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Short Title

THEOLOGY OF F. H. QUITMAN

THE THEOLOGY OF FREDERICK HENRY QUITMAN
AS ILLUSTRATED PRIMARILY BY HIS CATECHISM AND HYMNBOOK

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

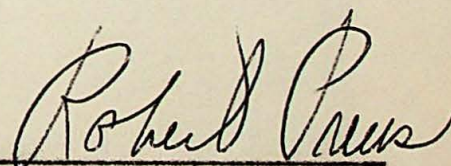
by

Waldemar W. Wehmeier

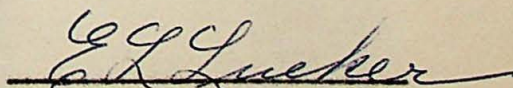
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	4
III. THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND	12
IV. BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF QUITMAN'S CATECHISM	16
V. BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF QUITMAN'S HYMNBOK	26
VI. SURVEY OF QUITMAN'S THEOLOGY	35
Scripture	35
Faith	37
God	39
Man	41
Angels	41
Jesus	42
Salvation	45
Holy Spirit	46
Repentance--Conversion	47
Sanctification	47
The Church	47
The Commandments	48
Conscience	50
Prayer	50
The Sacraments	51
The Final Destiny of Man	54
VII. CONCLUSION	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY	60

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	4
III. THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND	12
IV. BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF QUITMAN'S CATECHISM	16
V. BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF QUITMAN'S HYMNBOOK	26
VI. SURVEY OF QUITMAN'S THEOLOGY	35
Scripture	35
Faith	37
God	39
Man	41
Angels	41
Jesus	42
Salvation	45
Holy Spirit	46
Repentance--Conversion	47
Sanctification	47
The Church	47
The Commandments	48
Conscience	50
Prayer	50
The Sacraments	51
The Final Destiny of Man	54
VII. CONCLUSION	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY	60

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From the time Frederick Henry Quitman became president of the New York Ministerium at Kunze's death until it was too difficult for him to attend synodical meetings because of his health, Quitman was the guiding spirit of a new theological movement among Lutheranism in America. This movement seemed to begin to retreat, at least in New York, only when he was no longer able to be active. This movement extended to America from Germany, especially from Halle and Helmstädt, where the short-lived Pietism was superceded by Rationalism. Quitman studied at Halle and was a disciple of the "father of rationalism."¹ Other clergy also came to America from this new theological environment and for a time, before a confessional revival, these men were in the lead. Partly because of this new development in theology and partly in opposition to it, the Lutheran clergy aligned themselves with kindred spirits of other denominations. In New York the tendency was toward the Protestant Episcopal Church; in Pennsylvania it was toward the Reformed Church. Although other synods in America showed these tendencies

¹Augustus Wackerhagen, "Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D.," Annals of the American Pulpit, edited by William B. Sprague (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1869), IX, 117.

before the New York Ministerium, Quitman's writings and correspondence, especially his catechism, mark him as a prominent leader of this movement.²

This research, therefore, was motivated by a desire to know more about the man who stood as a "Saul among the host of Israel"³ determining the course of the New York Ministerium for twenty-one years, given an honorary S.T.D. by Harvard University, so revered by his congregation that when he could no longer walk he was carried into the pulpit to a chair,⁴ and yet summarily dismissed by many as a rationalist and a socinian.

The procedure was threefold: 1) develop an acquaintance with Quitman, his life, training, theology, and the theological environment in New York; 2) determine the complaints against him; and 3) study his theology in detail in the light of these complaints.

² Harry J. Kreider, History of the United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c. 1954), I, 41 ff. Johann Nicum, Geschichte des Ev. Lutherischen Ministeriums vom Staate New York und Angrenzenden Staaten und Laendern. Verlag des New York Ministeriums (Reading, Pa.: Theodor Wischan, 1888), pp. 87 ff. J. Nicum, "The Doctrinal Development of the New York Ministerium," The Lutheran Church Review, VI (January and April, 1887), 68-77 and 140-148. Henry Eyster Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, in The American Church History Series (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1893), IV, 315 ff.

³ Jacobs, op. cit., p. 315.

⁴[M. L. Stoeber], "Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D.," The Evangelical Review, X (October, 1858), 184.

In addition to Quitman's own writings⁵ and the proceedings of the New York Ministerium, the major surveys of Quitman's theology and the times are those of Jacobs, Nicum and Kreider. Background for Quitman's catechism and hymnbook also include articles by B. M. Schmucker⁶ and the primary sources available on microfilm in "Corpus of American Lutheranism."

⁵Frederick Henry Quitman, Evangelical Catechism (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1814); A Treatise on Magic (Albany: Balance Press, 1810); Three Sermons (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1817); and Frederick H. Quitman and Augustus Wackerhagen, A Collection of Hymns, and A Liturgy (Philadelphia: G. and D. Billmeyer, 1814).

⁶Beale M. Schmucker, "Luther's Small Catechism: Editions and Translations, Published, or used in America," The Lutheran Church Review, V (April, 1886), 87-113; and "Luther's Small Catechism: Explanations prepared for use in America," The Lutheran Church Review, V (July, 1886), 165-199.

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Frederick Henry Quitman was born August 7th, 1760, in Westphalia in the Duchy of Cleves on a small island in the Rhine which was later swept away by a flood. His father held the position of Inspector of harbors, dykes and military roads for the Prussian government. At an early age his intellectual ability was recognized and he received a liberal education at a celebrated school in Halle and later at the university of that city, where he studied theology against the wishes of his family and close family friends. Among the professors at the University of Halle at that time were Knapp, Niemeyer and Semler. Quitman completed his studies with a master's degree in theology,¹ and as a disciple of Semler.²

Upon completing his academic work, he served for two years as a private tutor to the family of the Prince of Waldeck. Thereupon he was ordained in the Lutheran Consistory of the United Provinces and was soon given a charge as pastor

¹[M. L. Stoever], "Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen. Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D.," The Evangelical Review, X (October, 1858), 183.

²Augustus Wackerhagen, "Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D.," Annals of the American Pulpit, edited by William B. Sprague (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1869), IX, 117.

of the Lutheran congregation in Curacao, where he served for fourteen years.³ In the summer of 1795 Quitman left the island because of political disturbances and took his family to New York,⁴ arriving in this country on June 2, 1795.⁵ He had planned to return to Holland where he could soon retire with a government pension, but he was impressed with the much greater need of pastors in this country and the opportunities to which he could put his own talents to use.⁶ His credentials were presented to the Pennsylvania Ministerium and Dr. Helmuth offered him the parishes of Springfield and Tohikon. What happened then is not known. The next heard of Quitman is that he became pastor of the associated churches of Schoharie and Cobleskill, New York.⁷

³Miss Quitman, "Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D.," Annals of the American Pulpit, edited by William B. Sprague (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1869), IX, 115. A figure of twelve years is given in Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York, Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of New York, 1786-1818. Minutes of 1786-1806 translated by Theodore E. Pallese, 1937. Minutes of 1807-1818 transcribed by Harry J. Kreider, 1935 (Transcript; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism), 1796, p. 9. Hereafter all official reports of the synodical meetings whether termed Protokoll, Minutes, Proceedings or Extracts will be referred to as Proceedings.

⁴Miss Quitman, op. cit., p. 115.

⁵Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord-America, absonderlich in Pensylvanien, vorrede von D. Johann Ludewig Schulze, new edition by W. J. Mann, B. M. Schmucker, and W. Germann (Allentown, Pa.: Brobst, Diehl and Co., 1886), I, 652. Hereafter will be referred to as Hallesche Nachrichten.

⁶Stoever, op. cit., p. 184.

⁷Hallesche Nachrichten, I, 652.

In 1796 Quitman was received into the New York Ministerium,⁸ and the following year he was elected secretary of that body, as he was each year until he became president.⁹ In 1798 he assumed the pastorate of the churches of Rhinebeck, Wurtemberg, Germantown, and Livingston, where he served until 1815 when the congregations of Germantown and Livingston were persuaded to call a pastor of their own. Quitman also gave up the charge at Wurtemberg in 1824 because of increasing bad health. He was finally forced to retire because of his health in the autumn of 1828,¹⁰ after the members of his congregation had carried him from the parsonage to a chair in the pulpit for several months. His health became increasingly worse and he died on June 26, 1832, at the age of seventy-two.¹¹

Dr. Quitman was married while at Curacao in the year 1784 to Ann Elizabeth Hauyck, daughter of a merchant¹² and Secretary of State of that island. Seven children were born to this union, four sons and three daughters. The sons are William F. Quitman, M.D.; Gen. John A. Quitman, governor of Mississippi and U.S. Congressman; Henry S. Quitman, a farmer; and Albert J. Quitman, first officer of a merchantman.

⁸Proceedings, 1796, p. 9.

⁹Ibid., 1797, p. 12; 1798, p. 14; 1799, p. 15, etc.

¹⁰Miss Quitman, op. cit., p. 116.

