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Short Title

THEOLOGY OF S. S. SCHMUCKER

INFLUENCES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO  
THE THEOLOGY OF SAMUEL S. SCHMUCKER

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by  
Karl Koch  
June 1960

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Approved by: Carl S. Meyer  
Advisor

Phil Schroeder  
Reader

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Samuel Simon Schmucker was a leading figure of the Lutheran Church in America during the first half of the nineteenth century. He was born February 28, 1799, and died on July 26, 1873. His main labor was as a professor at Gettysburg Seminary, where he served from 1826 until his retirement in 1864. By his labors and leadership in the General Synod he advanced many doctrinal formulations that had been considered foreign to Lutheranism and which were severely attacked during his later years. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the possible causes and influences that led to the theological positions of this man.

The procedure to be followed shall be first, to review his life in its several stages. Secondly, while reviewing his life particular attention shall be applied to the detection of whatever influences might have existed. Following this, his theological position shall be examined in the light of typical theological schools of thought previous to, and during his lifetime. Of necessity there shall be references to events other than those that occurred directly involving him.

The theological formulations that are considered in

connection with Schmucker's theology are: (1) Pre-General Synod American Lutheranism; (2) General Synod Lutheranism; (3) Conservative American Lutheranism; (4) Calvinism; (5) Puritanism; (6) Pietism -- 1750 to 1850. The main concern in this portion is to demonstrate the development of Lutheran Theology in America.

The influences that contributed to Schmucker's theology are grouped thus: (1) Lutheran; (2) Pietistic; (3) Calvinistic; (4) Puritan; (5) Theocratic; (6) Ecumenical. The concern here shall be to show the main source(s) of Schmucker's theology and how other influences affected that main source so that it developed into new forms unfamiliar to its past history.

teacher, Dr. Justus H. C. Helmuth.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally difficult to ascertain the exact influence that a man's early home environment had on him. So much depends on his attitude toward that environment while he is under its sway. It is common that a child grown to adulthood will rebel at the very ideas that were at the core of his home life. Some indication of the person's attitude toward his boyhood home can usually be seen in his statements made later in life. It is indicative of his attitude toward his boyhood home, and especially toward

<sup>1</sup>Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), VI, 443. (Henceforth referred to as DAB).



## CHAPTER II

### GROWTH TO MANHOOD

#### Family Background

By far the majority of Lutheran divines of the nineteenth century came from the parsonage. If they were not children of the parsonage they at least received a great share of their spiritual, secular, and theological training under the tutelage of an elderly, respected leader of the Church. There are two parsonages that are basic in their influence on the young Samuel Schmucker. The first is his own home. The second is that of his father's teacher, Dr. Justus H. C. Helmuth.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally difficult to ascertain the exact influence that a man's early home environment had on him. So much depends on his attitude toward that environment while he is under its sway. It is common that a child grown to adulthood will rebel at the very ideas that were at the core of his home life. Some indication of the person's attitude toward his boyhood home can usually be seen in his statements made later in life. It is indicative of his attitude toward his boyhood home, and specially toward

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<sup>1</sup>Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), XVI, 443. (Henceforth referred to as DAB).

his father, that Samuel Schmucker did recall much of his father's character and life while he, Samuel, was a youth.

There is one work which is particularly helpful in this regard because of the many references and direct quotations that it contains. That work is The Life and Times of Rev. Samuel S. Schmucker, by P. Anstadt. While the author is extremely partial to Samuel Schmucker and some of his conclusions might therefore be suspect, he does present a wealth of material.

Samuel Schmucker wrote a testimonial to his father, dated December 24, 1857. In it he included some notes written by his father in his pocket Greek Testament. The inclusion of his father's notes in this testimonial was designed to show the father's spiritual outlook.

1. From the time of my conversion, in my eighteenth year, my life was, though in different degrees, a continued prayer, a longing and sighing after God.
2. It was a continual repentance, on account of my sins and the depravity of my heart.
3. It was a continual longing after the holiness and grace to live according to the will of God.
4. A continual longing for union and communion with God.
5. Through life I had a continual desire for the conversion of souls, which influenced every sermon I preached, though it was often defiled by the intermixture of selfish aims.
6. I had a constant desire for the society of the pious.

7. At the same time I had many infirmities and sins, and all my virtues were defective.<sup>2</sup>

Statements such as these, while they do not clearly indicate theological background, at least show to what degree of personal piety the writer had progressed. The writer is aware of his spiritual infirmities and has embarked on a plan for their removal. He carefully lists his spiritual aspirations and appends to these wherein dangers to his soul are to be found. Even the act of writing these things down is significant bearing in mind the prominent protestant ethos of this time, one characteristic of which was the careful recording of defects and aspirations either in a diary or in a handy notebook.<sup>3</sup>

Piety as this in his home played an important part in shaping the young Schmucker. Such a background of personal piety was probably experienced by most, if not all, of the Lutheran divines that grew up at this time.<sup>4</sup> The ties with Halle and the German Pietism it taught were still very strong, and there was, of course, the definite influence of the American Puritanism of that day. "The

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<sup>2</sup>P. Anstadt, Life and Times of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D. (York, Pa.: P. Anstadt and Sons, 1896), pp. 21-22, quoted from a letter of S. S. Schmucker, dated December 24, 1857.

<sup>3</sup>Perry Miller, The American Puritans, Their Prose and Poetry (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1956), pp. 225-226.

<sup>4</sup>Samuel S. Schmucker, "Patriarchs of American Lutheranism," Lutheran Church in America (Philadelphia: E. W. Miller, 1852), pp. 90-119.

atmosphere of the parental home was that of a warm pietism after the pattern of the German school of Spener and Francke, mixed with the rigorous puritanism which then dominated American Protestantism. . . ."<sup>5</sup> In the before-mentioned testimonial by S. S. Schmucker this statement is upheld. "The Orphan House at Halle, in Germany . . . whose alumni were the chief founders of our Church in this country, . . ."<sup>6</sup> rather clearly shows the source of Schmucker's Church.

As to the influence of American Protestantism, specifically of Puritanism, it need only be noted that his father was a noble defender of "the Temperance cause in its infancy," "was warmly attached to the great National Societies of our land, in which different Christian denominations cooperate, such as the American Bible and Tract Societies," and that he regarded that mass of truth taught in the publications of the American Tract Society, "and held by the Evangelical denominations in common, as the grand instrumentality for the conversion of the world."<sup>7</sup> He was also known as a firm champion of piety and religious revivals and advocated and supported such enterprises. He

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<sup>5</sup>DAB., XVI, 443.

<sup>6</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., pp. 19-20, quoted from a letter of S. S. Schmucker, dated December 24, 1857.

used prayer meetings. At one time he openly chastised certain members of his congregation from the pulpit for playing cards even though he knew, as his son says, that they did this only for innocent diversion.<sup>8</sup>

The many testimonies to the life and character of John George Schmucker demonstrate the high esteem in which he was held by his students and colleagues. He was a man noted for his cordial nature.<sup>9</sup> His desire for piety and spiritual growth has already been noted. He was a sincere preacher according to his lights. And, finally, he was an ardent worker in the Church at large according to the Protestant pattern of his age.

#### The Lutheran Church in S. S. Schmucker's Youth

S. S. Schmucker was born more than a decade after the conclusion of the War of Revolution. And yet, the turbulent effects of the times preceding and during that war, and of the times during the establishment of the new Republic, seem still to be present in his youth. These times found the Church of Schmucker with the name Lutheran yet with little of the solid characteristics common to its history. It was the lack of these characteristics which

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21, quoted from a letter of S. S. Schmucker, dated December 24, 1857.

<sup>9</sup>Luke Schmucker, The Schmucker Family and The Lutheran Church in America (No city: no publisher, 1937), p. 15.

largely influenced the course of Schmucker's life.

The twenty years following the War of Revolution was a period of diversity in the Lutheran Church in America. Abdel Ross Wentz has characterized this period as a time of "Problems of Faith and Language."<sup>10</sup> Almost every volume which covers this period has something to add to the variegated nature of American Lutheranism. Dr. J. H. C. Helmuth, under whom both father and son Schmucker studied, while upheld as a defender of confessionalism, had close friends among both Moravians and Reformed.<sup>11</sup> J. G. Schmucker had great respect for the "evangelical" nature of American Protestantism. Dr. Frederick Henry Quitman, leader of the New York Ministerium during this time, was an avowed disciple of Professor John Semler, "Father of Rationalism at Halle."<sup>12</sup> In 1812, with the consent and approval of the Ministerium, Quitman wrote and published an English catechism which was highly rationalistic.<sup>13</sup>

Unionism was the spirit of the day. In New York State the tendency was toward the Episcopal Church.<sup>14</sup> This appears to be a remnant of the days of Muhlenberg and of the

<sup>10</sup>Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), p. 73.

<sup>11</sup>DAB., VIII, 515.

<sup>12</sup>Abdel R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 73-74.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

early Swedish settlements along the Delaware. Both of these had had a high regard for the Episcopal Church. In Pennsylvania union was the project between the Reformed and the Lutherans.<sup>15</sup> Lutherans cooperated with the Reformed in the establishment and maintenance of Franklin College at Lancaster. The Pennsylvania Ministerium which "mothered" the plan for organization of a General Synod of Lutheran bodies dropped out of this organization because of projected union with Reformed congregations of Pennsylvania.<sup>16</sup>

The language problem contributed no little to the problems of this age. Along the seaboard the various units of the Lutheran Church had more easily shifted over to the English language. But west of the Alleghenies the constant arrival of German settlers and the partial isolation of the area worked to preserve the native German tongue in the Church. In 1792 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania inserted the word "German" into its title.<sup>17</sup> Controversies over which language should be used in worship services were common. The situation went so far that in 1812 the Pennsylvania Ministerium established the Evangelisches Magazin for the stated purposes of

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>16</sup>Vergilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology (New York: The Century Co., 1927), p. 43.

<sup>17</sup>Abdel R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 76.

preserving the German tongue and of fighting rationalistic unbelief.<sup>18</sup>

Immediately after the War of Revolution a trend occurred among the American Protestant churches for the development of national bodies. The Congregationalists and Baptists, while having no established national organization, each had a definite national consciousness.<sup>19</sup> This feeling of national unity was the result of little difference in doctrine or polity among their respective congregations. The Methodists broke with their previous ties to England and at the "Christmas" conference, December 24, 1784, they established their own national Church--The Methodist Episcopal Church. The union which formed the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was consummated in 1789. In 1788 the Presbyterian Church had established a form of government for its national organization. The Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States was founded in 1792-1793.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to this spirit of national formation is the general trend of state organizations among the Lutheran churches. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, organized in 1748, although intended to include all

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>19</sup>William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 193.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 195, 198, 200.



Lutheran congregations in America soon failed in its purpose. Other synods were organized on state levels, thus in 1786--the Ministerium of New York, 1803--the Synod of North Carolina, 1818--the Synod of Ohio, 1820--the Synod of Maryland and the Synod of Tennessee.<sup>21</sup> Although separate governmental bodies were developing among the Lutherans, there was a distinct feeling of unity. The separate organizations were established for ease of operation. The first true attempt at a general, national organization was at Hagerstown, Maryland, October 22, 1820, when a convention was held which finally led to the formation of the General Synod. And, as shall be shown later, this attempt almost became little more than that, an attempt.

There are certain significant details of the character of the Lutheran Church during the period 1780 to 1820. This period covers the twenty years previous to the birth of Schmucker and then the first twenty years of his life. The first striking feature is the organizational disunity of the Lutheran Church in America. To be sure, communication did exist between the several parts. John George Schmucker, while studying under Paul Henkel of New Market, Virginia during the 1790's, travelled extensively throughout Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky with that roving preacher. J. G. Schmucker himself was well known throughout American

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 201.

Lutheranism, having served congregations in York County, Pennsylvania, Hagerstown, Maryland, and having returned a call to New York City.<sup>22</sup> Though pastors frequently crossed state lines, and though travel was possible for organizational purposes, as witness other church bodies, the Lutheran Church in America did not accomplish national unity during this period.

The spirit of Lutheran confessionalism was alternately recumbent and nascent. Many pastors followed the words of Quitman, "Freedom of inquiry is, in my opinion, the birthright of the Protestant Church."<sup>23</sup> Others, while generally fewer in number, followed the rising Lutheran scholarship of the Henkels. Fenn has said:

The development in the American Lutheran Church then follows (i.e., 1780-1812) in a gradual disregard for any inherited confessional distinctions and in courting in a more conspicuous way an open fellowship with other Protestant communions. The scholastic type of Lutheran orthodoxy which prevailed in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Germany was not characteristic of the American Lutheranism which had been planted by Muhlenberg. Notable exceptions from the inherited doctrines contained in the Lutheran symbols were made by men prominent in the affairs of the church during this period.<sup>24</sup>

Details of practice and polity seriously disrupted the church in some quarters. Among these were difficulties

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<sup>22</sup>Luke Schmucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>23</sup>Vergilius Fenn, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33.

over language, fellowship with other church bodies, and attempts at union. Often the disruption was not of the violent type but rather that the Lutheran church's attention was so centered on local issues that it could not see the problem of national disunity. Finally, there was no one great man capable of taking the reins and leading the various units of Lutheranism into one body. Such a man was soon to come but even his fondest dreams were to fail of fulfillment. That man, Samuel Simon Schmucker, did recognize the problems of this age and endeavored to correct them in his life. His recognition of these problems is seen reflected in his desire to have German theological works translated into English; his work in establishing the General Synod and its schools, the Gettysburg Seminary and the Pennsylvania College; and his attempted union of American Lutheranism in doctrine through The American Recension of the Augsburg Confession. The four decades preceding S. S. Schmucker's active ministry supplied the needs which he sought to fill through his labors.

#### Education

Very little is known of the educational training that S. S. Schmucker received during his boyhood years. He most likely was tutored by his father even while attending the available schools in the communities in which he lived.

An early grounding in scholastic studies is indicated by a Latin letter that Dr. Helmuth wrote to the thirteen year old Schmucker. In this letter, the former teacher of J. G. Schmucker invited young Samuel to come to the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>25</sup> Dr. Helmuth was at the time professor of German at that institution. Schmucker entered the freshman class there in 1814 and remained to the completion of his sophomore year. During this time he studied theology under Dr. Helmuth. It is difficult to determine exactly the influence that this gentleman had upon the young Schmucker. But it is noteworthy that Helmuth was educated in the Halle Orphanage and at the University of Halle in Germany. At these institutions he had been under the strong influence of Francke.<sup>26</sup> Dr. Helmuth was always held in high regard by Schmucker.<sup>27</sup>

From August 5, 1816, until November, 1817, Samuel Schmucker served in a temporary position as head of the Classical Department of the York Academy, York, Pennsylvania. He had charge of the instruction in Latin and Greek. It is interesting to note that during this time

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<sup>25</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>26</sup>DAB., VIII, 515.

