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The Reverend John H. A. Bomberger, Doctor of Divinity; Doctor of Laws 1817-1890: Centenary Volume

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Ursinus College

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JOHN H. A. BOMBERGER

Centenary Volume

JOHN H. A. BOMBERGER



Sincerely yours,
J. H. Bomberger.

THE REVEREND
JOHN H. A. BOMBERGER

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY; DOCTOR OF LAWS
1817—1890

CENTENARY VOLUME

Published by
URSINUS COLLEGE

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DEDICATED
TO THE CAUSE OF
EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT
CHRISTIANITY

PREFACE

As time passes the figure of John H. A. Bomberger, when viewed against the sky-line of nineteenth century history, especially in the field of educational and religious activities, becomes more and more imposing. His place of permanence in the Reformed Church was recognized during his lifetime, and definitely proclaimed even by those not sympathetic with his position, on the occasion of his death. That a biographical volume should be written has long been urged. The Centenary Celebration in observance of the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, planned by Ursinus College for the year 1917, proved to be the occasion which crystallized definite effort in this direction, and the book now makes its appearance as a feature of this celebration.

As a work of composite authorship, it presents with more variety and color than would the work of a single writer, the busy life and versatile personality which it is designed to portray, this especially in view of the fact that the several writers were chosen with special reference to their competence for their peculiar tasks, due to personal knowledge, experience and access to sources of information.

PREFACE

The comprehensive plan of the book and the careful adherence of each writer exclusively to his own part, has secured less repetition and overlapping of treatment than would ordinarily be expected in such a work. On the other hand, the sympathetic co-operation of the collaborators and the dominating influence of the distinctive personality engaging their attention, has resulted in producing a work of remarkable unity and coherence for one of its kind. While each chapter constitutes a complete story in itself and may thus be read without reference to the others, there is a continuity and sequence in the chapters as arranged, which makes it still more satisfactory to read the book from beginning to end in order.

It may be stated that the portrayal in so far as it presents Dr. Bomberger as theologian and churchman is that of sympathetic adherents to his position, but from the standpoint of a quarter century later when the theological period in which he labored has yielded to an era of constructive co-operation in practical affairs, in which the positions for which he contended are widely accepted throughout the church, and there is cordial recognition of the motives, abilities and services of the men on both sides of the controversy in which he was so conspicuous a participant.

Of shortcomings in the book, the authors are aware, yet it is offered in the hope and belief that it gives a faithful portrayal of the life and character of the subject, and that it will be welcomed by

PREFACE

a host of readers who will review with satisfaction and pleasure the events of other days as they center round the commanding figure whose benign personality and magnetic influence may still be felt in the perusal of these pages.

GEORGE LESLIE OMWAKE,
JAMES I. GOOD,
CALVIN D. YOST,
Editorial Committee.

May 15, 1917.

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JOHN H. A. BOMBERGER

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE

Youthful prodigies are frequently middle-age disappointments. Childhood precocity is often merely the herald of the premature coming of the sere and yellow leaf. Hartley Coleridge, at three, was called "the philosopher," by Lamb. "At nine he had written several tragedies, at twelve he was an accomplished Greek scholar, at twenty a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford." He died at forty-seven, having wholly failed to fulfill the glowing promise of his brilliant youth. And his experience is but the type of a large number of instances differing in detail, but like it in disappointing outcome.

There are some exceptions to this in the realm of biography. The present day phenomenal children, whose achievements are given publicity from time to time, and who astonish the savants in the temples by their remarkable intellectual developments at a

tender age, have had their counterparts in the past.

But the rule of the normal unfolding of the powers by a gradual process seems to prevail among those whose after lives count for most in the annals of human attainment. The life that is truest to the normal human type is the one which, in each separate stage of its development, manifests the traits and characteristics appropriate to that stage.

The biographer of one, whose youth was merely that of a typical boy, unmarked by the upthrusts of genius, is inclined to find compensation and reassurance in some such train of thought as the foregoing.

All this has direct application to the life story which this volume seeks to tell. It is the story of a man whose valuable and important contribution to his times it is possible, happily, to indicate in a sharply defined and distinctive manner, as well as to trace it to the influences which made their shaping power felt in the boyhood home.

While fully realizing the part that filial bias might play in moulding his appraisal of the life in question, the writer is inclined to feel that this appraisal does not differ widely from that of those who stood shoulder to shoulder with this valiant defender of the faith, or that of those,—many of them equally sincere and firm in their convictions,—who crossed swords with him in the stormy conflicts of those crisis times in our denominational life.

Contracted to the narrow bounds of a single paragraph, Dr. Bomberger's premier "excuse for existence," that which stands forth as pre-eminently

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his gift to his Master, his church, and his own and succeeding times, lies in his able, dauntless and unrelaxing opposition to ecclesiastical influences which at one time threatened to sweep the whole Reformed Church away from its evangelical moorings. This was the supreme work to which he dedicated his life. Because he realized most keenly the greatness of the issues at stake, he gave himself, with all his rare powers of mind and heart, to this cause.

