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Philip Schaff's Changing and Tensive Views of Slavery, Race, and Culture

Lee C. Barrett

The Heart of Our Heritage & Our Future Treasure

John Tamilio III

BOOK REVIEW

Clues to the Nicene Creed: A Brief Outline of the Faith

David Willis, 2005, Eerdmans

Reviewed by *F. Christopher Anderson*

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The Mercersburg Society has been formed to uphold the concept of the Church as the Body of Christ, Evangelical, Reformed, Catholic, Apostolic, organic, developmental, and connectional. It affirms the ecumenical Creeds as witnesses to its faith and the Eucharist as the liturgical act from which all other acts of worship and service emanate.

The Society pursues contemporary theology in the Church and the world within the context of Mercersburg Theology. In effecting its purpose the Society provides opportunities for fellowship and study for persons interested in Mercersburg Theology, sponsors an annual convocation, engages in the publication of articles and books, and stimulates research and correspondence among scholars on topics of theology, liturgy, the Sacraments, and ecumenism.

The **New Mercersburg Review** is designed to publish the proceedings of the annual convocation as well as other articles on the subjects pertinent to the aims and interests of the Society

From the Editor

F. Christopher Anderson

The bad news for all of us is that there will be no Mercersburg Convocation in June, 2020. The good news is with the NMR in your hand you have one more thing you may read while practicing social distancing.

The first article is written by Lancaster Theological Seminary's theology professor, Dr. Lee C. Barrett. His essay on Schaff may be seen on the internet but in the NMR you get the references. Barrett helps us board a time machine and try to understand how Schaff viewed race, culture and slavery almost 200 years ago. How Schaff viewed the relationships between these three concepts in the 19th century is quite enlightening.

The author of the second article is Dr. John Tamilio III. He is the pastor of The Congregational Church of Canton. This article comes out of the world of Congregationalism and not the German Reformed world. (The exception is there is a section that is based on the work of Gabriel Fackre. It is interesting that he is referred to as a "Congregational theologian." I will not say anything more about that statement in this Spring NMR, though over a beer this would be fair game.)

I was ordained UCC in the world of Congregationalism, New England. Yet I have been in the PCC of the UCC since 1995. I am in my last year of service on both the Association level and the Conference level Committees of Ministry. Certain events have occurred that reveal the fact that our German Reformed polity has remained the same even though we technically became Congregational in 1957!

I will not go into the issues but the point is we who are in the land of the former German Reformed Church need to see how things function in other parts of the UCC. We need to understand what is going on in areas that come from the Congregational tradition and the churches that share this history such as the NACCC & the CCCC's. Somehow we have been quite insulated.

John Tamilio III's essay takes us out of our local traditions to see what is happening in the rest of the UCC and Congregationalism.

The book review is a recommendation of David Willis' book *Clues to the Nicene Creed: A Brief Outline of the Faith*, on Eerdmans (2005).

Our prayers are with everyone during this time of the pandemic. May the Lord bless you and keep you and make God's face shine upon you.

Philip Schaff's Changing and Tensive Views of Slavery, Race, and Culture

Lee C. Barrett

In his classic *The Righteous Empire* Martin Marty singled out Philip Schaff as a poster child for North European cultural imperialism, giving the impression that Schaff was somehow unique in this regard.ⁱ Ever since Marty's book appeared troubling questions have been raised about Schaff's attitudes toward slavery, race, and culture. Basing their construals on Marty's brief remarks, some interpreters have portrayed Schaff as a premier contributor to the spread of white supremacist sensibilities, while others have recast him as a precursor of progressive multiculturalism. The divergence of interpretations is understandable, for Schaff said different things, and sometimes seemingly conflicting things, in different contexts. Moreover, this German immigrant's opinions about almost everything pertaining to American culture evolved dramatically.

To sort out the different strands in Schaff's thought, we must keep in mind that Schaff distinguished the question of slavery from the question of race, and both of those issues from the question of culture. For most white Americans caught up in the slavery debate, particularly clergy in the South, these distinctions were difficult to draw.ⁱⁱ But Schaff recognized that not all forms of slavery were based on the social construction of race, and that not all forms of racism involved slavery. He also realized that various forms of culture were not tied to specific races or ethnicities. Concerning all three issues Schaff's attitude was dialectical, complex, and slowly evolved. That evolution is most complicated concerning race, for on that topic he imbibed two rather different themes. One theme, which I will call "ontologism," ascribed permanent characteristics to different races, and invited their arrangement in a hierarchy of value, with North Europeans at the top of the chart. The other strand, which I will call "environmental contextualism," regarded all races as sharing the same potentialities, but added the significant

qualification that these universal human capacities could only flourish under the appropriate climatic and societal circumstances. As we shall see, the “environmental contextualism” strand in his thinking gradually became dominant. This enabled Schaff to affirm the ontological equality of all races, although it did not inspire him to transcend his continuing belief in the superiority of North European Protestant culture. That failure should not be surprising, for almost all white Protestants in the nineteenth century United States embraced the notion that “Anglo-Saxon” culture was the crowning achievement of world history.ⁱⁱⁱ

I. Schaff on Slavery: From Gradual Emancipation to Immediatism

First, Schaff’s critique of slavery must be considered. His fundamental opposition to the “evil institution” and the “abomination” (two of his favorite terms for slavery) was consistent throughout his career. His earliest sustained discussion of slavery appeared in the lectures entitled “America” that he delivered in Scotland and Berlin in 1854, after he had been teaching at Mercersburg Seminary and Marshall College in Pennsylvania for about a decade.^{iv} He denounced the “obnoxious and inhumane laws in the slave states,” and pointedly reminded his somewhat self-righteous European audience that slavery had been introduced into North America by the French, Spanish, Dutch, and English colonial regimes. He noted the unparalleled circulation of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in Europe, and he assured his auditors that the novel provided a tolerably true picture of the horrid conditions of life in the slave states. He condemned the fact that three million enslaved persons could be sold like property as an unmitigated evil, a cancer, for it contradicted the American principle, corroborated by human reason, that all persons are created equal. Tranquility in the ideologically divided United States, he opined, would come about only through the elimination of the evil itself.

These were not isolated sentiments. In his *History of the Apostolic Church* of 1853, written at about the same time that he delivered his European lectures, Schaff warned that slavery “robbed immortal man of free personality,” and hindered the development of

moral and intellectual powers.^v Echoing Kant, he proclaimed that human beings, created by God to be self-determining moral agents, should never be treated as property. During the 1850's, he corresponded with Harriet Beecher Stowe, the ardent abolitionist.^{vi} Recognizing that slavery was not just an American problem, in 1861 he rejoiced that Czar Alexander II had freed 23 million slaves (who were actually serfs).^{vii}

But in the 1850's Schaff did not favor the immediate emancipation of the enslaved persons in the American South. He vigorously critiqued the advocates of immediate emancipation like William Lloyd Garrison and Theodor Parker, castigating them for being infidel radicals. In 1857 in "Christianity in America," an English version of his Berlin lectures, Schaff argued for gradual, organic emancipation.^{viii} The eventual demise of the abominable institution, he proposed, would come about through the silent work of the progress of Christianity in the spirits of the slaves and their masters, and not through revolutionary violence. He lauded the "Union Party" that believed that slavery was slowly but inexorably disappearing. True to his roots in the organic developmentalism of German Romanticism, he insisted that genuine social change requires time. The sudden emancipation of the enslaved population without previous education would not ultimately improve their situation, he feared. According to Schaff, the most hopeful development in the struggle over slavery was the work of American Colonization Society and the creation of the Republic of Liberia. The resultant Christianization of the free tribes of Africa was new proof of God's wonderful and mysterious wisdom that can bring good out of evil.

In a lecture that Schaff gave in April, 1861 (although it had been written earlier, perhaps in 1858), and subsequently published as the pamphlet "The Bible and Slavery," his devotion to gradual emancipation was still evident.^{ix} It was inevitable, he proposed, that slavery would die out. But, he continued, many of those who argued for immediate abolition were secularists and atheists who were prone to radical excesses. The Africans needed to be prepared for political freedom by being raised to a "higher moral condition." He argued that the New Testament did not abolish slavery through

political action, but rather initiated a new moral creation that would eventually “eliminate perpetual and involuntary servitude from the face of the earth.”^x Christianity works like leaven from within, healing first the spirit, and then the body.^{xi} (The movement from inner spiritual change to outward societal change was a typical emphasis of both the Hegelianism and the Romanticism in which he had been trained.) He insisted that the spiritual liberation would steadily and irresistibly lead to legal emancipation. Therefore, the North should not intrusively interfere with the organic political processes of the South. The issue of emancipation should be taken out of federal politics and left to the individual states. Meanwhile, the church could facilitate the process of emancipation by providing for the moral and religious training of the enslaved population. He repeated the theme that God’s providence had used the evil of slavery to accomplish much good, namely, the Christianization of the enslaved persons and the Africans whom the repatriated former slaves were evangelizing. He concluded that he eagerly looked forward to the emancipation of “the whole race of Ham.”^{xii}

But by September of 1861 a new and different note had begun to appear in his discourses. Once the war started, he enthusiastically supported it. His new attitude toward the timing of emancipation was evident as early as 1860, even before the outbreak of hostilities, when he toured New England, and visited Calvin Ellis Stowe, the husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe and, like his wife, a fiery immediate abolitionist.^{xiii} In the exchange Schaff praised his own friend Henry Harbaugh’s zealous abolitionism. Shortly after this Schaff began to claim that God’s providence, or the “cunning of history” in a more Hegelian vocabulary, was working out a mysterious purpose through the tragedy of civil war. He wrote that the extermination of slavery was one of the secret purposes of providence, even though the Lincoln administration claimed that its only war goal was to preserve the Union. In November, he proposed that, at the very least, the war was God’s chastising rod to “humble national vanity and pride,” and to “shake to the very foundation” all our national idols, “including mammon, cotton, and slavery.”^{xiv} By 1862 he was even more vociferously

ascribing the probable emancipation of the slaves to God's mysterious and inscrutable wisdom.^{xv}

Schaff's growing appreciation of immediate emancipation was encouraged by the incursions of the Confederacy into Pennsylvania from 1862 to 1864. Mercersburg, where the seminary was located, was a major stop on the underground railroad's route through Blair's Valley.^{xvi} Traffic on the route to freedom accelerated significantly in 1850 after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. A local man, Acheson Ritchey, was a well-known conductor on the railroad. Some of the escapees settled in communities called "Little Africa" and "Cove Gap," and began to work at the seminary and the fledgling Marshall College. The region's implication with the underground railroad was well known to the Confederates, as were the anti-slavery leanings of the Mercersburg faculty and students.