¹¹Stoeever, op. cit., p. 184.

¹²Miss Quitman, op. cit., p. 116.

Two years after Ann died in 1803, Dr. Quitman married Mary, the widow of Frederick Mayer, who had been recommended to him by his first wife on her death-bed. Mary M. Mayer was the mother of P. F. Mayer, D.D., Rev. F. G. Mayer, and Mary, the wife of Augustus Wackerhagen, D.D.¹³

In addition to being secretary of the New York Ministerium, Dr. Quitman was unanimously elected to the presidency of that body six weeks after the death of Dr. Kunze.¹⁴ He held this position until 1825 when he declined the office because of his inability to travel. The title of Senior of the Ministerium was then conferred upon him.¹⁵ At his death the president of the New York Ministerium directed that all members wear crepe on the left arm for a month in regard for Dr. Quitman.¹⁶

Dr. Quitman was "much devoted to" the advancement of the Lutheran Church in America.¹⁷ He was accustomed to make annual visits involving several hundred miles to destitute settlements and new congregations, dispensing the gospel, administering the sacraments, and doing what he could in

¹³Stoever, op. cit., p. 185.

¹⁴Proceedings, 1806, p. 41.

¹⁵Ibid., 1825, pp. 8 f.

¹⁶Stoever, op. cit., p. 185.

¹⁷William C. Bouck, "Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D.," Annals of the American Pulpit, edited by William B. Sprague (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1869), IX, 119.

regard to their physical poverty.¹⁸ He was also involved with the Hartwick Seminary, being one of the two principally involved in securing the property¹⁹ and serving as a trustee beginning in 1815.²⁰

But it is likely that he was more interested in the advancement of the pure, primitive religion of Jesus as he saw it without much regard for denominational creeds.²¹ For when the New York Ministerium met at Schoharie six weeks after Dr. Kunze's death, when Quitman was elected president, a 1796 resolution demanding close communion (which Quitman had most likely signed at the time) was rescinded,

and the minutes contain various other evidences of a decadence. At the next meeting. . . an article is even inserted into the constitution (Chap. iv., sec. 10) authorizing the reception of an ordained minister from any denomination whatsoever without requiring of him any declaration of his belief in the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, or even in the truth of the word of God. All that is required is (rationalistic) "piety, good character, literary and other qualifications."²²

In line with this, a Mr. G. Miller was received into the New York Ministerium in 1819 as a pastor after he

¹⁸Stoever, op. cit., p. 188.

¹⁹Proceedings, 1825, p. 27.

²⁰Ibid., 1815, p. 61.

²¹G. A. Lintner, "Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D.," Annals of the American Pulpit, edited by William B. Sprague (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1869), IX, 121.

²²J. Nicum, "The Doctrinal Development of the New York Ministerium," The Lutheran Church Review, VI (April, 1887), 143-45.

"promised faithfully to discharge his duty as a Protestant clergyman and to be guided by the constitution. . . ."23

Likewise, in his "Sketch of the History of Religion" appended to his catechism, Dr. Quitman lists the names of Ernesti, Semler, Michaelis, and others as people who "will be remembered with gratitude by every friend of the Bible."²⁴ Martin Luther does not make this list. Again, Quitman says that the Lutheran Symbols have been made into a "partition-wall" by over-zealous followers who would rob us of our liberty,²⁵ and that Calvin and Zwingli maintained and propagated the same principles of religion as did Luther.²⁶

Apparently Dr. Quitman kept his liberal tendencies suppressed while Dr. Kunze was alive, for Dr. Kunze refers to the inroads of rationalism and liberalism in American Lutheranism in three of his letters (1804, 1805 and 1807), but in each case he insists that the members of his ministerium have not been affected.²⁷ A few years later, though, a member of the Pennsylvania Ministerium preached a strong sermon

²³Proceedings, 1819, p. 14.

²⁴Frederick Henry Quitman, Evangelical Catechism (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1814), p. 175.

²⁵Frederick H. Quitman, Three Sermons (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1817), p. 4.

²⁶Quitman, Evangelical Catechism, p. 172.

²⁷"Editorial: Chronicle and Comment. The Nineteenth Century. The First Quarter Century," The Lutheran Church Review, XVIII (January, 1899), 133-34.

to the New York Ministerium because New York was regarded as being deeply rooted in Socinianism following the leadership of its president.²⁸

Dr. Quitman carried on correspondence with a number of learned men in Europe and the U. S., among whom were President Kirkland of Harvard University and Dr. William Ellery Channing of Boston, leader of the American Unitarians.²⁹ Dr. Quitman received an Honorary S.T.D. from Harvard University in 1814.³⁰

Physically, Dr. Quitman was large, being about six feet tall and weighing generally about three hundred pounds. He had small grey eyes with a piercing look. He was socially very affluent, noted as a speaker and conversationalist.³¹ His speech was forcible and stern, perhaps blunt,³² tempered usually by his wit.³³ He "abhorred all artifice and unworthy

²⁸H. E. Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, in The American Church History Series (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1893), IV, 318.

²⁹Harry J. Kreider, History of the United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c. 1954), I, 42.

³⁰Holley M. Shepherd, Archivist of Andover-Harvard Theological Library, "Letter to the author." Unfortunately, Archivist Shepherd also related, a copy of the citation made in connection with the degree for Dr. Quitman is not in the Archives, although Latin citations did accompany the honorary degrees at that time.

³¹Wackerhagen, op. cit., pp. 116 f.

³²Bouck, op. cit., p. 118.

³³Wackerhagen, op. cit., pp. 117 ff. Almost all descriptions of Dr. Quitman recall incidents to illustrate his wit.

concealment."³⁴ In preaching he was Biblical and spoke with good effect.³⁵ He often preached as many as eight times a week in either German, Low Dutch or English. Although he never used a manuscript in the pulpit, he always made a complete outline of his sermon.³⁶

His printed works are: A Treatise on Magic, Evangelical Catechism, Three Sermons, and A Collection of Hymns and A Liturgy.

³⁴Stoesver, op. cit., p. 187.

³⁵Lintner, op. cit., pp. 119ff.; Kreider, op. cit., p. 47; the Proceedings, 1796, p. 10, describes his sermon of September 25, 1796 preached before the convention as "einer gefühlvollen Rede."

³⁶Wackerhagen, op. cit., p. 187.

CHAPTER III

THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Since Quitman was a disciple of Semler, Semler's theology is likely the largest single influence in Quitman's theological background.¹ Certain characteristics of Semler's theology can be seen in Quitman's: for example, the idea of accommodation,² the stress on the human element in the development of doctrine whereby we must try to get behind history to the pure, primitive religion of Jesus,³ the view of the Lutheran Symbols,⁴ and the apparent viewpoint that Luther's catechism is not suited for public teaching.⁵ Accordingly, here follows a sketch of Semler's theology which will perhaps give some insight into Quitman's theological background.

Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791), the son of a pastor, studied at Halle in a late-Pietistic environment. He was a favorite student of Baumgarten at whose insistence he became professor of theology at Halle in 1752. Next to Baumgarten he was the most distinguished and loved teacher of the faculty,

¹Augustus Wackerhagen, "Frederick Henry Quitman, D. D.," Annals of the American Pulpit, edited by William B. Sprague (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1869), p. 117.

²Frederick Henry Quitman, A Treatise on Magic (Albany: Balance Press, 1810), p. 57.

³Frederick H. Quitman, Three Sermons (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1817), Sermons I and II.

⁴Ibid., p. 6.

⁵Infra, p. 24.

and after Baumgarten's death, Semler's was the spirit of the faculty.⁶

Semler felt that theology contains much that has not been revealed by God in scripture. Consequently he maintained that one must use critical resources to determine all that qualified the original judgment of religious questions and interpretations of scripture.⁷ To the grammatical interpretation of scripture

Semler added the historic; by which is meant the method, which, after discovering the grammatical sense of the words, rests content exactly with the meaning which the circumstances of society could permit scripture to have at that age.⁸

This method concerned itself especially with a consideration of place, time, circumstances, and the individual characters varying the historical situation.⁹

Semler applied this method to the study of the Canon as well and upon finding that "human factors had entered into the selection of the Biblical books,"¹⁰ he concluded

⁶Emanuel Hirsch, Geschichte der Neuern Evangelischen Theologie (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, n.d.), IV, 48.

⁷Ibid., IV, 53.

⁸Adam Storey Farrar, A Critical History of Free Thought in Reference to the Christian Religion, Bampton Lectures (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1863), p. 222.

⁹Hirsch, op. cit., IV, 50.