<sup>27</sup>Samuel Simon Schmucker, "Retrospect of Lutheranism in the United States," The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally, and Practically Delineated, in Several Occasional Discourses (Philadelphia: E. W. Miller, 1852), pp. 21-25.

some of the entries in his diary are in Latin.<sup>28</sup> During this period he continued his theological preparation under the tutelage of his father who held a pastorate in York. One of his younger contemporaries who studied under him at the academy later remarked that at this time Schmucker was no doubt well ahead of most of the candidates for the Lutheran ministry in his day.<sup>29</sup>

Schmucker already appears as a striving scholar. At the time that he was teaching he was still in his seventeenth and eighteenth years. Thus he was perhaps only four or five years older than some of his pupils. Even though the pedagogical customs of the day allowed men to teach at younger ages, a proper concern for the qualities of the teacher was usually exercised. Schmucker was careful that a student was well grounded in fundamentals before he was allowed to progress. While he refused to place "glamorous" advertisements in the papers to attract students, he did conscientiously seek out those worthy of instruction or those who had dropped out. In one case he reinstated a student for free instruction upon learning that the father had withdrawn his son because of lack of

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<sup>28</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., pp. 31-39, extensive quotations from the diary of S. S. Schmucker, 1816-1817.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 41, quoted from some reminiscences of Dr. J. G. Morris which had been published in the Lutheran Observer.

funds.<sup>30</sup> His sincerity and attention to duty was duly noted by the board of the school in a letter of recommendation given him upon his departure.<sup>31</sup>

Schmucker's theological training was divided into two types. He studied under two pastors, his father and Dr. Helmuth, and at Princeton under Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller. In the former he imbibed a warm pietism much of the spirit of Muhlenberg's.<sup>32</sup> The confessional quality of this portion of his training can, at best, be only inferred. He notes when he begins his ministry that the Henkel's have an instinctive aversion to anyone bearing the name Schmucker.<sup>33</sup> This could indicate that his family was not noted for a strong confessional position. Dr. Helmuth has been characterized as having the same confessional spirit as Dr. Muhlenberg.<sup>34</sup> The exact degree of confessional orthodoxy of the two pastors and their pupil is hard to ascertain. But that S. S. Schmucker did develop a high regard for confessional unity is revealed in

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 37-38, quoted from S. S. Schmucker's diary as per footnote 28.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 39, certificate from the Board of Trustees of York Academy, dated August 12, 1818.

<sup>32</sup>W. J. Mann, Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857), pp. 108-123.

<sup>33</sup>Luke Schmucker, op. cit., p. 33, quoted from the diary of S. S. Schmucker, dated September 19, 1820.

<sup>34</sup>DAB., XVI, 443.

a letter he wrote from Princeton to his father on February 17, 1820. He writes following a trip to New York City during which he and Pastor Schaefer had promised each other to strive for the general welfare of the church,

that a rule may be established, according to which every applicant [to the ministry] must be examined in regard to his personal Christianity, that the Augsburg Confession should again be brought up out of the dust, and every one must subscribe to the twenty-one articles, [doctrinal section] and declare before God, by his subscription, that it corresponds to the Bible, not quantum, but quia; . . . .<sup>35</sup>

As mentioned above the final part of his theological training was at Princeton under Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller. The two present somewhat of a contrast. The former is remembered as an excellent extemporaneous preacher and the latter as a clear and intellectual teacher.<sup>36</sup> There appears to be no small amount of speculation as to the exact amount of Puritanism that Schmucker assimilated at this institution. The teachers were thoroughly Presbyterian and American. Schmucker did hear much theology of a Puritan character. But Anstadt notes that he did not ever support the Puritan doctrines of

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<sup>35</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 63, quoted from the letter given in full in Anstadt.

<sup>36</sup>DAB., I, 163 and XII, 636.

predestination and reprobation.<sup>37</sup> Nor, he continues, did Schmucker follow their extreme pattern of belief in other areas, as on the Sabbath. A main point would be, did he attain any Puritan attitudes while at Princeton? The question must be left open. Dr. Schmucker's Pietism was so strong that it is difficult to determine where it left off and where any supposed Puritanism began. It has been said that at Princeton

he learned anew to respect Puritanical notions and practices (evidenced in his legalistic view of the Christian Sabbath, in strict observance of certain religious customs, and in a rather rigid sense of decorum) and where he came into contact with other denominational leaders which gave him a characteristic catholic outlook.<sup>38</sup>

But while these above mentioned "notions and practices" are puritanical they could also be correctly labeled as pietistic.

Already the basic patterns of Schmucker's life are appearing. His Lutheran background and pietistic upbringing have made contact with the prevailing Calvinism of his day. And, Schmucker has come to see the condition of the Lutheran Church and has already formed plans for its improvement. How he effects these plans is the subject of the next chapter.

<sup>37</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>38</sup>DAB., XVI, 443.



### CHAPTER III

#### HIS MINISTRY: EARLY YEARS

##### His Congregational Work

Samuel S. Schmucker was licensed to preach by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania on June 2, 1820. Shortly thereafter he received a call to four congregations in the vicinity of New Market, Virginia. He assumed this post in the first part of 1821 and left at the close of the year 1825 to take up his duties at the newly established seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> He had spent but five years in the parish ministry and was never to return to a permanent post in this part of the church's work. And yet during these years in the parish he appeared as one singularly given to the cure of souls.

Excerpts from his diary, as recorded by L. Schmucker and P. Anstadt, reveal his almost passionate concern for the spiritual life of his sheep.<sup>2</sup> His sermons usually centered around a "presentation-response" idea. He

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<sup>1</sup>Luke Schmucker, The Schmucker Family and the Lutheran Church in America (No city: no publisher, 1937), pp. 33-36.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-36; P. Anstadt, Life and Times of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D. (York, Pa.: P. Anstadt and Sons, 1896), pp. 80-100.

generally elicited personal involvement of the hearers either through a personal acceptance of Christ as savior or a Christian commitment to the Kingdom of God and its work on earth. Constant reference is made as to whether or not the audience was receptive or warm to the remarks of the speaker.<sup>3</sup>

That his ministry was effective is reflected in the remark that when he entered the area not one family in four had a Lutheran member within its ranks. While, when he left, not one in four was without a Lutheran.<sup>4</sup> This remark does seem close to the truth when compared with the statistical reports of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia. Concerning these Anstadt noted:

Commencing with five small congregations, having an aggregate communion list of seventy, to which he added twenty the first year, and an average of nearly forty every year afterwards, from a small Lutheran community, and leaving, in four congregations, at his resignation in 1826, about two hundred communicants, shows a ministry as fruitful as that of any contemporary pastor.<sup>5</sup>

Except for a few landed gentry the area in which he worked was not noted for the intellectual attainments of its members. They were simple country folk of a kind

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<sup>3</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., pp. 93-115. Vide., Appendix B, Sermon Outlines.

<sup>4</sup>L. Schmucker, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 92.

common to the rural areas of the United States of that day. Hence he did labor under the difficulty of not being able to exert himself to the full glory of his intellectual ability. But an outlet for this energy was soon found by the young preacher. On Tuesday, December 9, 1823, he commenced a course of theological training for four young students.<sup>6</sup> It must be considered an indication of the regard in which he was held by his fellow-pastors that at the age of twenty-five he should have been allowed thus to teach and also that two years later he should come to occupy the first professorial chair at the newly established theological seminary at Gettysburg. This view is further supported by the resolution of the first synod meeting which he attended in 1821 in which a catechist and theological student, Mr. Kibler, was placed under his care.<sup>7</sup>

From May 3 to May 25, 1824, Schmucker took a trip to Andover, Massachusetts. The purpose and result of this trip were to have lasting effect in his life. He went to consult with Professor Moses Stuart in regard to the translation of Storr and Flatt's Biblical Theology, which effort Schmucker had already begun. It appears that he desired confirmation of the book selected for translation

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<sup>6</sup>L. Schmucker, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>7</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 113.

and also criticism of the work already completed. He also consulted with Professors Alexander, Miller and Hodge at Princeton on the projected translation. While at Princeton he entered into theological discussions with these gentlemen on the current state of orthodoxy in Germany. He seemed particularly pleased with the rise of orthodoxy in the homeland.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the significance of this trip can best be understood by noting with whom Schmucker consults in the midst of his first theological production of stature. He can hardly be criticized for seeking better minds to help him in his task. Yet, it is somewhat significant that these minds are steeped in the Puritan spirit and in the general Protestant spirit of this period.

#### Lutheran Unity Work: Early Years

Immediately upon his entrance into the ministry in 1820 Schmucker became involved in the national union endeavor of the Lutheran Church. There are two significant items of that year which were to have lasting effect on the Lutheran Church in America. These two are the organizational meeting for the establishment of a General Synod, held at Hagerstown, Maryland, October 22, 1820, and the determination by S. S. Schmucker that he was going to strive for a quia subscription to the doctrinal articles

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 108-112.

of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>9</sup> Aligned with his desire for confessional unity were his three "pious desires": (1) for the translation into English of one important work on Lutheran Dogmatics; (2) the establishment of a Lutheran theological seminary; (3) the founding of a Lutheran college.<sup>10</sup> The General Synod was to provide the environment within which he was to operate and the above desires were to provide the momentum for many of his deeds.

The first gathering of Lutheran leaders at Hagerstown was for the purpose of exploration. They established the possibility of union and a pattern of polity for the projected federation. As yet no mention of the symbolical nature of this union was made.<sup>11</sup> It was a basic step toward the surrender of sovereignty by the constituent synods. The first business convention of the General Synod in 1821 did nothing to advance the confessional position of that body. It was soon detected by certain of the participating synods that the General Synod was going to be more than a mildly restrictive federal association.

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<sup>9</sup>Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), p. 78; Supra, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup>Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943), XVI, 444.

<sup>11</sup>Vergilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology (New York: The Century Co., 1927), pp. 38-39.

The first to note this was the New York Ministerium which body failed to ratify the constitution from the beginning. Soon the Pennsylvania Ministerium, which had "mothered" the joint Synod, thought it detected difficulties which membership in this body would create. It dropped its membership in 1823.<sup>12</sup> The Ohio Synod, which had shown interest in the organization, reconsidered after this development and decided not to join.

The General Synod, appearing to be on the verge of bankruptcy, was quickly revived largely through the efforts of S. S. Schmucker. Through correspondence and personal visits he encouraged the remaining members to a renewed effort. The Maryland-Virginia, North Carolina and Ohio Synods sent representatives to a conference to consider the problem. The West Pennsylvania Conference of the Pennsylvania Ministerium had also sent a delegate and later broke with that Ministerium over this issue and formed its own Synod.<sup>13</sup> It is highly probable that in his efforts to revive and continue the General Synod Schmucker gained for himself a prominent place in that body.

The purpose of the General Synod, as seen by those that revived it, was not simply organization for its own

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<sup>12</sup>A. R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 81-82; V. Ferm, op. cit., p. 73; P. Anstadt, op. cit., pp. 125-136.

sake. One of their primary goals was the establishment of an institution, or institutions, for the training of Lutheran ministers.<sup>14</sup> It was this purpose that was uppermost in the mind of the young Schmucker. Largely through his urging the previous resolution on the establishment of a theological seminary was carried in the General Synod meeting of 1825. Schmucker himself was elected as the seminary's first professor. A brief constitution of the seminary was drawn up by Schmucker at the insistence of the Synod. This constitution, which was accepted by the Synod, included this statement:

To provide our churches with pastors, who sincerely believe and cordially approve of the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as they are fundamentally taught in the Augsburg Confession, and who will therefore teach them in opposition to Deists, Unitarians, Arians, Antinomians, and all other fundamental errorists.<sup>15</sup>

Another of its statements reads:

In this seminary shall be taught, in the German and English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the Sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg Confessions. [sic]<sup>16</sup>

While presenting a definite doctrinal stand these statements are carefully qualified through the use of the word "fundamental."

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<sup>14</sup>A. R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>15</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 179, direct quote from synodical resolution.

<sup>16</sup>A. R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 84.

On the fifth of September, 1826, the seminary was officially opened and S. S. Schmucker was inducted as its first professor. The oath of office for the candidate had been written by Schmucker himself. It was to be used for later candidates also.<sup>17</sup> Schmucker later made the claim that he never departed from the true sense of this oath. It read:

I solemnly declare in the presence of God and of the Directors of the Seminary, that I do ex animo believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the inspired word of God, and the only perfect rule of faith and practice. I believe the Augsburg Confession, and the Catechisms of Luther to be a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the word of God. I declare that I approve of the general principles of church government, adopted by the Lutheran Church in this country, and believe them to be consistent with the word of God. And I do solemnly promise not to teach anything, either directly or by insinuation, which shall appear to contradict, or to be in any degree more or less remote, inconsistent with the doctrines or principles avowed in this declaration. On the contrary, I promise by the aid of God to vindicate and inculcate these doctrines and principles, in opposition to the views of Atheists, Deists, Jews, Socinians, Unitarians, Universalists, and all other errorists, while I remain Professor of this Seminary.<sup>18</sup>

Surely, this was a significant advance from the confessional position of the Lutheran Church in the previous decades. Yet in this same program Rev. David F. Schaefer,

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<sup>17</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 182, direct quotation from original source materials.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 182, direct quotation from original source materials.



in delivering the charge to the new professor, said:

I charge you to remember your responsibility, and be faithful to God. Establish the students in the faith which distinguishes our church from others. Unity of sentiments (sic) on important matters of faith and discipline, among pastors of the same church, is indispensable. I object not to difference on subjects of minor importance between different denominations. The Church is more beautiful from such variety, as is a garden on account of its flowers being of various color. But every flower must be like all others of the same genus and species. Above all, ground our students well in the doctrine of the atonement.<sup>19</sup>

In these two statements several points are detected. It is confessed that there ought to be a significant unity within the confines of any single church body. The unity is spoken of both in terms of doctrine and polity. The exactness of this unity is not stated explicitly. There is a recognition of existing unity between this body and similar evangelical protestant churches. This unity is seen in an emphasis on the atonement and in a joint attack on certain specifically mentioned heresies. The unity in the Lutheran Church ought not interfere with the spiritual unity of all evangelical bodies. With further refinement and expansion these ideas finally found issuance in the Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches on Christian Union, 1838, written by S. S. Schmucker.

