeks, and as Mr. Wolf had first broken the contract, the congregation would not allow him to occupy the house, even after it had been completed. Mr. Wolf then consulted the lawyers who advised him to break the house open and move in sometime during the twilight, between day and night.

Then if complaint should be brought against him he could plead that he did not break into the house either by day or by night, and that he was occupying it according to stipulated terms. Mr. Wolf followed this advice, and he had hardly got into the house during the twilight, before a mob of loose, boisterous women gathered together and dragged him out in broad daylight after considerable squabbling among themselves. Such sad affairs, of course, occasion great scandal in this free country where all kinds of sects so plentifully abound.

4. Mr. Wolf himself first undertook to wrest the decision of the matter from the jurisdiction of his ecclesiastical superiors, and to drag it before the civil authorities. We know very well what difficulties are encountered in Europe, when, as occasionally happens, the authorities of the Government undertake to impose a restraint upon a community, or upon a parish; how much less can we expect to result from the intervention of the *brachium seculare* in this strange country, where other laws prevail. It is a great blunder to allow things to come to such a pass. When legal process is resorted to then confidence is gone.

5. The fact that Mr. Wolf, prior to the writ of execution, declared upon oath before a magistrate, that he had done his duty and fulfilled his contract, could not otherwise than occasion great scandal. It is as clear as day that he never preached twice on any one Sunday, as his "Instructions" demanded; and even, that having kept on reading off an old sermon for six consecutive Sundays, he would hardly stop it then. It is also clear that he never visited the sick, and otherwise neglected his duty.

6. When in violation of the contract he forced the people to pay him in better money than had been agreed upon, he gave an offence that could not be tolerated, for such conduct tramples upon honesty, and its impressions are altogether unfavorable. Now, as we saw that the congregations were gradually dying out; that in the ten years that followed the last contract only two young persons had been prepared for the Lord's Supper and confirmed; that the congregations themselves had not celebrated the Holy Supper in nine years; that the sick had been neglected and the schools not visited; we most urgently begged Mr. Wolf to consent to a change and seek to make himself useful in teaching school. But urgent as we were, it was in vain.

7. On the contrary, Mr. Wolf was pleased to keep house in a most miserable way, with his son, unwashed, uncombed, lounging about in a lazy life, and living upon the money which he obtained by the writ of execution. At this time, however, he seems to live in peace and to be better satisfied; as both he and his son are giving attention to the cultivation of a piece of ground.

8. We had no authority to leave the main question in suspense; for the arbitrators were appointed for the very purpose of effecting a final decision and determining an award; to which effect Mr. Wolf had

himself given surety in the contract, to the amount of 55 pounds. We could apply no outward force, nor any reasonments that would prevail to obtain Mr. Wolf's consent to refer the matter to the final judgment of the Very Reverend Ministerium of Hamburg. At the very beginning, we could not even persuade him to come to an understanding with the Reverend Ministerium, as had been desired.

9. We could not prevent Mr. Wolf from making a bargain with his congregations and bartering off his privileges and rights for money; *stabat enim pro ratione voluntas*.

10. We could not hinder the men who had been personally responsible, from tearing off their names from the call and the contract of 1735; for Mr. Wolf had delivered up these papers; and, in consideration of their paying him 90 pounds, the opposite party wanted to be saved from further troubles and executions, as had been agreed upon.

Now, after the whole affair had been thus terminated, the congregations paid to each of the arbitrators 3 pounds, Pennsylvania currency, as a recompense for their services. Mr. Magister Wagner had to ride 252 miles on horseback, and Muhlenberg 140 miles, in like manner, and to spend six weary days and nights in the tedious work. What Mr. Wolf gave to his reverence, Pastor Knoll for his hard journey and labor may be easily imagined. So, no one can say, with clear conscience, that bribes and gifts had blinded the arbitrators; for Mr. Wolf himself put an end to the transactions of his own free will. As to the rest, Mr. Wolf is now at liberty to devote himself to school teaching or to preaching in other regions, where he is not known; for the German people have spread themselves from north to south in America, over more than a thousand miles. Yet, if he should prefer to till the ground and to continue separate from his wife, he may be able to support himself in that way, and earning his bread in the sweat of his brow, he may enjoy it more than to depend upon writs of execution.

We humbly beg then, Very Reverend Sirs, that you may be pleased to honor and to instruct us with a gracious answer, setting forth the view which your impartial judgment and kindness takes of the subject, as also defining in what manner we, who are now laboring in this remote and desolate wilderness, so far away from our honored patrons and fathers, should conduct ourselves. We entreat further, that you will not cease to remember and plead for each and all of us and our infant congregations, in your earnest prayers.

We remain with life-long veneration, Very Reverend Sirs, your most obedient servants and fellow-laborers in the gospel,

The Three Arbitrators.

MUHLENBERG,
WAGNER,
KNOLL.

IV.

Extract of a letter of Pastor Berkenmeyer's, dated "Lunenburg, May 20th, 1745," addressed to Pastor Muhlenberg, Philadelphia.

"In testimony of the profound respect I owe you, my dear brother, I answer the questions you have addressed to me, and what is implied in them, as follows.

1. That my attendance has not been asked, as I have already stated.

2. That I am, by no means, willing to allow the settlement of the affair to be thrown upon my own responsibility alone; and that I am as little inclined to enter into it merely as a supernumerary, in company with others.

