

# M I S C E L L E

## Yale and German Theology in the middle of the nineteenth century

By Roland H. Bainton \*

Contact with Germany in the American colonies of the eighteenth century was confined largely to Pennsylvania since the Quakers there offered an asylum to Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Brethren and Herrnhuters. New England was in touch rather with old England. A New Englander, writing in 1869, declared that the previous quarter of a century had registered an astounding change. Prior to 1840 German was less known in Boston than Greek. Even the most select schools for youths and maidens neglected it. But now, said he, German is taught all the way from Boston to Omaha. Some educators are saying that it is worth more than Greek or Latin and some, indeed, that it exceeds both of them put together. The Ph. D. degree is no longer the mark of the German exile. The change, said this author, was occasioned in part by a great wave of German immigration. Milwaukee was more German than American, and St. Louis savored of the Rhineland. The passage of these immigrants to the Middle West might have aroused the East to an interest in the literature and scholarly treasures of Germany.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact, New England had already been aroused to a degree even earlier. The first center naturally was Boston, because Boston was close to Harvard, the first American university, and was also a thriving port open to influences from across the sea. In the teens of the nineteenth century George Hedge spent four years studying in Germany before completing his course at Harvard. It was he who furnished the translation of Luther's *Ein feste Burg* now current among our churches.<sup>2</sup> Yale's earliest contact with Germany began rather by way of books than of boats. Josiah Willard Gibbs, Professor of Sacred

\* To Prof. Hermann Doerries, who always places himself so unreservedly at the service of foreign visitors, this little sketch of American-German relations among theologians of a century past is presented as a token of heartfelt esteem.

<sup>1</sup> Charles H. Brigham, "On the study of German in America", *Christian Examiner*, N.S. VIII (1869), 1—20.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney E. Ahlstrom in *The Harvard Divinity School* ed. G. H. Williams (Boston, 1954), p. 136.

Languages in the Yale Divinity School, found that his philological studies could not be pursued apart from the German literature. He mastered the tongue and in 1827 published in London *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament . . . From the German Works of Gesenius*. A pupil of Gibbs and later his successor, George E. Day, traveled to Germany and in 1844, writing to his professor from Tübingen, gave an account of an interview with Ewald, lately dismissed from Göttingen by a reactionary prince:

"[Ewald] is a robust man with a large head, over which his long hair evenly parted in the middle, falls in rather a careless manner . . . His age, as he told me of his own accord, is forty, and no one, to look at him, would ever dream that he had been such a hard student as his works indicate. He showed me the sheets of the fifth edition of the Hebrew grammar which is just ready for the binder . . . You would have laughed, I know, to have heard our conversation. Sometimes it was in German, sometimes in English, which Professor Ewald speaks in a broken manner, and sometimes in a jumble of both.

"It is evident that he deeply feels his banishment from Göttingen . . . At the commencement of the conversation he was inclined to take strong ground against the divisions into denominations abounding in the United States . . . But when I explained to him . . . the perfect freedom of our churches and the manner in which this freedom regulated and restrained its own evils, it was evident that his sympathies were on our side . . . He frankly told me at the outset that with Tholuck and Hengstenberg . . . he had no sympathy. 'With Tholuck,' said he, putting his thumb on the end of his little finger, 'I do not agree so much as this.' As he went on to explain his views, I could easily believe him. 'My present effort,' said he, 'is to gain a perfect comprehension of that in which the religious life of the Hebrews consisted, and the conclusion to which I have come is that we must all be prophets and apostles.'"

Day went on to say that Ewald defended contemporary inspiration as of the same quality as that of the Biblical writers and in both instances as not infallible. Day asked what philosophy was uppermost. "None," was the answer. Hegelianism is on the decline. "You Americans," said he, "think that because we are ever changing . . . we make no real progress. Rest assured, it is a mistake. Work has been done which can never be overthrown. Christianity has been placed on higher ground, and in twenty years it will be completed and scientific theology forever after go hand in hand with the Scriptures." Do you not agree with me," commented Day, "that these are dreams in Germany as in America?"