And he lived to see the efforts of the side he so unreservedly espoused crowned with success, and the cause prevail, and to know that he had contributed no small part toward that significant consummation. In the light of this glance ahead at the ripened maturity which followed, additional interest will be lent to the boyhood stage of that life's unfolding.

It is not difficult to find the germ and prophecy, the ruling motives and guiding principles of later years in the seeds of truth hidden in the heart of a boy through the influence of a home steeped in the spirit of vital religious convictions, which he himself always liked to characterize as "pietistic."

John Henry Augustus Bomberger, the one hundredth anniversary of whose birth occurred on the thirteenth day of January in the year of our Lord, 1917, was a normal boy. He was the only son, and, for years, the only child of his parents. A sister, born two years after his birth, in 1819, died four years later. Another sister, Anna, was born in 1831, when he was in his fourteenth year. This resulted in his boyhood's years being spent largely in the companion-

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ship of adults, which, as is apt to be the case under such conditions, early developed a somewhat sober cast of mind.

And yet he was in no way "cheated out of childhood." He was a boy among boys, given to the average boy's pursuits,—fun-loving and sharing the usual experiences of weal and woe that cast their lights and shadows upon boyhood's skies.

In some respects it seems almost like impertinence to obtrude family records upon the general reader. And yet the part which heredity plays in the shaping of life is so indubitably and indisputably established, that a biography which fails to find the explanation of personal characteristics in ancestral antecedents, neglects a fertile field.

It is not surprising that even as a boy, the lad of whom we write, should display a strong predilection for and responsiveness to the claims of the higher life. A long line of Godfearing ancestors is not merely a valuable asset, in the sense that the memory of their piety is a spur to similar fidelity. But undoubtedly, even though spiritual traits may not be directly transmitted, there is a set and tendency given to the nature under such conditions which make it peculiarly susceptible to spiritual influences. In spite of some glaring exceptions, godliness is cumulative, and it becomes an ever increasing force through the generations, unless unfavorably modified by cross currents. The earliest family records go back four or five decades into the eighteenth century to 1768, when, on November 26th, John Bomberger was born. On De-

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ember 2nd, seven years later, in 1775, Anna Maria Hoffnagle, who later became his wife, opened her eyes in Lancaster, the city of his birth.

Their marriage having occurred in due time, the next entry in the record tells of the birth of their son, George Hoffnagle Bomberger, in 1794. There were nine children: six boys, namely, George, John, Michael, Martin, Samuel and William, and three daughters, Harriet, Charlotte and Mary Ann.

Across the sea, in Anhalt-Coethen, Germany, back in 1760, a certain John Henry Hoffmeier first saw the light. On coming to early manhood's estate, he entered the ministry, and was united in marriage with Gertrude Von Asen. Later they came, as did so many of their race, to make a home for themselves in far away America. Here, on March 16, 1796, a daughter, Mary, was born. She had three brothers, two of whom were Reformed ministers, Charles F. and John William, and four sisters. George H. Bomberger and Mary Hoffmeier were married March 17, 1816, and their only son, John, was born in Lancaster, on Monday, January 13, 1817.

There is a suggestion of the tragic in the meagerness in details of most family records. There are a few scattered dates stripped of special significance; some trivial jottings of flickering recollection—and nothing more. And yet a score or two of life stories, crowded with human experiences, throbbing with passion, thrilled with joy and tingling with pain, lie behind those unrevealing dates, baffling the curiosity

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of the biographer. What a small number of the countless lives of earth win biographies, or leave any records of their years of striving and struggle. Even those who gained some fame in their little day—how soon they are forgotten!

“What’s fame, a fancied life in other’s breath,
A thing beyond us e’en before our death—
All that there’s of it both begins and ends
In the small circle of our foes and friends.”

That old genealogical record of the Gospel is typical of the barrenness of most biographical data, “And Judas begat Phares, and Phares begat Esrom, and Esrom begat Aram,” and so on to the end of the chapter. Only a fragment of a sentence is required to sum up the three-score and ten years which had seemed charged with such intense significance for the individual himself. And a dozen generations of toiling men and loving women can be disposed of in a hasty paragraph with the final “and these were all gathered to their fathers,” to round it out.

The maternal grandfather, the Rev. John H. Hoffmeier, was pastor of the Reformed Church in Lancaster for nearly thirty years. Those who went before him were identified with the Reformed Church as far back as it is possible to trace the line.

On his father’s side, the family engaged in business. His father was a well-known Lancaster merchant, and his grandfather was extensively engaged in merchant tailoring.