In the constitution of the seminary there are specific references to impeachment of members of the faculty.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 183, direct quotation from original source materials.

The grounds listed are "fundamental errors in doctrine, morality, or inattention to duty. . . ."20 No further explanation is appended as to what constitutes false doctrine. But, in view of the previous recorded statements, false doctrine probably refers to the standard evangelical beliefs concerning salvation.

Of immediate concern to the founders of the Seminary was the financial situation of the school both as to its own needs and those of its students. Subscriptions were quickly given by those ministers present according to their several abilities. The new professor himself pledged one thousand dollars "to the cause of beneficiary education, to poor and talented and pious candidates for the ministry, in the institution of this place."21 Certain conditions were drawn up by the donor concerning the use of the fund.

Number seven read:

If at any future time (which may God in mercy prevent) this institution should become so perverted, that a belief that the doctrines of the eternal and real divinity of the Redeemer, the doctrine that the atonement is general and in its nature equally applicable and acceptable to all men, the universality of divine aid or grace sufficient for salvation, and the real willingness of God to save all men, should no longer be required, either professedly or in reality, of the Professor of this institution, I hereby authorize my lawful heirs in any future generation to recover

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 184, direct quotation from original source materials.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 186, direct quotation from original source materials.

the amount of this donation and all its increase by interest, for their own proper, private use.<sup>22</sup>

The requirements as to the divinity of Christ is of course aimed at the liberal schools of theology. The other requirements, however, all lay stress on the intention of God to save all men through the power of the atonement. These requirements are evidently directed at the stern Calvinism which taught the decree of eternal election to reprobation. Thus this entire statement is interesting both in what it says and in what it omits. For, while it condemns particular tenets of Calvinism and liberal protestantism, it does not really speak to the theological position of an institution for the Lutheran Church. For example, there are no references to (1) the means of grace; (2) the personal union of the two natures in Christ; (3) confessional orthodoxy. Far from being Lutheran concerns they are those concerns which were prominent among the self-styled Evangelical Protestants of Schmucker's day.

Thus far it can be established that S. S. Schmucker did have a very strong Lutheran consciousness. He was pre-eminently concerned with the condition of the Lutheran Church in America. Beginning already in his student days he sought a program of suitable measures for the improvement of the conditions afflicting his church. He was

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 187, direct quotation from original source materials.

quite willing to expend himself in studies, travel, and finances if the church would profit. He recognized the need for union among the synods in America and saw that it must be established through a good application of strong principles of polity. He also recognized the influence of various types of American Protestantism on the Lutheran Church and recognizing some of these influences as detrimental he fought those. He realized that union among the various synods must be effected through joint recognition of a common confession. Whenever possible he fostered movements and fathered documents that would place the Lutheran Church on a firm foundation both doctrinally and practically.

But Schmucker was deeper in his general Protestantism than in his specific Lutheranism. He also saw a need for the Lutheran Church to be "American" in character. He desired a more definite cohesion between the evangelical branches of Protestantism, both in this country and abroad. He saw a place for the church in the movements that were beginning to rock the public scene in this country. He was an advocate of a type of piety that closely resembled Puritanism in some of its aspects. He supported general Protestant lay movements of a unionistic character. These, and other points, are the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

### HIS LABORS

#### Professor at Gettysburg

Even to the close of his life's labors Dr. Schmucker was of the opinion that his doctrinal teachings had not changed since the years when he began teaching. In his letter of resignation, delivered to the board of Gettysburg Seminary August 9, 1864, he says:

The text book, viz., my Popular Theology (published 1834), which grew out of my lectures on Dogmatics, during the first few years, has been retained till [sic] this day as the basis of my instructions, without the change of a single doctrine; and I record the additional declaration, that I this day cordially believe every doctrine taught in the entire volume.<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of the previous statements concerning his theological position this book, though published some eight years after he began his labors at the seminary, will serve for a brief study of his theological outlook at the beginning of his teaching career. It is only assumed that the content is the same and not necessarily the form.

The first details of the volume that are noticed are

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<sup>1</sup>P. Anstadt, Life and Times of S. S. Schmucker, D.D. (York, Pa.: P. Anstadt and Sons, 1896), pp. 21-22, quote from S. S. Schmucker, memorial sketch of S. G. Schmucker, December 24, 1857.

the inclusion of the text of the Augsburg Confession both in the original Latin and in English translation and also the appendix which includes the Formula for the Government and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Constitution of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of North America.<sup>2</sup> Therein is noted again the two-pronged emphasis of Schmucker on a rule for doctrine and polity. The man appears to be an "organizational man" such as are common today.

The author begins with a survey of natural religion and of man's capacity in his will to search out the eternal truths. He definitely upholds the desirability of divine revelation. From this he proceeds to the evidences of Christianity which he divides into two kinds: (1) the original evidences as presented by Christ and the Apostles; (2) the progressive testimonies throughout the history of Christianity. Then he continues to Scripture and the Augsburg Confession. He presents to the students the reasons for their study of these two and puts before them the pledges which they shall have to make at their examination

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<sup>2</sup>S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Reformation, as Avowed before the Diet at Augsburg, in MDXXX (Second edition; New York: Leavitt, Lord and Co., 1834), the Augsburg Confession, in Latin, is found on pp. 367-368; the Formula for Government and Discipline is found on pp. 369-399; the Constitution of the General Synod is found on pp. 400-406. Hereafter this book will be referred to as Elements of Popular Theology, etc.

for their offices. These pledges are:

(1) Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice? (2) Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct, in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?<sup>3</sup> (Underlining mine)

He then presents the reasons that the Lutheran divines of this country are not willing to bind themselves, and others, to a rigid adhesion to extensive and detailed creeds. He believes that much harm has been done to the Church through such practices. The body of believers has been torn apart by such requirements. It is enough that Christians should be bound to fundamental, or essential doctrines. Liberty ought to be exercised with the remainder.<sup>4</sup> He states of this very volume "It is not designed to be in any sense a standard to regulate the opinions of others, any farther than the evidences which it contains may tend to generate deliberate conviction."<sup>5</sup> This he records even though he claims that the volume was written at the urging of the General Synod.

His attitude toward doctrine and the Church is further clarified by another statement made later in the volume.

so the reformation was preceded by the efforts of a Wycliffe and a Huss: and even Luther and Calvin and

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<sup>3</sup>S. S. Schmucker, op. cit., p. 41, italics supplied.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

Zuingle [sic] have left much to be learned by their successors. This additional lesson we believe consists, at least in part, in that spirit of brotherly love and Christian liberality which characterizes the operations of this present age, and is mainly fostered by the voluntary associations in which different denominations unite.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult to understand this statement of his book in the light of the letter that he wrote to his father in 1820. There he had advocated a quia subscription to the Augsburg Confession and yet here he appears to be speaking to a quatenus subscription, that the creeds are right "in so far" as they agree with Scripture. His statements are not as clear as those formally announced in the conclusion of his volume American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc. There the principle is enunciated that there ought to be a subscription of all to a confession such as the American Recension of the Augsburg Confession, otherwise known as The Definite Platform.<sup>7</sup>

It appears that his position in his Popular Theology was essentially the same as that of his later work. He may understand a quia subscription to an altered creed through the use of the words "fundamental doctrines" and "substantially correct." Thus he did affirm that there

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>7</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on Certain Disputed Topics: Including a Reply to the Plea of Rev. W. J. Mann (Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1856), p. 167. Hereafter this book will be referred to as American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc.



is a body of essential truth to which all Christians must subscribe. There is also a body of non-essential teachings, many of which have been improved since the Reformation, which teachings ought be considered in the realm of open questions.

It is evidenced throughout the volume that he held Calvin and Luther in equal regard, believing that each had erred in certain doctrinal formulations. His regard for Zwingli was somewhat less. His approach to such areas of concern as the sacraments was to present the various allowed interpretations of these subjects and then to suggest that certain of the interpretations were more valid for his present age.<sup>8</sup>

In his early years as Professor at the seminary Schmucker certainly had adequate opportunity for work. For many years he was its only professor, receiving occasional assistance from other pastors in the area. He was required to teach Greek and Hebrew, Sacred Geography, Sacred Chronology, Biblical and Profane History, Biblical Antiquities, Mental Philosophy, Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Biblical Criticism, Exegetical and Biblical Theology, Systematic Divinity, Ecclesiastical History, Pastoral and Polemic Theology, Church Government

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<sup>8</sup>S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., pp. 248-255 is a discussion on Sacramental Presence.

and the Composition and Delivery of Sermons.<sup>9</sup> Although some would liken their training to an exalted catechetical instruction, the general opinion that has survived is that the students received an adequate training for the ministry of that day.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Schmucker's methods of teaching involved the use of dictation, debate and seminar.

His pietistic spirit was reflected in a number of ways. Generally there was little levity in his classes.<sup>11</sup> His own concern that candidates for the ministry might have a basic piety was reflected in the Formula for Government and Discipline, etc., chapter XVIII, section 4, "No Ministerium shall, in any case whatever, license an individual whom they do not believe to be hopefully pious."<sup>12</sup> Part of his own piety was his complete dedication to his work. Thus, though he was socially inclined, he often neglected the company of others for the labor at hand. Often when in the company of others his mind naturally turned to matters on which he labored.<sup>13</sup> But this continual concentration on work is common to dedicated men whether pious or

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<sup>9</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 269.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 206, 269.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 270

<sup>12</sup>S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., p. 396.

<sup>13</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., pp. 266-268.

not. His desire for recognizing piety in his students was a better indication of his basic pietism. This recognition on the student level was a natural requisite if pious candidates were to be produced by the Seminary. W. J. Mann, a contemporary, has characterized this as a typical American Puritan emphasis on life, activity and effect rather than theory.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted also that while certain areas of knowledge were to be examined according to the Formula of Government and Discipline, etc., there was no mention of examination of candidates according to confessional subscription.<sup>15</sup> Thus, while candidates were publicly examined according to intellect and piety, their confessional position was left to a bare subscription of an indefinite quality.

#### Ecumenical Work

It has been demonstrated earlier that Schmucker felt close to Evangelical Protestantism. Certain attitudes in regard to this are: (1) his opinion that the body of Evangelical churches shared the same basic doctrines;

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<sup>14</sup>W. J. Mann, Lutheranism in America: an Essay on the Present Condition of the Lutheran Church in the United States (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857), pp. 25-27. Hereafter this book will be referred to as Lutheranism in America, etc.

<sup>15</sup>S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., p. 396.

(2) since the same basic doctrines are shared some program of unity ought be sought; (3) since minor points had long delayed such an endeavor they ought to be left in the realm of open questions. These attitudes are reflected in his relations with the establishment of the Evangelical Alliance in England in 1846.

There was a general religious movement previous to and during the founding of the Evangelical Alliance. This movement has been called the Evangelical Awakening. It was the awakening of certain Protestant bodies whose doctrine could be styled evangelical. They were awakened to a fuller consciousness of their historic and doctrinal ties. Whenever Schmucker talked of unity work he referred to the Evangelical bodies or spirit in Protestantism. The "high water" mark of this movement is thought by many to be the founding of the Evangelical Alliance.<sup>16</sup>

The Alliance, begun in 1846, sought to unite in fellowship all those whose heritage was the Protestant Reformation and who believed in the Bible's full authority, the incarnation, the atonement, salvation by faith, and the work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>17</sup>

In the year 1846 Dr. Schmucker was released from his duties at the Seminary that he might, in the company of

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<sup>16</sup>James Hastings Nichols, History of Christianity 1650-1950, Secularization of the West (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956), p. 183.

<sup>17</sup>William Richey Hogg, Ecumenical Foundations, a History of the International Missionary Council and Its Nineteenth Century Background (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 36; Supra, p. 29, footnote 22.

Drs. J. G. Morris and Benjamin Kurtz, make a tour of Europe and be present at the founding convention of the Evangelical Alliance. The three went as accredited representatives of the Lutheran Church in America.<sup>18</sup> Previous to their departure a letter to the United Church of Prussia had been prepared and sent with the signatures of these three and also of Dr. H. N. Pohlman and Rev. H. I. Schmidt, the latter professor at the Seminary at Hartwick. The letter stressed the points of similarity between the General Synod and the United Church of Prussia.<sup>19</sup> A certain chain of events seems to point to its importance for the theological development of the Lutheran Church in America. This letter was widely distributed before their visit and by the travelers during their trip. Quite naturally, as they distributed this letter they made comments upon its contents.<sup>20</sup>

Their letter and their comments did attract attention to them. In the year following their tour, 1847, an English edition of Nicholas Hunnius' Epitome Credendorum was published at the instigation of William Loehe. The volume was prefaced by that divine. He said that it had been prepared for the express purpose of presenting the

\_\_\_\_\_ gathering of Protestant Evangelicals.

<sup>18</sup>P. Anstadt, op. cit., pp. 243-244, based on Schmucker's notes on the trip.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 251-252, based on Schmucker's notes on the trip.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 252-254, based on Schmucker's notes on the trip.

Lutheran brethren in America with a doctrinal work "in which every point of our faith is fully considered and represented agreeable to the true sense of Scripture." The fundamental doctrines of the Lutheran Church are to be maintained. Lost ground needs to be regained. The Truth is wanting and the brethren ought to be led by this work "back to the proper confessions of the church, which are those found based in Scripture."<sup>21</sup> A definite connection between the broadcasting of their views by Schmucker and company, and the publication of the Epitome Credendorum is difficult to establish. Yet the succession of events as they are found does present an interesting supposition. Namely, if the letter of Schmucker and his friends, and their activities in Germany led to the publication of this book, does its publication mark a significant point in the confessional influence of German Lutherans upon the Lutheran Church in America? The question must be left unanswered in this paper.

There are a number of details that can be established. Schmucker and his friends were embarked on a trip, the main point of which was to represent the Lutheran Church in America at a gathering of Protestant Evangelicals. They brought with them a letter showing close alignment

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<sup>21</sup>Nicholas Hunnius, Epitome Credendorum, translated by Paul E. Gottheil ("Preface" by William Loehle.) (Nuernburg: U. E. Sebald, 1847), pp. v-viii.

of their Church with the United Church of Prussia. Their intent could hardly have been a reassertion of seventeenth century confessionalism and orthodoxy. They may have considered as one of their aims to make contact with as many Protestants of their own spirit as possible. A secondary aim could have been the creation of favorable attitudes towards Evangelical Protestantism among those unfamiliar with, or previously antagonistic to this movement.