3. That I am well convinced, that according to human judgment, it is impossible to bring about a good understanding between the two parties; and at the same time, that it is just as impossible to send Mr. Wolf off to Europe, if he is not ready to go of his own accord; further, it is not possible for him to do more good in Europe than he can here. Indeed, if I may venture to say what I think or dream, he is to be handled as a person who is *vix ac ne quidem compos mentis*. Begging your pardon, I venture to ask a question, would not this be either simply making a victim of Mr. W. or an imputation against the Rev. Ministerium (of Hamburg), to the effect that they had sent the congregations a madman, whom we, hereby, throw back upon their hands, *ad pistrinam*, etc.?

Your Reverence remarks incidentally, that Mr. Wolf's appeal to the law was an occasion of reproach to him, in Pennsylvania. In hypothesis, I have never approved of Mr. W.'s proceeding; but in *thesi*, I thank God that He has permitted him to find a refuge behind the shields of the earth. Who can help it if a sharp knife in the hands of a madman should become a broadsword? Who can prevent *profanum vulgus* from avoiding the bit and the bridle, when they boldly say, 'we are determined not to submit;' and when they regard our liberties as *licentiam impune peccandi*? It is indeed, contrary to sound reason to call a pastor and then, under the influence of selfish caprice, to order him back again to the place from which he came. It is contrary to the laws of the land to allow the meanest Karst (illegible) to come into the province, or into a county, or even to move into a house, and then cast upon the county the burden of his maintenance.

As far as I am informed, the issuing of the writ of execution every year, is, not so much for the advantage of Mr. W., as for the support of his wife and children, after the *separatio a thoro, coram judicio*, was confirmed. If the congregation had not undertaken, by means of the woman, to dig a pit for Mr. W., perhaps they would not have fallen into it themselves. Your Reverence writes, as the people also report, that the harm done to the congregation and the scandal is clear as day. No one can deny this; but can the people tell who is the *Auctor rixæ*?

The people talk a great deal, and most frequently without any foundation for their talk; often per hysteron proteron, to say no more. Ought not the complete Acta to decide the affair? Now, these records will make it very clear that Mr. W. of course, has to be the victim; but they will also reveal who the people are that have brought him into that position. I except casum divortii; but they who may now be burnt with this matter, have, themselves, been pouring oil upon the fire.

As to the rest, your reverence says that I should come to the relief of Mr. W. and of the congregation, should help to put an end to the miserable affair, should issue some formal order to that effect, should spare you the wearisome journey and should send in my sentiment, in writing; to all of which my respectful reply is, that I have read these, your requests, with astonishment and trembling; especially, since these things are proposed as proofs of the sincerity of my zeal for the welfare of the whole Church, etc., etc. If I am not mistaken, the consequence of my so doing would be, that the weight of all the mischief and the scandal would fall upon myself, or that I would be responsible for it. Indeed, I am thoroughly convinced that the good hand of God has saved me from being burdened with such an onus, angelicis humeris tremendum, and so protected me, even when I was compelled to meddle in the business, that the Righteous Judge will not demand the blood of the down-trodden at my hands: as little can I be held to account for that which has not been committed to my charge.

Your reverence may observe from this, that as far as I have been able to see, there has been no demand made upon me, either from the one side or from the other, to take the least interest in the subject. I hope, therefore, that you will most graciously excuse me from entering into the matter more fully than I do in this present writing. From the beginning until the present time the congregation has treated Mr. W. so unreasonably, in such an unchristian and barbarous manner, that it would be hard to find any case that could exceed it in coarseness. If, which may God forbid! they should ruin themselves for time and for eternity, they have only brought the ruin upon themselves. Before Mr. W. appealed to the brachium seculare, which they had previously employed against him, he demanded no more than £50, promising, on that condition, to give up the congregation altogether. But then their answer was, not a "witje" shall he have. The Decretum Curie will make it plain enough that no butcher knife was flourished in the face of the congregation; but, on the contrary, there was employed a praiseworthy zeal in the interest of Justice, and a commendable prudence in seeking to promote the welfare of both parties. But the congregation being unwilling to make up with Mr. W. ex decreto superiorum, or to seek further advice and assistance, one said that he would pay Mr. W. with a bullet in his head, and others resorted to all kinds of Chicanen more for the purpose of ridiculing Justice than Mr. W.

Pendente lite, the congregation got Langerfeld, the poulterer, to draw up a complaint, with the intention of thereby underhandedly securing a cons. decisum, upon their one sided statement; keeping the whole affair to themselves, so that Berkenmeyer should know nothing about it. Now, as this attempt did not result as the fools intended, and as a copy of the whole proceeding had been promptly sent to me, all respect for the Fathers of the Consistory was gone, as well as that for Berkenmeyer himself. As I had received orders from the Reverend Ministerium to report the whole business to them, it has, accordingly, happened that I have placed all the original documenta in the hands of the Rev. Senior Palm; and although I begged that express instructions might be given to the Rev. Pastor Knoll, whose influence was yet acknowledged in the congregation, the Rev. Senior sent him nothing but a verbal salutation by Rev. Pastor Sommer.

After the death of Rev. Senior Palm I addressed my renewed petition to Rev. Senior Wagner, requesting also that the documenta should be carefully preserved, at least, in case the Reverend Ministerium should not come to a final decision. But upon all this nothing but *altum silentium* has followed.