¹⁰Jaroslav Pelikan, From Luther to Kierkegaard (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1950), p. 89. Cf. also James W. Richard, The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church (Philadelphia, Pa.: Lutheran Publication Society, c. 1909), pp. 566f.

that a large number of the Biblical books are legendary, doubtful and to be rejected.¹¹

This approach led Semler to his theory of accommodation, whereby revelation was judged in relation to the historic circumstances of the age for which it was intended.¹² He felt that

Jesus and his disciples employed two methods of teaching: one sensuous, pictorial, drawn from the sphere of Jewish ideas, by which they adapted their meaning to the understanding of the multitude, and endeavored to raise them to a higher way of thinking; and alongside of that a purely spiritual teaching which was independent of that kind of imagery.¹³

Among the doctrines which Semler felt were accommodations were the teachings of Jesus concerning "angels, the second coming of the Messiah, the last Judgment, demons, resurrection of the dead, and inspiration of the Scripture."¹⁴ Consequently, he did not believe that all the doctrines of the Lutheran Symbols could be subscribed to.¹⁵

Semler's work was largely negative, attacking the assumptions and conclusions of orthodoxy which he felt were

¹¹John F. Hurst, History of Rationalism (Third edition, revised; New York: Carlton and Porter, 1865), p. 128.

¹²Farrar, op. cit., p. 223.

¹³Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede, translated by W. Montgomery (Second English edition; London: A. and C. Black, 1926), p. 26.

¹⁴Hurst, op. cit., p. 130.

¹⁵Richard, op. cit., p. 568.

not supported by the evidence. He did not found a school, but indicated a direction.

Semler's private life was much in contrast to his theological position. Already as a student of Baumgarten he developed his idea of the separation of theology and religion, between the private beliefs of an individual and the teachings handed down by the church.¹⁶ He respected the spirituality of Pietism in which he shared, but he did not understand Pietism's unwillingness to study theology scientifically.¹⁷ His personal faith can especially be seen in the evangelic comfort he gave his daughter who died soon after her mother.¹⁸

Similarly, Semler was shocked by the result of his teachings, and late in life he went so far as to give his approval to an edict for the regulation of religion (1788).¹⁹

¹⁶Hurst, op. cit., p. 128.

¹⁷K. R. Hagenback, German Rationalism, In its Rise, Progress and Decline, edited and translated by Wm. L. Gage and J. H. W. Stuckenberg (New York: Charles Scribner, 1865), p. 78.

¹⁸Hurst, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁹Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 26.

CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF QUITMAN'S CATECHISM

It was not due to a lack of catechisms that Quitman wrote his. From 1749 on many known editions and new explanations of Luther's catechism were published in America.

Among the known editions of Luther's catechism published in this country in German and English are the following:

1749. "The first translation into English" by Rev. Peter Brunnholtz, who was perhaps assisted by Peter Koch. This catechism might have been printed by Benjamin Franklin.¹

1761. "The second edition of the English Catechism" revised and published by Provost Charles Magnus Wrangel. Printed by Henry Mueller of Philadelphia.²

1763. An edition from Germantown which itself saw at least eleven editions by the year 1826.³

1784. An official German edition by the Pennsylvania Ministerium. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, in its meeting

¹Beale M. Schmucker, "Luther's Small Catechism. Editions and Translations, Published, or used in America," The Lutheran Church Review, V (April, 1886), 101. Hereafter will be referred to as Schmucker, "Editions."

²Ibid.

³Beale M. Schmucker, "Luther's Small Catechism. Explanations prepared for use in America," The Lutheran Church Review, V (July, 1886), 199. Hereafter will be referred to as Schmucker, "Explanations."

at Lancaster on June 4, 1782, resolved that the catechism be published (in German) based on the 1774 edition of Henry Mueller and the 1781 edition of Steiner. In 1784 the ministerium again resolved that the catechism be published. Apparently it was published during that year. This edition is the "first authoritative edition provided for by the action of the [any] Ministerium, and issued with its official approval. . . ." This standard text was reprinted many times by a number of publishers.⁴

Ca. 1784. The third English catechism. H. M. Muhlenberg's diary of March 13, 1785, contains a reference to an English catechism sent to him of which nothing else is known. Apparently this "third English catechism" was not satisfactory for his use.⁵

1802. An "excellent" translation of an unknown author in the Pennsylvania Ministerium published in Philadelphia.⁶

1804. An official English edition by the New York Ministerium. This "first English edition of Luther's Catechism issued by the direct authority of a Synod in this country" was proposed by the New York Ministerium in its meeting at Wurtemberg on October 10, 1803. This meeting called for a "new edition of Luther's Catechism in the

⁴Schmucker, "Editions," op. cit., pp. 94-96.

⁵Ibid., p. 102.

⁶Schmucker, "Explanations," op. cit., p. 193. Perhaps this is the catechism printed by Henry Sweitzer of Philadelphia which appears on microfilm in Corpus of American Lutheranism.

English language which may be generally accepted." John Christian Kunze, Frederick H. Quitman and George Striebeck were directed to prepare this catechism which the synod would publish. In 1804 the committee reported that the catechism was not ready because Striebeck had left the synod and published his own catechism. Kunze and Quitman had prepared a draft, however, which the synod examined and then resolved that Quitman and Philip F. Mayer get it ready for the press. In large part it is a revision of Striebeck's translation of Dr. Kunze's catechism of 1795.⁷

1807. A translation published by John Geyer.⁸

1811. The Extant Catechism. Anthony Braun, pastor of Center Brunswick, translated Luther's catechism and added 104 questions and answers and a group of prayers.⁹ This came to be known as the "Extant Catechism."¹⁰ A large number of these catechisms were not sold, so the New York

⁷Ibid., pp. 193-95; Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York, Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of New York, 1786-1818. Minutes of 1786-1806 translated by Theodore E. Pallese, 1937. Minutes of 1807-1818 transcribed by Harry J. Kreider, 1935 (Transcript; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism), 1803, p. 33 and 1804, p. 36. Hereafter all official reports of the synodical meetings whether termed Protokoll, Minutes, Proceedings or Extracts will be referred to as Proceedings.

⁸Martin Luther, Dr. Martin Luther's Catechism (Philadelphia: John Geyer, 1807; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism).

⁹Martin Luther, Dr. Martin Luther's Shorter Catechism, [Translated and with additions by Anthony T. Braun] (Troy, New York: R. Schermerhorn, 1811; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism).

¹⁰Harry J. Kreider, History of the United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1954), I, 46.

Ministerium resolved in 1811 to purchase 500 of these catechisms with money from the ministerial treasury.¹¹

In addition to these reprints of Luther's catechism, a variety of original explanations to Luther's catechism were also written:

1787. The North Carolina Catechism. Dr. John Caspar Velthusen of Helmstädt published three German catechisms and a question book during the years 1786-88. Although they were not published in this country, it was largely at the insistence of Mr. Nusman that a catechism of Dr. Velthusen was brought to this country and received wide circulation in the North Carolina Synod. This catechism has been known as the "Helmstädt Catechism" and the "North Carolina Catechism." It is rationalistic in character.¹²

1795. Dr. Kunze's catechism. Dr. Kunze published this "fourth edition of the Catechism in English" as an appendix to his Hymn and Prayer-Book.¹³ To Luther's catechism

¹¹Proceedings, 1811, p. 53.

¹²Schmucker, "Explanations," op. cit., p. 165; Henry Eyster Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, in The American Church History Series (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893), IV, 318; Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1955), p. 74.

¹³Schmucker, "Explanations," op. cit., pp. 165 and 195. The Concordia Seminary Library catalogue card for Kunze's hymnbook refers to this translation of the catechism as "the earliest surviving translation of Luther's catechism in English in America."

Dr. Kunze added one hundred three "Fundamental Questions" and an "Order of Salvation," which is a brief, systematic, thoroughly Lutheran presentation of the Christian faith.¹⁴

1796. A German catechism by Henry Ernest Muhlenberg.¹⁵

1804. Schmucker's catechism. John George Schmucker wrote an English catechism for his own use which was not published. Many of the questions and answers of this catechism were used by Lochman.¹⁶

180-. Lochman's catechisms. The second edition of this German catechism by John George Lochman was published in 1808, the same year in which he also published an English catechism. His catechisms "are free from rationalistic tendency, but distinctive Lutheran doctrine is not prominent."¹⁷

1811. Paul Henkel's German and English catechisms.¹⁸

In spite of all this, the New York Ministerium resolved in 1809 that "a new catechism in the Engl. lang. adapted to the wants of the rising generation be composed and introduced. . . ." F. W. Geisenheimer, Augustus Wackerhagen and Ralph Williston composed the committee which was to have a catechism

¹⁴John C. Kunze, Hymn and Prayer-Book (New York: Hurtin and Commandinger, 1795; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism).