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Unfortunately the grandfather, in the goodness of his heart, endorsed a friend's notes and, as usual, found that the way of the endorser is hard. He failed in business as a direct result and carried his son down with him. Fortunately the son promptly succeeded in turning his mercantile experience to good account as a salesman. A few years later he was appointed Clerk of the Orphans' Court, holding the position for three consecutive terms, nine years. On relinquishing this post he opened a conveyancer's office, in which business he continued until his death in April, 1863, in his seventieth year. His wife had preceded him to the other world, dying on Easter morning in April, 1849. He was survived by his second wife, Henrietta Steinman, of Lancaster, with whom he was united in marriage in 1857.

In a few scattered autobiographical data jotted down by Dr. Bomberger in 1886, he says of his childhood days and the religious atmosphere of his home life: "The religious family life of my childhood's home was very decidedly of the Reformed pietistic type. Next to the Bible were the Heidelberg Catechism, the old Reformed Hymn Book, with its Lobwasser version of the Psalms, and its warmly pietistic hymns. These were used for daily readings. I remember especially that my grandmother and my mother usually had one or more of these devotional books lying near their sewing chair. I have a copy of Bogatsky's *Golden Treasury*, which was given to my mother by her mother as a Christmas token in 1828.

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"After father's mercantile failure it required considerable economy to maintain the family, as father, happily, had not learned the device of failing rich.

"The language ordinarily spoken from my earliest years at home was English, though both father and mother could, of course, speak German. They used the latter language whenever they did not wish me to know of what they were talking.

"My earliest school recollections are linked with the school connected with grandfather Hoffmeier's church. My first teacher was a Mr. Deininger, whose brother is at present (1886) the pastor of a Lutheran church in York, Pa. About 1824 we moved from East King street to North Queen, into a house adjoining Samson's brush factory. From there I was sent to a Mrs. Lennakay's (or Lemer kay's) school, kept in a small room in a house next south of the Railway Hotel, opposite the Pennsylvania Railway depot. After that I went to the parochial school again under Mr. Anthony Zulich, the successor of Mr. Deininger, as organist in the First Reformed Church. He was organist in the church at Easton, Pennsylvania, when I became pastor there in 1845. Subsequently I attended the higher English school of a Mr. Fuller, a retired lawyer, in a small frame building across the alley from the First Reformed Church. Altogether these earlier school advantages were of an inferior character.

"In 1828 the Lancaster Academy was opened in a room in Kuhn's (drug store) building. The first

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teacher was Mr. James H. Wilson, who had just graduated from Princeton. He was a son of the eminent Dr. Wilson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Washington Square, Philadelphia. He was doubtless a fine scholar, but quite young, probably under twenty, and without experience."

There is something pathetic in the thought of these meagre and fragmentary experiences of the boy's efforts to secure expert guidance in the unfolding of his child-mind. In contrast with the almost prodigal provision for the training of the child in our thoroughly equipped schools today these early day educational disadvantages seem absurdly inadequate.

Probably one of the most striking changes which marks the difference between those times and the present, is to be found in our open-eyed recognition of the supreme importance of providing the very best opportunity possible for the culture of the pre-adolescent mind. We have grown so familiar with the privileges of our generation in this respect, that we are often apt to fail to appreciate with sufficient keenness of recognition and gratitude, their inestimable value.

One important part of the service rendered by the biographer who reminds us of this pitiful lack of educational facilities of the childhood of earlier times, is the awakening of a fuller appreciation of present day opportunities. Today, the world's greatest scholars are devoting their best efforts to the study of the child-mind. The best method for helping the unfolding intellect; the most valuable equipment,

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books without number, and all else needed to secure the most satisfactory results, have been lavishly provided, and placed at the disposal of the lower grade teachers in our admirably appointed schools. The child is king today, and everything else is made to give way to adequate provision for his training.

One of the reflections awakened by this change in conditions is the high commendation due to those who, like the one whose story this book is telling, conquered unfavorable circumstances, and in spite of the educational deficiencies of childhood, rose to an intellectual eminence, which gave no evidence of that poverty in juvenile advantages.

The subject of this sketch spent three years in Lancaster Academy, which enrolled at first less than a score of pupils. Among these pupils was the Rev. Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, who occupied the chair of Greek in the University of Pennsylvania.

In January, 1832, when he was fifteen years of age, he was sent to the High School which the Reformed Church had opened a short time before this at York. This school was under the management of the Rev. Frederick A. Rauch, Ph.D., who, later, became the first president of Marshall College.

Dr. Rauch was a learned man, thoroughly equipped in his profession, who did not merely assign lessons and exact recitations, but who taught his pupils how to study, and instilled in their minds a love of knowledge.