In October 1862 the Confederate cavalry under General J.E.B. Stuart raided the Mercersburg area while Schaff happened to be away. Schaff later recalled that he had feared that he would be taken prisoner for his fervently Unionist speeches and his anti-slavery stance.^{xvii} Schaff's fears were not altogether fanciful, for in 1853 the German Reformed Classis of North Carolina had declared its independence from the German Reformed Synod, Schaff's denomination, citing the heresies of the Mercersburg faculty as the reason for its ecclesial secession.^{xviii} While historians have often claimed that the precipitating offenses were purely doctrinal and had nothing to do with slavery, the underlying reality was more complex. A primary issue for the North Carolinian was that the Mercersburg theologians stressed the theanthropic life of Christ as the ideal man, and the communication of that perfected life through the church to humanity as a corporate whole. That implied that all the members of Christ's body shared the same sanctified life, regardless of racial differences. Moreover, the equally offensive theme of the organic historical development of humanity implied that this spiritual unity in Christ would be eventually be given a more political manifestation, for spiritual realities always seek material instantiations.

Stuart did capture one of Schaff's former students and current friend, P. A. Rice, who had become the editor of the local

journal, along with some other prominent citizens, and dispatched them to be incarcerated in Libby Prison in Richmond, where Rice died.^{xix} After the war Schaff visited Libby Prison and mused that his own life could have ended within its walls.

The Army of Northern Virginia returned to Mercersburg in June, 1863, as part of the campaign that would culminate at Gettysburg. After the regular troops had passed through town, a band of Confederate guerillas conducted a hunt for all African Americans, on the grounds that they might be escaped slaves. Schaff described the June 25 incident as the “worst spectacle” that he had ever seen, and as “a most pitiable sight, sufficient to settle the slavery question for every humane mind.”^{xx} Schaff risked his own safety, for he enabled his own African American cook, Eliza, to escape capture by hiding in the grain fields by day, and coming back to Schaff’s residence at night. Tragically, Eliza’s daughter Jane was captured by the marauders.

Such events reinforced Schaff’s embrace of immediate emancipation. He reiterated this theme during a lecture tour of Germany in 1865, published as *Der burgerliche krieg*, rejoicing that through the mystery of providence, slavery had ended immediately and the nation’s overweening pride had been humbled.^{xxi} These things had been necessary, he declared, because God had needed to purge the nation of its sin and prepare the Union for its special role in history, which was nothing less than to be God’s instrument in the reunification of the church universal.

Schaff’s evolution from gradual emancipation to immediate emancipation had been slow and unsteady. However, the shock of the outbreak of hostilities in 1861 had jolted him out of the organic developmentalism prized by the German academic culture from which he sprang. The tragic spectacle of the Confederate kidnapping of African Americans confirmed his new immediatism. These events inspired him to draw upon a recessive theme in his Hegelian heritage, that historical progress is often achieved through the violent clash of a thesis and its antithesis. Throughout his subsequent career he would never retract his conviction that the war had been God’s instrument to bring about the immediate end of slavery.

II. Schaff on Race: The Movement Toward Environmental Contextualism and Away from Ontologism

Early in his career Schaff realized that the issue of race was not coterminous with the issue of slavery. At the end of his 1861 lectures and pamphlet on the Bible and slavery, Schaff observed that “the negro question lies far deeper than the slavery question,”^{xxii} and that the issue of race would not be solved simply by emancipation. Schaff’s attitude toward race also exhibited a developmental trajectory, although in this case a tension was evident in his thought from the very beginning. That tension involved a conflict between the theme that all races have an essential, fixed nature (the ontological pole), and the countervailing theme that racial characteristics are the fruit of contingent and changeable environmental factors (environmental contextualism). One pole of this tension, the environmental contextualism pole, eventually became dominant in his thought.

The environmental contextualism trajectory was rooted in Schaff’s indebtedness to the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel, whose influence upon him and most Northern Europeans of his generation was pervasive and enduring. To understand Schaff’s context, Hegel’s writings on race must be considered. Schaff later recalled that Hegel’s thought had pervaded the atmosphere while he was a student at Tübingen during the heyday of Hegelian-leaning Professor F. C. Baur.^{xxiii} Schaff learned Hegelian psychology from Georg Schmid in 1837 and Hegelian phenomenology of spirit (the historical evolution of human consciousness, which was taken to be the manifestation of God’s self-consciousness) from Friedrich Theodor Vischer in 1838.^{xxiv} In 1840 he procured an introduction to Hegel’s widow, and conducted an active correspondence with her.^{xxv} Throughout his life Schaff also exchanged letters frequently with an extensive array of German theologians, including the celebrated Isaak Dorner, all of whom had been mightily influenced by Hegel.

To clarify Schaff’s understanding of race, the most important text to consider is Hegel’s enormously influential *The Philosophy of History*. According to Hegel, the evolution of the

human spirit is driven by the progressive differentiation of spirit from nature.^{xxvi} This differentiation is only necessary and possible because spirit depends on the natural environment as its “essential and necessary basis.”^{xxvii} The specific qualities of the nature from which spirit differentiates itself leave their imprint upon spirit’s development, without entirely necessitating that development. Therefore, Hegel concludes, the influence of nature upon human culture should not be rated too high or too low.^{xxviii} Nature is potently influential, but it does not absolutely necessitate. Hegel, in spite of the accusations that he was a strict determinist, did allow for a modicum of free human response to the environment. As Hegel proclaims, the blue Ionic sky was a precondition for Homer’s poetry, but by itself that sky could not produce a Homer (a trope which both Rauch and Schaff borrowed).^{xxix}

According to Hegel, the differences in climate and terrain generate the differences among the cultures of different geographic regions.^{xxx} In frigid and torrid zones the natural environments are too hostile and recalcitrant for sophisticated cultures to develop. Within these regions, variations in topography further differentiate cultures. Elevated land, including plateaus and steppes, encourage a pastoral way of life, characterized by nomadism and patriarchal clans. Valley plains, like those of Egypt and India, foster settled agriculture, the accumulation of property, and the growth of an administrative state. Coastal regions, like northern Europe, promote commerce, exploration, innovation, and expansive, in fact infinite, horizons. Therefore, temperate coastal Europe, and by extension coastal North America, are ideally suited to be the main vehicles for the evolution of the human Spirit.

This focus on climate explains Hegel’s understanding of African ethnicities.^{xxxi} He notes that Africa has three regions, the small inhabitable coastal regions, the Nile Valley, and the “upland.” The upland suffers from heat, intrusive vegetation, predatory beasts, and poisonous snakes. Given this inhospitable environment, he claims that the consciousness of the Negro tribes has not been sufficiently developed. The pressure of sheer survival inhibited the development of the higher dimensions of human culture. Instead of the rule of law, despotic power dominated political arrangements.

Instead of an awareness of a universal divine spirit, religious life was animated by the attempt to command nature through magic and fetishism. Instead of a universalizable ethic, arbitrary choice was the highest value. Hegel endorsed the standard racial stereotypes of his own culture, claiming that upland Africans suffer from excitable passions, lack of self-control, and fanaticism. He concluded that the climate prevents upland Africa from exhibiting historical development and leaves it in an untamed natural state. So far, this would seem to point to a pernicious view of intrinsic and permanent North European racial superiority.

However, Hegel did insist that the liabilities of African culture were not due to any ontological difference between the spiritual, moral, or intellectual capacities of Africans and North Europeans. All people, he asserted, are structured to value freedom, practice self-consciousness, and appreciate the unity of the human spirit and the goals of human history, for all people constitute the corporate divine/human Spirit.^{xxxii} With more than a touch of paternalism, Hegel noted that many Africans have become successful doctors and clergymen.^{xxxiii} In his opinion, the Mandingo and Fullah people, whom Hegel thought came from a more moderate climate, had more advanced cultures than other upland African tribes. But although Hegel affirmed the ontological equality and equal potential of all races, he added the caveat that the spiritual capacities of Africans for responsible freedom had to be cultivated, and therefore he favored the gradual abolition of race-based slavery rather than immediate emancipation.^{xxxiv}

Hegel's racial attitudes were reinforced for Schaff by the writings of his deceased predecessor at Mercersburg, Frederick Rauch, who had specialized in philosophical psychology (which then included what we might now call cultural anthropology). Rauch was a German émigré who had studied under the famous idealist philosopher Karl Daub. The fact that Daub's somewhat eclectic thought had been influenced not only by Hegel, but also by Friedrich Schelling would have important (and unfortunate) consequences for Schaff.