¹⁵Schmucker, "Explanations," op. cit., pp. 165ff.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 166, 177.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 166, 177.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 166.

ready for synodical examination at the next meeting of synod.¹⁹

The next synodical convention proceedings tersely report that a catechism composed by Aug. Wackerhagen should be reviewed and a report given at the next synod by a committee of Fr. G. Mayer and P. W. Domeier. The same meeting also resolved that 500 copies of the Extant Catechism be purchased from Rev. A. T. Braun.²⁰

The minutes of the following convention (1813) refer to the catechism only in that certain "rules" were adopted regarding its publication:

1. The ten Commandments shall be given in the same order as is found in the books of Moses, and shall follow the Articles of Faith.
2. The article of the keys of the Kingdom of heaven shall be expunged.
3. The five Parts of the Catechism shall be printed without the explanations.²¹
4. The Rvd. Senior [i.e., Quitman] shall be requested to write a Preface to the Catechism explanatory of the reasons of the above alterations.²²

Before the next meeting of synod in 1815, Quitman's catechism had been published. His name had heretofore not been mentioned as an author, and the manuscript discussed in 1813 had been prepared by Wackerhagen. Nevertheless,

¹⁹Proceedings, 1809, p. 50.

²⁰Ibid., 1811, pp. 53f.

²¹Kreider, op. cit., p. 58, interprets this as referring to the explanations of Luther.

²²Proceedings, 1813, p. 57.

according to the title page, Quitman's Evangelical Catechism was printed in 1814 "with consent and approbation of the Synod."²³

Although a case can thus be made that the synod never officially approved the catechism,²⁴ yet perhaps they did implicitly, at least as long as Quitman's health permitted him to attend synodical meetings. For the first convention after the publication of the catechism resolved to send a commissioner to the meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod to personally present a copy of "our new English Hymnbook & of our new Engl. Catechism."²⁵ Dr. Quitman was to be that commissioner, but as it turned out, Shafer went in Quitman's place.²⁶ Likewise, a copy of the new hymnbook and catechism was sent with Rev. J. Bachman to the South Carolina Synod.²⁷

The synod did not, however, look at Quitman's catechism with favor for long. Eight years after it was published the printer wrote to the ministerium requesting reimbursement for his losses on the catechism as over 200 copies of the only edition printed remained unsold, but the synod did not respond.²⁸

²³Frederick Henry Quitman, Evangelical Catechism (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1814).

²⁴Cf. Johann Nicum, Geschichte des Ev. Lutherischen Ministeriums vom Staate New York und Angrenzenden Staaten und Laendern, verlag des New York Ministeriums (Reading, Pa.: Theodor Wischan, 1888), note, p. 97.

²⁵Proceedings, 1815, p. 60.

²⁶Ibid., 1816, p. 63.

²⁷Ibid., 1815, p. 60.

²⁸Schmucker, "Explanations," op. cit., p. 175.

In 1829 the New Ministerium directed a committee to "publish without delay a faithful translation of Luther's smaller catechism."²⁹ And in 1832 it is reported that a thousand copies had been printed and most of them already sold.³⁰

New editions and explanations of Luther's catechism continued to appear. Two years after Quitman's catechism was printed, his step-son, Philip Frederick Mayer, published a catechism (1816), which is one of the most important translations of the period, in which the text of Luther is given a prominent place. To this Mayer added a "Scripture Catechism" which gives answers to questions in the words of scripture. Although prominence is not given to distinctive doctrines, its intention is to be a fair presentation of scriptural teaching. This catechism was reprinted in 1821, 1828 and as late as 1846. Its translation of Luther's catechism was adopted by many other editions.³¹ In the same year (1816), Conrad Frederick Temme published a German catechism. Another English catechism appeared in 1823 by E. L. Hazellius of the Hartwick Seminary,³² who frequently worked side-by-side with Quitman.³³ Henry N. Pohlman of Morristown,

²⁹Proceedings, 1829, p. 11.

³⁰Ibid., 1832, p. 7.

³¹Schmucker, "Explanations," op. cit., pp. 166, 175.

³²Ibid., pp. 166f.

³³Cf. Proceedings, 1815 to 1825.

New Jersey, published an English translation of Luther's catechism in 1826. And the following year an anonymous translation was printed in Canajoharie, New York.³⁴

The result of all this, in which the rationalism exemplified by Quitman undoubtedly played no small part, was "chaos in catechetics." By 1835 printed complaints had appeared that even the laity largely felt catechetical instruction unnecessary, as it was linked in the minds of many with formality in religion. The subject appears on record at an 1845 pastoral conference which resolved that each pastor take appropriate action in his congregation.³⁵

Dr. Quitman's Evangelical Catechism is unlike Luther's catechism in many respects.³⁶ The main section is divided into five parts: (I) the article of the Christian Belief, or the Apostolic Creed; (II) the Ten Commandments; (III) Prayer; (IV) the Sacraments; and (V) the final destiny of man, or his future state of existence. This part of the catechism is 120 pages long and uses language quite above the level of confirmation age children.

³⁴Kreider, op. cit., p. 46.

³⁵J. Nicum, "The Doctrinal Development of the New York Ministerium," The Lutheran Church Review, VI (April, 1887), 146f.

³⁶Perhaps this is due in part to the fact that Semler wrote in the "Preface" to his Apparatus (1775) on the Symbolical Books on which he lectured that "Luther's catechisms contain matters ill-adapted to public instruction. . . ." James W. Richard, The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, c.1909), p. 568.

Added to this is a section entitled "Scriptural Advice to the Young." This consists of twenty-nine topics under which appear Bible passages without comment. Among the topics are Meekness and a Placable Disposition, Moderation in Censuring Others, Modesty and Humility, Contentment, and the like.

Following this is "The Sum of Religion: or the Character of the true Christian, as delineated by Sir Matthew Hale."

Next, "Instructions and Directions for those who are preparing for Confirmation, and by that solemn Rite wish to be admitted as communicant members of the church."

Then appears a prayer, a "Sketch of the History of Religion," and a group of prayers. Altogether, it is a catechism of 192 pages.

CHAPTER V

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF QUITMAN'S HYMNBOOK

As in the case of the catechism, there were also a number of hymnals in use and being published in this country in addition to the large number of hymnbooks used that were printed in Europe.¹ Among the hymnbooks and liturgies published in this country and commonly used in the New York area were the following:

1748. An agenda prepared by Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg and others. A revised edition was printed in 1786.²

1756. A republication in New York of the "Psalmodia Germanica." This hymnal, translated from the High Dutch, was originally published in London in 1720, edited by Jacobi, and entitled A Collection of Divine Hymns. It was used by H. M. Muhlenberg in English services.³

1762. An American edition of the "Marburg Hymnbook."⁴

¹Henry Eyster Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, in The American Church History Series (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1893), IV, 336ff. Hereafter will be referred to as Jacobs, History.

²J. A. Weyl, "Liturgical Development within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. Part II. Ministerium of New York," The Lutheran Church Review, XXXVI (July, 1917), 475.

³Henry E. Jacobs, "What is a Real Lutheran Hymn?" The Lutheran Church Review, XLI (July, 1922), 217.

⁴Jacobs, History, p. 336.

1775. "The first Lutheran liturgy published in America"; published for the Nova Scotia churches.⁵

1786. The hymnbook of the Pennsylvania Ministerium prepared by H. M. Muhlenberg, Kunze, Helmuth, and H. E. Muhlenberg. A revised second edition appeared in 1795.⁶

1795. Dr. John C. Kunze's Hymn and Prayer-Book. This hymnbook contains a translation of Dr. Muhlenberg's Agenda of 1786 and 240 hymns divided into twenty-two categories covering doctrines (Trinity, Redemption, Justifying Faith, Baptism, Lord's Supper, etc.) and the church year. Dr. Kunze states in the preface that most of the hymns are translations from German and that all except those hymns in the appendix are taken from printed books, especially the Psalmodia and a hymnbook of the Moravian Brethren, printed in London, 1789. The epistle and gospel lessons for each Sunday of the year are printed out. Also in this hymnbook is a translation of Luther's catechism, "Fundamental Questions," "The Order of Salvation," "The Christian Duties," "A short account of the Christian Religion," "A short account of the Lutheran Church," "The seven penitential Psalms," and "Some forms of prayer."⁷

⁵ Ibid., p. 338.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 336f.

⁷ John C. Kunze, Hymn and Prayer-Book (New York: Hurtin and Commandinger, 1795; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism).

1797. A Collection of Evangelical Hymns by Kunze's former assistant, Rev. George Strebeck. Strebeck published this hymnbook because of the "unsuitableness of the metres of our English Lutheran Hymnbook, published in 1795" by Kunze.⁸ The number of translated German hymns was reduced and other hymns were collected from different authors. The 299 hymns are divided into twenty categories covering doctrines (Trinity, Redemption, Repentance, Faith, Means of Grace--Prayer is included in this category--Sanctification, etc.) and the church year. It also contains a liturgy similar to Kunze's.⁹

1806. Williston's A Choice Selection of Evangelical Hymns. Strebeck's successor, Ralph Williston, made a new selection of hymns because of "the obvious deficiency of the former collection," and because the previous edition was sold out.¹⁰ Dr. Kunze testifies that he has examined each of the hymns and found nothing "dissonant to our doctrine or incompatible with the spirit of genuine godliness."¹¹ The 437 hymns are divided into twelve categories and thirty-seven subdivisions covering doctrines (Trinity, Person and Offices

⁸George Strebeck, A Collection of Evangelical Hymns (New York: John Tiebout, 1797; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism), "Advertisement."