His pupil ever held in grateful memory the instructions of this Christian scholar, and counted him

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the first real teacher whose tuition he enjoyed. After two years of diligent study in this High School, in which he sought to "make up" for the vagrant character of most of his previous ventures in the realms of learning, he was admitted to the Theological Seminary at the early age of seventeen.

In later years Dr. Bomberger frequently referred with pleasure to the happy days spent in his grandfather Hoffmeier's home. For years he was the only grandchild and, in consequence, filled a prominent niche in the family affections and plans. His constant association with older people gave a tinge of seriousness to his earlier years.

At a very early age his earnestly religious parents and grandparents dedicated him to the ministry, and this seems soon to have become a settled purpose with the boy. It was no doubt confirmed by the influence of his clergyman grandfather, in their long talks in the latter's home.

But this more sober thought of the life work to which he had been devoted cast no sombre shadow upon the spirits of the growing boy. His grandfather's home and large garden afforded a favorite playground for his childhood amusement. Hidden away beneath the currant bushes of the parsonage garden, at Easter, according to the custom, he found carefully constructed rabbits' nests filled with eggs, reflecting all of the rainbow's hues, and he engaged in the search with all the zest of any happy, healthy boy.

The time-honored harp, upon which the Rev. Dr.

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Hoffmeier emulated the skill of David, was another delight for the lad for whom, throughout his life, music always had the strongest possible charm, and it doubtless did much toward awakening that love of melody. The harp is still treasured as a precious heirloom by members of the Hoffmeier family. The varied influences, many of them almost too trifling to be mentioned, which play their part in shaping youthful lives and give direction to the stream of tendency, afford a fruitful theme for the reflectively inclined. The balance struck between deprivations and advantages, as we ordinarily measure these factors, is significant in the trend which is given to the life most intimately affected by them. Much of the imagery with which the mind is furnished in later years may oftentimes be traced back to the years of immaturity and to the deep impressions made upon them by associations and surroundings. They stamp the seal of influence upon the most receptive of all things, the soul of a child, and all eternity will not efface it.

It is impossible to contemplate any childhood with its sensitive-plate readiness to receive life impressions without keenly realizing anew what tremendous issues are at stake, and how irreparably character results are at the mercy of what often seem like wholly casual and careless touches.

And all this lends additional emphasis to the trite, but immeasurably important thought of childhood as opportunity.

This finds striking exemplification in the in-

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fluences which gathered about the childhood we are considering. It is not difficult to account for much that emerged in the long life spent by Dr. Bomberger in the pastorate, the editorial sanctum, and the president's office and professor's chair at Ursinus College, by reference to the influences and experiences of his boyhood days. Although their resources were limited, his devoted parents succeeded, at who can tell what cost of personal sacrifice, in sending him out into life's warfare, girded for the fray with those things which are most essential.

He inherited an untarnished name. With this, there came down to him constitutional vigor and physical soundness which were an immensely valuable asset throughout the course of his more than three score years and ten. From his earliest recollections the spirit of a sincere and fervent religion pervaded his home. Spiritual-mindedness far from being a pose, or an incidental thing, was wrought into the fibre of his home life. This is clearly in evidence in extant letters written by his mother to him a few years later. They breathe a spirit of child-like trust in God, and an unaffected devoutness.

A spiritual home atmosphere such as this does far more even than formal precept, to arouse and foster the religious instincts in the heart of a child. And when, as was the case here, a home life steeped in genuine religious fervor is combined with systematic instruction in the great principles of revealed truth, Christ comes to stand forth as the supreme reality to the unfolding life, and regeneration is as

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natural a process as the bursting of a bud into a blossom, or the development of the seed into the blade and ear.

With all this there was a full appreciation of the incalculable importance of thorough mental and moral equipment for the lifework. While his parents' educational advantages were limited, they cherished the fondest hopes, and made great sacrifices, in order that their only son might be able to spend eight or ten years in intellectual preparation for the calling to which he had given his life. And when all is summed up, what more than these advantages could any boy ask for? His was a sound body, in a well furnished mind, with the weight of home influence and example thrown upon the side of the higher interests of the soul. The youth going forth from such a home as this might well feel that he was adequately girded for the fray.

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CHAPTER II

STUDENT DAYS

From reliable sources it has been ascertained that Dr. Bomberger as a boy received the elementary instruction customary to the time, and was entered, at the age of ten, as a pupil in the Lancaster Academy, Lancaster, Pa. This was a classical school which had just been organized to supply the needs of the locality. He was one of the fifteen or sixteen pupils with which the new educational enterprise began. He remained at the Academy for a period of three years.