The influence of Rauch upon Schaff was significant, although usually unrecognized. At Rauch's reinterment in Lancaster

in 1859 (he had been buried in Mercersburg) Schaff claimed that Rauch's spirit lived on in the Mercersburg theology, with which he was also associated.^{xxxv} In lectures in Germany Schaff ascribed the Mercersburg theology to the confluence of the thought of Rauch and John Nevin.^{xxxvi} He used Rauch's lecture notes extensively for his own courses in biblical history and aesthetics.^{xxxvii} Even Schaff's lecture notes on the theological anthropology portion of his course on dogmatics from the early 1850's reveal the influence of Rauch.^{xxxviii} More importantly, Schaff was thoroughly familiar with Rauch's magnum opus, *Psychology*, for he used it as the basis for his own lectures in psychology when he, along with his colleague John Nevin, picked up the deceased Rauch's courses. When Nevin left the seminary faculty in 1853, Schaff became even more responsible for Rauch's portion of the curriculum. Schaff was so well known for teaching philosophical psychology (not just church history) that when he was offered the presidency of Franklin and Marshall College (a position which he did not assume), his title would have been "Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy."^{xxxix}

Rauch's psychology followed that of Hegel in many respects.^{xl} Like Hegel he insisted that human nature is everywhere the same, asserting that "All men, wherever they live, to whatever race they belong, have reason; they feel, they think, they will."^{xli} Such physiological differences as skin color do not undermine the basic reality that humanity is one species. For Rauch, there is no essential ontological difference among the various races; all have the same intellectual and moral faculties and capabilities. Consequently, individuals in all races can develop spiritual self-consciousness. This was a contested view in nineteenth century Western culture, for the influential zoologist and botanist Carl Linneaus, who in the eighteenth century had invented the classification of humans according to pigmentation, had proposed that the sub-species of *homo sapiens* had different innate capabilities.

Again following Hegel, Rauch affirmed that modifications of the human mind and culture can be produced by the natural environment.^{xlii} He agreed with Hegel about the decisive impact of topography: the high plateaus encourage nomadism and clannishness, while the fertile lowlands foster settled life and

agriculture, and the coastal regions promote trade, experimentation, and entrepreneurialism. Still following Hegel, he believed that hot climates impede the development of reason and will. The intense heat relaxes the nervous system too much, just as intense cold can contract it too much.^{xliii} A temperate climate with four seasons is ideally suited for the development of humanity's spiritual capacities. Like Hegel, he repeated racial stereotypes, claiming that, because of climatic conditions "savages" are prone to arbitrary action, insufficiently appreciate law, and are excessively sensuous. Sunk in the life of nature, the religiosity of savages does not rise above animism and magic.^{xliv} Rauch agreed with Hegel that those who live in the tropics have no history of cultural development. He concluded that although many of their intellectual capacities are slumbering, they still can be historically activated, if the power of the natural environment can be broken.

However, Rauch went beyond Hegel in stressing the environmental determinants that shape racial and ethnic characteristics. Rauch fine-tuned his climatic determinism, arguing that different nationalities, and not just different races, were characterized by different psychological characteristics.^{xlv} By taking variations in regional diets and other environmental factors into account, Rauch attempted to make more precise discriminations. For example, he claimed that the Fullahs of Africa exhibit a mild disposition because they consume much milk and butter, whereas the neighboring peoples who are primarily carnivorous are choleric and passionate.^{xlvi} Rauch also considered the impact of differences in the length of daylight upon a region's population, concluding that the change of the seasons in northern Europe promotes charm, nostalgia, introspection, and seriousness. More specifically, diet, climate, and seasonal changes make the French excitable and vivacious, but also superficial and not fully individuated.^{xlvii} Italians, on the other hand, are artistic and imaginative, but greedy and selfish. The English are practical, honorable, manly, and stolid, but also exclusive. The Germans are orderly, meditative, intellectual, and warm, and seem to have no corresponding liabilities.

The influence of Daub and Schelling led Rauch to sometimes imply that differences in climate did produce permanent differences in ontology.^{xlviii} Schelling, like many Romantics, had a deeper sense of human psycho-somatic unity (mind-body interaction) than did Hegel. Schelling was fascinated with the growing study of the evolution of nature, and its impact upon human biology. Therefore, Schelling concluded, variations in the physical environment could produce fundamental modifications of the structure of the human spirit. Rauch, like Schelling and the Romantics, sometimes wrote as if each people had a unique and indelible genius, a permanent national character, because the physical environment could produce enduring ontological differences among the psyches and capabilities of the various races and ethnicities. This more ontologist trajectory could point in the direction of a full-blown racist ideology.

In his early years in the United States, Schaff echoed most of Rauch's themes, including Rauch's waffling between Hegel and Schelling. Examples of Schaff's youthful ontologism abound, complete with ethnic caricatures. In an early address to the Goethean Society in 1846 Schaff remarked that the English and Scots were avaricious, but also generous. In his diary he observed that the Anglo-Saxons were blessed with a steady character, but sadly lacked the speculative proclivities of the Germans.^{xlix} The Irish exhibited a commendable familial loyalty, but were unusually prone to brawling and melancholy.

In the 1850's Schaff voiced doubts that, while the differences between diverse European ethnicities, like the Slavs and Iberians, could be transcended, the differences between Europeans, Native Americans, Chinese, and Africans were immutable and militated against full mutuality. During his 1854 lectures in Germany he opined that it was not clear that the African race could "stand side by side" with the Caucasian in full equality, amalgamate with it, and enter fully into the destiny of Northern Europeans.¹ He observed that even in the free states an impassable gulf existed between whites and blacks, and that the white immediate abolitionists themselves publicly endorsed that divide.^{li} Schaff

concluded that the Africans, the Native Americans, and the Chinese could not be easily assimilated to American culture.

But at the same that Schaff was mouthing this Schelling-like racial ontologism, he also (inconsistently) was articulating the anti-ontologist theme rooted in Hegel. In an article in the *Mercersburg Review* of 1853 he claimed that enslaved African persons only needed some pedagogy in “moral and religious culture” and “the rational use of freedom” to be equipped take their rightful place in a free society.^{lii} The moral education that he recommended would, he believed, initiate a change within the inner spirit that would eventually have outward consequences. The transformed subjectivity of the enslaved Africans would eventually lead to their physical freedom and equality. Concerning political emancipation, he proclaimed that “the spirit and genius of Christianity” would not rest “till personal and eternal dignity of man shall be universally acknowledged, and the idea of evangelical freedom and fraternal fellowship perfectly realized.”^{liii} In the same lectures in Germany in which he denied the equality of Africans, Schaff paradoxically proposed that the North could and should raise the cultural condition of the free Africans to “the dignity of genuine humanity.”^{liv} The church and the state should provide for gradual emancipation by training enslaved persons in the rational use of freedom, which they were indeed, he asserted, predisposed to learn. Schaff vehemently critiqued the “heathens” like the Hindus, Aristotle, and the Germanic tribes, as well as the Israelites, for justifying slavery by ascribing essential differences to different categories of people.^{lv} This, he argued, was contrary to the unity and equality of all people in Christ. Schaff’s expressed anti-ontologist leanings would have negative consequences for his academic career. In 1868 the German theologian and religious leader Ernst Hengstenberg opposed Schaff’s appointment to a faculty position in the University of Berlin because he objected to Schaff’s publicly declared conviction that the African race was spiritually improvable. Hengstenberg opined that “the negro was not very improvable, was a slave by nature, and that the Lord intended him to be controlled by a good master...”^{lvi} Schaff was certainly paternalistic and condescending toward African-descended people,

but even that paternalism was enough to place him outside the mainstream of white, Western culture.

By 1876 Schaff had abandoned most vestiges of racial ontologism. When he delivered a commencement address at the Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute, Virginia, he reported being impressed with the abilities of the African American students, and affirmed that the commencement exercises were equal to those of many a white college.^{lvii} At Fortress Monroe, also in Virginia, he declared black education to be a complete success.^{lviii} By 1879 Schaff was proclaiming that African descended people would take their full place in American society. In a similar way Schaff, who had earlier disparaged the alleged opium-occluded and dissolute behavior of the Chinese people, asserted that they were actually quite intelligent and industrious and opposed any bill to prohibit their immigration.^{lix} At about the same time he also jettisoned his suspicions that Native Americans lacked the capacity to be assimilated into the new American polyglot culture and began to affirm their spiritual potential.^{lx} By articulating these themes in the 1870's, Schaff demonstrated that he had abandoned the Schelling-like and Romantic ontologist strand in his earlier writings.