⁹Ibid.; Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn (New York: George H. Doran Co., c.1915), p. 412.

¹⁰Ralph Williston, A Choice Selection of Evangelical Hymns (New York: J. C. Totten, 1806; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism), "Advertisement."

¹¹Ibid., another "Advertisement."

of Christ, the Sacraments, etc.) and the church year. Added to this is a liturgy similar to Kunze's, and the gospel and epistle lessons are printed out for each Sunday. This hymnal was widely used in New York.¹²

1814. A Collection of Hymns, and A Liturgy by Quitman and Wackerhagen. In 1803 the New York Ministerium resolved that an English hymnbook be collected and published by the same committee as was to work on a catechism: Quitman, Kunze and Strebeck.¹³ Nothing more is mentioned about a hymnbook until 1811 when the convention again resolved that a new hymnbook and liturgy be published in English. This time the committee was composed of Quitman, F. S. Geissenheimer and Philip Mayer. The same convention called for a hymnbook and liturgy in the German language to be prepared by Quitman, Philip Mayer and Augustus Wackerhagen.¹⁴

The next convention (1813) reappointed the same committee for the new hymnbook and directed Quitman to write a preface, subscribing his name and recommending it in behalf of the

¹²Jacobs, History, p. 341. It might be noted that both Strebeck and Williston were associates with Dr. Kunze and both left the Lutheran Church and organized English congregations in the Episcopal Church. Williston had been a Methodist minister before becoming Lutheran. Keyl, op. cit., p. 476.

¹³Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York, Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of New York, 1786-1818. Minutes of 1786-1806 translated by Theodore E. Palleske, 1937. Minutes of 1807-1818 transcribed by Harry J. Kreider, 1935 (Transcript; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism), 1803, p. 34. Hereafter all official reports of the synodical meetings whether termed Protokoll, Minutes, Proceedings or Extracts will be referred to as Proceedings.

¹⁴Ibid., 1811, p. 54.

ministerium.¹⁵

The hymnal¹⁶ was printed before the next convention (1815), at which time the report of the committee for the hymnbook was accepted. The convention also directed that copies of the hymnbook be presented to the synods of Pennsylvania and South Carolina, as in the case of the catechism.¹⁷ The German hymnbook did not get printed, apparently at the fault of the printer.¹⁸

Quitman's hymnbook was much better received than was his catechism. By August 15, 1823, 5935 copies had been sold¹⁹ and the ministerium in its conventions of 1822²⁰ and 1823 called for a cheaper edition of the hymnal in order to get wider circulation. At the later convention it was stipulated that the price of the cheap edition should not exceed seventy-five cents and that the ministerium would pay the printer ten cents per copy for every remaining volume of the hymnal he had on hand if he would not charge more than one dollar retail.²¹

¹⁵Ibid., 1813, p. 56.

¹⁶Frederick H. Quitman and Augustus Wackerhagen, A Collection of hymns, and A Liturgy (Philadelphia: G. and D. Billmeyer, 1814).

¹⁷Proceedings, 1815, p. 60.

¹⁸Ibid., 1816, p. 63.

¹⁹Ibid., 1823, p. 11.

²⁰Ibid., 1822, pp. 10f.

²¹Ibid., 1823, p. 11.

Moreover, the ministerium caused an enlarged edition of the hymnbook to be published in 1833 which remained largely the same as Quitman's original edition, but was somewhat enriched. This edition was still being used in 1856.²² Quitman's hymnbook was also approved for use by the South Carolina Synod in 1826,²³ and its influence is apparent in the revised liturgy of the Pennsylvania Ministerium published in 1818.²⁴

The hymn portion of Quitman's hymnbook consists of 520 hymns divided into thirty categories with eight subdivisions. Six of these major categories concern Christ. There are also sections on God, the Spirit, Scripture, Repentance and Conversion, Faith, Duties, Worship, the Sacraments, Death, Resurrection, Judgment, and Heaven. This is concluded with an index of first lines of the hymns, which are printed in verse form without music--indication is given only of the meter.²⁵

Among the hymns familiar to this reviewer are: "O Bless the Lord my Soul"; "When all thy Mercies, O my God";²⁶ "We

²²Benson, op. cit., pp. 414ff.

²³Proceedings, 1826, p. 13.

²⁴Jacobs, History, p. 343.

²⁵The hymns of Kunze, Strebeck and Williston are printed in the same way. The authors of the hymns are not indicated.

²⁶This hymn appears in Kunze's, Strebeck's, and Williston's hymnbooks.

sing th' almighty pow'r of God"; "Hark the glad sound";²⁷
 "Joy to the World"; "Alas! and did my Saviour bleed";²⁸
 "Christ the Lord is ris'n today";²⁹ "Jesus shall reign, where'er
 the sun"; "O that the Lord would guide my Ways"; "How precious
 is the book divine";³⁰ "The man is ever blest"; "Jesus! and
 shall it ever be"; "Blest be the tie that binds";³¹ "This is
 the day the Lord hath made"; "Lord dismiss us with thy
 Blessing"; and "Our God: our help in Ages past."

Among the hymns familiar to this reviewer which appear
 in Kunze's, Strebeck's and/or Williston's hymnbooks but not
 found in Quitman's are the following. Those from Kunze's
 are: "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds"; "Alas! and did my
 Saviour bleed";³² "There is a fountain filled with blood";³³
 "My Saviour sinners doth receive"; "God is our refuge in
 distress" (Mighty Fortress); "How bright appears the morning
 star"; "Dearest Jesus, we are here"; and "O for a thousand
 tongues to sing."³⁴

²⁷This hymn appears in Strebeck's and Williston's hymnbooks.

²⁸This hymn appears in Strebeck's and Williston's hymnbooks.

²⁹This hymn appears in Strebeck's hymnbook.

³⁰This hymn appears in Strebeck's and Williston's hymnbooks.

³¹This hymn appears in Strebeck's and Williston's hymnbooks.

³²This hymn appears in Strebeck's and Williston's hymnbooks.

³³This hymn appears in Strebeck's and Williston's hymnbooks.

³⁴This hymn appears in Strebeck's and Williston's hymnbooks.

Those from Strebeck's are: "Hark! the herald-angels sing";³⁵ "While shepherds watched their flocks by night";³⁶ "O God! our help in Ages past"; "When I survey the wondrous cross";³⁷ "I know that my Redeemer lives";³⁸ and "Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness."

Those from Williston's are: "Lift up your heads ye gates"; "All hail the pow'r of Jesus' name"; and "From all that dwell below the skies."³⁹

The other major portion of Quitman's hymnbook is the liturgy. Much more extensive than the previous New York liturgies, it is divided into thirteen sections:

- I Two forms of Confession of Sin, and two other introductory prayers;
- II Eight general prayers;
- III Four prayers after the sermon;
- IV Scriptural Benedictions for the conclusion of public worship;
- V A table of the Gospel and Epistle pericopes;
- VI A form of Baptism for infants;

³⁵This hymn appears in Williston's hymnbook.

³⁶This hymn appears in Williston's hymnbook.

³⁷This hymn appears in Williston's hymnbook.

³⁸This hymn appears in Williston's hymnbook.

³⁹For a comparison of the hymns of the four hymnbooks on specific doctrines see chapter six on the topics of Baptism, Lord's Supper, Trinity and Jesus. For a more general but good analysis of the hymns of the four hymnbooks see Benson, op. cit., pp. 410-415.

- VII A form of Baptism for older people;
- VIII Order of confirmation;
- IX Order of the service preparatory to the celebration of the Lord's Supper;
- X The administration of the Lord's Supper;
- XI A form for the inauguration of the ruling officers of a congregation;
- XII The solemnization of matrimony;
- XIII The burial of the dead.

To this is added prayers for the use of families and individuals.

CHAPTER VI

SURVEY OF QUITMAN'S THEOLOGY

Scripture

Although the doctrine of scripture is not the first treated in Quitman's catechism, it would perhaps be well first of all to examine Quitman's understanding of scripture, as there is no special section of the catechism dealing with this subject and because its understanding is basic to the development of other doctrines.

Scripture, according to Quitman, is a revelation to man¹ which Quitman ascribes to the "divine spirit."² It is primarily a source of religious knowledge³ and is a judge from heaven of all religious questions.⁴ Without this revelation man's mind would be dark in respect to religious matters.⁵ We can rely on the validity of the New Testament because: (1) the evangelists and apostles were competent

¹Frederick Henry Quitman, Evangelical Catechism (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1814), p. 45. Hereafter will be referred to as Catechism; Frederick H. Quitman, Three Sermons (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1817), p. 33. Hereafter will be referred to as Sermons.

²Catechism, p. 46.

³Ibid., p. 9; Sermons, p. 33.

⁴Sermons, pp. 33f.