So, it is clear that the whole affair has passed away from my hands; that possibly, but hardly, may a Cons. Decisum be expected from the Reverend Ministerium of Hamburg; that the affair of Mr. Wolf really belongs no more to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but to that of the Government; that the annual issuing of the writ of execution was not so much for Mr. Wolf's benefit as for the support *uxoris repudiatæ*; in short that the whole affair is a *nodus Gordicus*. In the meantime, with your kind permission, I will give you my *videtur*, by way of expressing the great gratification I have derived from the efforts of your reverence to put an end to the miserable affair.

1. I, for my own person, must be left out of view; for the reason that neither Mr. Wolf nor the congregation has any confidence in me. They may say why? or rather acknowledge: *non possum dicere quare*. I can say with Richard Baxter: "I have made a wedge of my bare hand by putting it into a cleft, and both sides have closed upon me to my pain."

2. It would be advisable for your reverence and Mr. Magister Wagner, acting under the advice of the congregation, to admit the Rev. Pastor Knoll, as an associate, to your deliberations. He is well posted in the matter; and, as already intimated, he is *Ordinarius* to divers persons in the congregation.

3. Before the Commission begins to act, both Mr. Wolf and the congregation should be put under bonds, and so, obligate themselves according to law to abide by your decision, whatever it may be.

4. The main question may be held in *suspensio*, and in *statu quo*, as *res iudicata*; or investigated only from the last *periodo*.

5. The *Decretum Curiae* must be accepted as basis, so as to ascertain

whether the parties have complied with it. For, suppose, that Mr. Wolf is not able to preach, or is not willing to preach, how can the Court shield him against its own decree? Or, suppose, the congregation is not willing to hear him, nor, in their habitual stubbornness, to allow him to preach. Who will say that that is right? or, who will find fault with the decree? In my opinion, if the congregation were able to prove impotential on the part of Mr. Wolf, the writ of execution would die out of itself.

6. Also, the reply which the Rev. Ministerium has already sent to the congregation might be hunted up, so that the advice therein given might be followed as far as it is practicable, both at present and for the future. In doing this, no one would get his fingers burnt.

7. Posito, Mr. Wolf is reduced to such a pass that his impotence or his negligence cannot be denied; then the Court must be petitioned to grant permission to the congregation to request the Consistory to remove him, and to send them another pastor, according to our Church Order, by which both the congregation and Mr. Wolf are bound.

8. Posito, the congregation is at fault, some excusing themselves on the plea, that it is not possible to bring all heads under one hat; then the stubborn spirits will have to come to Mr. Wolf, with the hat under the arm, and beg him to give them kind words only; as also, in consideration of a specified sum paid once for all, to leave the congregation and relinquish his claims against it.

9. Upon these conditions I most solemnly assure your Reverence that my votum, or my signature or whatever it may be called, shall not be withheld; and especially, that if Mr. Wolf should prove to be unfit for his position, or inefficient or otherwise irraisonable, I will do my utmost to oppose him, through his Excellency, Governor Morris, even as, in conjunction with Rev. Pastor Knoll, I have formerly exerted myself in his favor. But I would specially insist upon this, that the congregation be not encouraged in their malignity and stubbornness, but rather be led deeply to repent before God, for having, with very few exceptions, sinned so grossly, among other ways, by their bold assertion, 'we will absolutely have nothing more to do with Pastor Wolf.' The people at Rahway began to sing this song, already, four weeks after his arrival, and taught the rest to sing after them what is written in Gal. vi: 6, 7.

Under the heavy load that oppresses my heart I still cry and pray to God, that your Reverence and your pastoral work, and the matrimonial alliance into which you have recently entered, may be crowned with thousands of blessings from above.

V.

PASTOR KNOLL TO PASTOR BERKENMEYER.

New York, Oct. 16th, 1745.

Reverend and Learned Pastor—Dear Brother!

The writing of Mr. Muhlenberg's of May 1st, your reply of May 20th, and your Reverence's letter to myself, of Sept. 18th, have all been received. The two first together with a copy of the last are herewith returned to you, as you have desired.

As to the whole affair, it would have been satisfactory to me,

1. If your Reverence could have been personally present on the spot.
 2. If, in your reply to Mr. Muhlenberg, you had written the concluding part of your letter of Sept. 18th to myself, instead of items No. 7 and 8, as they appear in the letter to Mr. M. In your reply to Mr. Muhlenberg's friendly letter of May 1st, inviting you to be present, your Reverence states that you would not come, because, etc., etc., 'neither of the parties had any confidence in you.' Whereas, the contrary appears, as well in the bond given by both parties as in the invitation which Mr. Wolf sent to you. At the same time, your Reverence, in your second item, advised Mr. Muhlenberg to include me as an associate in the settlement: this was done.

3. You advised that both parties should be put under bond: this also was done.

4. The main question may be held in suspensio (this, too, was the case) and only in statu quo, or investigated from the last period, alone. This also would have been done if it had not been contrary to the very design of the Arbitration, and according to the proverb—"waseh mir den Kopf, aber mache ihn nicht nass," (wash my head, but don't wet it). In the bond which both parties signed, Mr. Wolf and the congregations proposed a very different course; and the Arbitrators, following this course, had to consider the main question: otherwise they might have stayed at home.

5. Decretum Curie could not be made the basis of our action; because Curia had never pronounced a decision. As your Reverence is aware, the reply Rev. Consistorii Hamb. was wholly impracticable; for, since the year 1741, peace between the parties has been altogether impossible; and with their charges and counter charges they could not come to a good understanding. For my part, I could have wished that, in respect to the charges and counter charges, the testimony of the Protokoll might be left out of view; but upon Mr. Wolf's declaring that he would rather resign his position, this suggestion was not adopted. If your Reverence had made matters plain to him, given him your advice in this point and insisted upon his obedience, then my proposition might have prevailed.