III. Schaff's Slowly Evolving Views of Culture

By liberating himself from the ontologist pole of his racial theories, Schaff was able to divorce the issue of race from the issue of culture. Any particular culture, including the progressive Protestant culture of Northern Europe, was not tied to the characteristics of any particular race. Different races, no matter what their geographic origin, could share in the benefits and responsibilities of the same culture. Schaff came to regard the ethnic cultural pluralism of American society as a precious and singular national asset, fostering a fecund unity-in-diversity that would facilitate America's mission to Christianize the world.^{lxi}

But Schaff's appreciation of the diversity of cultures evolved very slowly, and never became so robust as to allow him to transcend the Eurocentrism which he extended to include the United States. When he arrived in Pennsylvania, Schaff was fully convinced of the superiority of German culture. Germany, in Schaff's eyes and in those

of all his compatriots, was the fabled land of Luther, Goethe, Schiller, Mozart, and Kant. Germany had given birth to the Protestant Reformation and the valorization of inward faith, the Enlightenment and the celebration of rationality, and Romanticism and the lionization of passionate subjectivity. The newly founded University of Berlin had quickly become the epitome of the research university and the pursuit of *Wissenschaft*. After the defeat of Napoleon the Prussian army had become the envy of the world. Flushed with this cultural pride, upon arriving in Pennsylvania Schaff immediately set about trying to preserve the distinctiveness of German culture in the midst of a predominantly British-descended nation.^{lxii} He founded a Goethe society and a Schiller society to encourage the appreciation of German literary culture, and initially insisted on preaching and lecturing exclusively in German.

However, like his predecessor Rauch, Schaff quickly came to appreciate the possibility of a potent cross-fertilization of the Anglo-Saxon and German cultures. Schaff, like all his fellow North European descended people, assumed that those two national characters had advanced the most spiritually.^{lxiii} The Germans were proficient in speculative and theoretic pursuits, while the English and Scots were gifted in practical application. Together those two complementary sensibilities could produce a cultural dynamo that would transform the entire world. By the early 1850's Schaff was resisting the efforts of some of his compatriots to insulate the German community from its Anglo-Saxon environment. After 1851 all his public speaking was conducted only in English. By expressing this enthusiasm for an Anglo-German synthesis, Schaff was adopting the "Anglo-Saxonism" that almost all white Protestant Americans embraced and enhancing it with a generous injection of Teutonism.^{lxiv}

Schaff gradually broadened his vision of a polyglot American culture to include non-Anglo-German Europeans, and finally to include even non-European descended people. His relatively positive assessment of pre-Council of Trent Catholicism enabled him to discern some beneficial attributes in southern and eastern European cultures.^{lxv} According to Schaff's mature opinion, each ethnic culture should maintain its own distinctiveness, but should also interact with all the other cultures that constituted the United States, enriching those other cultures and being admonished by them.^{lxvi} It was for this reason that

he ascribed a special role to America in the history of the church universal and global civilization in general.

In spite of his rejection of ontologism, Schaff never managed to appreciate African American culture or its contributions to American religious life. This is especially lamentable because he was not unfamiliar with African American worship. While at Mercersburg, Schaff led the faculty and students in attending the funerals of African-Americans who worked at the seminary and college. At Hampton he expressed appreciation for the fervor of the worship services.^{lxvii} However, African American spirituality received no treatment in his histories of the Christian church. Unlike Catholicism, it did not factor in his dialectical account of the evolution of Christianity. The most he could say about it was that the exuberance of Methodism suited the African temperament.

IV Conclusion

Schaff was a child of his era and his intellectual culture. He was influenced by the Romantic developmentalism that privileged gradual organic change over disjunctive revolutions, but also by the Hegelian appreciation of the “cunning of history” that could bring positive results, like emancipation, out of tragic circumstances, like a civil war. He also imbibed the prevalent Romantic notion of innate ethnic and racial differences, but also the Hegelian theme of the universality of the spiritual potential of all people. In Schaff’s career the strand of Hegelian environmental contextualism eventually triumphed over the Romantic ontologist strand. Moreover, his attachment to the universal belief of North European descended people in Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic cultural superiority was gradually leavened by a nascent appreciation of the contributions of other cultures to the polyglot future of the United States. He remained a cultural imperialist, but his imperialism was gradually detached from the issue of race. His mature view was that any race could participate in the glorious future of progressive Protestant culture. He evolved into what we might call a “generous” cultural imperialist, cautiously sensitive to the assets and contributions of the “other.”

THE HEART OF OUR HERITAGE AND OUR FUTURE TREASURE

The Rev. Dr. John Tamilio III, Ph.D.

**The Congregational Lecture Delivered at the 65th Annual
Meeting of the National Association of Congregational
Christian Churches in Cleveland, Ohio**

Saturday, June 22, 2019

I

In keeping with the theme of the Annual Meeting and Conference, my lecture will draw on Matthew 6:21 — “For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also.” This is the theme of my church’s recent capital campaign, so I have been reflecting on this verse quite a bit lately.

This could easily turn in to a lecture on stewardship. This verse is tailor made for it. If you love your church as much as you say, then your pledge should reflect that, no? But I am not going the stewardship route, even though I would be spared the impression of singing for my supper in *this* context.

Anyone who has taken a course in Congregational polity, or has cracked open a history book, knows the story of our heritage. It is a rich narrative. It is the story of the seventeenth century Pilgrims and Puritans who sailed across the Atlantic to settle in the New World. They did this to escape religious persecution — to worship God as they chose. We are heirs of these brave men and women. Along with the historic details associated with the sixty-five-day journey that brought those 102 souls to these shores in November 1620, they also brought an Ecclesiology with them that is as alive today as it was 400 years ago. It’s funny: most Congregationalists are not biblical literalists, but we sure hold fast

to the normative, theological principles that we inherited from those passengers on the Mayflower.

You do not have to go any further than the NACCC's website to see what those principles are:

1. Christ alone is the head of the church.
2. All church members are spiritually equal and called to the work of ministry.
3. Every local church is autonomous and complete.
4. Each local church is called into wider associations of fellowship.
5. Believers are bound to one another in voluntary covenant.
6. Every Christian possesses full liberty of conscience in interpreting the Gospel.
7. The Bible is fully sufficient as our guide in matters of faith and practice and will inspire individuals and direct the church with fresh light and truth for every generation.

Some of these points are embraced by our congregations more than others. "Every local church is autonomous and complete" typically tops the list. We are autonomous. We do not have a Vatican or a Pope (although I would love to see Michael Chittum wear a mitre); we do not answer to a higher, earthly power, so no one is going to tell us what to do. I have heard that refrain throughout my twenty years of ministry. We had a crotchety, old man in my first church. (Every church has a crotchety old man, or two, or ten — they keep us honest.) This man, Norman, would stop me any time I mentioned our denomination, which was the United Church of Christ. He would look at me, scowl, and say, "I am a member of the First Congregational Church of Wakefield, New Hampshire, NOT the United Church of Christ!" When I tried to explain how he was a member of both, he would cut me off and say, "No! *You* may be part of some church authority elsewhere, but *we* are not. We

don't answer to anybody. We are a church unto ourselves!" New Englanders love their autonomy.

Interestingly enough, Congregationalists are among the first to shy-away from the question, "What does your church (or denomination) believe?" Arthur A. Rouner, Jr. acknowledges this in his book *The Congregational Way of Life*. In answering the question, "...what is the Congregational way? What do we stand for...?" he says,

Most of us would stand flat-footed, red-faced, and without an answer. Were we pressed so hard that we had to answer, some of us would probably retort: "Well, we're the *free* church. We are the church with no ecclesiastical controls, no bishops to tell us what to do, just local churches ordering our own affairs and doing and believing what we think right."¹

Those of us who are confident in answering this question will say that we are not told what we must believe, or we will point to autonomy, like Norman from New Hampshire did.

Hallmarks of our faith. Defining characteristics. Marks of our Pilgrim pride. As we look to the future and the treasures we have to offer, we will find these as both our greatest assets and our greatest drawbacks. We know why they are *assets* — a faith that promotes freedom of thought and individual spiritual development is appealing. A church that is self-governing is also alluring. Being free to choose one's destiny is as American as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson. (We will forgive that the latter was a Unitarian.) It is a

¹ Arthur A. Rouner, Jr., *The Congregational Way of Life* (Mount Morris: Hammond Publishing Company, 1972), 38.

drawback to some, because they don't seek such freedom when it comes to matters of faith. They want an ecclesial system that dictates doctrine and practice. This is due to many factors — one of them being uniformity, another being stability. These terms sound synonymous, but there *is* a difference. Uniformity is when we all believe the same things, which leads to a sense of stability, however true or false.

The church in Wakefield, New Hampshire that I just mentioned was a fairly liberal, UCC church halfway up the far eastern side of the Granite State. There was a middle age couple who joined during my tenure who were very different from each other. She was extremely liberal and almost Unitarian when it came to her theology. He was extremely conservative and embraced a more fundamentalist theology. How they got along was as much a mystery as why he joined *this* particular congregation. Anyway, Dave (the husband) was a bright, successful attorney who was easy to talk to, so one day I decided to ask him the burning question: Why? Why was he a fundamentalist. He looked at me, took a breath, and said, "I realized long ago that I cannot really control anything in my life. *Anything* can happen to me at *any* moment: I could lose my job, my wife could get sick, one of my children could die — I am at the mercy of fate." He continued: "I decided long ago, that I was going to have *one thing* in my life that I did not have to question or think about, and I decided that it was going to be God." Dave confessed that embracing fundamentalism; being an exclusivist and a biblical literalist gave him *one thing* in his life that he did not have to think about.

All of the world's major religions have fundamentalists — and there is an obvious appeal. In his online article "The Appeal of Fundamentalism," Robert Stucky writes, "The yearning to transcend suffering and achieve lasting peace is arguably innate to

our species.”² My former parishioner, Dave, found this in a faith he did not have to question — one that provided him with *all* the answers.