Ewald had been disturbed by reading about "an American clergyman named Edwards, who was deposed from the ministry lately by an ecclesiastical council for preaching against some immoralities among his people. The story was so improbable that I inquired into it more particularly and found that he had got hold of the troubles and dismissal of President Edwards!!" [a hundred years earlier].<sup>3</sup>

In the very same year in which this letter was written a German Swiss immigrant to the United States commenced his career in the field of theological education in this country. Philip Schaff, more than any other, was to be a

<sup>3</sup> Manuscript, Sterling Library Yale University.

purveyor of German theological scholarship. He had studied at Tübingen under Ferdinand Christian Baur, at Halle under Tholuck and at Berlin under Neander.

In 1857 Schaff published in Edinburgh a book entitled *Germany, Its Universities, Theology and Religion*. The work was reviewed by a Yale man, Noah Porter, Professor of Philosophy and later to be President of the College. The review discloses the enthusiasm for Germany among American students even before the appearance of Schaff's book. The impulse to study there, said Porter, had gained strength for the past ten years in geometrical ratio and was becoming almost a furor. Let it continue, said he. One reason for going is to learn the language, which does not mean that English should be embellished with phrases as cumbersome as Teutonic dressing gowns. But the German language must be learned in order that the Germans may be studied at first hand. They are less dangerous in that way. The second-hand Germanizing taken from Emerson and Carlyle is more pernicious than a direct contact with a man like Neander. But is not their philosophy a congregation of pestilent vapors? To be sure, their heads are sometimes in the clouds, but that is because they attempt to scale such elevated peaks. Of course, the Tübingen School has generated a portentous smog from a very small fire. Yet we cannot leave German speculation alone. It has fascinated too many minds. Apart from ideas, one can learn from the Germans habits of solid, exhaustive study. They despise laziness and revere labor. With them enthusiasm for study is a passion. And do not refuse to profit from their sermons because of the candles on the altars.<sup>4</sup>

One of the students swelling the flow to Germany in the decade which Porter reviewed was George Park Fisher, later to be the distinguished Professor of Church History in the Yale Divinity School. We have his diary for the years 1852 to 53 while he was a student under the theological faculty at Halle. Why he went to Halle, he does not tell, but one may surmise that his reasons were not too different from those of another American student twenty years later, Francis G. Peabody. He was repelled alike by the arid rationalism of Heidelberg and the rabid orthodoxy of Leipzig and turned rather to the median position of Halle. The great figure there was Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck. Peabody, when he knocked at the door of this professor, was still smarting from chagrin because of his encounter with the rector of the university, who asked about his father. The young American meant to answer *Er lebt nicht mehr*; instead he replied *Er lebt noch nicht*. Another rebuff was in store when he asked the maid for Professor Tholuck, and she gave him to understand that he should have said *Oberconsistorialrat*. What was his relief when a gentle little man greeted him cordially in perfect English! Tholuck, said Peabody, was not the most outstanding preacher in Germany nor the most distinguished scholar. "He was preeminent as a saint."<sup>5</sup>

This was the man into whose circle Fisher was to be received, but let him unfold the story for himself through the pages of his diary for the years 1852 and 1853. In the month of June he landed at Bremen and disembarked on a Sunday to the disquiet of his conscience. His eye was at once caught by the flower pots in the windows of the meanest cottages. For some time he ate bread and milk from a soup plate because he did not know the word for bowl. Calling on the American consul, he was amazed to find him marrying couples who had lived together for years and had as many as eight children but had never been

<sup>4</sup> *The New Englander*, 1 (Nov., 1857), p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Francis G. Peabody, *Reminiscences of Present Day Saints* (Boston, 1927), 79-84.

able to afford the luxury of the law. Before migrating to America, they were required to fulfill the formalities. The Dom at Bremen had four pastors — one Rationalist, one Evangelical, and one in between, etc. "They are on good terms with each other and preach by turns."