6. Mr. Wolf pronounced himself incompetent; complaining for ten

years, and on Aug. 2d and 5th, of the weakness of his memory; he also asserted that he was incapacitated by reason of the incorrigible confusion in his family affairs and in the congregation.

7. Mr. Berkenmeyer directed, that if the people of Raritan could not all be put under one hat (I take this to mean, that if they would not all be satisfied with Mr. Wolf,) then they should come to an agreement with Mr. W. upon the basis of a certain sum of money, upon receiving which he should, once for all, resign his charge and relinquish all beneficia juris. Now, in the first place, as the people of Raritan were all, to a man, unwilling to have anything more to do with Mr. Wolf; in the next place, as Mr. Wolf had often, prior to 18 months ago, assured Mr. Mueller, Justus, that he would resign his position for 50 pounds, and within the last 18 months had demanded 70 pounds; in the third place, as Mr. Berkenmeyer had advised (here the language of Mr. Berkenmeyer is copied unabridged in this No. 7, and as far as is necessary in the other quotations), and, in the last place, as Mr. Wolf had given his consent on Aug. 2d, no unfair means having been employed to influence him, who would or who could prevent the settlement we reached? (Sirach 10: 29.) It cost us trouble enough to obtain the approbation of the people. To bring the people up with the hat under the arm was an impossibility, quite as much so as Mr. Berkenmeyer himself experienced in 1738, when he found it impossible to get them to ask Mr. Wolf's pardon. Neither did Mr. Wolf himself desire this; he was too well pleased to get his money and to write his quittances. Throughout the whole transaction he showed no regard whatever for his office, his calling or his reputation.

8. Berkenmeyer promised, most solemnly, to affix his signature and votum, if Mr. Wolf should be pronounced unfit, or unwilling, or forte, lazy, or otherwise irraisonable. This the arbitrators have regarded mere passive, and have done nothing in respect to it, except that they have avoided throwing any obstacle in the way of Mr. Wolf. Accordingly, Mr. Berkenmeyer's votum and signature, as promised, might be requested, since we have found that Mr. Wolf failed to render the service to which he was bound. This was established by the fact that he hardly ever preached regularly for six successive Sundays, and, under the most favorable circumstances, never twice on the same Sunday; that he never visited the sick, and did not even teach his son, ten years of age, the ten commandments, etc., etc. All this may well be pronounced unfitness and unwillingness. Further, as to his being irraisonable, your Reverence knows well how that is, from his former willingness to resign his position. His refusing to visit Christian Striet's daughter when she was on her death-bed, his own admissions in causa divortii were pressed home upon him, but all in vain. Concerning the last point, your reverence has perhaps never written to him with more hearty earnestness than we were able to bring into action in our personal conversations with him at this time.

What your Reverence says about suspension, deposition, expulsion, appears to me to be without foundation; and I have to say the same concerning your protestation on behalf of a deposed or suspended pastor, for the question about a final decision or decretum did not come before us, neither was sentence pronounced against Mr. Wolf, dismissing him from his office. As to the two reverend arbitrators who represented the congregation and were properly paid by the congregation, it may not be absolutely clear *quo animo* they proposed it, but this is clear, that he, Mr. Wolf, did himself voluntarily resign his office, etc., etc., and thereby did forfeit and relinquish all his *beneficia juris vocationis*. The document of vocation was mutilated or torn, but as far as I am aware this was not done at the instigation of the arbitrators. At the request of B. P. the call was laid upon the table, and when I saw this done I sadly thought with myself: *Accessorium sequitur suum Principale*, as *Vespasian* said at Jerusalem. If the temple is gone, what need of a priest? If Mr. Wolf leaves his office what use for a vocation?

From all this it follows that your Reverence should be concerned, not about the arbitrators, but about Mr. Wolf, that your protestations should be directed to him, that you should reprove him if he has lost his office and his good name, and that you should encourage him to seek, by proper efforts on his own part with the help of God's Grace, to recover what he has lost. If any other congregation should desire his services, the *Acta Arbitrii* show simply what was done, not that we have deposed him from the office, but that he resigned of his own accord on account of weakness of memory and other difficulties. If his memory should be restored and the other difficulties removed, he will be at liberty to accept a call elsewhere.

In P. S. you will find a reference to H. Neis. For several years he attended our services at Rahway in the Kloove, and in the spring of last year he invited me to visit him to hold divine service in his house, as his wife could not comfortably travel on horseback. The elders of my church approved of my accepting the invitation, and during the week after the first Sunday after Trinity they sent to convey me to the place. Two weeks afterwards, and when I was about thirty miles from Yvischkill, I could not obtain the use of a horse, otherwise, I would, no doubt, have gone to Lunenburg. Whilst thus serving at the invitation of Mr. Neis, I preached for the first and last time; that is twice on the same day. I was not aware that the locality was connected with Ancrum or Stissing. They told me it was called Dover. I knew that they had occasionally heard Mr. Berkenmeyer preach within the region belonging to Løwenstein. But if they do hear Mr. Berkenmeyer once in a year, what harm can it do if they hear another pastor who preaches to them without envy and without ill will? In answer to my inquiries I was informed that they were Mr. Berkenmeyer's friends and people of good character, and so I do not see how I

could be guilty of more offence or interference than Mr. Berkenmeyer himself was, when, whilst traveling in the highlands among my friends, he held religious services. Indeed, I offer my most hearty thanks to Mr. Berkenmeyer for his trouble, and give my friends credit for their interest in the good work on all occasions.