I respect Dave and his spirituality, but I feel a little sad. Jesus is also the one constant in my life — the one I can turn to knowing he will always be there, the cornerstone, the rock of my salvation. It is just that the God made known in Christ allows me to think about my faith and to wrestle with it. He does not abhor questions and does not see doubt as a sign of weakness. T.S. Eliot one said that “doubt and uncertainty are merely a variety of belief,” but that is another lecture for another time.³ My point is simple: there are those who need uniformity of faith to feel secure, but that is not our tradition — and those aren’t the people who will most likely be happy in a Congregational church.

There are several beliefs and practices that we can offer the Church, which is in such a state of decline. We all know that. We’ve read the studies. Fewer people are going to church. We lament the glory days of the 1950s when the Sunday school walls were bursting, because we had so many students. Some churches, like mine, remember with joy having to build a wing onto our building to accommodate our youth. There are many reasons why the Church is in a state of decline: we are a post-Christian society, we compete with everything from Sunday morning youth soccer to a generation that has the attention span of Kim Kardashian’s latest dress. We regret the change, yet we can keep doing things the way we always have hoping people will catch-on and return. We are propagating a delusion. It’s not going to work. It’s 2019, not 1959. A lot has changed since then, and thank God for that!

² Robert Stuckey, “The Appeal of Fundamentalism,” taken from the Faith In Diversity Institute, May 5, 2012, fidinstitute.org. Accessed February 4, 2019.

³ T.S. Eliot quoted in Lyndall Gordon, *T.S. Eliot: An Imperfect Life* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1998), 189.

We honor our heritage best when we learn from it and build upon it, not when we become unyielding slaves to it. Let us look back at our past, with an eye on the horizon — asking how the heart of our heritage can lead to future treasures.

II

There are many treasures that we could focus upon, but, due to our limited time, I want to highlight three of them:

- Covenant
- Faith
- Service

COVENANT.

As mentioned a moment ago, one of the fundamental principles of the NA is that “Believers are bound to one another in voluntary covenant.” We focus more autonomy than anything else. Again, no one is going to tell *us* what to do — but we are not independent, nondenominational churches. We exist in covenant with one another. That term often gets overlooked, deafened by the “Autonomy!” rallying cry.

A covenant, as I often remind my congregation, is a relationship of reciprocal love, support, and care. In a covenant, your best interests are my best interests — and mine are yours. When you rejoice, I rejoice. When you grieve, I grieve. We are inextricably bound together with one another and Jesus Christ.

This isn’t the way the world thinks. We are contractual, not covenantal. We coexist within the bounds of legal agreements to protect ourselves from each other. Covenants are different, because covenants *always* include God. William Johnson Everett, Professor Emeritus of Ethics at Andover Newton Seminary, cogently argues that all covenants involve three parties: God, people, and the land. The third part of this triad (the land) is a lecture in itself,

encouraging us to be better environmental stewards. (Again, we have to table that one.)

We are social beings. We were made to be in relationship with one another. To be made in the image of God means that we are to reflect God’s life together as a Trinity. As Father, Son, and Holy Spirit — or Creator, Redeemer, and Sustainer — God exists as a community of persons united in perfect, covenantal love. The *Imago Dei* is about us reflecting the Divine life — existing together — not about us as individuals. If this is true, then it is in our spiritual DNA to want to coexist in a covenantal relationship with one another. This is something we can offer the world. However, when we focus solely on autonomy, what we offer is a sense of isolationism as opposed to unity. I’m not saying autonomy is not important. What I am saying, though, is that when we make that our focus, and short-shrift the message of covenant, our message sounds as if there is a clear division between us and them.

People in our communities are hungry for such relationships — relationships built on love, and trust, and forgiveness, not ones based on exploitation, and suspicion, and guilt. People want to be loved for who they are, not judged for who they are not. This is a fundamental aspect of who we are, and what we can offer to a world that is starving for such a theology.

FAITH.

But it isn’t just about covenant, otherwise the Church would amount to little more than a friendly, social organization. The covenant we share is rooted in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

This past February, my wife and I were driving home from a visit to her parents’ house in Glen, New Hampshire. Most of the trip is a 140 mile straight-shot down two long routes. During the first leg of the trip, I was struck by a sign I saw in front of a small church. It was one of those movable-letter signs, and it read, “Jesus hates religion, too.” This may be a reference to a recent book by Alex Himaya, but in any event, it rattled me. First of all, the words

“hate” and “Jesus” do not go together, contrary to what the Westboro Baptist Church might say. Second, I wondered, “What is the gist of this message?” Does Jesus despise the institutional Church, because it can sometimes be too legalistic? Does Jesus think that we are a bunch of hypocrites? Is Jesus part of that whole “I’m spiritual, but not religious” movement associated with writers such as William B. Parsons, Lillian Daniel, and Robert C. Fuller?

Whatever the impetus behind that New Hampshire church’s sign, there is a general perception among many people in our culture that organized religion is hypocritical, whether it is stories about clergy abuse in the Roman Catholic Church, and more recently in the Southern Baptist Convention, or whether it is the old adage that Christians appear all pious on Sunday, but the other six days of the week they are the biggest sinners of all. Many people feel as if we do not practice what we preach. In an article from the magazine *Relevant*, Jayson D. Bradley writes,

I live in a small town that excels in
Saturday night drunkenness and
Sunday morning church attendance.
In the news, we’re regularly
confronted with embezzlements,
affairs, abuses of power and worse
from high-profile Christians. We all
have Christians we consider frauds in
our lives. And if we’re being honest,
hypocrites stare back at us while we
brush our teeth.⁴

There is a sermon in that. Christians aren’t so much hypocrites; we just know that we are sinners. As a good friend of mine, Father Edmund Babicz, often says, “The Church is a hospital for sinners,

⁴ Jayson D. Bradley, “All Christians Are Hypocrites,” taken from *Relevant* (May 23, 2016), <https://relevantmagazine.com/god/all-christians-are-hypocrites>. Accessed February 25, 2019.

not a museum for saints.” There is a reason why we *appear* hypocritical.

That said, the fact that so many people identify as spiritual, but not religious may mean that *they are hungry for something that mainline churches aren't providing*. I believe that the NACCC is in a unique position to fill this void.

Many mainline denominations today focus on social justice. That is a blessing: a suit that more should follow. Jesus calls us to take up the cause of the poor and the oppressed, the widow and the orphan. Theologians such as Letty Russell remind us that Jesus broke bread with social pariahs to take them from the margins of society to the center.⁵ He was scorned for doing so by the religious leaders of his day. Likewise, we are to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and visit the sick and imprisoned regardless of what those inside and outside of the Church feel. Churches and denominations that advocate for those traditionally ostracized by Christianity due to their race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, ability, or economic status should be commended. But there is more to *being* the Church than service. There's also *proclaiming* the Word.

It may be that some within the multitude who claim to be spiritual but not religious feel that the Church is not feeding them the Word. They come hungry and leave famished. One of the unique characteristics of the NA is that, as a larger body, we do not take stands on sociopolitical issues. In true Congregational form, we let individual churches make such proclamations (if they wish), but the National organization does not. That is one of the qualities that attracted me to the NA, having come from a denomination whose headquarters are located in *this* city — a denomination whose focus seems to align with anything that comes from the far left. (Footnote: even though my own politics lean to the left, that is not why I go to church. Do we want to be a place for only one group of people,

⁵ cf. Letty M. Russell, *Church in the Round: Feminist Interpretation of the Church* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press).

alienating half of our flocks?) Our focus is, and needs to remain, theological — offering people spiritual edification not political talking points. Our sister denomination on the far right is just as guilty. If the four C's are the Republican Party at prayer, the UCC is the Democratic Party at prayer.

But my point is not to bash other ecclesial bodies. We have our own faults as well. One of my favorite lyrics is by the British band Dire Straits, who, in one of their songs, sings, “When you point your finger cause your plan fell through, you’ve three more fingers pointing back at you.”⁶ My point is simply that the NA offers people a reprieve from the political rhetoric and ideological bashing that saturates our lives. They call it a sanctuary for a reason!

This brings us back to my point about proclaiming the Word. As much as people are tired of hearing the Church weigh-in on both sides of the political aisle, they are famished for spiritual food. We have an opportunity to present the core doctrines of the Christian faith to them in a way that offers hope, and love, and life. We have answers to those pervasive philosophical questions: “Why are we here?” and “What is the meaning of life?” If we do not present the tenets of the Christian faith in a hardnosed, exclusionary way, we have a feast to offer the multitudes.

Even though the beliefs and practices of the Pilgrims and Puritans were rigid, they believed that God is a God of love, too, as the First Letter of John declares. When we think of our religious forebears, images of Jonathan Edwards and his sermon “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God” come to mind. I actually had to read that sermon in high school (a public high school, no less). If films like *The Exorcist* weren’t scary enough, the teenage me was vexed by Edwards’ warning:

⁶ Dire Straits, “Expresso Love,” Mark Knopfler songwriter. Taken from the Warner Brothers album *Making Movies*, 1980.

...natural men are held in the hand of God, over the pit of hell; they have deserved the fiery pit, and are already sentenced to it; and God is dreadfully provoked, his anger is as great towards them as to those that are actually suffering the executions of the fierceness of his wrath in hell, and they have done nothing in the least to appease or abate that anger, neither is God in the least bound by any promise to hold them up one moment; the devil is waiting for them, hell is gaping for them, the flames gather and flash about them, and would fain lay hold on them, and swallow them up...⁷

It's probably *not* a good idea to use this as part of an evangelism campaign in your local church. But this is what comes to mind when we think of the Pilgrims and Puritans. (That and a page or two from Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*.)