Arriving on the nineteenth of June at Halle, he visited the famous orphanage founded by Francke. Dropped into a bookstore. "Saw there a part of Neander's library which is in process of being sent to the University of Rochester . . . Took lodgings with a Frau and a Fräulein. The latter spoke English well. The Germans expect to find Americans either black or copper. When a Professor from Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, preached in Berlin, a tailor . . . exclaimed, . . . 'Another cheat! He is not an American! He is white!'"

Professor Roediger is teaching that the speech of Elihu in the book of Job is not genuine because "it anticipates the speech of Jehovah and breaks the unity of the book. But how does he know Job was made according to his laws of unity, any more than the plays of Shakespeare?"

The following entrees culled from the diary are given in the original order: "June 21st, Went to . . . church . . . Listened but did not understand the sermon. The congregation was not large — the majority were females . . . The persons present appeared devout and the preacher earnest — though the Lutheran service appears to me to be but a poor imitation of the Romish . . .

"I went to tea at Professor Tholuck's . . . He was affable and his lady very social and kind . . . Spoke of Coleridge and of his beneficent influence in stirring up young minds . . . With Mrs. Tholuck I talked of Mrs. Stowe's book [*Uncle Tom's Cabin*] — of slavery in America, etc. She speaks the English well.

"June 26th, Hupfeld, who is lecturing on Jewish history, holds that the history in Joshua, etc. was written at a late period — its basis being true, but its details poetical and often irreconcilable with each other . . .

"June 27th, A sunny day. As I am writing, a woman is at work with a hoe in the garden . . . It is said that a man and woman may often be seen together in the field, the woman digging the holes, while the man drops in the potatoes . . . Yesterday I had my head shaved and am crowned with a wig — an inconvenience greater than I ever intend again to submit to, merely for the sake of beauty . . . My shoemaker and tailor send their bills to 'the High-born Mr. Fisher' German manners!

"June 28th, Last evening talked with the Fräulein of German customs . . . I have been to the Dom Church to hear Professor Erdmann . . . — the singing by the congregation very impressive — the preacher is the Prof. ord. of Philosophy . . . His enunciation was very distinct, so that I could hear all the German, but was able to translate not many sentences. From others, however, I derived a synopsis of the sermon. His introduction was a vindication of the necessity of Philosophy . . . on the part of theological students . . . In his sermon he combatted the notion that we *must* sin, as an introduction to a higher development — saying that we were not commanded to enter the *Red Sea* in order to gain the promised land, but we are already *in* the Red Sea, and the word to us is *Heraus!* (out) . . .

"Tholuck's manner in the pulpit is enthusiastic (in the good sense of the word) and at the same time dignified" . . . I am told there is "a party of students who 'swear by Tholuck . . . ' I have heard Rödiger on the passage in Job 'I know that my Redeemer liveth, etc.' His idea of it is — 'I know that my *Vindicator* liveth!'

"This evening I have been walking with Fräulein in the garden. It is a splendid evening. It is quite light here, these evenings, until 9½ o'clock.

"July 2d, Today . . . I walked from 11 to 1 o'clock with Tholuck. After some pleasant commonplaces he began on the subject of which I had spoken to him — the state of theological parties in Germany — there are 4 principle parties: 1st, the Symbolic Orthodox who hold that the symbols still express the exact truth and allow no progress, except in forms of statement. Hengstenberg is now of this school, also Guericke. (2) The Liberal Orthodox, who hold to a progress in theology, that the symbols do not express the exact truth; they go back to the Bible for instruction: Neander, Müller, Tholuck, Moll, Herzog are of this class. (3) The Rationalists who hold that all religion is but the development of reason — that the Apostles and Christ thought themselves inspired, but mistook their own thoughts for inspiration. (4) The Pantheistic or Progressive Rationalists . . . To the 3d belongs the University of Giessen . . .

"Tholuck's own idea of reason in relation to faith is — that the reason of the unregenerate is an unsafe and blind guide and that the heart must be regenerated that one may be led to a full knowledge of the truth . . .