His parents were eager to secure for him the best educational opportunities which the meager facilities of the Reformed Church afforded in those days; and therefore, on the second day of January, 1832, they sent him from home to the Classical Institution of the denomination which had been established in York, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1829, and which also stood in immediate connection with the theological seminary of the church located in that town. In June, 1832, this school received as an instructor the Rev. Frederick Augustus Rauch, Ph.D., a recent exile from Germany, who had been living at Easton, Pa., where he was studying the English language, giving instruction in music, and teaching

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the German language in Lafayette College. At the Synod of Frederick, in September following, he was elected to fill the chair of Biblical Literature in the Seminary and appointed as Principal of the Classical Department, which, in 1835, became known as the High School of the Reformed Church. Afterward he became the first President of Marshall College. Dr. Rauch was a learned man, thoroughly equipped in his profession, who not merely assigned lessons and exacted recitations, but taught his pupils how to study and instilled in their minds a love of knowledge. Dr. Bomberger, consequently, ever held in grateful memory the instructions of this Christian scholar and counted him the first real teacher whose tuition he enjoyed.

Dr. Rauch was very successful in conducting the classical institution. In 1833 he reported that the number of students was forty-seven and in the succeeding year it had increased to seventy-six. Associated with him as teachers were the Rev. J. H. Agnew, assistant to Dr. Rauch, for one year, who taught English, Latin (Virgil and Horace), United States history, mental arithmetic, algebra, geography and natural philosophy; the Rev. H. Miller, the Rev. C. Dober, Mr. E. Blech and Samuel A. Budd, A.B. The latter became subsequently a member of the faculty of Marshall College and was very highly esteemed. These were the instructors of young Bomberger during the years he spent in the High School of the Reformed Church.

Dr. Bomberger had evidently been a proctor or

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assistant during a part or the whole of the semester, 1833-34. He was not re-appointed because of a lack of funds, the professors undertaking to do the work which he had done. Of this action he was not informed and was under the impression that his appointment would continue. The following letter to his father gives us Dr. Rauch's version of the entire situation :

“YORK, the 27th of Oct., 1834.

“In great haste.

“MOST HONORED FRIEND: I can well understand that you were not a little surprised at the contents of the letter which you received from your son after his arrival here and I myself am exceedingly sorry to have you surprised in such a matter. Nevertheless, I am not responsible for the course of events and I write you these few lines to inform you of this.

“At the end of the last semester it was found that the treasury, from which the salaries of our professors are paid, was not only empty, but that there was a debt of \$300. Hence we were compelled to postpone paying the professors. Mr. Dober, who receives only \$100, has at this moment \$50 to get. For this reason the Board of Visitors did not know how to meet the expenses, since only three ministers had sent in contributions and none of the others. In view of this lack of funds it was decided, in my absence, however, that I should be requested to take upon myself as much as possible, together with the other professors, the supervision over the students during this semester, especially inasmuch as I intended to take the younger pupils into my home. This resolution was communicated to me verbally and not in an official manner. This is as much as I knew about this matter and I could have easily informed your son regarding

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it if I had thought it my province to do so. Your son had not been appointed by me, but by the Board and whatever I might have said to him would not have been official. Moreover I might have created suspicion and would also have been put into the unpleasant position of explaining everything to him at length. Looking at the matter in this way, however, it did not occur to me that the Secretary of the Board would not send your son an official communication, otherwise, I would certainly have taken upon myself this unpleasant duty, which did not devolve upon me.

"Last Saturday, I received a letter from your son which informed me that he was still under the impression that he was to continue in his position as before. I took his letter to the Secretary, Mr. Ziegler, and heard from him how the whole matter stood. You may believe me that I was not a little surprised, but I left the whole matter in the hands of the Secretary, for it was his duty, not mine, to set everything right, which through his neglect had gone wrong.

"The position of the professors is somewhat precarious. If we interfere with the business of the Board, we are reproached. On the other hand, so many things are neglected that we are blamed by other people. For this reason I made up my mind to attend only to the duties of my office and leave other things to those whose duty it is to attend to them.

"Your son is now staying with me. I give him room and board as cheaply as I can. My expenses are large. I have to keep three maids and everything must be done by outside help. Nevertheless, I shall not overcharge him a cent. He has always been my friend. I am very fond of him and am glad that he is with me. I am also pleased that he continues his study of Greek. He will become an able minister and in time will certainly fill one of the best positions that we have in this country.

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"Be pleased to accept the assurance of my sincerest esteem, with which I have the honor to remain,

"Your most devoted friend,

"(Signed) F. A. RAUCH."

An interesting feature of the life among the students of that institution was a debating society, for in those days it was the highest object of a young man's ambition to become a good writer and speaker, and there was hardly a good school in the country without such a society. An organization of this kind had been effected in the High School at an early date, but as is often the case, after a year or two of activity, the society became moribund and seemed about to expire. Then there appeared upon the scene a young man by the name of Samuel R. Fisher, a graduate of Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa., who became a student in the Theological Seminary at York. While in college he had been an active member of the literary society, and was well qualified to appreciate its benefits. He was welcomed as a member of the debating society which, at his suggestion, was named "Diagnothian." This society became prosperous and at his suggestion, it was divided into two societies, standing toward each other in the relation of generous rivals.