But what about John Robinson, the famous pastor of the English Separatists? We often quote his "Farewell Sermon" that sent the Mayflower on its way: "the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word."⁸ Read Robinson's book *New Essays; or Observations Divine and Moral*, published eight years after his "Farewell Sermon." In the second essay, he writes, "God reveals...his gracious love and mercy in, and unto his church here upon earth; which he therefore hath chosen, and taken near unto

⁷ Jonathan Edwards, "Sinner in the Hand of an Angry God," section 10, available online at Blue Letter Bible. Accessed March 13, 2019.

⁸ John Robinson, "Farewell Sermon," July 1620, available online at Pilgrim Hall Museum. Accessed March 13, 2019.

himself, that in it might be seen the riches of his glorious grace.”⁹
Love? Mercy? Grace?

The message we have to offer people who are spiritually hungry is that God is a God of love who seeks to know us personally, as any lover longs to know his or her beloved. God did not create us out of need, because of some divine lack. He created us in order to share his life and love with us. The very essence of the Trinity — God as a community of persons who coexist in a relationship of perfect, reciprocal love — is a model of the relationship that should unite us not only to one another, who are created in the Image of God (the *Imago Dei*); it is also a model of the relationship we are to share with God.

This leads me to the key point I want to make today.

If people are spiritual, but not religious, maybe it is because the mainline church is not providing them with the spirituality they need. That spirituality can come from many places, but as far as the Church goes, it is clearly stating the doctrines of the faith in a way that applies to people’s lives. Our Puritan forebears saw no division between people’s ecclesial lives and their public lives. That is what it means to be spiritual. Maybe that’s why (in part) that the church in the square also served as the town meeting house. All that they did publicly was guided by their faith. But what we face today is something different: people no longer attend church because they either aren’t being fed, they think the church is no longer relevant, it doesn’t fit their busy schedules, or all of the above. The scheduling problem can be resolved with alternative service times, and some churches in the NA and beyond have done that. But what about the other two? I’ll talk about the second one in a moment when I reflect upon service.

⁹ John Robinson, “New Essays,” 1628, available online at Pilgrim Hall Museum. Accessed March 13, 2019.

People are hungry. They want God in their lives and we can give that to them without all the political hubbub. We have to proclaim what we believe boldly. “God reveals...his gracious love and mercy in, and unto his church here upon earth,” Rev. Robinson wrote almost 400 years ago. Let’s breakdown that quote a bit, shall we? There are two parts to it.

First, God offers us love and mercy. This is the message we need to disseminate 24/7/365. This is the meal people want. For God so loved the world that he gave us Jesus: the One who loves us unconditionally and offers us the gift of salvation (John 3:16). As Paul wrote, it is not something we earned. It is a gift, so that no one may boast (Ephesians 2:8-9). All we need to do is accept it. And accepting it is simple. You don’t need an advanced degree in theology. As Paul told the Romans, if we declare with our mouths that Jesus is the Lord and believe in our hearts that God raised him from the dead, then we will be saved (10:9). That salvation is not just the life that we will inherit when we shuffle off this mortal coil. It is the life-together — the *shalom* — that God intended for us to live now. As Bob Dylan once sang, “Ye shall be changed.”¹⁰ Maybe that roadside sign in New Hampshire was criticizing the overbearing, legalistic character of much organized religion. No wonder many of the broken dread walking through our doors. They feel as if they will be judged, because they are not perfect. They are riddled with fear, guilt, regret, shame, you name it. The church doesn’t need to beat people up; most do a good job of that themselves. As one of my polity professors in seminary (Rev. Richard Sparrow) used to say, “If you treated other people the way you treat yourself, you’d be in jail.” I am a big fan of Brennan Manning, who, in his book *All is Grace: A Ragamuffin Memoir*, writes, “My message, unchanged for more than fifty years, is this: God loves you unconditionally, as you are and not as you should be,

¹⁰ Bob Dylan, *Lyrics 1961-2012* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016), 420.

because nobody is as they should be.”¹¹ How different would our churches look on Sunday morning if this was the message we sent throughout our communities? It’s not about judgment. It’s not about wrath. It’s about love — the boundless love of God. “I have loved you with an everlasting love,” God told Jeremiah (31:3).

The second part of that quote is equally interesting. God’s love and mercy are given to *the church*. All pastors know that, on their day off, they shouldn’t let people know that they are pastors. They also know not to wear clergy shirts (you know, the ones with the collar) when they go to the store. It is an open invitation for people to come and talk to you. Listen, when it comes to people who are in pain and need a listening ear, I’m all game. I’m there. But more often than not, some see it as a time for confession. People see that you are a pastor and they want to confess — not about the wrongs they have done, and even less about the good they have left undone. No. That’s not it. People want to tell you *why they don’t go to church*. Here’s the most common confession: “I believe in Jesus, but I do not need to go to church to be a Christian. I can worship God in nature.” First of all, I highly doubt that the vast majority of these nature-cathedral believers make a weekly pilgrimage to the woods to worship God, but let that go. Second of all, they are wrong. You *have* to go to church to be a Christian, because at the heart of our faith is a call to be part of God’s community. The Methodist theologian Laurence Hull Stookey put it best. In his book *Calendar: Christ’s Time for the Church*, he writes,

The Risen One, who is present at all times and in all places, seeks to bind together by the action of the Spirit all things that have been wrongly separated. Participation therefore is not something we do on the basis of

¹¹ Brennan Manning, *All is Grace: A Ragamuffin Memoir* (Colorado Springs: David C. Cook, 2011), 192.

personal choice or need; participation in the Body of Christ is inherent in being Christian. The church, not the individual, is the irreducible unit of Christianity.¹²

Did you catch that? “The church, not the individual, is the irreducible unit of Christianity.”

So, when people complain that Christians are hypocrites — you know, they act all righteous on Sunday, but the rest of the week they are sinners like everyone else — they’re right. Christians don’t go to Church because they feel it makes them righteous. (If we do, then we’re going for the wrong reason.) We go, in part, because we are broken, and we know it. We go, because we know that God calls us as a people (not as individuals) to worship and serve him. And this leads us to our third point — the third treasure that we have to offer.

SERVICE.

Gabriel Fackre is a Congregational theologian who recently passed away. He is famous for his series *The Christian Story*, which is a two-part narrative interpretation of Christian doctrine for lay persons and pastors. In it, he offers a model of Ecclesiology (the doctrine of the Church) that is similar to what Cardinal Avery Dulles developed in his classic *Models of the Church* (originally published in 1974). Obviously, Dulles’ text has a Roman Catholic focus, but it aligns ecumenically with what Fackre published four years later.

Fackre claims that there are four principal marks of the Church. He uses traditional Greek terms and their equivalent English verbs to explicate them.

¹² Laurence Hull Stookey, *Calendar: Christ’s Time for the Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 76.

Kerygma

The proclamation of the Word.
Fackre calls this *telling*.

Leitourgia

This is the sacramental life of the church. We get the word “liturgy” from this word. It is aptly named *celebrating*.

Koinonia

The covenantal fellowship that is the Church. This is labelled *being*.

Diakonia

From which we get the words deacon and diaconate. Fackre calls this *doing* — the Church serving God in the service of others.

We are called to worship and pray, but we are also called to put our faith into action. We are called to feed the hungry, give clothing to the naked, and to visit the sick and imprisoned. We are called to be the servant church.

I don't know about your community, but in Canton, high school students have to put in a certain number of service hours each year. We get phone calls *all the time* from young men and women asking if there is anything that they can do around the church to fulfill that requirement. When there isn't anything for them to do, I am *so* tempted to invite them to wash and wax my car, straighten my office, or be my personal assistant — maybe one of them can run and get me lunch, go to the bank for me, or order flowers for my wife. I'll be honest, there have been times when I've thought: I wonder if I can ordain a few of them and have the preach or do hospital visits. There's a lesson there: be careful what you ask for... But I digress. Why do school districts require their

students to complete service hours? I called my good friend, Lorinda Visnick, who is a member of my city's School Committee and I asked her this question. She said, "We want our students to develop an ethic of helping others, so that when they graduate and head off to college or go into the work force, they will not think that it's all about them." By no means is that a bad reason.

In a similar vein, I belong to a private club and one of my jobs is to welcome and orient new members: to let them know what the organization has to offer and to hear their suggestions. Recently, a new member asked me if the club had any outreach programs. "We're not all about book discussions and wine tastings, are we?" she asked. I fumbled over my words and responded, "To be honest, I don't think we *do* have any outreach programs." This new member felt as if this was unfortunate and that we *should* be "giving back," and she's right.

But these are not the only reasons why the Church engages in service, is it? Are we trying to learn that it isn't just about us and that we need to give back to the community? Noble endeavors, clearly, but are they Christocentric? Are they part of the Congregational tradition?