As to Mr. Sommer's action, I cannot just now express an opinion. However, as he preached on the 12th and 13th, Sundays, and Mr. Berkenmeyer on the 14th, it seems to me that he did not interfere with Mr. Berkenmeyer, as it was not on the same day.

As to the children whom he baptized, Mr. Sommer could not easily have entered the record of the baptism in the church book, for the book was not in his keeping. The record, however, might easily have been entered if the matter had been really regarded as a serious one.

Commending you to the Grace of God and with dutiful salutations, I remain your Reverence's most humble servant,

MICHAEL CHRISTIAN KNOLL.

VI.

DECLARATION, BY JOHN N. KURTZ.

Whereas, all the reverend Pastors of the United Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, especially in Philadelphia, Germantown, Providence, New Hanover and Tulpehocken, have, by a special instrument of writing, invested me, John N. Kurtz, with the office of pastor of the congregation in Tulpehocken; therefore, I regard it to be my duty and obligation, in accordance with the principles laid down for them, by our Superiors in Europe, to give assurance, in a written declaration, to these said reverend Pastors, and in the presence of the Holy One, that I will fulfil my office in said congregation with all fidelity, and according to the ability which God may give me, by prayer, by supplication and by the diligent use of the appointed means; and, if I should do otherwise that I will thereby have forfeited and lost all the rights that are granted to me by the instrument of writing or call above described. More particularly, I acknowledge myself to be bound to observe with exact fidelity the following conditions of my call, whether they are or are not specially defined in the above mentioned instrument.

1. To cherish, to observe and to practice that respect and reverence which, according to the form of a call drawn up by Rev. Dr. Francke, of Halle, dated May 21st, 1744, I am bound to show towards the reverend Pastors of the united congregations.

2. To consider my own congregation to be nothing else than a part of the united congregations.

3. To teach nothing in my congregation either publicly or privately, save what is in harmony with the Word of God and the confessional

books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; and for this purpose to study them diligently.

4. To conduct no ceremonies in public worship and in the administration of the sacraments, save those which have been appointed by (Collegio-Pastorum) the associated pastors of the united congregations, and to use no other "Forms" than those which the said pastors may order me to use.

5. To undertake no important movement either by myself or with the cooperation of my Church Council without having previously communicated the matter to the reverend Collegio-Pastorum and obtained their judgment, also to submit to and be satisfied with their advice and instructions.

6. To present a verbal or a written report of my official acts whenever I am required to do so by the reverend Collegio-Pastorum.

7. To keep a diary or daily record, and to enter a statement of my official acts and of whatever may be important, therein.

8. To render obedience and make no resistance in case the reverend Pastors should call me to leave this congregation.

These several items and whatever may be inferred from them, I acknowledge to be conditions of my call and obligations by which I am bound. And I do hereby declare, before all men, that if I should purposely or knowingly transgress one or another or all of the above items, I would thereby, and ipso facto, forfeit all the advantages to which my call otherwise entitles me, and deserve all the punishment that is suitable to such unfaithfulness.

In confirmation of the same I hereto subscribe my name and affix my seal in the presence of the witnesses undersigned. Done at Philadelphia, August 13th, 1748.

JOHN NICHOLAS KURTZ.

Witness: { Abraham Lauck.
 { John Nicholas Schwingel.

VII.

EXAMINATION AND ORDINATION OF THE CATECHIST KURTZ.

On Aug. 12th, 1748, We, the subscribers, give the Catechist, Mr. Kurtz, in view of his examination and ordination, the following questions, which he has to answer in writing, preparatory to his examination, which is to take place to-morrow.

I. N. J. C.

I. The Examinandus is required to describe curriculum vitæ in its main points, including the inward and external guidings that he has experienced; as also his academical studies, and to make this as brief as possible. But as all this might be too extensive, for the present, it

will be considered as sufficient, if he describes, (1) the circumstances of his awakening; (2) the way in which God has advanced the work of Grace in his soul; (3) the reasons for his devoting himself to the office of the ministry of the Gospel; where? in what branches of learning and under whose aid and advice he has been seeking to prepare himself for that sacred office?

II. What works he has that treat of theology.

III. Name the general divisions of theology, and answer the following questions:

1. What is theology?

2. What is sin in general; specially, what is original sin?

3. Describe the sin against the Holy Ghost.

4. Describe, at large, the justification of a sinner before God, and explain it by *dictis probantibus*.

5. State the peculiar features of saving faith.

6. Whether, and how far, good works are necessary to salvation.

7. What sanctification is, and how it may be most successfully promoted.

8. In what sense is death the wages of sin (*a*) in the experience of Christians; (*b*) in the experience of unconverted people?

IV. Whether our Evangelical Lutheran doctrine is the only justifying and saving doctrine, and where it rests upon the Word of God.

V. Prepare an exegesis of the text: Luke 16: 9.

VI. Deduce a theme from the same text, and give its divisions and its application, briefly, as a plan for a sermon.

VII. Give the distinctive characteristics of a minister of the Gospel, and specify his duties.

VIII. In case a person is sick unto death and acknowledges, in general, that he is a sinner, but does not admit that he is guilty of any specific sin, how ought a minister of the Gospel to treat him?

IX. Should ministers of the Gospel be subordinate to one another; and if so, how far should this subordination be maintained?

He will be required to lay before us a clean copy, in writing, of the foregoing questions and his answers thereto, at 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon.