⁵Ibid., p. 39; Catechism, pp. 44f.

witnesses; (2) they were ready to die for what they said; (3) their accounts have intrinsic truth; (4) their accounts generally agree with other historians; and (5) what they spoke of was of so recent date that many others were also eye-witnesses and could corroborate their testimony.⁶ The Old Testament is not of equal importance to the Christian,⁷ and in both cases there is accommodation to the ideas of the day.⁸

In the case of obscure passages or when faced by some later doctrinal developments,⁹ one should turn to the other source of revelation, reason.¹⁰ For certainly, Quitman argues, reason was not given to man merely for temporal provision. It is for "higher purposes." It is to help us "advance in the knowledge of truth."¹¹ Moreover, reason and revelation are both descended from heaven and will therefore support each other.¹² Reason, he maintains, is the birthright of every Christian,¹³ and we must understand

⁶Catechism, p. 46.

⁷Ibid., p. 45.

⁸Frederick Henry Quitman, A Treatise on Magic (Albany: Balance Press, 1810), p. 57. Hereafter will be referred to as Magic.

⁹Viz., total depravity. Catechism, p. 20 and pp. 174f.

¹⁰Sermons, p. 33; Magic, p. 57

¹¹Sermons, p. 31.

¹²Ibid., p. 34.

¹³Ibid., p. 32.

scripture in its light.¹⁴ Accordingly, Quitman proceeds in the catechism not only to present Biblical teachings, but also to support them by reason.¹⁵

In line with this, prayers of Quitman's Liturgy thank God for "understanding and knowledge,"¹⁶ and ask for guidance in "religious enquiries"¹⁷ and the perception of "necessary truth."¹⁸

Except for the very nominal mention that revelation is ascribed to the "divine spirit,"¹⁹ scripture to Quitman, specifically the New Testament, seems to be the writings of reliable witnesses about the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, which we must interpret and "cultivate" according to reason and our experiences.²⁰ Scripture thus becomes only a very human source of religious knowledge.

Faith

Following the arrangement of the Apostles Creed, Quitman first discusses the significance of the expression

¹⁴Magic, p. 57.

¹⁵Viz., Catechism, p. 7

¹⁵Viz., Catechism, p. 7.

¹⁶Frederick H. Quitman and Augustus Wackerhagen, A Liturgy (Philadelphia: G. & D. Billmeyer, 1814), p. 17. Hereafter will be referred to as Liturgy.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁹Catechism, p. 46.

²⁰Sermons, p. 12.

"to believe" in something. It is, he says, "to take it for granted; to be convinced of its truth." This requires a basis, however, or it is superstition. The basis of a "rational belief" is either experience, the word of reliable witnesses, or reasonable arguments.²¹ Quitman explains the origin of faith because of the operation of the Spirit in the sense that "faith comes by hearing the word of God, which was given and promulgated by the divine spirit."²² But as has been seen earlier, the mention of the Spirit in connection with scripture is very nominal and the reasons given for the reliability of scripture have nothing to do with the Spirit.²³

The term "faith" for Luther, Quitman maintains, "is not an inert quality, a mere sensation of the heart, or a personal attachment to the Saviour." It is, rather, a "spirited principle" to incline the heart "to active obedience to the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel."²⁴

Justifying faith thus becomes "an impressive sense of the glorious perfections of God, and of his relation to men, . . . and a corresponding pious disposition, arising from it."

²¹Catechism, pp. 5f.

²²Ibid., p. 47.

²³Supra, pp. 35f.

²⁴Sermons, p. 36.

And faith in Christ becomes "a firm belief in the divine authority of Jesus, and of his doctrine and promises. . . ."25

Faith is thus no more than religious knowledge which one accepts as being true. And where one would expect to find the word "faith," one frequently finds instead the terms "religion" or "knowledge."²⁶

God

The doctrine of God is one of the articles of greatest importance to Quitman.²⁷ Although he does refer to God as having sent his Son and the Holy Spirit,²⁸ the doctrine of the Trinity is not taught and the word "Trinity" does not occur. The discussion of God, rather, emphasizes the unity of God.²⁹ In Quitman's hymnbook, also, the word "Trinity" does not occur and that doctrine is not taught among its hymns in the section concerning God.³⁰

Most important among the various attributes of God is

²⁵Catechism, pp. 47f.

²⁶Cf. prayers of the Liturgy; viz., pp. 17, 21 and 31.

²⁷Sermons, p. 7. ²⁸Catechism, p. 36. ²⁹Ibid., pp. 7f.

³⁰The hymnbooks of Kunze, Strebeck and Williston all have sections on the Trinity. Two Trinity hymns appear in all three of their hymnbooks ("Our heavenly Father, God of love"--"O holy Father God of Love"; and "Our heavenly Father is not known"). This later hymn also appears in Quitman's hymnbook, but it is the one of the two that says nothing concerning the Trinity. Strebeck and Williston have six hymns in common, most of them explicit concerning the Trinity. But Quitman uses none of these: "Blessed be the Father and his love"; "Glory to God the Father's name"; "Let God the Father's name"; "Let God the Father live"; "I give immortal praise"; "Hail, holy, holy, holy, Lord!"; "Father of Glory, to thy name."

his disposition to his followers. To this end he is known to us as "father" which signifies his kindness and benevolence to us.³¹ The word "God" itself, Quitman illustrates, means "good."³² Christians can see the fatherliness of God in his relation to Jesus, in his kind disposition toward his children,³³ and in the commandments, which are the directions of a tender father wishing to promote the happiness of his children.³⁴

The work of God was first of all creation, which continues in the work of providence. Quitman has a lengthy and complete description of preservation, in which he draws heavily from revelation, reason and experience.³⁵

In his prayers, Quitman addresses God with some rather unusual designations at times for an Evangelical Lutheran: "Parent of the Universe,"³⁶ "Self-existent and infinite Jehovah,"³⁷ "Merciful Parent of the human family,"³⁸ "Supremely exalted and adorable Jehovah,"³⁹ "high and mighty ruler of the universe,"⁴⁰ "infinite and incomprehensible Jehovah,"⁴¹ "infinitely great and adorable majesty,"⁴² and

³¹Ibid., pp. 23 and 36; Sermons, p. 7.

³²Catechism, p. 6

³³Ibid., p. 23.

³⁴Ibid., p. 91.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 23ff.

³⁶Liturgy, p. 7.

³⁷Ibid., p. 9.

³⁸Ibid., p. 11

³⁹Ibid., p. 16.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 20. ⁴¹Ibid., p. 24. ⁴²Ibid., p. 81.

"bountiful benefactor."⁴³

Man

Man, according to Quitman, was created in the image of God. This image of God in man is his soul, which is the intellectual substance within us. The chief qualities of the soul are those of reasoning, memory, imagination, free agency, natural affections, conscience, the capacity of perpetual self-improvement, and the capacity of worshipping God. Man further resembles God in that man has sovereignty over the world by means of his reason, man has understanding, and man has free will.⁴⁴ This resemblance to God was never entirely forfeited, for man must be a free agent in order for God to judge us and hold us accountable.⁴⁵ Although the divine image has been stained by sin, it can be restored to its native lustre in the Christian life.⁴⁶ The emendation of the teaching of free agency to Luther's theology was approved by the reformer, says Quitman.⁴⁷

Angels

Quitman also briefly states that angels have been created by God to execute his designs, but that some of them

⁴³ Ibid., p. 117.

⁴⁴ Catechism, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 174f.

have fallen and become enemies of God. These invisible beings are rational and surpass man in power and wisdom.⁴⁸

Jesus

In the Second Article, Quitman first of all treats of Jesus. He teaches the virgin birth by saying that Jesus "was conceived by the Holy Ghost, or by a direct intervention of God's almighty power."⁴⁹

However, no mention is made of the two natures of Christ. In place of this doctrine is found the observation that Jesus must have had a divine commission, for

it is morally impossible that such a person as Jesus, descended from a humble parentage, destitute of the means for receiving a learned education, bred among an illiberal, bigoted and perverse generation; without any influential connexions, or powerful aid, and in spite of the most desperate opposition; should have formed the extensive plan, of reforming the whole human race and saving them from errors and sin without an express divine commission. In this all embracing plan, which is still successively carried on, we cannot but perceive the finger of God.⁵⁰

The resurrection, says Quitman in one of his rare references to it, is the strongest proof of his "divine mission."⁵¹ Jesus is referred to as having an "exalted dignity and pre-eminence above all created beings," but he is called Lord because God has given him the government of the Church. God has done this because of Christ's obedience

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 31f.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 34.

and his great suffering for mankind.⁵² The reason ascribed to Christ's suffering and death, however, is that "he might seal the doctrine, which he had preached with his blood."⁵³ Again,

He died on the cross, that we might have a sure pledge, that God is willing to pardon our sins, without requiring any further sacrifices, since Jesus has sacrificed himself, and finally that we might rise again and thus confirm our hope in a future and eternal life.⁵⁴

Quitman frequently calls Jesus the Father's Son, but the divinity of Jesus is not clearly taught.