I remember my first meeting with the Church and Ministry Committee of the Essex Association of the Massachusetts Conference of the United Church of Christ. (*Say that three times fast!*) I met with this committee to be taken In Care. In the NA, local churches ordain ministers. In the UCC, Associations (groups of local churches) ordain, so when students enter seminary, they are mentored and evaluated throughout the process — hence, they are taken "In Care" of the Association. When the Church and Ministry Committee first meets with a prospective candidate, they ask all kinds of questions. They want to know about your background, your faith journey, why you want to become a minister, and so forth. One of the ministers on the Committee, the Rev. Dr. Jim Tedesco, asked me why I wanted to be an ordained minister. I said something to the effect of, "I want to help people in ways that I

can't as a professor alone.” (Up to that point, I wanted to just be an English professor.) Rev. Tedesco had a follow-up: “Then why don't you just become a social worker?” I was a bit shocked by what I took to be a hostile response at the time, but obviously his question remained with me — and it was a valid query. Even though he didn't say it, upon reflection I knew he meant that there's nothing wrong with being a social worker, so why not do that *if* all I want to do is help people?

Diakonia is not about doing good deeds for the sake of being compassionate, altruistic, or nice. This mark is about serving others, especially those on the margins of society, because, in doing so, we minister to Christ. (Read the story of the judgment of the nations at the end of Matthew chapter 25 as a refresher.) We serve, because, in so doing, we minister to Christ. This is *who* we are. It is *what* we are. It is a fundamental part of our identity. We're not social workers. We're not philanthropists. We are Congregational Christians. Service is in our blood — our spiritual DNA. There is a world of people looking to give of themselves in this way. They want the work of their hands to be connected to their hearts and their spirits.

The NA is rich with mission work. Visit our website and the sites of our mission partners. For a gathering as small as ours, we move mountains. How do we break that vision open? How do we open our doors to attract those who are attracted by outreach into our fold? We have a unique opportunity here. It is who we are.

We often hear about the stringent piety associated with our Puritan forebears. We do not typically think of them as being a people who sought to serve God in the service of others. If you look carefully, though, you will see that this perception is not wholly accurate. Let me give you just a couple examples from history. In his landmark study, *The Shaping of American Congregationalism: 1620-1957*, John von Rohr discusses the treatment of Native Americans by the seventeenth century Puritans. He writes,

No doubt there were some among the settlers of the first several decades who preferred extermination to conversion as the means for dealing with the American Indian presence, but by and large humanitarian and evangelistic attitudes prevailed. Contrasted with the cruelty and exploitation of much of the nineteenth-century American treatment of the retreating native population on the western frontier, the Puritan practice of seventeenth century was both restrained and responsible.¹³

If you look at the NACCC's website, particularly our philosophy of missions, you will read about John Eliot: a teacher in the church in Roxbury, Massachusetts. A missionary to the Native Americans, he studied many of their languages and "eventually founded fourteen communities of 'Praying Indians.'"¹⁴ Eliot, known as the Apostle to the Indians, published the New Testament in Algonquin in 1661 and the Old Testament in 1663. Von Rohr also tells us that "With the aid of additional translators other books were put into the native tongue [by Eliot], including Puritan tracts on personal piety and the Cambridge Platform for administering Church life."¹⁵ Some may contend that this sounds more like evangelism than outreach, but isn't evangelism a fundamental part of mission? Historically, when missionaries go overseas, or to other states, or around the block to help others, they do so in the name of Jesus Christ, which means that they are also spreading the Good News. Nonbelievers critique

¹³ John von Rohr, *The Shaping of American Congregationalism: 1620-1957* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1992), 109.

¹⁴ Taken from the NACCC website. Accessed May 7, 2019.

¹⁵ Von Rohr, 110-111.

such work as nothing more than colonialism: of the West imposing “their way of life” upon Third World peoples. I see things differently.

Whenever missionaries force their beliefs upon anyone, that is wrong. If, however, they are allowing God to act through them, then how can they *help* but witness to the Gospel. How can they keep from singing, as that old hymn declares? Our heritage is one that sees our outreach as being commissioned by God — as Christ working through us. Furthermore, this heritage extends beyond Eliot’s ministry to Native Americans. It includes foreign missions as well. In fact, global missions in the United States *began* with our Congregationalist ancestors.

During an 1806 revival at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, five students, known as the Brethren, took shelter from an approaching storm. They met in the lee of a haystack. While there, they discussed and prayed about ways to convert people in foreign lands. “Remaining together for professional training at [then] Andover Theological Seminary, three of these students joined with additional Andover graduates in 1810 to seek help from Connecticut clergy for the furtherance of their plan. With the assistance of several other clergy from Massachusetts, these humble beginnings of the Haystack Meeting, which was part of the Second Great Awakening, led to the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (or ABCFM).”¹⁶ On February 6, 1812 at Tabernacle Congregational Church in Salem, Massachusetts, “Adoniram Judson and five other New England men were commissioned as the first American foreign missionaries.”¹⁷ I do not have the time to go into the rich history of this organization, but suffice it to say that

¹⁶ Ibid., 259.

¹⁷ Taken from tabernaclechurch.org/about/history. Accessed May 15, 2019.

“By 1870 the ABCFM was an exclusively Congregational organization.”¹⁸

III

So, “where your treasure is there your heart will be also.” Our hearts are rooted deep in this rich, Congregational heritage.

It is one that has always espoused covenantal connectedness. Although our churches are autonomous, we are united in a relationship of reciprocal love, support, and care. People are hungry for that, especially in a world that promotes a sense of isolated individualism.

We are also a people of faith. Our churches run the gamut. We are liberal, conservative, and everything in between. I was attracted to the NACCC, because it does not take political stands at the national level. This was a breath of fresh air for me. My own church is one in which we leave politics out of it, because our members hold diverse political views. But that is not why we come together as a congregation, nor is that why we come together as the NA. We come together because of our common faith. In an age of spiritual confusion (an age in which people try to find meaning in vapid, secular, self-help offerings), people are hungry to latch on to something substantive, to hear the story that is ours. We not only proclaim that God is real, but that God loves us so much that he came to us in Jesus Christ to free us from ourselves, to forgive our sins, and to offer us new life.

Lastly, our faith and worship remind us that we are a servant church. It’s not about us, although you might think differently if you ever attended a PLM: a parking lot meeting. It is about allowing the living God to work through us as we serve Jesus Christ in the service of others.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Surveys continue to show that people want to part of something bigger than themselves. In an article that appeared in *Forbes* magazine two years ago entitled “Pursue Purpose Over Success”, the author, Margie Warrell, quotes the Facebook tycoon Mark Zuckerberg, who told the graduating class at Harvard University, “Purpose is the sense that we are part of something bigger than ourselves...that we are needed, that we have something better ahead to work for. Purpose is what creates true happiness.”¹⁹ People realize more and more that they can’t take it with them. They want their legacy to be one that made a difference. There is no organization that can connect service and spirituality to create a holistic sense of identity better than the Church.

If we continue to be hum-drum, lamenting the way the Church used to be as we get all melancholy and play the “remember when” game — remember when we needed two worship services to meet the demands of all the people who used to come; remember when our church school was bursting at the seams — if we continue to do this, then we will become a relic. We’re heading in that direction.

We can address this issue and even turn the tide, however, by thinking outside the box: by looking at what we have to offer rather than mourning what we no longer do. Times have changed. Like it or not, we live in a digital-age — and the Church of tomorrow will face challenges that even our children cannot perceive.

But we also have a great deal to offer a world that is slowly coming to realize that social media is empty, that reality TV isn’t real, that trying to fill your life with “stuff” brings little more than compounded debt. When those in search of meaning cry out, “There’s got to be more to life,” we in the NACCC can say,

¹⁹ Margie Warrell, “Pursue Purpose Over Success: The Science Behind Mark Zuckerberg’s Advice to Harvard Grads,” from *Forbes*, May 30, 2017. Accessed online on May 28, 2019.

“Indeed, there is! Come through our doors and meet the living Christ! Come, be fed by the Word! See how it connects to your life! Come, be part of a family who will love you for who you are, not judge you for who you are not! Come, and truly see that the more you give of yourself to others, the more you will receive!

Congregationalists have been singing this song for almost 400 years. Sometimes it sounded a bit different, but the message is the same — and the song is ours. Our forebears took a mammoth chance by stepping out in faith to make their world different — to make it one that conformed to the Gospel. We can do the same! “Where your treasure is, there your heart will be also.” Our heritage is the heart of who we are. Our future is a treasure that we are called to share with others, an investment that will reap rewards 100 fold. May we not only realize that, but may we work together, pray together, and love together so that our National Association of Congregational Christian Churches may truly be that city set on a hill, shining God’s light for the entire world to see. Thank you very much, and God bless the NACCC.

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A BOOK REVIEW

Clues to the Nicene Creed: A Brief Outline of the Faith

David Willis, 2005, Eerdmans

Reviewed by F. Christopher Anderson

I have been a member of a lively Reformed Documents Study group for over twenty years. We have been meeting at the Penn Central Conference Center monthly for most of these years. Previous to this year we have gone word by word through the Heidelberg Catechism twice. We have also gone word by word through The Second Helvetic Confession, The Belgic Confession, The Canons of Dort, The Thirty-Nine Articles and the Augsburg Confession.

We finished only the first section of “The Evangelical Catechism: A New Translation for the 21st Century” (pp. 5-54) and decided to not continue. The reason for this was that we discovered that this catechism was basically rewritten many times in its history and Frederick R. Trost had continued this tradition by not only paraphrasing it but adding to it and moving sections around.

In December of last year we began a different sort of study. We decided to study THE NICENE CREED. Two things became apparent when we began this study.