This was actually accomplished on Monday evening, June 8, 1835. Two of the students, John B. Cox and Jesse Steiner were directed to effect the division. They cast lots for the first choice, then the students present were chosen alternately for one or the other

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society, until all had been placed. This plan resulted in the following arrangement :

I. George W. Williard, Henry Williard, S. R. Fisher, John B. Cox, Moses Kieffer, Isaac H. McConley, William F. Colliflower, Daniel Y. Hinkle, Amos H. Kremer and Daniel Miller.

II. Jacob Ziegler, Jesse Steiner, Andrew S. Young, Charles F. McCauley, Isaac E. Houser, George H. Martin, Michael Eyster, John R. Kooker, E. V. Gerhart and J. H. A. Bomberger. A spirited contest arose immediately for the possession of the original name, but Mr. Fisher persuaded the first section to call itself the "Goethean," thus giving the name "Diagnothian" to the second. The members of the two sections regarded this as a generous concession and it was the means of keeping peace between them.

Dr. Bomberger was destined for the gospel ministry and his education was directed toward this end. In due time he had made sufficient progress in Latin, Greek and mathematics to be admitted to the sophomore class in college, but as the High School did not offer a complete curriculum of collegiate studies at this time, he continued his preparation two years longer, with a view of entering the Theological Seminary,—if his convictions still tended that way,—which institution he proposed to enter without a full collegiate course. Therefore, at the expiration of this period, he was, in 1834, admitted to the Seminary

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in which Dr. Lewis Mayer was the professor of theology and had associated with him Dr. Rauch as professor of Biblical Literature.

The autumn of 1835 brought a change in the plans hitherto followed. The High School was removed to Mercersburg and elevated in grade, and subsequently in 1836, became Marshall College. Dr. Theodore Appel in his *College Recollections*," writes thus of this removal:

"The Rev. Dr. Amos H. Kremer, an eye-witness, has given us a graphic account of the removal of the students or personnel of the High School, which we find difficult here to reproduce fully. He says that fourteen of them were brought into the town of Mercersburg in two stages, seven in each. Four others were stragglers, who, with the faculty consisting of two professors, reached their place of destination in some other way. Seven of them were Diagonthians, and eleven, Goetheans. This was all that was left of the High School to be removed. Their arrival made quite a sensation in the village; every attention was paid to the strangers, and care was exercised to provide them with suitable boarding places. It was not long before they felt at home and their number began at once to increase. The two teachers that came on with the students were Dr. Rauch and his faithful Achates, Professor Budd. They were both scholarly looking men, young as yet, but with the lines of thought and study already on their faces, both looking out upon the world through gold spectacles. They no doubt made a favorable impression on the community, and though only two professors all told, they were a host in themselves.

"They commenced holding their recitations for

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the time being in the old stone school-house, back of the Presbyterian church, where Miss Brownson held her colored Sunday-school some years afterward. The building was dilapidated in appearance, but it answered their purpose temporarily, or until better arrangements could be made for their accommodation. From the course of studies laid down at York, it appeared that the students were to be divided into four classes, and to go over all the branches of study usually pursued at that time in regular colleges. Thus these two professors undertook the work usually performed by a complete college faculty. This was also a temporary arrangement, it being understood that other teachers were to come to their relief at no distant day."

Dr. Rauch was chosen President and Professor of Hebrew, Greek, German and of the Evidences of Christianity, and Samuel W. Budd, Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Botany. Two other professors were later secured when the funds were sufficient. These were the Rev. Joseph F. Berg, who took charge of the department of Languages, in the fall of 1836. When he left, his place was temporarily filled by the Rev. Edw. Browne, until the arrival of Professor Smith, in 1838.

At this new institution young Bomberger was induced to round out a complete course in the liberal arts, meanwhile suspending theological studies. The students had been as far as possible arranged into four classes and were required to pursue all the studies as in the college course at Princeton. The Senior class consisted of one member, Dr. Bomberger,

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who was the most advanced and was prepared for graduation by the fall of 1837.