"[Walked with] a bright, intelligent youth . . . who asked me . . . if the Americans are not heathens — or how many heathens there are in Massachusetts . . .

"July 4th, [Discussed] — Is Samuel I fragmentary? Dined with the Fräulein and some friends from the country — good time — began a letter to sister.

"July 8th, Yesterday went to Leipzig . . . Called on Dr. Fluegel . . . Showed me his dictionary, which is in the course of preparation.

"[With another student] walked with Professor Hupfeld. Walked several miles and stopped at a garden where the Prof. treated us to beer and cigars. We asked him about his view of the inspiration of the Old Testament. He said that he objected to the term *inspiration* as mechanical. The whole nation were elevated by Providence and led to the possession of great religious ideas . . . They are not infallible and are sometimes inconsistent . . .

"July 14th, Tholuck spoke of his unwillingness to remain during the evening at Giebenstein, saying 'A learned man who has a book to write before he dies cannot lose minutes.' . . . *Leben Sie recht wohl, mein lieber Herr Fisher.*'

"July 15th, Last evening drank tea at Professor Leo's. Pleasant garden. Prof's remark — 'We will speak *Lateinische* . . .'

"July 25th, Last evening . . . Mrs. Tholuck had *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in her hand . . . She read it until after dark, and although the Prof. scolded that she was so long engaged upon it, for fear it would hurt her eyes, she heard him and then read on . . .

"July 29th, Mueller, the other day in his lectures on Ethics condemned the American Temperance laws as likely to lead to a reaction . . .

"August 4th, Monday I called upon Ulrici . . . He says that Hegelianism is fast going down in Germany . . . Also that the interest in philosophical studies is declining . . . Thought it not improbable that Philosophy might emigrate to America.

"August 18th, 1852. Today I returned from Dresden . . . Was saddened to learn of the death of Fräulein. She was somewhat unwell when I left, but able to come out of her room and bid me adieu; but, alas, how little did I think it was the *last* adieu in this world . . . God only knows when I shall be called . . . I also received . . . the cheering intelligence that my mother and sister are well. May God keep them and love them! And may he keep me, not only in life, but

in purity of heart and holiness of walk and conversation. May I be like Jesus, and through his Grace, be humble, prayerful, sober-minded, industrious, reverent and anxious to do good, and finally may I be prepared for the rest which remains for those who love our Lord!

"August 21st, Anecdote of Schleiermacher — Some one spoke to him of the great audiences of literati, ladies and officers, etc. which listened to his sermons — yes, he said . . . 'The students come to hear the sermon — the ladies to see the students — and the officers to see the ladies.'

"August 25th, I called on Dr. Robinson. [He thought] Tholuck had passed his day. Miss R. is intellectual and agreeable, but *very* plain. The mother is plain enough also, in the face, but *good* . . .

"October 10th, Afternoon with Leo . . . He said the American people are not *ruhig* enough for a *wissenschaftlich* life.

"October 11th, Fabyan called. He wished to ask me what 'a Revival of Religion' is! He had . . . an American newspaper giving an account of the Revival in Brown University in 1846—7! . . .

"November 24th, Went to Leipzig to have a tooth extracted . . . Dr. Weissenborn — his German friendliness is very flattering. He says 'I shall learn the English . . . merely and solely to read your essays which may appear in *The Bibliotheca Sacra* . . .'

"December 4th, Weissenborn . . . asked me if I wanted to take back a German wife. 'Oh yes' — he spoke of several of his acquaintances, of one who is determined never to marry, unless she marries an Englishman or an American, but she has a stiff *Bein!* alas! — then another who is the best among all his acquaintances who are '*heiraths-lustig*' — at this expression . . . his wife remonstrated. He described the lameness in Latin.

"December 6th, 1852, Yesterday, Sunday, heard Ahrendts in the N. W. *Kirche* . . . Spoke of the heathenism of the last century and of some Christians who still cling to Goethe and Schiller . . .