Through the passing of time Schmucker's name has not remained prominent in the history of Protestant union endeavors. But among his contemporaries he was looked to as being one of the central figures of Evangelical Protestantism.<sup>22</sup> The extent of his activities at the convention in London, in 1846, is not determined by the available sources. But it should be noted that his Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches on Christian Union, printed in 1838, had a wide circulation and acceptance among Protestantism and is mentioned as one of the moving causes for the union endeavors of Evangelical Protestants. "He was even then [at London, 1846] designated as 'the father of the Alliance,' by Dr. King of Ireland, in a public address delivered in London at that time."<sup>23</sup> His death in 1873

<sup>22</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 299, quoting an address by Dr. F. W. Conrad made before the Evangelical Alliance on Interchange of Pulpits, 1873, in New York shortly after Schmucker's death.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 299-300.

came as he was preparing to attend the first meeting of the Alliance on American soil in New York City. His Fraternal Appeal had noted the similarities of the Protestant churches, particularly in an appendix containing a creedal platform which professed the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. He drew the doctrinal points, and even often the words themselves, from the confessional statements of the Reformed, Anglican, Lutheran and Scotch Presbyterian churches, and from other distinct doctrinal sources. These sources are all listed by Schmucker when used.

It was this volume, perhaps more than any other, which established Schmucker's reputation among American Protestants. It had the personal subscription of Justin Edwards, Stephen Tyng, Iliphalet Nott, Thomas H. Skinner, Moses Stuart, Nathan S. S. Beman, Jeremiah Day and William Cogswell, all bright stars among the theocratic firmament and all among the original officers of the Evangelical Alliance.<sup>24</sup>

#### His American Labors

Schmucker was of the definite opinion that the Christian pulpit not only had much to say to the realm of politics but also had a duty so to speak. He applies this duty

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<sup>24</sup>John R. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues 1812-1848 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 259.



to one of the burning issues of his day,

therefore a Christian pulpit is bound to teach, that the laws of God must have precedence over those of men . . . according to the constitution--all men are created equal. How then can one of these immortal beings, possessed of such inalienable rights and created by God for important purposes, which require him to have the control of his time and his powers, be rightfully converted by human law into a thing, and be made the property of another being like himself?"<sup>25</sup>

To him the pulpit was bound to do two things. First, it must inculcate a recognition of God as the supreme ruler of all nations.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, it must urge the recognition of the universal brotherhood and equality of man in civil rights.<sup>27</sup>

While he did speak to other points also, the rightful position of the pulpit on the issue of slavery was for him the open declaration of God's moral law as he understood it. He felt conscience bound to speak his belief. And, he thought that this belief must be impressed upon the public and its officials.<sup>28</sup> The activities of Schmucker in regard to the slavery question were enlarged for the

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<sup>25</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The Christian Pulpit, the Rightful Guardian of Morals, in Political and no less than in Private Life (Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1846), pp. 14-16. Hereafter this book will be referred to as The Christian Pulpit, the Rightful Guardian of Morals, etc.

<sup>26</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The Christian Pulpit, the Rightful Guardian of Morals, etc., p. 12.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., passim.

author by Dr. Schmidt, at present librarian of Gettysburg Seminary. He related how Schmucker allowed his barn to be used as one of the stations of the "underground railroad." He also told that Schmucker's stand was well known by those of the South. And, because of this, plans were made for Schmucker's capture. Failing of this objective, the Confederate soldiers exercised their wrath upon Schmucker's library. Many volumes of this library were permanently lost and some remain to this day with the marks of the treatment they received.

Schmucker's concern for those of the Negro race was not altogether idealistic. In 1842 he had a friend introduce into the legislative session of Pennsylvania a bill that free Negro minors who were ill-cared for by their families might be put over into the care of respectable white families. There they should receive a worthwhile education and training for a trade.<sup>29</sup>

Schmucker was an ardent advocate of the Christian Sabbath.<sup>30</sup> His Appeal on Behalf of the Christian Sabbath was printed by the American Tract Society. It was published both in German and English.<sup>31</sup> His arguments and

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<sup>29</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 294-295.

<sup>30</sup>James Gilfillan, The Sabbath Viewed in the Light of Reason, Revelation, and History, with Sketches of its Literature (New York: American Tract Society, n.d. [1862 is written in by hand]), p. 157.

<sup>31</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 282.

general method of presentation compare with those employed by Reformed Protestants who speak in favor of this belief. To Schmucker, the denial of the divine origin and obligation of the Christian Sabbath by the Augsburg Confession only showed its Romish character.<sup>32</sup> His view on the Sabbath does not appear as harsh as some of its more ardent supporters, although he does accept the contention that it is obligatory on all men. Although no indication of his desire for supporting laws was given here, in another equally important area, total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, he was in favor of laws preventing their sale and distribution.<sup>33</sup> Some of the lack of mention of laws in Schmucker's statements was probably due to the previous defeat of attempts at legislative coercion by the Theocrats.

In his avowal of the Sabbath cause, Schmucker was not taking an unfamiliar position in his Church. The General Synod favored this theme and in 1864 adopted a resolution that said among other things, that it "maintains the divine obligation of the Sabbath."<sup>34</sup> Dr. Schmucker was joined in his opinion by the Drs. C. P. Krauth Sr. and Jr.<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 289; S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., pp. 107-120.

<sup>33</sup>p. Anstadt, op. cit., p. 291.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 287-290.

strongest plea for the establishment of a national day of thanksgiving came in 1846 from S. S. Schmucker.<sup>36</sup>

To conclude thus far, in education at the Seminary Schmucker sought a basic intellectual and pietical achievement in his students. They ought to achieve an understanding of the fundamental Evangelical doctrines and be aware of the teachings that are open questions. Aside from his educational endeavors he participated in most of the Protestant activities of his day. He was particularly concerned with the goals of the Evangelical wing of Protestantism. And, according to Bodo's definition, he could be classed as a Theocrat.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> John R. Bodo, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. vii-xi.

Frederick Para, The Crisis in American Lutheran  
Thought (New York: The Century Co., 1937), pp. 190ff.

S. S. Schmucker, "Retrospect of Lutheranism in the  
United States" and "Portraiture of Lutheranism," The  
Evangelical Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally, and  
Practically (Philadelphia: in several volumes, 1837), pp. 110-111. However  
this work will be referred to as The American Lutheran  
Church.

## CHAPTER V

### THE DEFINITE PLATFORM

#### Its History

The issuance of the Definite Synodical Platform in 1856 marked the end of a period in the history of the Lutheran Church in America. This book set the various confessional factions within the church into their respective places and brought about the sharp, open controversies which contributed greatly to the rise of confessional Lutheranism within and without the General Synod.<sup>1</sup> The final debates had been a long time developing. Discussions as to the proper confessional nature of the Lutheran Church in the Western Hemisphere dated back to the very beginning of its work in this country. Dr. Schmucker himself had set this forth in two of his discourses.<sup>2</sup> But since the founding of the General Synod and its educational institutions there had not been too much discussion on the official level concerning confessional

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<sup>1</sup>Vergilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology (New York: The Century Co., 1927), pp. 190ff.

<sup>2</sup>S. S. Schmucker, "Retrospect of Lutheranism in the United States" and "Portraiture of Lutheranism," The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally, and Practically Delineated, in Several Occasional Discourses (Philadelphia: E. W. Miller, 1852), passim. Hereafter this book will be referred to as The American Lutheran Church, etc.

problems. Much had happened in the way of sermons, tracts, pamphlets and discourses. But these had left the church in a state of relative peace.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning with 1843 the leaders in the school of "American Lutheranism" began their efforts on the official level to stem the rising tide of confessionalism. Benjamin Kurtz, in that year, introduced a resolution in his own Synod, the Synod of Maryland, for the appointment of a committee to investigate certain "New Measures" (i.e. American Lutheranism) that the Synod might express its view concerning this matter. Kurtz himself was a supporter of these new measures and was made a member of the committee along with Dr. J. G. Morris and Rev. S. W. Harkey. The committee's report was favorable and recommended support. The recommendation was shelved by the Synod. A repeat attempt was made in the Synod meeting in 1844 and again met with disfavor. The committee report, called the Maryland-Synod Abstract, which was intended to support the new measures, may be taken as a forerunner of the Definite Synodical Platform.<sup>4</sup>

In 1845 another attempt at support was put forward by Dr. B. Kurtz and Dr. Schmucker; this time in the General Synod. A committee was appointed "to prepare a clear and

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<sup>3</sup>Vergilius Fern, op. cit., pp. 117-184.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 162-165.

concise view of the doctrines and practice of the American Lutheran Church." Members of the committee were Drs. Kurtz and Schmucker, Dr. J. G. Morris, Professor H. I. Smith (Hartwick Seminary), and Dr. H. N. Pohlman.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Schmucker was head of the committee. It presented to the convention of 1850 a document closely resembling the Maryland-Synod Abstract. The committee report was rejected by the General Synod.<sup>6</sup>

Gradually the tide was turning. Confessionalism in the General Synod received new impetus from the admittance of the now confessional Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1853. More confessional strength was supplied through other new members, the Pittsburgh Synod, the Synod of Northern Illinois and the Synod of Texas.<sup>7</sup> With the rejection of their official labors the American Lutherans turned to a vast literary effort to gather support for their views. Schmucker's principle works in this endeavor were: (1) The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally and Practically Delineated, 1851; (2) The Lutheran Manual on Scriptural Principles, or the Augsburg Confession, Illustrated and Sustained by Scripture and Lutheran Theologians, 1855; (3) The Definite Platform, Doctrinal and

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<sup>5</sup>Supra, p. 39, footnote 19.

<sup>6</sup>Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), pp. 141-142.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

Disciplinarian, for Evangelical Lutheran Synods, 1856;

(4) American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on Certain Disputed Topics: Including a Reply to the Plea of Rev. W. J. Mann, 1856.<sup>8</sup> In the area of doctrine there were distinct similarities between these works and Schmucker's Popular Theology, 1834 and even with his translation of The Biblical Theology of Storr and Flatt, 1826.

Of the first four volumes mentioned above, the first two did not raise much of a storm. The manner in which the Definite Platform was issued, though, seemed calculated to raise as much controversy as possible. It was issued anonymously, although those who were at all familiar with Schmucker's style immediately ascertained its authorship.<sup>9</sup> It was sent, without their solicitation, to all the pastors of the General Synod with the request that they examine it and return it post-paid if they did not desire to keep it. If they wished to keep it they were to send money to pay for it.<sup>10</sup> It was immediately supported through the columns of the Lutheran Observer, which was under the editorship of Benjamin Kurtz.<sup>11</sup> In spite of sympathies in some quarters

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<sup>8</sup>Infra, pp. 38-39.

<sup>9</sup>Abdel Ross Wentz, op. cit., p. 142.

<sup>10</sup>Vergilius Fern, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 236ff.



for its theology, the platform was almost unanimously cast aside by the constituent Synods of the General Synod. Many members of the General Synod rose in stern opposition to it, notably, Rev. J. A. Brown, Dr. C. P. Krauth, Rev. W. J. Mann and Rev. J. N. Hoffman.<sup>12</sup> In February, 1856 an attempted armistice was put forth by leaders of both parties through the pages of the Lutheran Observer.<sup>13</sup> Although the heat of debate did die, the controversy over Orthodoxy was fated to continue into the next century.

The issues involved in the controversy were not limited in scope. Prominent problems that presented themselves were: (1) Is the present doctrinal platform of the General Synod sufficient?; (2) Is the trend in theology now to be conservative and if so in which direction (i.e. to American Lutheranism or to Old Lutheranism)?; (3) Will the peace of the Church be so disturbed by doctrinal controversy that it would be better for us to remain silent at this time?; (4) Is it proper for doctrinal discussions to be entered into on the General Synodical Level or ought they be kept to the lower level of the participating Synods?<sup>14</sup> The participants in the controversy took varying positions on these four problems. But they were all generally divided

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 236-321.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 295-296.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 236-321.

into those who supported American Lutheranism or those who opposed it and supported Confessional (i.e. Augsburg Confession) Lutheranism. Dr. Schmucker himself was particularly concerned for the peace of the Church. Even some of his opponents witnessed to this. He did not think the controversy important enough so that it should be allowed to cause division in the Church. Thus, when the "peace proposal" was published in the Lutheran Observer, he had a personal letter for peace included in the same issue of that magazine. It read in part:

Yea, as the peace of the church has always been dear to my heart, and as I have devised measures of self-defense only in cases of necessity, and from a sacred sense of duty; I gladly cooperate in this pacific effort, and pray that those dear brethren (involved in the controversy) may be willing to accede to the proposition.<sup>15</sup>

#### Schmucker's Theology

At this point a brief summary of the distinctive doctrinal features of American Lutheranism shall be made. These features shall then be compared with several theological schools, both within and without historic Lutheranism. There are a number of theological concerns that were intended by Schmucker to be left out of the controversy. The doctrinal points are those which were

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 298.

universally held by Evangelical Protestantism. To Schmucker there was no necessity that they be discussed as they had for their authority the general consent of Lutheranism and also of the Evangelical Alliance. A list of these is found in the Lutheran Manual, and is the following:

1. The Divine inspiration, authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.
2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the scriptures.
3. The unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of persons therein.
4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall.
5. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for sinners of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign.
6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.
7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.
8. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.
9. The immortality of the soul and the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked.<sup>16</sup>

For Schmucker these were the fundamental articles of the

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<sup>16</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on Certain Disputed Topics: Including a Reply to the Plea of Rev. W. J. Mann (Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1856), p. 5. Hereafter this book will be referred to as American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc.; Vide, p. 38, footnote 17 and p. 29, footnote 22.

entire Christian Church and of Scripture and therefore they were the only articles concerning which disagreement ought cause division.<sup>17</sup>

Other articles, which might be considered fundamental in a particular denomination or confession, ought be left subject to open discussion without causing division within the Church. These are the topics which he handled in his writings concerning the Definite Platform. They are: (1) Ceremonies of the Mass; (2) Private Confession and Absolution; (3) The Divine Institution of the Christian Sabbath; (4) The Nature of Sacramental Influence; (5) Baptismal Regeneration; (6) The Nature of the Saviour's Presence in the Lord's Supper; (7) Exorcism.<sup>18</sup>

In dealing with the ceremonies of the Mass Schmucker compared the Augsburg Confession and the Smalcald Articles. The former he styled as conciliatory, the latter condemnatory. He believed that though the reformers had previously attacked the doctrinal content of the Mass and had changed its form (Luther, 1523), that they had returned to a full use of the Mass according to the Roman form. This he considered explicit according to the words of the Augustana.<sup>19</sup> He continued that if one subscribes to the Augsburg

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 94-96.