- 1) All of the documents that we had studied that had a section on a creed used the Apostles Creed. Therefore we saw the popular Western creed through the eyes of various western theologian that produced the above documents. We, like the Ethiopian (Acts 8:26-40), were happy to have helpful guidance in our studies.
- 2) Like the Ethiopian who wanted Philip to guide him in his study, we wanted someone to guide us through this study of the Nicene Creed. But none of the classic catechisms used

the Nicene Creed. Therefore we were searching for solid a teacher to help guide us through the Nicene Creed.

It was at that point that we went to Dr. Lee C. Barrett for advice. (BTW we had devoured his *The Heidelberg Catechism: A New Translation for the 21st Century* in our study of the catechism.) He recommended the book, *CLUES TO THE NICENE CREED* by David Willis, 2005, Eerdmans. In the midst of this pandemic when we have been asked to not meet in large groups and stay at home as much as possible I am recommending this book to everyone who has an interest in theology.

The book is 186 pages. Therefore one is not faced with reading a gigantic tome but a strong summary of the basics of the faith. Willis writes “*This book is for those who would like to be reminded of what they are standing for when they recite the Nicene Creed and would welcome help in distinguishing the few essentials of the faith from the numerous matters of relative indifference.*” (ix)

Willis is Charles Hodge Professor Emeritus of Systematic Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary. Therefore the book has much study and thought behind it.

In our particular study we are going through this book, page by page, as it looks at various sections of the creed. Our group has had and continues to have many disagreements in our discussions but even where some of us have had differences with Willis we all agree that he guides the discussion very well.

Certain things jump out in studying the creed in 2020. This creed is earthy. Willis writes “*The creed’s earthiness is one of the most important truths it teaches us, we whose humanity is divinely intended.*” (10) We live in an age of spirituality that can often look down upon the body. The creed teaches us otherwise.

Willis teaches us that “*Dialogue among the faiths is a necessary, not an interesting option. That includes the dialogue partners being as clear as possible about the bases of their respective truth claims and about their motivations for listening attentively to each other.*” (15) Gabe Fackre used to say that true pluralism is when every side of the discussion is free to share their convictions. This book helps us rethink what our faith teaches.

Willis writes *“Yet faith is not a blind leap into the void, an assertive will to believe...but an act of informed trust.”* (23) This statement comes from Chapter II: *“What Believing Means.”* The chapter reminds me of one of my favorite proverbs: *“The simple believe everything, but the clever consider their steps.”* (Proverbs 14:15)

Like most systematic theologies Willis separates “The Person of Christ” from “The Work of Christ” in chapters 4 & 5. Through his analysis of the creed we see that these two aspects of Christ are not superimposed on the creed but clearly in the creed itself.

I particularly like his brief work on the substitutionary atonement in Chapter 5. He writes: *“I find it difficult to defend this view of the atonement. However, because it is part—if only a part—of the wide range of ways the Bible speaks about Christ’s saving work, there is good reason for seeing some deep issues in this imagery.”* (91) He finds three positive points in this teaching. It is 1) biblical, it is 2) an archetype and 3) *“Calvin does not speak of the incarnation and the atonement as if they were two separate actions.”* (93) This discussion involves 6 pages. (91-97) I will not attempt to explain them anymore. I highly recommend these pages who have struggled with these issues.

Willis writes: *“One of the things that make the creed of 381 the most ecumenical is that its treatment of the Holy Spirit is fuller than either the Apostles’ Creed or the creed of 325.”* (103) He discusses the development of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit which he explains as *“...the making of the explicit of what was implicit.”* (106)

There is much more for us about the church and the future but I will end with a wise statement of his on the life of the world to come. *“When it comes to the details of the life of the world to come, a kind of agnosticism is healthy. The creed deals with this part of the truth sparingly, austere, as if to prevent us from confusing nonessential details with the essential reality of our hope.”* (165)

May God bless your reading of this very readable book.

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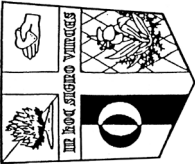
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- ⁱ Martin Marty, *The Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), 17.
- ⁱⁱ See Mark Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006). See also Harry Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War* (New York: Penguin, 2007). See also E. Brooks Holifield, *The Gentlemen Theologians* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2007).
- ⁱⁱⁱ See Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).
- ^{iv} Philip Schaff, "America, The General Character of the Political, Social, and Religious Circumstances of the United States," *Mercersburg Review* 6 (October, 1854), 600-624, and 7 (January, 1855), 45-67.
- ^v Philip Schaff, *History of the Apostolic Church with a General Introduction to Church History*, trans. by Edward D. Yeomans (Scribners: New York, 1854).
- ^{vi} Philip Schaff, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Collection 163, Box 1.
- ^{vii} Philip Schaff, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Collection 163, Box 1.
- ^{viii} Philip Schaff, "Christianity in America," *Mercersburg Review* 9 (October, 1857), 493-539.
- ^{ix} Philip Schaff, *Slavery and the Bible* (Chambersburg: M. Kieffer and Co., 1861).
- ^x *Ibid.*, 20.
- ^{xi} *Ibid.*, 30.
- ^{xii} *Ibid.*, 32.
- ^{xiii} Philip Schaff, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Collection 163, Box 1.
- ^{xiv} *Ibid.*
- ^{xv} *Ibid.*, Box 4.
- ^{xvi} See "Glimpses of Events in the Mercersburg Area during the Civil War," 10 essays, Mercersburg Historical Society, <http://mhs.mercersburg.org>; William Switaka, *The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Press, 2008).
- ^{xvii} Philip Schaff, notebooks, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Collection 163, Box 1. See also "The Gettysburg Week," *Scribner's Magazine* 16 (July-December 1894) 21-54. See also Gary K. Pranger, *Philip Schaff (1819-1893): Portrait of an Immigrant Theologian* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 129-167.
- ^{xviii} "Minutes, Classis of North Carolina, 1853," in *The Living Heritage of the United Church of Christ*, vol. 3, ed. by Charles Hambrick-Stowe (Cleveland: United Church Press, 1997), 651.
- ^{xix} Schaff, "The Gettysburg Week," 21-23.
- ^{xx} Schaff, "The Gettysburg Week," 23-24.

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- ^{xxi} Philip Schaff, *Der Bürgerkrieg und das christliche Leben in Nord Amerika* (Berlin: Wiegandt and Grieben, 1866, 8, 28.
- ^{xxii} Schaff, *Slavery and the Bible*, 31.
- ^{xxiii} Philip Schaff, "Personal Reminiscences," Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Ms. Coll. 163.
- ^{xxiv} Philip Schaff, notebooks, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Ms. Coll. 163, box 2.
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- ^{xxvi} G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. by J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956), 79-102.
- ^{xxvii} *Ibid.*, 79.
- ^{xxviii} *Ibid.*, 80.
- ^{xxix} *Ibid.*, 80.
- ^{xxx} *Ibid.*, 88-99.
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- ^{xxxii} *Ibid.*, 72-79.
- ^{xxxiii} *Ibid.*, 82.
- ^{xxxiv} *Ibid.*, 99.
- ^{xxxv} Philip Schaff, eulogy for Rauch, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Ms. Coll. 163, box 1.
- ^{xxxvi} Philip Schaff, *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social, and Religious Character of the United States of North America*, anonymous translator (New York: C. Scribner, 1855), 199.
- ^{xxxvii} Philip Schaff, lecture notes, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Ms. Coll. 163, box 2.
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- ^{xxxix} David Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York: Scribners, 1897), 132.
- ^{xl} Frederick Rauch, *Psychology* (New York: Dodd and Mead, 1841).
- ^{xli} *Ibid.*, 66.
- ^{xlii} *Ibid.*, 55-66.
- ^{xliiii} *Ibid.*, 57.
- ^{xliv} *Ibid.*, 70-71.
- ^{xliv} *Ibid.*, 73-77.
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- ^{xlvii} *Ibid.*, 73-77.
- ^{xlviii} See Friederich Schelling, *Historical-Critical Introduction to the Philosophy of Mythology*, trans. by Mason Richey (New York: SUNY Press, 2007). See also George S. Williamson, "Theogony as Ethnography," in *Ideas of "Race" in the History of the Humanities*, ed. by A. Morris-Reich (London: Palgrave, 2017) 159-193.

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- ^{xlix} Philip Schaff, autobiographical reminiscences, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Ms. Coll. 163, box 1.
- ^l Philip Schaff, *America*, 50-51.
- ^{li} *Ibid.*, 50-51.
- ^{lii} Philip Schaff, "The Influence of Christianity upon the Family," *The Mercersburg Quarterly Review*, vol. 5, 1853, 489-491.
- ^{liii} *Ibid.*, 491.
- ^{liv} Schaff, *America*, 51.
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- ^{lvi} Rev. J. F. Hurst, "A Visit to Hengstenberg," *The Reformed Messenger*, April 16, 1868. See also Pranger, *Philip Schaff*, 158.
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- ^{lviii} Schaff, "A Visit to Virginia."
- ^{lix} Graham, *Cosmos in the Chaos*, 193-194.
- ^{lx} *Ibid.*, 191-192.
- ^{lxi} Philip Schaff, "The Progress of Christianity in the United States," *The Princeton Review* 55, September, 1879, 209-252.
- ^{lxii} Philip Schaff, "Conclusion of Dr. Schaff's Address," *Weekly Messenger* 10, April 23, 1845.
- ^{lxiii} Schaff, *America*, 56-60, 267-291.
- ^{lxiv} See Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*.
- ^{lxv} Philip Schaff, *American Nationality* (Chambersburg: M. Kieffer, 1856), 16.
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