Jesus is called a prophet, according to Quitman, because he brought light to a superstitious and ignorant world by giving them "all the necessary religious instruction of which they were susceptible. . . ." He is called a king because he is "the governor in the moral world," and we should obey him as our "king, lawgiver and judge."⁵⁵ But no mention at all is made of the priestly office of Christ. This is true also in Quitman's hymnbook, where the prophetic and kingly offices of Christ are mentioned, but not the priestly office.⁵⁶

The expression that Christ descended into hell "signifies that Jesus did really die, and go to the region of the dead."

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 38.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

⁵⁶ The hymnbooks of Kunze, Strebeck and Williston all speak of Christ's priestly office: Kunze--hymn 145 and pp. 106-110; Strebeck--section X; and Williston--section II and hymn 83.

He will return again on the last day to judge men according to their deeds in the present life.⁵⁷

The word "Gospel" signifies "the whole tenor of the Christian doctrine."⁵⁸

Although traditional Evangelical terminology is liberally used and one can even find such occasional phrases as Jesus "suffered death upon the cross for the reconciliation of our souls,"⁵⁹ nowhere is it plainly stated and explained that Jesus died to pay the penalty of the guilt of our sins.

Accordingly, Quitman's prayers thank God for Jesus because

by him thou hast given us thy heavenly truth to enlighten our minds and to sanctify our hearts; and that in his life thou hast set before us a model of the most exalted goodness, to encourage and animate our upright endeavours to serve thee.⁶⁰

Likewise the catechumen is asked if he accepts the religion of Christ "as the most precious gift of heaven to man, as an infallible guide to happiness in time and eternity?"⁶¹

And the prayer following the Sacrament of the Altar thanks God for Christ's "precious discoveries and doctrines, for his astonishing works, and for his spotless example."⁶²

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 39f.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

⁵⁹ Liturgy, p. 13.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 50

⁶² Ibid., p. 58.

Salvation

Quitman has only one explicit statement as to the meaning of the forgiveness of sins.

- Q. What is intended by the expression, the Communion of Saints and the forgiveness of sins?
- A. To inspire us with sentiments of brotherly love and of toleration, and charity for those that differ from us in religious opinion, and in general, for every one that has erred from the way of truth.⁶³

The expression of scripture that we are saved by grace alone is likewise interpreted to mean:

(1) that we are obliged to serve God and do his will without looking for any reward. . . . (2) Because it is through the powerful mercy of God, that our existence is continued beyond the grave. . . . (3) Because it is God, who according to his grace has not only prepared for us that exceeding, and eternal weight of glory, but also provided us with the faculties, means, and opportunities for attaining to it.⁶⁴

On the other hand, Quitman can sound very evangelical and answer that the reward promised to true believers in Christ is "Justification, or the assurance of pardon of sin and of everlasting salvation."⁶⁵ Again he states that through the mediation of Christ man is delivered from "sin and misery."⁶⁶ But nowhere does Quitman say that we can rely exclusively on what God has done for us. Rather, we must always endeavor to "improve" the foundation of Christ, to improve religion, which,

⁶³ Catechism, p. 44.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 120.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

⁶⁶ Sermons, p. 7.

like science, is "susceptible of improvement."⁶⁷ It seems that by the forgiveness of sins, Quitman means a foundation of religious knowledge.⁶⁸

Holy Spirit

Speaking of the Spirit in the Third Article, Quitman says that the scriptures ascribe to the Holy Ghost "every talent and gift, which is requisite to raise and to enlarge the kingdom of God . . . [and] every good quality of which the christian is possessed. . . ." The apostles, for example, when they received the gift of the Holy Spirit, were "freed from their former prejudices and apprehensions, and emboldened to preach the gospel without fear." They also received the power of preaching "in strange dialects, and of performing miracles."⁶⁹ The scriptural statements to the effect that grace comes from the Spirit Quitman explains as meaning that faith, from which all Christian goodness flows, comes by hearing the word of God, "which was given and promulgated by the divine spirit."⁷⁰

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 12.

⁶⁸Cf. the prayer after Communion which gives "thanks for the comfort and refresment, [sic] the instruction and improvement, which thou hast been pleased to afford us in the commemoration of the life, the death, and the glory of thy blessed Son." Liturgy, p. 61.

⁶⁹Catechism, pp. 42f.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 47.

Repentance--Conversion

Repentance is specifically defined as "A reformation of principles and conduct in conformity to the directions of the gospel."⁷¹ There is no mention of the spirit playing a direct part in repentance. Faith is likewise "produced by a serious contemplation of the divine attributes."⁷²

Sanctification

Sanctification, according to Quitman, is the "sincere and constant endeavors [of a Christian] to think and to act always in conformity to his holy calling and profession."⁷³ The Holy Spirit "assists" him in leading such a godly life,⁷⁴ in which the Christian may "continually advance to higher moral perfection."⁷⁵ This seems to be the keynote of Quitman's theology, man working in moral goodness.⁷⁶

The Church

The Church, being "the whole assembly of true believers," is another more particular term for the kingdom of God, by which "is generally understood every institution which God

⁷¹Ibid., p. 93.

⁷²Sermons, p. 36.

⁷³Catechism, p. 48.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 37; Sermons, p. 7.

⁷⁵Catechism, p. 14.

⁷⁶Cf. also, viz., Liturgy, pp. 17, 33 and 57.

has employed and continues to employ for raising man to higher moral perfection." In this connection Quitman teaches that no one person or group of persons is exclusively in possession of truth, that Jesus "did justice to the good qualities of every one, without regard to the nation or religious society to which they belonged," and that God is a "friend to every lover of virtue without respect to the civil or religious society of which they are members."⁷⁷

The Commandments

The second section of Quitman's catechism concerns the commandments. Following an express resolution of the ministerium, the commandments are numbered according to the system of many protestants whereby Luther's first commandment becomes two and Luther's ninth and tenth commandments become one.⁷⁸ This lengthy section of the catechism, superseded in length only by section I on the creed, corresponds rather well with traditional Evangelical theology in developing the implications of the commandments for the Christian life.

⁷⁷ Catechism, pp. 43f.

⁷⁸ Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York, Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of New York, 1786-1818. Minutes of 1786-1806 translated by Theodore E. Falleske, 1937. Minutes of 1807-1818 transcribed by Harry J. Kreider, 1935 (Transcript; microfilm: Corpus of American Lutheranism), 1813, p. 57.

Quitman does, however, have a basically different viewpoint regarding sin. He states that these commandments are "binding on all men" because "they contain the first principles of religious and moral obligation."⁷⁹ The punishments against transgressors of these laws Quitman sees to "refer particularly to the Jews, and that they are of a temporal nature."⁸⁰ The effects of neglecting the duties of the commandments are "Hell on earth, the curse of heaven, and the loss of peace and happiness beyond the grave."⁸¹ Again he says that the condition of those who neglect these duties is that "they lose their moral liberty and become abject slaves of sin."⁸²

Quitman states that we should be moved to obey the commandments because they are primarily the "directions of a tender father, who wishes to promote the happiness of his children," and that to thus transgress the divine law would be "not only vile ingratitude and even rebellion against the best of masters, but also a perversion of his gracious designs."⁸³ Nothing is said of the wrath of God; nothing is mentioned of the first two usages of the law. Rather, in line with his viewpoint of sanctification, Quitman says that it is in the power of man, by employing the means God

⁷⁹ Catechism, p. 52.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 56.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 80.

⁸² Ibid., p. 89.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 91.

has offered, "to avoid all intentional transgression of them," and to "be enabled to comply in a great measure with their strictest demands."⁸⁴

Conscience

Conscience, which Quitman discusses primarily under the First Article rather than in connection with the law, is the moral sense that adorns man's soul.⁸⁵ It is an "inward sense of the propriety, or impropriety of our inclination, sentiments, and actions."⁸⁶ Because the voice of conscience can be weakened or drowned, God has given laws from Sinai which Jesus "reiterated, explained and enforced."⁸⁷ Man can "preserve and improve the power and operations of conscience. . . . By continual study and attention to the true sense of the word of God, and rational consideration." The Christian derives "ease when his conscience upbraids him with errors and faults. . . . From the declarations of the Gospel. . . ."⁸⁸

Prayer

Prayer, according to Quitman, is "the nature of pious and sacred meditation; but in a particular sense, it signifies an address to the Deity." God has not commanded us to

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 92.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 16.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 18f.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 50.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 19.

pray to him for his benefit, but for "our own happiness." We should submit to God's will and be "encouraged to hope for all the relief, comfort, and ease, which may be derived from such a relation." Prayer is also recommended to help Christians resist temptation.⁸⁹

The Lord's Prayer is a model prayer, the tenor and intention of which is

to remind us by this prayer, that we are all members of the same family, who ought to intercede for one another; that our spiritual wants ought chiefly to occupy our mind, and that, if we wish to be heard, and to receive grace and mercy from God, we ought to be indulgent, and merciful to our neighbors.⁹⁰

The Sacraments

Quitman defines a sacrament as

a sacred rite, instituted by Christ himself, with a view to improve his followers in faith and holiness, and to confirm the promises of the gospel to all those, that made a proper use of it.⁹¹

Baptism is an initiation into Christ's church of those "who should accept his doctrine." Water is used to signify that as water cleans us physically, we are purified in communion with Christ and we find comfort, ease and happiness.⁹² Nothing is said of original sin or the remission of sins or of the implantation of faith in this sacrament.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 99ff.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 101ff.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 109.