"December 8th, Long walk with Tholuck. He was especially talkative and agreeable — began by asking what was the most difficult Christian virtue to practise, which he thought to be *demuth*, humility . . . Spoke of Schleiermacher — of his commanding person, of his eyes — 'before which one would fear' — of his habit of '*ausspannung*' (unbending) himself in society and talking of general subjects; would turn to a Piano in a little party and play a march, and one would sometimes see tears in his eyes. He mentioned Strauss' remark on Schleiermacher — 'he pulverized Spinozism and Christianity so finely and mixed them so closely, that it requires a sharp eye to distinguish them.' Tholuck then spoke with admiration of Schleiermacher's studying of Jesus Christ and his doctrine, with his family — The impression of Schleiermacher on him was different than that of Hegel. Hegel was clumsy in appearance, speech, walk and manner — But he had, nevertheless, a sort of religious feeling — the feeling that he was the organ of the *Weltgeist* . . . He was always pleased to hear the Gospel preached . . . When Tholuck was called from Berlin to Halle, he passed an evening with Hegel, just before he was to leave — Hegel touched glasses with him and said, '*Pereat das hallische Rationalismus*' — Hegel encouraged his wife to go to Pastor Gessner with her children, etc. She once asked him to pray in his family. 'My prayer,' he replied, 'is Logic.' . . . Göthe, says Tholuck, was a man of the world. Faust contains deep truth — but Shakespeare is a hundredfold greater than Göthe . . . Tholuck said there is a revival in Brunswick, one of the two chief seats of Rationalism. Weimar is the other . . .

"December 12, Friday evening, I spent with Professor Müller . . . We talked of the Catholic Church — which . . . is now very active in Germany, and constitutes our greatest danger for the future — of the question whether the Catholic Church discourages or fosters Revolutions — He inquired as to our sects in Massachusetts — said that Hase, who denied the '*Gottheit des Christus*' were hardly *christlich* . . . I told them of the Women's Rights Convention — at which they were much amused.

"December 17th, I spoke with young Licentiat Müller on Christmas . . . The Germans generally felt the utmost astonishment that we have no Christian year and no Christmas in our church . . .

"January 3d, 1853 . . . I called on Rödiger . . . Spoke of the gratification which he once had in celebrating Christmas Eve with guests, when his '*Selige Frau*' was alive — how once their tree was surmounted with the stars of the American banner — his description of their mode of celebrating Christmas — sending packages one after another into the room, with verses or some joke on the envelope . . .

"January 5th, On Monday, I called on Müller . . . Strauss now lives in Weimar, has given up Theology and will write a life of Göthe. Schleiermacher's '*Glaubenslehre*', said the Professor, is the most important of the new books in the *Dogmatik* . . .

"January 9th . . . had a walk with Tholuck. He spoke of . . . Chalmers' enthusiasm and of his expressing a determination to read Strauss, as Tholuck assured him that Strauss' book contained new historical material on Christianity. 'I will get it tomorrow,' said Chalmers . . . We spoke of prison discipline. Elizabeth Fry did not please him . . . She paid too much attention to the nobility and royal family — meeting in Berlin. Her wish to appoint a Quaker meeting for the next day. Tholuck's refusal to give the notice — he felt that it did not become a *Consistorialrat* to give such a notice for a Quaker meeting . . . With respect to Scotland . . . it is no use — Scotland will not change — will have everything as it was in the days of John Knox . . . Tholuck's speaking of travelling in Switzerland. He would gladly spend his old age there. But there would be a difficulty in carrying his library over the mountains . . .

"I had a talk with Stämer on Baur and his school. The students in Tübingen do not generally follow Baur . . .

"February 1st, Weissenborn told me much of Gesenius. Tholuck was, when younger, much more of a Pietist than afterward, and he and Gesenius were cool toward each other. At last, however, they were not unfriendly . . .

"February 21st, Walked with Tholuck . . . Spoke of mystics and mysticism; of the want of it in America — of the Americans' curiosity to see great men . . .