Confession he must also return to the form of the Mass at that time and would therefore be admitting Romish practices and doctrine into the Church. His only point was that, following the Smalcald Articles, he rejected the ceremonies of the Mass. He did not reject communion and did not believe that the reformers were talking to that point in the Augsburg Confession. He stated that while Luther rejected the most objectionable portions of the Mass he did retain the Introitus, the Kyrie Eleison, the Collecta, the Epistles, singing of the Gradual, a short Sequens, the Gospel, the Nicene Creed, and a number of other matters which he, Schmucker, styled as Romish.<sup>20</sup> The extent to which he would go in allowing liturgical practices was not revealed. His general position was to reject anything that smacked of Rome.<sup>21</sup>

In considering Private Confession and Absolution Schmucker reviewed the history of their practice in the Lutheran Church. He recognized that the Augsburg Confession established them as good practices with the exclusion of a demanded numbering of all sins. But the

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 63-96; S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 241-242; S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, with Special Reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as Avowed before the Diet at Augsburg, in MDXXX (Second edition; New York: Leavitt, Lord and Co., 1834), pp. 342-343. Hereafter this book will be referred to as Elements of Popular Theology, etc.

majority of Lutheran Churches, he said, dropped these practices as not being in conformity with Scripture. And so he believed that by now all Lutherans ought to continue without them. He recognized that two practices have grown out of Private Confession. They are: (1) the public confession made by the congregation previous to communion; (2) the practice of having communicants refer to the pastor before communing that he might discuss their spiritual life with them. He did not recognize in either case the validity of pronouncing absolution, even in conditional form, on the confessee.

It was on this last point, the granting of absolution, that he raised his main contention. The points that he stressed were: (1) It is inconsistent with the statements of Scripture wherein it is said that God alone forgives sins; (2) It has no foundation in the traditional texts, which texts speak to the congregational acts of excommunication over public sin by members; (3) It leads to the confusion of simple minds; (4) Actual pardon of individuals depends on their having performed the prescribed moral conditions sincerely. Since we cannot ascertain what is in men's hearts we cannot ascertain their sincerity; (5) He sees the assurance of forgiveness not in the vocal assertion but in the peace which the

Holy Spirit works in the heart of the believer.<sup>22</sup>

Schmucker correctly understood the reformers to have put aside the theological idea that the Christian had a divine obligation in regard to the Sabbath. He stated that they distinctly taught:

(a) that the Jewish Sabbath is entirely abolished; (b) that no particular day was divinely appointed in its stead; (c) that those who suppose the ordinance concerning Sunday instead of Sabbath is enacted as necessary, are 'greatly mistaken;' (d) but that, as it was necessary to appoint a certain day for the convocation of the people, 'the Christian Church' (not the apostles,) appointed Sunday.<sup>23</sup>

He recognized that Luther saw no difference in the extinction of both moral and ceremonial laws. Schmucker thought that this proper distinction, between moral and ceremonial, was gained after Luther's time and led to the Lutheran Church's present position. He recognized the institution of rest from labor in one day out of seven as being eternally binding on all creation, including regenerate and unregenerate. That this day was changed from the seventh to the first day of the week makes no alteration. Only activities of a religious nature were allowed by this obligation. Man and beast were to enjoy rest and man particularly was to cultivate the use of time on the Sabbath

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<sup>22</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., pp. 97-106; S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 63-65, 239-240; S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., pp. 258-260.

<sup>23</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., p. 117.

for spiritual growth. One of the Christian marks of this country is that it makes allowance in its laws for the fulfillment of the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath.<sup>24</sup>

Schmucker's views on the nature of sacramental influence and Baptismal regeneration can be considered under one topic. Essentially he treated the same point, is the forgiveness of sins conveyed through the sacraments? He clearly saw that the confessions and their writers did understand the forgiveness of sins to be brought to the sinner through the agency of the sacraments. Specifically, in regard to Baptism they upheld regeneration. Schmucker, however, saw no regeneration in Baptism or forgiveness of sins in the Sacrament of the Altar. His presentation seemed to show a confusion of justification and sanctification for he said that Baptism cannot confer regeneration since so many that have been baptized do not show the fruits of the Spirit in their lives.<sup>25</sup> Forgiveness of sins in Communion was cast aside because he saw no clear scriptural warrant

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<sup>24</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The Christian Pulpit, the Rightful Guardian of Morals, in Political and no less than in Private Life (Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1846), pp. 12-13; S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., pp. 121-134; S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., p. 100; S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., pp. 109-112.

<sup>25</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., pp. 142, 218, 225-226; S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., pp. 273-277.



for such a gift and also because a man is either forgiven or not through his faith. Baptism in adults is merely a public means of professing faith. The means of grace tend toward conversion but without the super-added, immediate influences of the Holy Spirit they are capable of nothing.<sup>26</sup> Infant Baptism is merely symbolic, initiatory and federal. The main difficulty for Schmucker was that he connected forgiveness with a faith that is immediately active in visible fruits and saw no connection between this faith and the sacraments.<sup>27</sup> It must also be recognized, in connection with Baptism, that while Schmucker did accept "the reality of natural depravity inherited from our first parents, . . . [he denied] the imputation of it to us as personal guilt."<sup>28</sup>

Schmucker agreed with the reformers in their depreciation of Transubstantiation and of the repeated sacrifice of the Mass. But he continued on to the position of Calvin in regard to the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. He upheld certain figurative interpretations

<sup>26</sup>S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., pp. 151-152.

<sup>27</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., pp. 135-147, 153-154; S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 176-177, 218, 225-226, 241; S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., pp. 197-229.

<sup>28</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., p. 7.

of the texts and supports these arguments from reason and sense. He preferred the formulations of Calvin to those of Zwingli, who he believed had left the Sacrament barren of content. It is in line with this that he denied the communication of attributes in Christ.<sup>29</sup> The position that he seemed to favor concerning the presence of Christ is that He is present influentially, efficaciously, or virtually, though not essentially.<sup>30</sup> He did confess that others have the right to differ from him on this point. He strictly allowed that while there is no bodily presence there is a special spiritual blessing in the Lord's Supper.

Exorcism, while not mentioned specifically in the Augsburg Confession, did come into wide use in the early Lutheran Church as a test of orthodoxy. It is for this reason that Schmucker had included a denial of it in his Definite Platform. He considered it a superstitious practice and a remnant of Romanism. The act, which had become symbolic of the casting out of sin and satan from the infant to be baptized, was thought unnecessary and dilatory. Actually, there was no need for it in Schmucker's system

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<sup>29</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 180ff.

<sup>30</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., pp. 148-153; S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 61-63, 222; S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., pp. 240-258; S. S. Schmucker, Christological Lecture, on the Incarnation, the Person, the Life, Death and Exaltation of the Saviour (Gettysburg, Pa.: J. E. Wible, 1868), passim.

since he had denied the guilt of original sin.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout his writings Schmucker had presented the thesis that his work was in a direct line from the reformers. He stated the idea that the true doctrines had gradually emerged from the Reformation through the Pietistic school to America, and then through the final development of a distinctive "American School" of Lutheran theology.<sup>32</sup> The newly risen "repristination" theology was more of a retrogression to Schmucker. It was a return to old forms and beliefs which subsequent light had revealed as false and detracting from true Christianity. Schmucker acknowledged insights from Evangelical Protestantism; such as on the Sabbath question, Sunday Schools, personal piety and joint action with those of a comparable faith. His theology is admittedly eclectic, although he did not himself use that term. He believed that the Reformation was not an event that could be slotted in one century, but was subject to subsequent growth and change as new insights were gained. He claimed that the "Ultra-Lutherans" had lost sight of the difference between generic and specific truth. Generic truths were those

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<sup>31</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc., pp. 155-161; S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 159, 237-239; S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, etc., p. 202.

<sup>32</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 41-89.

grand scale ideas upon which all Christians agree. Specific truths, or attempts at truth, were the fine drawn formulations on evasive and unimportant minor points of doctrine and were the main cause of divisions. He thought that the "Old Lutherans" attempted to get down to such a point of finality that they ultimately lost sight of the generic and dwelt on insignificant items.<sup>33</sup>

There appears to be more similarity between Schmucker and Calvinism than between Schmucker and traditional Lutheranism. His statements on the sacraments and the means of grace, on the communication of attributes and on the ceremonies of the Mass more closely align with Calvinism. His thoughts on the Sabbath, on Sunday Schools, on Christian union, his cooperation in tract and mission societies, his efforts on slavery, prohibition and other civil projects, all these put him into the realm of the Theocrats and the Evangelical Protestantism of his day. His personal piety and his stress on piety in the general life of the Christian could as easily have been either pietistic or puritan. Perhaps his personal piety received its birth and growth from Pietism and further emphasis from the prevailing Puritanism of his day.

Of all that could be said of him, one thing ought to be mentioned. He had little sympathy for the rising

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 179ff.

"Old Lutheranism." Its particularism was more than his system could allow. It was difficult enough for Schmucker to comprehend subscription to the Augsburg Confession. With all the other confessional works added it became impossible for him. He saw "Old Lutheranism" as an attack on newly found and established truth. For a long while he believed that it would pass because, he thought, not one out of five hundred Lutheran ministers was even sympathetic to it. But Schmucker's day soon came to pass. Even before he resigned from his position at the seminary he was finding little general support for his beliefs. After his resignation in 1864, he spent his time preparing occasional lectures and publications until his death in 1873.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Abdel Ross Wentz, op. cit., pp. 142-144; P. Anstadt, op. cit., pp. 374-386.

CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE THEOLOGY OF S. S. SCHMUCKER

Lutheran

Samuel Simon Schmucker was born into a Lutheran home, was trained partly in Lutheran parsonages, and lived and worked among a body of believers that counted themselves Lutheran. It could be no exaggeration to say that Lutheranism had its influence upon him. His earliest theological ambition was to work toward a return to a more solid subscription to the Augsburg Confession. He was familiar with the theological history and heritage of the Lutheran Church. His theological discussions showed a well developed familiarity with the historical situations that surrounded the doctrinal development of the Lutheran Church, both in Europe and America.<sup>1</sup>

It was this very historical situation that tempered Schmucker's Lutheranism. He was a Lutheran of America. The Lutherans of America in the eighteenth century had ample opportunity to develop a national consciousness.

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<sup>1</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally, and Practically Delineated, in Several Occasional Discourses (Philadelphia: E. W. Miller, 1852), *passim*. Hereafter this book will be referred to as The American Lutheran Church, etc.

They had become increasingly American in all their outlook. Their's was an American Lutheran Church with its own peculiar marks.<sup>2</sup> One of these marks concerned doctrine. These Lutherans had come from a Germany that, while not antagonistic to confessions, did stress life over dogmatics. Their doctrinal agreement was more conversational than confessional. Whenever a situation arose that demanded confessional opinions (i.e. licensing of candidates, writing a church constitution) these would often be hedged by the use of such terms as "substantially correct" or "fundamental doctrines."

Confessional statements in the official documents of churches and of synods varied and were regularly changed by some. Associations with those of other faiths persisted in many areas of the country. Open fellowship existed at one time or another with the Reformed, Episcopal and Moravian communions. Rationalism, though never a perilous threat, did gain footholds, through the persons of Gottlieb Shober (sometimes spelled "Schober") and Frederick H. Quitman. For the Lutheran Church in America at this time there was no historical tradition of confessional unity to which the Lutherans could point.<sup>3</sup> They were lacking a substantial confessional platform on which to begin the task of

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<sup>2</sup>Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), pp. 65-67.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

doctrinal formulation. For example, it was not until the third meeting of the General Synod that any resolution was passed concerning doctrine. It was this lack of confessional platform that contributed much to the tempering of Schmucker's Lutheranism. He did recognize the need for confessional unity. He saw the roots of the Lutheran Church in its great Augustana. He knew and used this confession and other confessions of the reformers also. But he had no definite starting point to govern his use of these statements.

There also was no guiding principle of polity for the Lutherans of this period. For example, the Pennsylvania Ministerium when originally formed in 1748 was only a free association of Lutheran pastors. Some years passed before lay representation was allowed. Congregational autonomy was the only definite standard that was known.<sup>4</sup> When a regular polity was established, as in the organization of the General Synod, trouble immediately began over the suggestion of a loss of freedom by those participating in the organization. The need for governing principles of polity is eminently demonstrated by Schmucker's constant reference to and inclusion of such principles in his major writings. Thus, his Definite Platform covered both doctrine and polity. This lack of polity could in itself contribute much

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-54.



to a change in doctrine.

One other feature of the day that contributed to the tempering of Schmucker's Lutheranism was the lack of Lutheran schools. The necessity of having Lutheran schools for the maintenance of the Lutheran Church was recognized by Schmucker and his contemporaries.<sup>5</sup> Two of his "pious desires" center on this need. The Lutheran Church, while surrounded by established Reformed churches with their own school systems, had no means for preserving its doctrinal uniqueness other than the passing of doctrine from hand to hand through candidate instruction by regular ministers. If its candidates desired any professional polish they were compelled to attend schools with competing theological emphasis.

In spite of the conditions of his day it was Schmucker's intention to be a real Lutheran. But, because he had to find his own way to doctrinal and political certainty he had to develop his own means of interpretation of his basic historical background, the Reformation. The belief that he developed in this matter centered around the idea of a continuing Reformation. Luther, Schmucker said, never intended us to follow his teachings exclusively

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<sup>5</sup>Supra, pp. 13, 25.

but desired to lead us back to the Bible.<sup>6</sup> Schmucker found certain primitive features in the Reformer's church. These features are those recognized by Evangelical Protestantism.<sup>7</sup> Thus, while Lutheranism was the basic influence that led him in his life, he found in the Lutheran Reformation only the generic principles and truths that served as the basis for his Evangelical beliefs. Specific truths he found elsewhere.

#### Calvinistic

The American environment in which Schmucker lived was dominated by the spirit and followers of Calvin. It was a Calvinism that contained many divergent schools of thought yet its basic foundation lay in the interpretations of Christianity that Calvin began. Spaude's work perhaps could have easily been titled "The Lutheran Church under Calvinizing Influence." The manner in which Calvinism affected Schmucker shall be traced through three areas: (1) doctrine; (2) attitudes; (3) the influences and sources for these doctrines and attitudes.

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<sup>6</sup>S. S. Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on Certain Disputed Topics: Including a Reply to the Plea of Rev. W. J. Mann (Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1856), pp. 197-200. Hereafter this book will be referred to as American Lutheranism Vindicated, etc.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 49-56.