There are but few hints given to us of activities during the next two years at Mercersburg other than that he was a faithful, diligent and promising student. From Dr. Theodore Appel's "Recollections of College Life" we learn something of the atmosphere of the place and this will help us to form an idea of the influences which helped to mould the character and life of the young student in that impressionable and formative period. He says that the routine at Mercersburg was about the same as in other institutions of that day. Although somewhat monotonous and sometimes a weariness to the flesh, it was nevertheless wholesome, both to body and mind. By its order and regularity it left little or no room for any want of vigorous health, except in its violation. There were prayers in the winter at six, and in the summer at five o'clock in the morning. All students were aroused from their slumbers by the noise of a Chinese gong in the hands of the tutor, which waxed louder and louder, as it went from corridor to corridor, until it passed the door of each student's room. By a wise arrangement of the faculty, certain hours of the day were to be devoted to study and recitations, and the remainder of the time to recreation and sleep. This order was enforced, not too rigidly, and was generally obeyed. It had something of the military about it, but that made it all so much more salutary. After early prayers the students were supposed to be engaged with their lessons until breakfast, after

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which they could do as they thought best, walk or talk, until nine o'clock, when the recitations began. At each succeeding hour the gong called them from one classroom to another until twelve o'clock, which was then considered the work of one-half of the day. The other half was finished between the hours of two and four or five, when they were called once more to prayer, the faculty all being in attendance. There was a rule that all students must be in their own rooms by nine o'clock in winter and ten o'clock in summer. It was on the whole well observed. There seemed to be plenty of music in the college life at Mercersburg. Many students were said to have been good performers on such instruments as the clarionet, the flute, the guitar, the violin and the bass viol. There was also much singing, being accompanied by Dr. Rauch, who was a skillful performer on the piano. The literary societies of the college are said to have had much to do with the charms of college life, as they occupied pleasantly and profitably the attention of the students, were a potent element in the formation of character and prepared the students in their own way more than anything else for the duties of practical life. That young Bomberger received such training is clearly evident, for it was reported in the *Messenger* that he presided at a meeting of the students, June 2, 1837, when resolutions on the death of the Rev. Henry L. Rice were presented by H. L. Brown and unanimously adopted by the student body. William Mayburry, class of 1840, acted as Secretary.

Among the students of that day there was con-

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siderable diversity of sentiment in regard to the temperance question. Some were decidedly teetotalers; some, according to the old temperance platform, allowed a moderate use of liquor, such as pure wine or good beer; while others claimed for themselves a much larger latitude, which was no temperance at all. It is evident that young Bomberger took his stand with the teetotalers. His views on the subject were given in an address delivered before the Young Men's Temperance Society, in Mercersburg, sometime during the early part of 1837. The entire address was printed in the *Messenger*, Wednesday, June 28, 1837. Space does not warrant us in giving this splendid and timely address in full. A few extracts must suffice. He begins by saying:

“Abstain, said the Stoic. From his isolated mansion, erected upon the topmost cliff of conceived moral virtue,—a virtue, as he enjoyed it, of an ideal existence, produced by an amalgamation of proper desire and consummate vanity,—he deigned to look down with pity upon man's folly in hoping to reach the grand, elevated acme to which all aspired, by any other course save that which he imagined he had successfully chosen. Observance of the effects of luxury upon this voluptuous age, forcibly testified to him of its injury. These effects he laudably desired to avoid.

“Man has been kindly endowed with a mind susceptible of correct emotions and of ability to execute its volitions to a certain extent. There reside in him likewise, evil propensities, which ever urge him to the pursuit of their illicit objects, and the ability of

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execution extends over every class of volitions. . . . By his constitution, therefore, man has enemies to his good within and without him; and what is far worse, is so blinded that he regards them as friends. Proofs of their inimical character were the requirements of a less favored age. To seek for them at present, would be superfluous labor. They are known and acknowledged by all.

"Inquiry after the best mode of defence might be deemed by some equally unnecessary. From the opinion of such we differ. Let us then unanimously enter upon the search after a plan of most successful combat with the common enemy, when he presents himself to our appetites as a delicious beverage, and engages in his service our disloyal propensities, the more surely to effect our ruin.

"To the conflict! To the conflict then I would invite you! Within your reach are ample means to overcome the foe. Truth offers her alliance." Then after a lengthy argument showing how wonderfully we are endowed by nature with courage, reason, intellect, he says: "Such then is the mode. We must establish well-instructed reason upon the throne of our intellect. Then and only then, will self-government be properly adjusted and permanently secured against every assault."

He concludes the address thus: "And what can be even fancied more worthy of admiration than the desperate, yet noble struggle of a man against the artful efforts of sensuality! The fame of martial heroes lives in the loud cries of the myriads of their slain, re-echoed through posterity; but the glorious achievement which he has gained, who has conquered sense and made himself the freedman of virtue, though it elicit not vulgar plaudits, shall receive the silent praise of all the truly good."

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Having completed the prescribed course, he took his degree in September, 1837, being the first graduate of this, the parent college of the church, and its only product of that year; to which latter fact he occasionally referred in humor in after life, explaining how he won all the honors of the class.

An account of the first commencement exercises of Marshall College was written for the *Messenger*, and signed by the writer, "Amicus," on September 29, 1837. It appeared under date of October 11, 1837. The communication is as follows:

"MR. EDITOR:

"I had the privilege of being present at the exercises of commencement in this institution (Marshall College) on Wednesday week, and have thought it proper to give you a brief sketch of it in your paper, as you could not yourself be in attendance on that occasion.