"March 29th, I had a talk with Madame Müller, her husband and family . . . I told them of the cost of travelling to America. 'Herr Gott' — 'Herr Jesu'!

"March 31st, Called on Tholuck . . . He wrote my note of introduction which is a very warm commendation. Then he says, 'Do not let your *deutsches Wissen* make you *hochmütig* . . . with *inniger Liebe, ich scheidet von ihnen und wünsche ihnen*, etc. etc. Then called upon Mrs. Tholuck, her beautiful manners. I told her that I should tell my mother how kind she had been to me, etc. Goodbye!"<sup>6</sup>

These Yale men, on their return to Germany, formed, together with some students who had acquired the language from reading, a club with the imposing title *Kaiserthum von Hohenzollern-Etwas*. The association was apparently a

<sup>6</sup> Manuscript, Divinity School Library, Yale University.

pure diversion. The members were decorated with pretentious titles poking genial fun alike at their German teachers and at themselves. Here is the title of George Park Fisher. (The inclusion of Wrentham is a reference to his birthplace, a town of that name in Massachusetts): Seine Durchleuchtigste Kaiserliche Königliche Apostolische Resplendent-Majestät, Georgius Parkus der 57ste, Kaiser von Hohenzollern-Etwas; König von Anhalt-Nichts, von Mühlhäuser, von Nachweisung; Erzherzog von Wrentham; Fürst von Tapferkeit; Unüberwindlicher Verteidiger der Freiheit des deutschen Bundes; und so weiter. Wohlgeboren. So! Ei! Was!!

A newspaper was conducted by the group in manuscript. One of the redactors was Timothy Dwight, later President of Yale, who had studied at Bonn and Berlin from 1856 to 1858. The paper included a summary of world events. Under Germany there is this entry for February 1, 1860. "In der heutigen Sitzung des Abgeordnetenhauses, in welcher das gesammte Staatsministerium anwesend war, machte der Minister der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten der zungendnacherische Winkeladvocat, Heinrich Taylor von Blake, folgende Mittheilung:

"Meine Herren! In dem Augenblick, in welchem die hohenzollern-etwas'eshe Landesvertretung sich versammelt, um ihre Arbeiten, nach kurzer Unterbrechung, wieder aufzunehmen, gehen in der Ferne verhängnisvolle Ereignisse vor sich. Der Kaiser Napoleon von Frankreich hat einen eigenhändig geschriebenen Brief an den Papst geschickt, worin er sagt daß *etwas* ein 'fait accompli' ist. Was für ein Etwas dieses Etwas sein kann ist uns bis jetzt unbekannt, weil die Telegraphischen-Depeschen aus Rom vom ersten Februar noch nicht angekommen sind."

Under the United States there is this entry. The reference is to the Reverend Joel Hawes of the Congregational Church in Hartford, Connecticut. "Am letzten Sonntag hielt der vortreffliche Prediger, Herr Dr. Joel Hawes, eine Rede über das Tabakwesen in Neuhamfen [New Haven], einer kleinen Stadt in Connecticut, welds ungefähr 15 deutsche Meilen von New York liegt. Derselbe glaubt dass die Menschen gar keinen Tabak brauchen sollten, und seine Gründe sind vier: erstens, das Tabakrauchen u.s.w. ist denjenigen Personen, welche es nicht lieb haben, unangenehm, — zweitens, es kostet viel Geld, — drittens, ein gewisser Herr Theophilus Parsons, aus Boston, Massachusetts, starb in seiner Jugendblüthe, d. h. als er nur drei und sechzig Jahre alt war — bloss desswegen weil er drei hundert Cigarren am Anfang eines Monats und keine einzige am Ende desselben Monats in seinem Koffer hatte, — und viertens, der Doctor selbst bemerkte, als er 1844 in Constantinopel war, daß die Turken die Gewohnheit viel zu rauchen aber nicht viel zu denken hatten. Es thut mir wirklich leid — denn der Doctor ist auch bei Ihnen in Hohenzollern-Etwas sehr wohl bekannt — Ihnen folgendes sagen zu müssen. Am Ende seiner Vorlesung oder nach derselben deutete der Doctor an, daß er sehr wahrscheinlich nur kurze Zeit noch zu leben hätte. Diess aber hat er schon einmal in Hartford gesagt und wir hoffen desshalb, er wird so lange im Leben bleiben dass er es noch einmal in Neuhamfen sagen kann."