Schmucker did not assume certain gross opinions of Calvin into his own system of theology. He definitely rejected the idea of eternal election to reprobation. In regard to natural depravity Schmucker accepted the influence of sinful generation but denied the impartation of guilt to infants. This was in line with the general Calvinism of his day. Baptism for Schmucker was the initiation of the child into the company of the faithful. The child was not regenerated or reborn through Baptism. Similarly, while the Lord's Supper was efficacious and effectual it did not convey the forgiveness of sins. The presence in the Supper was not bodily but rather an efficacious, spiritual partaking of the Lord with the sign conveying the thing implied. He openly acknowledged his preference for the formulations of Calvin in regard to Communion. Absolution by the pastor appeared to be a non ens for Schmucker. It simply did not convey anything and led to the confusing of simple minds. The believer ought rather to seek confirmation through the inward witness of the Spirit. This witness brought several effects; the conviction that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God and Savior, that the Scriptures are God's word and a complete rule for faith and life, and that the individual is sure of his faith and consequently of his election to final perseverance. Schmucker also denied the communication

of attributes in Christ.<sup>8</sup>

In his attitudes Schmucker evidenced a high regard for Calvin and Zwingli and for their work in the Reformation. He praised many of their doctrinal formulations. Schmucker had an equally high opinion and regard for the spiritual children of Calvin.<sup>9</sup> He regarded the Evangelical Protestants as true brethren who differed with him only on minor points of minute importance. He emphasized the right of the individual to judge the Scriptures in his own light. He thought the Union Church of Prussia to be a step forward for Protestantism. He held a common opinion with the American Reformed in regard to things Romish. And, he cultivated the spiritual friendship of these Calvinists.

The influences and sources of Schmucker's leanings toward Calvinism are difficult to pinpoint. General observations can be made. First, Schmucker's father was an active supporter of the Evangelical spirit.<sup>10</sup> He supported the American Protestant associations actively. Thus, from his youth Schmucker was placed under the influence of this branch of the church. His education was rounded by two years attendance at Princeton Theological Seminary where he studied under Calvinists. The extent of his growth in

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<sup>8</sup>Supra, pp. 18, 32, 54-60.

<sup>9</sup>A. R. Wentz, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>10</sup>Supra, p. 6.

the knowledge of Calvinism while at Princeton could be indicated by the extensive knowledge of creeds and doctrinal formulations that he displayed in his writings.<sup>11</sup> It was also at Princeton that he developed acquaintances among those who would one day be leaders in the American Protestant scene. Above and throughout any specific influences was the Calvinistic environment within which Schmucker had to move as pastor, educator and intellectual. If he wished to converse with learned men of his own stature he had to come into contact with Calvinists. Schmucker lived within his own environment and absorbed from it some of its characteristic Calvinism.

Schmucker saw in both Lutheranism and Calvinism the generic truths necessary to Christian faith. He placed himself within the realm of the Lutheran system but drew into it certain specifics from Calvinism. Basically, he gathered in a new spirit, that of an abhorrence for a logical inconsistency. This philosophical presumption could account for his denial of guilt in natural depravity, for his denial of absolution by the pastor and forgiveness in the sacraments, and for his denial of the bodily presence in the Lord's Supper. In each case he did base a portion of his argument upon the inconsistency of the

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<sup>11</sup>S. S. Schmucker, Appeal to the American Churches, with a Plan for Catholic Union (New York: Gould and Newman, 1838), passim.

assertion with other statements of Scripture.<sup>12</sup> This adoption of a basic Calvinist attitude toward interpretation was perhaps the first step in the Calvinist influence on Schmucker.

The second step in the influence of Calvinism on Schmucker is found through his voluntary association with men of that persuasion. This, while it possibly did not start his leanings toward Calvinism, did confirm and strengthen him once he had arrived at his theological assertions.

#### Pietism

It would have been extraordinary if Schmucker had not had pietistic leanings. He himself readily admitted and even gloried that the American Lutheran Church had for its founders men who deeply imbibed of the spirit of Spener, Francke and Arndt.<sup>13</sup> "Colonial Lutheranism in America was largely evangelized and organized from Halle."<sup>14</sup> Schmucker was a pietist from boyhood to his death. He never seemed to waver from this pattern.

Schmucker's father demonstrated his pietism through

<sup>12</sup>Supra, pp. 56-59.

<sup>13</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 11-40.

<sup>14</sup>James Hastings Nichols, History of Christianity 1650-1950 (New York: The Ronald Press, 1956), p. 84.

some notes that he wrote for his spiritual introspection. These points were raised: conversion experience, repentance over sins, desire for the conversion of others, desire for the society of the pious, and a meticulous recording of infirmities and defects. Schmucker was quite aware of his father's spiritual ideas. He himself kept a diary in which he recorded his acts, his spiritual condition, and the conversions and other ministerial deeds which he effected. Schmucker always expressed a high admiration for his father and also for such men as H. C. Helmuth and H. M. Muhlenberg.<sup>15</sup> These latter two, he believed, had contributed, through his father, to his own spiritual nature. Helmuth, of course, also contributed directly through his instruction of the young Schmucker.

In his ideas on the development of theology Schmucker placed Pietism in a direct line between himself and the Lutheran Reformation. He saw the Reformation of thought in the sixteenth century and the Reformation of life in the eighteenth century through the Pietists. But the Pietists also contributed in the realm of theology. They showed that a too rigid and extensive creed was destructive of true personal Christianity. From the Pietists Schmucker learned to place a high value on the necessity of piety in a pastor. It was for this reason that he sought a basic

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<sup>15</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., pp. 11-40.

piety among his students. In line with this Schmucker also placed moral conditions on the gaining of forgiveness for sins.<sup>16</sup>

Almost the entire Lutheran Church of America was pietistic in Schmucker's day. He was its child and showed the marks of his heritage. He allowed little levity, was generally careful of conduct, and stuck mostly to business. He was always deeply concerned that religion, more specifically that Christianity, be a very personal affair between the individual and his God.

#### Puritanism

While there was a close resemblance between Pietism and Puritanism, especially in regard to moral purity, they stemmed from different basic concerns. The basic concern in Pietism was for the personal involvement of the individual in that which he professed to be his faith. It emphasized life as being the basic component of faith. There was no recognition of faith existing apart from action.<sup>17</sup> In Puritanism the concern was on the rule of the omnipotent God over the individual. There was also a corporate concern but this will be discussed in the next

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<sup>16</sup>Supra, pp. 33, 58.

<sup>17</sup>J. H. Nichols, op. cit., pp. 83-85; John F. Hurst, History of Rationalism Embracing a Survey of the Present State of Protestant Theology (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1866), pp. 91-97.



division; Theocrats. In view of the absolute sovereignty of God, Puritanism stressed a complete reformation.

Schmucker carried both of these streams of thought with him. He was basically a pietist but also was affected by the Puritanism of his environment.

Some of the puritanical concerns of Schmucker parallel those of his basic pietism. Some of these are: his opposition to frivolous activities such as card playing, his emphasis on the fruits of faith, and his concern on the importance of conversion in the ministry. Other concerns of Schmucker are derived from Puritanism. Some of these are: his belief in the divine obligation of the Sabbath, his support of religious revivals, his antipathy for anything that tasted of Romanism, his stress on assurance in the heart through the Holy Spirit, and his federal understanding of Baptism.<sup>18</sup>

Schmucker accepted the thesis of God's governance of the individual through His established moral obligations. The Christian was obligated to a certain moral behavior.<sup>19</sup> The acceptance of this tenet led of course to the conclusions which the Puritans had already drawn from it. Thus

<sup>18</sup>Supra, pp. 7, 36, 56, 18, 7, 45, 56, 59.

<sup>19</sup>S. S. Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, with Special Reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as Avowed before the Diet at Augsburg, in MDXXX (Philadelphia: S. S. Miles, 1845), pp. 191-213.

Schmucker supports the previously mentioned items. His acceptance of this theological proposition most probably occurred at Princeton. If it did not occur there, it at least received strong impetus there and was hardened into conviction through Schmucker's constant association with Protestant pastors of that persuasion. His already developed piety would prove an aid to the acceptance of the Puritan thesis. It may have been that he even developed an attachment for this thesis in his youth. His father was a strong supporter of the temperance cause and did cooperate in the work of the American Tract and Bible Societies.

#### Theocratic

The Theocrats were Calvinists and Puritans. Since this overlapping occurs, certain points will necessarily be repeated. The main emphasis of the Theocrats was that God was the sovereign of all men and particularly of nations. He had established certain moral obligations that men and nations must obey lest punishment be forthcoming. The United States must be especially on guard since it was the newly chosen "Israel" of God's covenant among the nations. The Theocrats accepted the responsibility for the persuasion of the American people concerning this point.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> John R. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues 1812-1848 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 9.

Schmucker agreed and saw the responsibility of the Christian pulpit for this end. He recognized God's moral law and sought to have it implemented among men. The agency for the proper dissemination of this law was the preaching office of the Church.<sup>21</sup> The public and its officials were to listen to the preacher as he set forth God's law. They were then to go forth to effect moral reform among all men, including the unregenerate.<sup>22</sup>

The public issues of the Theocrats which Schmucker especially supported were: (1) the slavery question; (2) the Christian Sabbath; (3) prohibition of alcoholic beverages; (4) the lay Sunday School movement; (5) a national day of thanksgiving.<sup>23</sup> For his endeavors he was recognized by the Theocrats as one of their fellows. Bodo sees him as the only outstanding Lutheran among the Theocratic movement.<sup>24</sup>

One point basic to the Theocratic movement has already been mentioned, the moral rule of a sovereign God. Another point that probably contributed to Schmucker's acceptance of their emphasis was his desire to see the Lutheran Church

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<sup>21</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The Christian Pulpit, the Rightful Guardian of Morals, in Political and no less than in Private Life (Gettysburg, Pa.: H. C. Neinstedt, 1846), passim.

<sup>22</sup>John R. Bodo, op. cit., p. 45; S. S. Schmucker, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>23</sup>Supra, pp. 42-45.

<sup>24</sup>John R. Bodo, op. cit., p. 5, footnote 7.

become truly American.<sup>25</sup> This desire of Schmucker is adequate to explain his acceptance of the Theocratic movement. It links with the Theocratic desire to make America more Theocratic (i.e. essentially Protestant). Another source of Schmucker's Theocratic nature, as explained previously, was his association with Calvinistic pastors and theologians who were at the same time Theocrats.

It has been stated earlier that there was an affinity between Puritanism and Pietism. The same cannot be said of Pietism and the Theocratic movement. The Theocratic movement was born of the covenantal theology of Puritanism.<sup>26</sup> It was based on such a group emphasis as is not found in Pietism.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the Theocratic emphasis in Schmucker must be traced directly to the influence of Puritan theology and finds no corresponding pietistic influence.

#### Ecumenical

Schmucker saw a basic doctrinal unity already existing among the evangelical Protestant churches. To him the Reformation was of an ecumenical nature and led to the development of a common Protestant theology.<sup>28</sup> His father had

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<sup>25</sup>S. S. Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, etc., passim.

<sup>26</sup>John R. Bodo, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>27</sup>John F. Hurst, op. cit., pp. 93ff.

<sup>28</sup>S. S. Schmucker, "A Discourse on the Glorious Reformation, etc.," Martin Luther, A Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (Philadelphia: S. S. Miles, 1840), passim.

recognized an ecumenical Protestant movement and the son followed in his steps. In 1826 Schmucker acknowledged an existing doctrinal unity in Protestantism. In 1832 he commented with favor on the spirit of brotherly love and Christian liberality of his age as evidenced through the cooperation of different denominations in voluntary associations of a Christian nature. He stated that doctrinal unity existed in regard to: (1) the Bible's full authority; (2) the incarnation of the Son of God; (3) the atonement of Jesus Christ; (4) salvation by faith alone; (5) the work of the Holy Spirit. Minor doctrinal distinctions, he believed, need not stand in the way of unity. In 1838 Schmucker presented his full thinking on ecumenical endeavors in his Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches on Christian Union.<sup>29</sup>

It is difficult to trace the development of ecumenical thought in Schmucker. It is true that the Lutheran Church of his youth did practice open fellowship at different times with some Calvinistic bodies, but open fellowship is another matter. It is not nearly as comprehensive as ecumenicity. Again, he did come into contact with pastors and theologians of other Protestant communions and learned to know and appreciate their theological systems, even appropriating some of their beliefs. But, this is still far

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<sup>29</sup>Supra, p. 38.

short of ecumenicity. Probably the proper indication of the development of Schmucker's theology is the listed subscription to his Fraternal Appeal. The men who signed this appeal in support of its statements were Theocrats and ecumenists. Supposing Schmucker to have been in constant touch with them during the years previous to the publishing of the appeal it would be proper to assume that they and Schmucker developed an ecumenical concern together. Together they worked as Theocrats. Together they developed an ecumenical concern. Together they issued an ecumenical appeal. And together they established the Evangelical Alliance.<sup>30</sup>

Schmucker could have developed an ecumenical concern starting from his own view of the Reformation and of the fundamental doctrines that united Protestantism. But this development would be quickened and heightened through his contacts with the Theocrats and with general Evangelical Protestantism. In regard to his ecumenicity then, it is not so much a matter of outside influence on Schmucker as it is a matter of the man's development from within through the associates with whom he labored in the Protestant American scene.

#### Conclusions

Schmucker strove throughout his life to be a Lutheran.

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<sup>30</sup>Supra, p. 42.

Unfortunately he did not have within his Lutheran environment the basic materials that would have led him to a conservative Lutheran position. The basis for his theology was colored by the Calvinistic environment that was shaping American Protestantism. Certain of the presumptions of Calvin and of Puritanism prevented him from arriving at traditional Lutheran confessional conclusions. The most he could accept from Lutheranism was certain generic truths which were common to all Evangelical Protestantism. His Lutheranism was also colored by the Pietism that colonial Lutheranism had established in America. This Pietism gave an easier entrance to some of the emphasis of American Puritanism. One direct influence of Puritanism was the Theocratic idea. Working with the Theocrats he developed, along with them, an ecumenical concern. This is the basic pattern of the influences that contributed to the theology of Samuel Simon Schmucker.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY

Samuel Simon Schmucker lived, worked and died while the Lutheran Church in America was in a stage of transition. From the time of his birth, when the Lutherans openly associated with Moravians, Reformed and Episcopalians, and had little doctrinal affirmations, the Lutheran Church moved to a time, at his death, when confessionalism and denominational consciousness were on the way to ascendancy. At the beginning of his labors Schmucker was called a conservative; at the end, a rank liberal.