All for the Glory of God and the best interests of the Church,

PETER BRUNNHOLTZ,

JOHN FR. HANDSCHUH,

JOHN CHRISTOPH. HARTWIG.

H. Muhlenberg had not yet arrived.

VIII.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN NIC. KURTZ.

The very Reverend, the Pastors, Peter Brunnholtz, Handschub and Hartwig, have given me the following nine main questions with their subordinate points, and require that my answers should be laid before them. Accordingly, with the help of God, I undertake hereby, to answer them briefly, to the best of my ability, and as far as time will permit.

I. Ever since my childhood, my dear parents strove diligently to bring me up under the influence of prayer and of the fear of the Lord. The result of this was, that I abstained from indulging in gross sins, and associated with persons of genteel and respectable character. This was specially the case after the Lord had inclined the hearts of my parents to send me, in the fifteenth year of my age, to the pædagogium at Giesen; for then, the admonitions of my father and mother were regarded with sincere obedience. However, for about four or five years after this, my heart continued to be, still, under the influence of a slavish fear, until I paid a visit to my brother, a schoolmaster, who was acquainted with that worthy servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Ohly; indeed, I may say that he stood on friendly terms with him. My brother and I set off in company to visit Mr. Ohly. It happened on a Sunday, the very day on which he confirmed his catechumens. On this occasion he set forth the duties of parents, sponsors, and indeed all of his hearers, towards the young persons whom he confirmed, with great force and effect; then, kneeling down with the catechumens and all the congregation, he offered, in the name of Jesus, a prayer that was so childlike and so confiding that my heart was made to yield at once, and became tender, and my tears flowed freely. From that time I felt an impulse urging me to be more earnest and resolute in serving the Lord. After my return home, and at the end of the vacation, I went back to school again, at Giesen.

There were several very worthy people, citizens of Giesen, whom the Lord had apprehended, and who were of very sincere heart; with these persons I associated, and enjoyed great pleasure in their fellowship. The revilings and reproaches of my fellow-students were thrown in my way, on account of which I resorted to these friends only at night. At these meetings we would read a portion of the Scripture; then each one would freely state what had particularly impressed his own mind; then a verse or sentence would be drawn for each one out of the Schatz-Kästlein of Halle, the copy of which belonged to me; then we would sing a verse, after which we all went home. This soon was noised abroad, and after a while there was public excitement about it. I shall not relate here, how it began and how it ended. But, for this reason, I was everywhere regarded as a Pietist, and, so far, I was not. My reason threw great obstacles in the way; as for instance, 'if you are

treated so already, how will it be if you should come so far as to be made happy?' (for my teachers even were looking askance at me).

Accordingly, I continued to be, in private, a follower of what is good. But in respect to this, the very evening on which the tumult broke out, a worthy woman gave me quite a sharp reproof, saying to me: 'you are willing to go through the forms of piousness with other people, at night.' This inflicted a deep wound, like a dagger, and that very evening I went to my lodgings, and upon my knees prayed to God heartily, to deliver me from the fear of man and not allow me to be lukewarm any longer. After this I had more courage in asserting my convictions.

It happened, about the same time, that that useful servant of God, Mr. Fresenius, was called to Giesen, as pastor of the Garrison Church. He rendered valuable service to awakened souls. In company with certain friends, I visited him several times, and he encouraged us to press on, in the hope of becoming partakers of the Grace of God. So far, then, as a young man, I was moral; but before God, who requires faith, I was not yet right, as I experienced afterwards. My resorting to Halle was the occasion of bringing me to this better experience. This came to pass as follows: After I had been studying at Giesen about six months, my dear brother Schaum came home from Halle, on account of his health, after he had been, about one year, pursuing his studies there. My father was informed of this, and as my brother had long been trying to persuade him to send me to Halle, and Pastor Ohly had advised it likewise, my father called me home, and informed me of the arrival of the brother, with the request that I should accompany him and so inform myself as to the condition of affairs at Halle. This was done. The arrangement was completed in a few days, because Mr. Schaum was in haste to set out. At last, Pastor Ohly and another student accompanied me; for circumstances had arisen that compelled Mr. Schaum to remain at home. Here I found the Christian life altogether different. Here God opened my eyes and revealed Himself to me, in Jesus Christ, as a gracious, loving Father. Here I enjoyed fraternal intercourse with the excellent Fabricius and other worthy brethren, not to mention the beloved professors. All these commanded my affectionate regards; they prayed with me; and in company with the beloved Fabricius, whenever God gave us time and opportunity, I studied through the system of Evangelical doctrine, as drawn up by the sainted Spener. O, how my soul desired to be permitted to continue on in the enjoyment of such life-giving nourishment; but it was scarcely for nine months that I was allowed to indulge in it. Then I had to break off, for I was sent over to this western world. Yet, what God does and permits ends well; and now I pray to my Father, in Christ, Lord deal with me not according to my deserts; deliver me from wrath and be gracious to me. The Lord might crush me as a worm; I find peace in submitting to His Holy Will; and to His Grace

will I cling until I die. Lord Jesus help me. Amen! In Halle I attended the lectures of Prof. Baumgarten on dogmatics, etc., for six months; also, the lectures of the same professor on the History of the Old Testament, for three months. Further, I attended the catechetical lectures of Prof. Francke, based upon the Catechism of Spener. Beyond this it was not in my power to attend any regular course of lectures.