The concluding notice under the United States is this: "Neu York 1. Jan. [1861] Nachmittags. Die Vereinigten-Staaten hangen noch zusammen und bleiben gesund." <sup>7</sup>

The Civil War and the disruption of the Union were to occur on the 12th of April.

Despite all this persiflage these Americans were devoting their lives to the cultivation and dissemination of that scholarship which they had acquired in Germany. Noah Porter translated Kuno Fischer's *History of Modern Philo-*

<sup>7</sup> Manuscript, Memorabilia Room, Sterling Library, Yale University.



sophy (1887) and made additions to the translation of Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy* (1892). It is interesting also that Porter's own epistemology was the subject of a German dissertation by W. B. Judd, *Noah Porter's Erkenntnislehre* (Jena, 1897). George Edward Day revised the translation of Gustav Friedrich Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* (1883) and translated J. J. van Oosterzee, *The Epistle of Paul to Titus, from the German* (1869). Timothy Dwight wrote prefaces and supplementary notes to several volumes of Heinrich A. W. Meyer's Biblical commentaries, and George Park Fisher, if he did not translate, yet devoted his entire career to the exemplification of that *deutsches Wissen* which Tholuck hoped would not make him too *hochmütig*.

What these American students carried away from their years in Germany is nostalgically described by Newman Smyth, pastor of Center Church in New Haven and for many years member of the Yale Corporation.

"The memory of Tholuck," he wrote, "is like a benediction. He was one of the most learned, acutely critical, comprehensively informed, and at the same time the simplest and most spiritual of the evangelical teachers and preachers in Germany. To those students who came under his personal influence he gave himself freely, fully, with a childlike simplicity in his impartation of his learning such as I have hardly known in any one else. In his preaching he was the simple evangelist, but his was the simplicity of wisdom, and when he preached the students flocked to hear him. In his personal conversations with students whom he took under his special guidance, he was the keen questioner and a most stimulating conversationalist. He would be sure to send one back to his studies with a fresh eagerness in the pursuit of truth. And his humility was deep as his faith was high and his knowledge comprehensive. It was a favorite habit of his to ask some student to take his customary walk with him, and suddenly, in the midst perhaps of ordinary conversation, to surprise him with some difficult philosophical or other question. Afterward the student could guess at the professor's estimate of his reply by whether or not he soon received another invitation to walk with him. I think that this was perhaps a deliberate method of his in picking out men to whom he might devote himself, and whom he might train for the future work of evangelical thought and life for Germany. There were many anecdotes of such questionings in these walks with Tholuck. Once, I was told, he suddenly stopped, as was his wont, and threw this question out at the student walking with him: 'Why did not the Almighty strike the devil dead?' The youth immediately replied: 'Because, I suppose, he wanted to see how the creature would develop.'

"Tholuck took always a special interest in the American students who came to Halle . . . A Christmas eve in his study, where he had gathered the little company of us American students, remains to this day one of the happiest recollections of a lifetime. Never before or since have I so felt the simplicity of true wisdom. He spoke so simply that a little child might have understood every word he said, and yet we knew and felt that behind it all was the knowledge of a great scholar. And the unconscious humility of it! He was talking to us students, and yet he spoke as a little child. So I think Jesus must often have taught his disciples. Tholuck said to us then: 'I have but one passion; it is Christ, only Christ!' He gave to each of us some simple Christmas gift, and then sent us away with his blessing."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Recollections and Reflections* (New York, 1926), pp. 89-90.