It is difficult to appreciate a man who has a loose adherence to the confessions. But appreciation is made easier if that man is attempting, albeit in his own way, to achieve a stricter confessional status both for himself and for others. Schmucker was such a man. He dedicated his labors to the American Lutheran Church. Before beginning them he assessed its needs. He determined such needs as better organizational structure, increased doctrinal and political certainty and a program of education for the training of leaders. He then proceeded in a planned campaign for the fulfillment of these needs. Schmucker was not limited in his knowledge, only in his environment. He strove to be as Lutheran as he knew how to be. But, he



only achieved unto Evangelical Protestantism. He is one of the outstanding figures developed by American Protestantism.

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## APPENDIX A

It is the purpose of this appendix to supply a handy list of the works of Schmucker for the reference of the reader. The list is based on one found in Life and Times of S. S. Schmucker, by P. Anstadt, pp. 262-265. In listing Schmucker's works he did abridge throughout, especially in the titles. These abridgements have been lengthened and further information as to city, publisher and year have been given wherever possible. Whenever additional information is given an asterisk (\*) is placed before the citation. The numbering is as in Anstadt's volume. There is added one work not included in Anstadt's list. It is given at the close.

1. Formula of Government and Discipline, for Congregations and Synods. Hagerstown: U. G. Bell, 1823. (Published by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia in 1823 and by the General Synod in 1829).

2. (\*) The Intellectual and Moral Glories of the Christian Temple, Illustrated from the History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, a Synodical Discourse by Samuel Simon Schmucker Preached October 17, in the Lutheran Church in Middletown, Maryland and Published by the Vestry of Said Church. Baltimore, Maryland: William Woody, 1824.

3. (\*) An Inaugural Address, Delivered before the Directors of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod

of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, by Samuel Simon Schmucker at His Induction into Professorship of Christian Theology, September 5, 1826. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: J. E. Wible, 1826.

4. (\*) An Elementary Course of Biblical Theology.

Translated from the original volume of Storr and Flatt, given with additions by Schmucker. Andover: Hagg and Gould, 1826.

5. Hymn Book of the General Synod. N. city: n.p., 1828.

6. Formula of Government and Discipline, Evangelical Lutheran Church, in West Pennsylvania. Gettysburg: n.p., 1828. An enlargement of the General Synod Form.

7. (\*) Constitution of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States: Located at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, together with the Statutes of the General Synod on which it is founded. Philadelphia: Wm. Brown, 1826.

8. Evangelical Magazine. Gettysburg: n.p., 1830.

9. (\*) A Plea for the Sabbath School System, Delivered February 2, 1830, at the Anniversary of the Gettysburg Sunday School, Published by the Theological Students and Other Teachers at Said School, Gettysburg, Printed at the Press of the Theological Seminary. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1830.

10. (\*) Kurzegefaszte Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche; auf der Grundlage des vortreflichen Busch'schen Werkes. Gettysburg: J. E. Wible, 1834.

11. (\*) Elements of Popular Theology, with Special Reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as Avowed before the Diet of Augsburg, in MDXXX. New York: Leavitt, Lord and Co., 1834. (Anstadt gives first edition from Andover.)
12. Discourse in Commemoration of the Glorious Reformation, before the West Pennsylvania Synod. New York: Gould and Newman, 1838.
13. (\*) Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches, with a Plan for Catholic Union. New York: Gould and Newman, 1838.
14. (\*) The Happy Adaptation of the Sabbath School System to the Peculiar Wants of Our Age and Country, a Sermon Preached at the Request of the Board of Managers of the American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, May 20, 1839. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1839.
15. (\*) Address on the Anniversary of Washington's Birthday, Delivered before the Gettysburg Guards, February 22, 1839. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1839.
16. (\*) Portraiture of Lutheranism, a Discourse Delivered by Request, at the Consecration of the First English Lutheran Church in Pittsburgh, October 4, 1840, before the Synod of West Pennsylvania, and Published by a Resolution of Said Body. Baltimore, Maryland: The Publication Rooms, 1840.
17. (\*) Retrospect of Lutheranism in the United States, A Discourse Delivered before the General Synod at Baltimore,

1841; and Published by Said Body for Gratuitous Distribution.  
Baltimore, Maryland: The Publication Rooms, 1841.

18. (\*) "A Discourse on the Glorious Reformation, with a Reference to the Relation between the Principles of Popery and Our Republican Institutions." Martin Luther. A Commentary on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. Philadelphia: S. S. Miles, 1840.

19. (\*) Psychology, or Elements of a New System of Mental Philosophy, on the Basis of Consciousness and Common Sense: Designed for Colleges and Academies. Third Edition. New York: Harpers, 1842.

In his bibliography Vergilius Fern (Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, New York: The Century Co., 1927) gives the second edition (New York: Harpers), 1845. The discrepancy in the editions and dates is unresolved at this time.

20. (\*) Appeal on Behalf of the Christian Sabbath. American Tract Society, #502. N.c., n.d.

21. (\*) Dissertation on Capital Punishment. Third edition. Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1845.

22. (\*) The Patriarchs of American Lutheranism, Being a Discourse Delivered before the Historical Society of the Lutheran Church in the United States, during the Session of the General Synod in Philadelphia, May 17, 1845, and Published by Said Society. Philadelphia: Historical Society of the Lutheran Church in the United States, 1845.

23. (\*) The Papal Hierarchy Viewed in the Light of Prophecy and History, Being a Discourse Delivered in the English Lutheran Church, Gettysburg, February 2, 1845.

Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1845.

24. (\*) The Christian Pulpit, the Rightful Guardian of Morals, in Political and no less than in Private Life.

Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1846.

25. Church Development on Apostolic Principles.

Gettysburg: n.p., 1850.

26. Nature of the Saviour's Presence in the Eucharist.

N.c.: n.p., 1851.

27. (\*) The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally, and Practically Delineated, in Several Occasional Discourses. Philadelphia: E. W. Miller, 1851.

28. Elemental Contrast between the Religion of Forms and of the Spirit. Gettysburg: n.p., 1852.

29. The Peace of Zion, Discourse before the General Synod. N.c.: n.p., 1853.

30. Address at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Shamokin Literary Institute. Pottsville: n.p., 1854.

31. (\*) Lutheran Manual on Scriptural Principles, or, the Augsburg Confession Illustrated and Sustained Chiefly by Scriptural Proofs and Extracts from Standard Lutheran Theologians in Europe and America, together with the Formula of Government and Discipline Adopted by the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States.

Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1855.

32. (\*) American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on Certain Disputed Topics: Including a Reply to the Plea of the Rev. W. J. Mann. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1856.

33. (\*) Definite Platform, Doctrinal and Disciplinary, for Evangelical Lutheran Synods; Constructed in Accordance with the Principles of the General Synod. Philadelphia: Miller and Burlack, 1856.

34. (\*) Rev. J. A. Brown's New Theology,--Examined. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1857.

35. The Baptism of Children whose Parents are not Connected with the Church, a Report to the Synod of West Pennsylvania. N.c.: n.p., 1859.

36. (\*) Discourse on the Scriptural Worship of God; its Nature, Auxiliaries and Impediments, Delivered before the Evangelical Synod of West Pennsylvania, September 30, 1860, and Published by Request of Said Synod. Philadelphia: Miller and Burlack, 1860.

37. Evangelical Lutheran Catechism. Baltimore: Kurtz, 1859.

38. Sermon on the Work of Grace, or Revival of Religion, at Antioch, Preached at Hanover. York, Pennsylvania: n.p., 1862.

39. Proposed Liturgy of the General Synod, Presented at York. N.c.: n.p., 1864.

40. Discourse on Human Depravity. Gettysburg: n.p., 1865.

41. The Church of the Redeemer, as Developed within the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1867.

42. True Unity of Christ's Church. New York: Randolph, 1870.

43. Christological Lecture, on the Incarnation, the Person, the Life Death and Exaltation of the Saviour.

Gettysburg: J. E. Wible, 1868.



## APPENDIX B

### SERMON OUTLINES AND NOTES

Some examples of the sermon emphasis that Schmucker used are included through the quoting of several sermon outlines. These are taken from P. Anstadt, Life and Times of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, who quotes them from Schmucker's diary. These are not to be considered representative of all of Schmucker's preaching. They give an indication of some of the features which are prominent in his style during his years in the parish ministry.

1820, June 20. Funeral Sermon at the burial of Mr. Bernhardt. Text, John x. 27-30. Theme: The privileges of the true followers of Christ.

- I. The character of the true followers of Christ;
- II. Their privileges.

July 2. Preached at Carlisle for Brother Keller. In the morning. Text: Acts iii. 19.

- I. The nature of true repentance.

1. It embraces a change in the views
  - a. Of God;
  - b. Of the divine law; and of
  - c. The future state.
2. In the feelings or dispositions;
3. In the practical experience and life of the convert.

II. The proofs or verification of this conversion.

1. In this life;
2. In death;
3. In eternity.

Evening, Jeremiah ix. 23, 24. Theme: The true glory of man.

- I. Consider some of the objects of the worldly man's glory;
  - a. Riches;
  - b. Fame;
  - c. Wisdom.
- II. Consider the object of the Christian's glory; true and saving knowledge of God.
- III. Show why we ought to glory in the latter and not in the former;
  - a. Because God commands it in our text;
  - b. Because the former are not, and the latter are proper objects of human glory;
  - c. Because man holds a high rank in the grade of being.

July 9. York. Text: Psalm cx. 3. The skeleton is founded on the following new translations of the Hebrew: "After the time of thy victory thy people shall bring thee willing offerings in the beauty of holiness, and children shall be born unto thee as the morning dew flows in the eastern horizon." Theme: The joyful consequences of the

victory of Christ our King. "He is the Lord."

- I. The victory itself;
  - Give a history of the rise, progress and termination of the conflict between Jesus and Satan;
- II. The joyful consequences thereof;
  1. A people shall be gathered;
  2. The people shall bring him willing offerings;
    - a. A profession of their faith by joining the visible church;
    - b. By sacrificing the pleasures of the world;
    - c. By yielding themselves a living sacrifice to God.

- Application.
1. To those who are of his people;
  2. To those who are not of his people.

September 26. Preached at Armentrauts. Text:

Isaiah lv. 6 in German.

- I. By nature we have not the Lord;
- II. If we would have him, we must seek him;
- III. How shall we obey the command of the text;
- IV. If we do not seek him now, we may not find him in future.

November 26. Preached for Rev. Mayer in Philadelphia, on Prov. iii. 17. "His ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." The same day in the evening preached for Brother Cruse to a crowded and very attentive audience. Text: Rev. xiv. 13.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."

- I. The persons. They are such as lived in Jesus, viz:
  1. In the faith of Jesus;
  2. In the communion of Jesus;
  3. In obedience to Jesus.
- II. Their future blessedness;
  - (a) They shall rest from their labors, in promoting the Kingdom of God
    1. In their own souls;
      - a. From the labor of self-denial;
      - b. From the use of means of grace;
      - c. From spiritual watchfulness;
      - d. From sorrow for their sins.
    2. In the souls of others;
  - (b) Their works shall follow them; applications.

December 10. Preached in York, on Heb. ii. 3. "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him."

Exordium. The salvation of an immortal being is infinitely important. Therefore the inspired writers were led to speak most earnestly, and as they were not deprived by inspiration of their natural capacities, they made use of human forms of speech. St. Paul gives expression to his ardent feelings by means of an antithesis, "How shall the transgressor escape?" etc.

Theme: The unhappy condition of those who neglect the great salvation.

I. The great salvation embraces two principal parts;

1. Deliverance from the slavery,

- a. Of the world;
- b. Of Satan;
- c. Of our own sinful nature;
- d. Of the curse of the law in this life and the life that is to come.

2. In the blessings of

- a. The restoration of the image of God;
- b. The restoration of the favor of God;
- c. Adoption as children of God.

3. The greatness of this salvation is shown;

- a. By the price it cost--the blood of Christ;
- b. The opinions of many saints and learned men;
- c. The death of the martyrs;
- d. The nature of the salvation--it is eternal, spiritual.

II. The persons who neglect this salvation.

1. Those who deny the divine revelation;
2. Those whose Christianity is but an outward form;
3. Those who have had good impressions, but resisted them. Application.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>p. Anstadt, Life and Times of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D., First Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa. (York, Pa.: P. Anstadt and Sons, 1896), pp. 93-97.

## APPENDIX C

### DIARY EXTRACTS

In order to impress on the reader the piety of S. S. Schmucker, P. Anstadt has included numerous direct quotations from Schmucker's diary. These shall be quoted in part herein to give the reader of this paper some indication of the basic attitudes of Schmucker during his years in the parish ministry.

Tuesday, September 19 (1820). Yesterday came here to uncle Nicholas and was very kindly received. Spent the afternoon and this whole day conversing with him on different points. He is a man of good talents and respectable information. He is very willing to give me two of his congregations, Woodstock and Huddle's schoolhouse, if I see fit to settle here. He is very kind. We have talked over all the circumstances of the town and of New Market. Henkel and sons persecute instinctively everything that bears the name of Schmucker. Nicholas is a true Christian. I gave him some general views, or rather abstract views of my matrimonial intentions, and he approves them. His wife is a very sensible, goodnatured, pious [sic] woman. Became pious, he told me, within the last two years.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>p. Anstadt, Life and Times of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D., First Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Seminary, at Gettysburg, Pa. (York, Pa.: P. Anstadt and Sons, 1896), p. 85.

Thursday 21st. Although I trust my love to God is supreme, and though I examine and weigh with the utmost solemnity the important subject of my settlement in these congregations, yet daily do I dedicate myself anew to his service.<sup>2</sup>

November 26. This day I preached twice--once for Rev. Mr. Mayer, in the afternoon, to an unusually large audience, and in the evening for Brother Cruse, to as full a house as was ever collected there (so they told me). In the afternoon I preached with only tolerable warmth--my feelings had been congealed by several hours previous and unavoidable intercourse with Mr. M----, with whom I dined. In the evening I felt better, and trust, by the grace of God, did considerable good. Paid two or three visits after church--was attended by Rev. Brother Cruse, who was very friendly and attentive, and desired to be on corresponding terms. We agreed that when either had anything to communicate, he should write. Took leave of Mrs. Kneb's family, was very urgently invited to make their house my home when I come next to the city.

Have conclusive evidence that Mr. M---- is not pious, and probably that he is not fundamentally sound--was told that he several times refused the degree of D.D., but believe him a man of fine talents and very respectable learning.

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<sup>2</sup>Loc. cit.