II. As it had been my purpose to return to my fatherland after having studied, for a limited time, at Halle, I left all my books at home, excepting the Holy Bible. I was prepared to furnish myself with the necessary books at Halle; but the time of my sojourn there being very short, as indicated above, I did not procure many books, and, in fact, could not. My books are very few in number, and among them are such as have been sent over by our Reverend Father Ziegenhagen. In a word, the Holy Bible is my book.

III. Theology is—(from the several answers that follow we select two, viz., No. IV and No. VII.)

IV. Whether our Evangelical Lutheran doctrine is the only saving doctrine? I do not venture to say, indeed I cannot, that those persons who do not, by name, adopt the Lutheran Confession will, as being without the doctrine, be lost. (R. I., Art. X.) But that our Evangelical Lutheran doctrine is the only justifying and saving doctrine, I say yea, and Amen! I prove it in this way: (1) where the Word of God is taught, pure and unadulterated, (2) and we, as the children of God, live according to His Word. Here I urge the proof of the first point: The Word of God is taught pure and unadulterated among us, it follows, therefore, that our doctrine is the only saving doctrine. I prove my first point, then, as follows: The doctrine and principles or articles of doctrine that are clearly and unquestionably based upon the Word of God, and are necessary to our salvation, these doctrines are true, and the very best. But the fundamental articles of the Lutherans are clearly and unquestionably based upon the Word of God and are necessary to salvation. Consequently they must be true and the very best. If we take up our Symbolical Books, which consist of the principles of our doctrine or religion, we find that they are taken from the Word of God and are proved by Holy Scripture. The passage, Acts 4: 12, "neither is there salvation in any other," etc., is one of our strongholds; the admonition, "repent and believe the Gospel," is another; the same is true of Chapt. 3 and Chapt. 9 of the Epistle to the Romans. The doctrine of the Person and Office of Christ, crucified for us, is also for us a high tower of refuge and defence.

VII. Should ministers of the Gospel be subordinate to one another? and if so, how far should this subordination be maintained? I shall answer this question briefly, by citations from the Word of God. God is a God of Order, and it is His Will that everything should be done decently and in order; consequently, that order should be maintained in the office of the Ministry of the Word. Let brotherly love continue.

In love, serve one another. Christian character and gifts and age should ever be held in honor. Whoever has been endowed with the wisdom that comes from Above understands this well, and feels nothing oppressive in the weight of superior authority. As occupying a subordinate position himself, he is respectful, humble and dutiful, never regarding the authority under which he stands as a burden or an oppression or a reproach. If other persons have experienced the sanctification of the Spirit, are distinguished for their usefulness and eminent for wisdom in counsel and in action, all this is, to him, an occasion of great joy. In Divine Grace there is nothing domineering; it is altogether fraternal, friendly, hearty and without guile. The 3d Chapter of I. Timothy decides the matter. So, I may say that I have written enough in answer to the question. If I have failed I shall be thankful to be corrected. If I have erred in any particular, I desire to be set right. If I have missed the mark, I hope to be better informed.

In this writing I have not employed technical terms, but have used plainness of speech, as God has enabled me to do. I hope, then, that the Reverend Pastors will be pleased to accept it kindly, as coming from one who is anxious to be further instructed, and most sincerely acknowledges his deficiencies.

Let the Name of the Lord be great in all nations, and the riches of His compassion be acknowledged by all people. Amen.

IX.

To the reverend and learned, the associated pastors of the united Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, Germantown, Providence and New Hanover, Mr. Muhlenberg, Mr. Brunnholtz and Mr. Handschuch, our honored Pastors and reverend Fathers in Christ.*

Ever Reverend, Learned and Most Honored Sirs:

That we, the subscribers, all being officers and members of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation at Tulpehocken and vicinity, in the county of Lancaster and Province of Pennsylvania, did, in a petition written in the English language and dated July 8th, 1745, and subscribed by divers members of the said Evangelical Lutheran congregation at Tulpehocken, represent to the reverend College of Pastors of the united Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, specially to Pastor Muhlenberg and Pastor Brunnholtz, and at the same time did deeply bewail the deplorable condition of our spiritual interests, begging them in fitting terms to have compassion upon our needy souls, to take us as part of their pastoral charge, to allow us also to enjoy their spiritual care, in short to become our pastors and to watch over us; further, that in a second petition, specific in its details,

* This has an important bearing upon the relation which the individual congregation and its pastor sustained to the pastoral college.

and written in the German language, we renewed our most humble request; all this is sufficiently well known to your reverences.*

We acknowledge, with due thanks and with humble praise to God, the spiritual care which, since that time, we have enjoyed on the part of the College of Pastors of the united congregations. But since our congregation has been increased by the Divine blessing upon your faithful labors, and former unhappy ruptures have been, in a measure, healed, so that by the grace of God we are able and willing to support our own pastor, a thing which our own necessities demand, therefore we, the aforesaid subscribers, the united officers of the Evangelical Lutheran congregation at Tulpehocken, for ourselves and in the name of our congregation do, with all due respect and sincerity, beg the honorable and reverend College of Pastors and especially the reverend gentlemen composing it, to wit, Pastor Muhlenberg, Pastor Brunnholtz and Pastor Handschuch, to send either one of their own number, or some other person qualified for such office, duly examined and ordained, and fully empowered to administer all the acts of the pastoral office, to be the regular pastor of our congregation at Tulpehocken, and to act under such regulations as the reverend College of Pastors may be pleased to ordain. In all this, the understanding and provision remains fixed, that we, together with the united congregations, constitute one entire Evangelical Lutheran congregation, who recognize and honor the associated pastors, composing the College of Pastors as their regular spiritual guides, and as such our own immediate pastor stands in the closest connection with them.