⁹² Ibid.

Instead Quitman teaches that those who are baptised engage themselves "to purify themselves" and "to accomplish their sanctification." If they comply with this engagement, God promises "His grace, pardon of sin, and the assistance of his holy spirit."⁹³ Infant baptism is encouraged so that parents may "qualify" their children for the "exalted character" of the "proper subjects of his kingdom."⁹⁴

As is the case with other doctrines, Quitman's hymnal departs from the previous New York hymnbooks. In Quitman's the hymns do not teach the forgiveness of sin or the implantation of faith in baptism, as is done in Kunze's, Strebeck's, and Williston's hymnbooks.⁹⁵

In Quitman's discussion of the Lord's Supper, no mention is made that the elements are the body and blood of Christ. The emphasis is on the communicant and what he does.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 110; cf. Liturgy, p. 48: "Christ, who hath taught us by his own conduct to fulfill all righteousness;" The Liturgy contains two forms of questions to sponsors of infants. The first is the traditional Ev. Lutheran formula very similar to the one which appears in our The Lutheran Agenda, and a second shorter form, which primarily asks only if "the divine authority of the religion of Jesus" is accepted.

⁹⁴ Catechism, p. 110.

⁹⁵ One hymn is common to Kunze and Strebeck: "Father of Jesus Christ our Lord" (Kunze only has two baptismal hymns); and three hymns are common to Strebeck (who has five baptismal hymns) and Williston (who has four baptismal hymns): "'Twas the commission of our Lord"; "Celestial dove descend from high"; "Come, Father, Son and Holy Ghost." Quitman used none of these hymns of his predecessors.

The communicant is directed to give his "whole attention to our Saviour," meditating on his doctrine and life. When the sacrament is thus taken in remembrance of Christ, it is taken worthily.⁹⁶ Instead of thus receiving the forgiveness of sins, Quitman says that the communicant thereby

strengthens his attachment to his Lord and saviour, and his affection to his fellow-men; excites himself to new resolutions of holiness; increases his inclination and sense of his duty to promote the cause of Christ; sets a good example to those around; and renews his impressions of the saving and comfortable doctrine of the death, and resurrection of Christ.⁹⁷

Pious communicants are directed to examine themselves to see if they have faith in Christ and if their life has been up to Christ's standard. Temporal advantages cannot be hoped for from participation in the Lord's Supper.⁹⁸

The Liturgy gives directions for the administration of the sacrament which would not offend or exclude any Reformed:

In the name of Christ our common and only Master, I say to all who own him as their Saviour, and resolve to be his faithful subjects: ye are welcome to this feast of love.

When the minister presents the bread to the communicants, he says to them: Jesus said. . . .

When the minister delivers the cup to them, he says: Jesus said. . . .⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Catechism, p. 113.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 114; cf. Liturgy, p. 61.

⁹⁸ Catechism, pp. 114f.

⁹⁹ Liturgy, p. 60.

Here too, Quitman's hymns lack Lutheran content. The only times the body and blood of Christ are mentioned in the hymns in connection with the elements of the Lord's Supper are in two hymns which quote the words of institution. The Reformed would not be offended by any of Quitman's hymns. The previous New York hymnbooks clearly teach the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence.¹⁰⁰

The Final Destiny of Man

Concerning man's future state of existence, Quitman teaches that everlasting happiness is a "reward graciously promised"¹⁰¹ to those who "comply with the condition and demands of the gospel." Instead of any reference to faith in Christ and his vicarious death, Quitman mentions only that man will be judged according to his deeds,¹⁰² and that we can take "comfort from the character of the Judge," because "Jesus in all points was tempted like as we are;

¹⁰⁰Kunze's hymnbook contains thirteen hymns on the Lord's Supper, five of which appear in Strebeck's: "O Jesus! Bridegroom of my soul"; "Lord, how divine thy comforts are!"; "Together with these symbols, Lord"; "That doleful night before his death"; "When we before our Saviour's face." Two of the eighteen hymns of Strebeck are common to Williston (who only has six hymns on this topic) and Quitman (it is here that the words of institution are quoted): "'Twas on that dark, that doleful night"; "Jesus invites his saints." Almost all of Quitman's hymns on the sacraments were composed by Englishmen, most of them by P. Doddridge and Isaac Watts. Cf. John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892).

¹⁰¹Catechism, p. 48.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 115.

we may expect, that he will be touched with the feelings of our infirmities."¹⁰³

Accordingly, Quitman teaches that a righteous judge would not condemn a person "unacquainted with Christ." Such people will be dealt with "according to the measure of their religious knowledge, and the opportunities they have enjoyed for improving it."¹⁰⁴ Christians are admonished to work out their salvation, "Because without moral effort and improvement on our part, it is impossible for us to enjoy real happiness."¹⁰⁵

Quitman uses the word "immortality," but there is no mention of a resurrection of the body.¹⁰⁶ Among the items Quitman lists as consisting of the happiness of heaven, he says that the righteous "will advance by degrees to perfect knowledge, virtue and happiness. (4) That they will enjoy clearer knowledge of God; the presence of the Saviour. . . ." ¹⁰⁷

Although Quitman reportedly did not believe in "eternal damnation with soul and body,"¹⁰⁸ he does speak of the wicked

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 119. ¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 48f. ¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 115. Quitman's hymnal is also ambiguous on this point. Semler reportedly did not believe in a bodily resurrection. Cf. supra, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷Catechism, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸Beale M. Schmucker, "Luther's Small Catechism: Explanations prepared for use in America," The Lutheran Church Review, V (July, 1886), 195.

being consigned "to the most awful punishment,"¹⁰⁹ and
"they that have done evil" will come forth from the graves
"unto the resurrection of damnation."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Catechism, pp. 119 and 122.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 117f.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Perhaps this survey has shown that Quitman's theology is that of "rational supranaturalism."¹ He does not reject revelation,² and never says that the Bible is wrong. At times we must even accept what it says even though we cannot understand it.³ Much more frequently, however, reason is that which must support, explain and interpret scripture in such a way as the conclusions are reasonable.⁴ By and large, Quitman maintains that revelation and reason are in harmony.⁵

Although the only Lutheran doctrine explicitly denied by Quitman is that of original depravity,⁶ the following Lutheran doctrines are either not mentioned at all or are not clearly taught: Trinity, Divinity of Christ, Lord's Supper, Baptism, Original Sin, Wrath of God, Priestly Office

¹Cf. E[erwin] L[ueker], "Rationalism," Lutheran Cyclopedia, edited by Erwin L. Lueker (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1954), pp. 88lf.

²Supra, p. 35.

³Frederick Henry Quitman, Evangelical Catechism (Hudson: William E. Norman, 1814), p. 38.

⁴Supra, pp. 36f. Note, for example, how the love of God is emphasized at the expense of the other divine attributes, especially God's wrath. Supra, pp. 40, 49.

⁵Supra, p. 36.

⁶Supra, p. 41.

of Christ. Traditional Evangelical Lutheran terminology is frequently used, but Quitman's explanations on these subjects are not wholly in accord with Evangelical Lutheranism. Quitman often offends as much by what is not said as by what is said.

By and large, rationalism did not produce catechisms and hymnals. Rationalists seemed to present Christianity in such a way that it was not very compelling,⁷ and catechetics was often linked with formality in religion.⁸ Quitman's catechism might be an exception due in part to his acquaintance with and possible adoption of Semler's idea of the separation of religion and theology. For Quitman's life, too, was an exemplary Christian life, and he was loved by the people of his congregation in a way which seems to indicate something more compelling and personal than a reasonable theology.⁹

There were other hymnals in use with certain characteristics similar to Quitman's, not in the sense of rationalism (i.e., for example, concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ), but because of the union efforts of Lutherans and Reformed groups. These groups had a much closer association with each other at that time. To promote

⁷Cf., for example, the reasons Quitman gives for infant Baptism. Supra, p. 52.

⁸J. Nicum, "The Doctrinal Development of the New York Ministerium," The Lutheran Church Review, VI (April, 1837), 146f.

⁹Harry J. Kreider, History of the United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1954), I, 42.

this cause, liturgies frequently did not indicate specific explanations of doctrines differing between the two groups, especially concerning the sacraments. Rather, the Biblical wording was given without any explanation, which each could then interpret in his own way.¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1955), pp. 74ff.

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