Have been wonderfully led and guided by my God since I have been here. O may thy goodness fill my soul with gratitude and praise. Heard much about how the people were pleased with my sermon . . . .<sup>3</sup>

Dec. Thursday 22nd, 1820 . . . Left Winchester about 10 o'clock, fed at Strasburg, and traveled on toward Woodstock. The road was very muddy and bad, and it becoming dark, my tour was very unpleasant. I was becoming rather dejected, when I met two travelers coming toward me. I inquired the distance to Woodstock, and was recognized by uncle Nicholas and Mr. Ott. They spoke and we were much rejoiced. They were on their way to visit a sick man, but turned back to Mr. Ott's. I got supper, and Mr. Ott gave me one of his horses, and we went all three together to the sick man, administered the sacramental supper to him, and returned. Wednesday morning visited Mr. Moreland and Mr. Williams, and went with uncle Nicholas to his house. On Thursday it rained, but I wishing to go, uncle Nicholas accompanied me six miles in the rain, though I wished him not to do it. I arrived at Mr. Bower's, and was received with his usual excessive and sincere friendship. Here then I would send up an acknowledgment of my gratitude to the God of mercy, who has led me hitherto . . . .<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 87-88.



May 31 (1821). Preached at Armentraut's, Mark xvi. 16, in both languages, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

Baptized three children in the church, then rode two miles to baptize another. This day I rode thirty miles, preached twice, baptized four children, and visited four different families, and I not infrequently do this in one day.<sup>5</sup>

June 3rd. Preached at Mt. Pleasant to a large audience. Preached in New Market in German, on the nature of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and presented the various customs and views of this ordinance for the instruction of the hearers.<sup>6</sup>

October 9, 1823. I have just answered a letter from my friend, Robert Baird, teacher in the Lamma School, at Princeton, N. J., which he wrote to me at the request of the Board of the American Bible Society, requesting that I would consent to accept an appointment as agent, and make one or more tours through different parts of the United States, to promote the interests of the Society by forming auxiliaries.

From a variety of reasons, I stated to him, it was impossible for me to accept the offer. The work itself is one which I should delight to engage in.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>6</sup>Loc. cit.

The image of my departed wife is also often before me; those feelings of desolation and melancholy, excited by the mournful catastrophe, I regret to find, are as acute as they were six months after her death. Everything reminds me of her,--here a sentence written in a book,--there an effusion of affection recorded on one of my most frequented pages, rouses all my former feelings, and I cannot deny, makes me unhappy. May God pardon my inordinate love for her! May he teach me submission; may he comfort my uneasy heart, and in due time take me unto himself, for the Redeemer's sake.<sup>7</sup>

December 8, 1824. I have just had the happiness to learn, that Mrs. Beale Steenbergen was awakened by my discourses at the Sacramental season at this place in October. O that God would carry on the good work in her heart and make her a true child of God. She is a most amiable and accomplished lady, very affectionate and interesting, and how much more eternal interest would be added to her, if her soul were yet truly transformed into the divine image! O that God may make me instrumental in leading many more souls to the Redeemer.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 107-108.

APPENDIX D

SCHMUCKER'S OUTLINE OF THE CONTENTS OF  
THE DEFINITE PLATFORM

The following outline is recorded in Schmucker's book American Lutheranism Vindicated; etc. It was written by Schmucker to vindicate himself from the charge that he had changed the Augsburg Confession. Since the Definite Platform is rather lengthy to quote here in full this outline is presented.

The American Recension of the Augsburg Confession

The general principle, on which this recension was constructed, is to present the doctrinal articles entire, without the change of a single word, merely omitting the several sentences generally regarded as erroneous, together with nearly the entire condemnatory clauses, and adding nothing in their stead. All that the Recension contains is therefore the unadulterated Augsburg Confession, slightly abridged. The following list will show, that almost the entire confession is thus retained, a single article only being omitted, viz.: that on Private Confession and Absolution.

- Art. I. Of God: retained . . . . . entire.
- Art. II. Of Natural Depravity: entire, except the omission of the words, "by baptism and the

- Art. III. Holy Spirit." The condemnatory clause is also given, except the name "Pelagians and others, &c."
- Art. III. Of the Son of God and his Mediatorial Work: retained . . . . . entire.
- Art. IV. Of Justification: retained . . . . . entire.
- Art. V. Of the Ministerial Office: retained . entire.
- Art. VI. Concerning New Obedience (or a Christian Life:) . . . . . entire.
- Art. VII. Of the Church: . . . . . entire.
- Art. VIII. What the Church is: entire, except the omission of the last two sentences.
- Art. IX. Concerning Baptism: according to the German copy . . . . . entire.
- Art. X. Of the Lord's Supper: omits the words "body and blood" and "truly," and the phrase "are dispensed," &c.
- Art. XI. Of Confession: omitted, as private confession and absolution" [sic] are confessedly not taught in Scripture.
- Art. XII. Of Repentance (after Backsliding:) entire, except the omission of "the church's granting absolution to those manifesting repentance," and that faith is produced also "by means absolution." [sic]

- Art. XIII. Of the Use of the Sacraments . . . entire.
- Art. XIV. Of Church Orders, (or the Ministry) . entire.
- Art. XV. Of Religious Ceremonies . . . . entire.
- Art. XVI. Of Political Affairs; (excepting the word  
"imperial.") . . . . . entire.
- Art. XVII. Of Christ's Return to Judgment . . entire.
- Art. XVIII. Of Free Will . . . . . entire.
- Art. XIX. Of the Author of Sin . . . . . entire.
- Art. XX. Of God's Works . . . . . entire.
- Art. XXI. Of the Invocation of Saints, (except a refer-  
ence to the authority of the Romish church,  
the canons and the fathers.) . . . entire.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Simon Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on Certain Disputed Topics: Including a Reply to the Plea of the Rev. W. J. Mann (Baltimore, Maryland: T. Newton Kurtz, 1856), pp. 61-62.

## APPENDIX E

### SOURCES SCHMUCKER USED

Throughout his writings Samuel Schmucker displayed an intimate knowledge of the materials of his profession. This appendix is given to demonstrate his familiarity with and use of these materials. The source materials Schmucker used are divided into three groups. The first two groups, Lutheran and Calvinistic, are determined according to the nominal listing of their authors. The remaining source materials are listed under miscellaneous. Two of Schmucker's books are used for the sources to which he referred. They are his Elements of Biblical Theology<sup>1</sup> and his American Lutheranism Vindicated.<sup>2</sup> The source from Schmucker's work will be indicated in a parenthesis. Thus, if cited from Elements of Biblical Theology--(EBT, p. 59), or if from American Lutheranism Vindicated--(ALV, p. 59). Generally the sources are cited as given by Schmucker. Whenever supplementary material is given it shall be designated by the

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<sup>1</sup>Samuel Simon Schmucker, Elements of Popular Theology, with Special Reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as Avowed before the Diet at Augsburg, in MDXXX (Fifth edition; Philadelphia: S. S. Miles, 1845), passim.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Simon Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated; or, Examination of the Lutheran Symbols, on Certain Disputed Topics: Including a Reply to the Plea of Rev. W. J. Mann (Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1856), passim.

inclusion of an asterisk thus (\*) before the citation.

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2. Theodore Augusti, work not cited. (ALV, p. 158.)
3. (\*) Bachman, Discourses on the Doctrines and Discipline of the Lutheran Church, 1837. (ALV, p. 42.)
4. Baugher, his report on Doctrines and Usages of the Synod of Maryland. (ALV, p. 42.)
5. Sigismund J. Baumgarten (Halle), his edition of the symbols, 1747. (ALV, p. 159.)
6. Baumgarten, Erlauterungen der christlichen Alterthuemer. (EBT, p. 285.)
7. Baumgarten, Dogmatik. (ALV, pp. 128-129.)
8. Bengelius, on the Apocalypse. (EBT, p. 357.)
9. Brettschneider, Systematische Entwicklung aller in der Dogmatik vorkommender Begriffe, edit. 3, 1826. (EBT, p. 302.)
10. Buddeus (Halle), Theologia Dogmatica. (ALV, p. 140.)
11. (\*) Endress (Christian), work not cited, 1827. (ALV, p. 41.)
12. Faber, on the prophecies. (EBT, p. 37.)
13. Funk (Lubec), The Augsburg Confession according to the Principle Edition of Melancthon himself with the Various Readings of other Editions. (EBT, p. 146.)

14. Funk, Kirchenordnungen of the first century of the Lutheran Church in Germany [sic]. (ALV, p. 98.)
15. Funk, Kirchenordnung der Ev. Luth. Kirche Deutschland's in ihrem ersten Jahrhundert sic. (EBT, p. 245.)
16. Gerhard, Loc. Com. (ALV, p. 140.)
17. Guericke, Symbolik and Church History. (ALV, p. 156.)
18. Hahn, Lehrbuch. (ALV, p. 60.)
19. (\*) Hazelius, Annotations on the Augsburg Confession, 1841. (ALV, p. 42.)
20. (\*) Hazelius, Doctrine and Discipline of the Synod of South Carolina, 1841. (ALV, p. 55.)
21. Hollazii, Theol. Dogm. (ALV, p. 126.)
22. Nicholas Hunnius, Epitome Credendorum. (ALV, p. 139.)
23. Knapp, Theologi, translated by L. Woods, Jr. (Glauben's Lehre, &c., 1827), or German copy. (ALV, p. 60.)
24. Knapp, Biblical Theology, or, Biblische Glaubenslehre, 1840. (ALV, pp. 133-134.)
25. Koecher, of Jena, work not cited, 1759. (ALV, p. 45.)
26. Koellner, Symbolik. (ALV, p. 56.)
27. (\*) Koethe (editor), Melanchthon Werke. (ALV, pp. 77-78.)
28. Koethe (editor), Melanchthon's Loci Theo. (ALV, p. 114.)
29. Krauth, "Sketch of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States," Buck's Theological Dictionary, 1830. (ALV, p. 42.)
30. Benjamin Kurtz, The Necessity and Advantages of Infant Baptism. (EBT, p. 242.)



31. Linter, Preface to the Augsburg Confession, 1837 ed.  
(ALV, p. 42.)
32. Lochman, Catechism. (ALV, p. 39.)
33. Lochman, Doctrine and Discipline of the Evangelical  
Lutheran Church. (ALV, p. 40.)
34. Luther, Taufbuechlein. (ALV, p. 156.)
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p. 84.)
38. Michaelis, Dogmatic. (EBT, p. 384.)
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1831. (ALV, p. 42.)
40. J. G. Morris, Catechumen's and Communicant's Companion.  
(EBT, p. 281.)
41. Mosheim, Elementa Theol. Dogm. (EBT, p. 299.)
42. Mueller, Symb. Buch. (ALV, p. 101.)
43. Murdock (editor), Mosheim's History, Harper's edition.  
(ALV, p. 68.)
44. Neander, Universal History of the Christian Religion  
and the Christian Church. (EBT, p. 223.)
45. Neander, Allgemeine Geschichte der christliche Kirche.  
(EBT, p. 227.)
46. Christian Niemeyer, Philip Melanchthon, im Jahre der  
Augsburgischen Confession. (ALV, p. 24.)

47. Plank, History of the Origin and Changes of the Protestant Doctrinal System. (ALV, p. 102.)
48. Plank, Geschichte, &c., Goettingen. (EBT, p. 316.)
49. Reinhard, work not cited. (ALV, p. 133.)
50. Rosenmueller, Scholia. (EBT, p. 24.)
51. (\*) F. C. Schaefer, Luther's Catechism, 1820. (ALV, p. 41.)
52. J. G. Schmucker, Prophetic History of the Christian Religion Explained, and also A Brief Exposition of the Revelation of St. John. (EBT, p. 357.)
53. Samuel S. Schmucker, Elemental Contrast. (ALV, p. 126.)
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58. Storr, Biblical Theology. (EBT, p. 35.)
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2. (\*) Calvin, Epistles. (EBT, p. 314.)
3. Calvin, Institutes. (EBT, p. 287.)
4. (\*) Cheever, Arguments on Capital Punishment. (EBT, p. 474.)
5. (\*) Colton, Genius of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States &c. (ALV, p. 30.)
6. Cramp, Textbook of Popery. (EBT, p. 413.)
7. Dwight, Theology. (EBT, p. 147.)
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9. Eveleigh, Bampton Lectures (Princeton University). (EBT, p. 140.)
10. Antonio Gavin, The Master Key to Popery. (EBT, p. 413.)
11. (\*) Hagenbach, Church History of the 18th and 19th Centuries. (ALV, p. 60.)
12. Hengstenberg, Ueber den Tag des Herrn, Berlin. (ALV, p. 108.)
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14. (\*) Hodge, Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. (ALV, p. 31.)
15. (\*) Jacobson, The Theological Encyclopedia of Dr. Herzog. (ALV, p. 102.)
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17. (\*) Loretz, Ratio Disciplinae Unitatis Fratrum. (EBT, p. 235.)

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19. Schaff (of Mercersberg), his work on American Churches. (ALV, p. 6.)
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21. (\*) Thornton (a Methodist), Theological Colloquies. (EBT, p. 231.)
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4. Cicero, 3 Tuscul. III. 1. (EBT, p. 21.)
5. Cicero, Opera. (EBT, p. 298.)
6. Conversations Lexikon. (EBT, p. 470.)
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8. (\*) Baumgarten Crusius, History of Christian Doctrines. (ALV, p. 157.)
9. Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (Harrison versus Hunter's lessee) 1 Wheaton's Reports. (EBT, p. 342.)

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11. Economy of Methodism. (EBT, p. 235.)
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15. Irenaeus, Contra Haereses. (EBT, p. 260.)
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17. The list of fundamentals drawn up by the great Evangelical Alliance, in London, in 1846. Published by the Synod of Maryland, and found also in the Lutheran Manual. (ALV, p. 5.)
18. Lutheran Catechism, of the General Synod. (EBT, p. 262.)
19. Lutheran Manual. (ALV, p. 84.)
20. Maimonides, Issure Biah, Perek 13. (EBT, p. 249.)
21. Methodist Discipline. (EBT, p. 235.)
22. The oath Luther took at his doctorate. Found in Lib. Statutorum facultis Theol. Academiae Wittemberg. Cap. 7. (ALV, p. 21.)
23. (\*) Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. (EBT, p. 261.)
24. Origen, Contra Celsum. (EBT, p. 285.)
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26. Pliny, Carmen Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum Invicem. (EBT, p. 69.)

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34. Ruecker, The Lord's Day. (ALV, p. 108.)
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 Certain changes beside those in the text are noted. The Latin copy of the Augsburg Confession is omitted whereas it had been included as an appendix in the previously mentioned edition of 1834. Schmucker added his Discourse on Capital Punishment and "A Tabular View of the Principle Theologians, and Theological Literature of Germany" to this volume as appendixes.
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