As we have good grounds to hope that the reverend College of Pastors will grant this our reasonable and humble petition, we venture, in this present writing, to explain at length our reasons for applying to your reverend college to send us a teacher, as also to state what you may justly demand at our hands. With this view then we shall in the first place state the circumstances that have led us, as well in former times as at present, to take our resort to your reverend college, and then we shall specify the chief points in respect to which we, both for ourselves and in the name of our constituents, are bound by solemn obligations to your reverend college and to the pastor whom you may appoint for us. The reasons that have moved us to apply to your reverend college in regard to the wants of our souls, and to beg you to take care of our spiritual interests are, amongst others, chiefly, the following.

1. Your own legitimate, regular and consequently Divine call to the holy office.

2. The strong testimonials you have received from certain Fathers and public teachers of our Evangelical Lutheran Church in Europe, who, by their zeal for the maintenance of the evangelical doctrine according to the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and by the uprightness

* See Muhlenberg's Report No. II of this Continuation.

of their lives in harmony with the same, and with the whole Word of God, out of which said Confession is taken, have been shining as lights, throughout the Protestant Church for many years; and specially those which you have from the University of Halle, in Saxony, which is a city set upon a hill, which pours light out upon the darkness, and has already awakened many to the glory of God; concerning which our prayer is, that the Lord may continue to keep it open as a source of blessings, defend it against all heresy, make it a home where true doctrine and true Godliness shall happily dwell together, a Divine workshop in which many vessels of honor shall be prepared to be used for the glory of God, for the edifying of the Church of Jesus Christ, for the propagation of evangelical truth, and for the eternal salvation of many thousands of souls.

3. Your firmness in maintaining the teaching and doctrine of the unaltered Augsburg Confession, which, in this country, is fiercely attacked, sometimes by false brethren, sometimes by fanatical sects, sometimes by epicureans and divers other parties. Against all such attacks you have not only maintained the truth for yourselves, but you have also strengthened the members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church therein, gathered them and increased their numbers. Let this be said to the praise of God who has been your helper.

4. The blessed fruits that have already followed your official labors; since so many have been brought from darkness into light and from the power of Satan unto God, and established in His grace, thereby.

5. Your official qualifications and prudence; your experience and the gentleness with which you accommodate yourselves to the peculiar circumstances of this country.

6. Your intimate union with each other, which encourages us to hope, not only that the good work will be begun, but also that it will be perpetuated both for us and for those who come after us.

7. The official fidelity and solicitude which you exhibit, not only in your own united congregations, but also in divers others which, from time to time, have appealed to you for help.

These facts, among others, have encouraged us, in this our time of need, to rely upon you next to our trust in God; and, in the interests of our souls, to make our appeal to your reverences. In view of all these things the desire has grown strong in us to be incorporated, to be of the same body, with the united congregations in Pennsylvania, to be received and acknowledged by them as brethren and members of a special congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and consequently, entitled to participate in the spiritual care of the reverend pastors of the associated congregations.

Also, we do hereby, most openly and in the most solemn way, appeal to, recognize and acknowledge, the reverend pastors of the united congregations in Pennsylvania as our spiritual guides and shepherds, investing them with full authority to watch for our souls in whatever

manner they may see fit, and by whatever agency, and for as long time as may be agreeable to them. Further, we promise to recognize the reverend Collegium Pastorum of the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, as a legitimate and regular presbytery and ministerium, and specially, as our own chief pastors and spiritual guides. We pledge ourselves to respect and esteem them as such, without whose advice and approbation, previously obtained, we will do nothing, ordain, determine and change nothing in any matters that may concern the church. Consequently, we will have an arrangement with no preacher whomsoever, and even with the pastor whom they may send to us, we will undertake to do nothing in any of the important affairs of the church, without having first obtained their advice and consent. On the other hand, whatever the united reverend Collegium Pastorum may determine, in respect to the concerns of our congregation, giving us due and adequate information thereof, we promise to approve of, to obey and to execute with all our might.

Further, we promise to recognize, to welcome, to respect, to honor, and to learn of the pastor whom the reverend Collegium Pastorum may send to us as our regular teacher, called of God, so long as it may please the reverend Collegium Pastorum to permit him to remain with us; also, to make no resistance in case they should, for good reasons, call him away and send us another in his place; but rather to receive and sustain such successor and follower with like love and reverence. Again, we promise that, in case, which may God forbid, any misunderstanding or division should occur between the members of the congregation generally, or between a part of them and the pastor, or among any of the individual members, we will, at once, report the same to the reverend Collegium Pastorum, humbly seek their decision of the matter and abide by the same.

Finally, we promise to pay to the teacher or teachers who may be sent to us, a salary adequate to their wants; to bind ourselves in writing to that effect, as also to use all our influence so that the congregation may continue regularly, from year to year, to supply the necessary wants of the pastor.

Hereto we subscribe our authentic signatures, both for ourselves and in the name of our congregation:

Done at Philadelphia, Aug. 13th, 1748.

JOHN NICHOLAS SCHWINGEL,	}	Church Council at Tulpehocken.
ADAM LOESCH,		
BALTHASAR ANSPACH,		
JOHN IMMEL,		

ABRAHAM LAUCK,	}	Deacons at Tulpehocken.
MARTIN BATDORF,		

ANDREW BAYER, Deacon of Northkill.

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