"On Tuesday previous, an excellent and highly interesting address was delivered by B. Champneys, Esq., of Lancaster, to the Literary Societies of the college. On Wednesday morning a large collection from the town and surrounding country assembled at the German Reformed Church, whence the procession moved in the following order to the Presbyterian Church, in which the exercises were to be held: 1. Band of Music; 2. Board of Trustees; 3. The Faculty and Orator of the preceding day; 4. Graduate; 5. Clergy; 6. Physicans; 7. Borough Council; 8. Undergraduates; 9. Citizens and strangers.

"When the procession had arrived at the church the Trustees and Faculty, together with those who were to take part in the exercises, took their seats on the stage surrounding the pulpit, the students and

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others occupying seats reserved for them immediately in front of the stage. The program was as follows: 1. Music—German Hymn. 2. Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Rebaugh, of Greencastle. 3. Music—Marseillaise Hymn. 4. Oration by Mr. J. H. Bomberger, of Lancaster, Pa. 5. Music—Auld Lang Syne. 6. Conferring of the First Degree upon Mr. Bomberger. 7. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Bucher, of Middletown, Md. 8. Music—Home. 9. Benediction.

“The oration of Mr. Bomberger was highly creditable to himself and the Institution. At the close he addressed a few words of valedictory to his fellow students and the Professors, which were quite touching by their simplicity and pathos.

“But the most interesting circumstances of the commencement was the occasion itself. With the full recollection of its brief history, its struggles, the kind and steady adherence of its friends, its growing popularity and its final success, this flourishing institution may safely be called a triumph.

“There can be no doubt that Marshall College, with her able, efficient and united Faculty, will soon rank among the most favored institutions of our land. Although this was the first commencement, it already numbers one hundred students, and a goodly number are expected to enter at the next session, which will begin the first week in November next.”

So favorably was the address received because it evidenced considerable ability and showed how well the speaker had been trained in moral science that a request was made for its publication. Here is a copy of the request and the reply:

“MARSHALL COLLEGE, November 29, 1837.

“SIR: At a meeting of the students of the College

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held this morning, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to request of you a copy of your worthy and interesting Vaedictory Oration, delivered before them at the late Commencement.

"Our unsettled circumstances at the close of the last and the beginning of this term, will be an apology for the delay of this request.

"Very respectfully yours,

"WM. MAYBURY,

"MOSES KIEFFER,

"GEORGE W. WILLIARD,

"E. V. GERHART.

"To J. H. A. Bomberger, A.B.,

"Preparatory Department,

"Marshall College, Nov. 29, 1837."

"GENTLEMEN: Enclosed is the desired copy of my last address before the esteemed body you represent. I would not conceal the gratefulness with which I received this morning's unmerited expression of regard. Though my former relation to you has ceased, I hope still to be your friend and fellow student.

"With true respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"J. H. A. BOMBERGER.

"To Messrs. Wm. Mayburry, M. Kieffer,
G. W. Williard and E. V. Gerhart."

The subject of this oration was "The Moral Liberty of Man." It was published in full in the *Messenger* of December 6, 1837, and it should be a cause for much gratification that we can turn to those words and read them today as they were delivered almost eighty years ago. The oration was a long one. It filled about two and three-quarters columns

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of space in the paper, which was then twenty-one inches by sixteen and one-half inches in size. The oration is here reproduced in full:

“Is then man’s life a line fixed by firm fate, upon the surface of this sphere from which he cannot for a moment move? And is his character determined without the least participation of his will? Most dismal doom! If this be true, would that some power benign quickly arose to strike from off humanity delusion’s chain; or so bedim his vision, that blind to his error, man would still be happy! Wherefore the power of thought unless, favored beneath the brute, to sadden the dark destiny by tormenting knowledge; and why this semblance of a will, unless to thwart all its designs, and fiend like laugh at the deception, sharpening keen torment’s edge! If this be true, then to be brute were bliss and man, poor man, would be creation’s scoff!

“But it is false. Enraged Vesuvius, or an hungered earthquake may devour impotent myriads, and the bold seaman vainly oppose his utmost puny strength and art against the giant power of the storm; or the rude roughness of the whirlwind, the lightning’s flash, or thunder’s roar may strike convulsive terror deep into the weak-nerved heart; the mortal man be forced to bend and serve an host of constitutional ills, yea, even be the toy of torturing time; yet will the soul, secure in her unattainable unity, smile exultingly at all, and as the rock above the bounding billows of the deep, lift her triumphant head high above every power of nature.

“Since such is truth, all must desire to know what constitutes ‘The Moral Liberty of Man.’

“Liberty, as an activity which has its origin, condition and determination in and through itself,

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can be predicted a quality only of pure mind. All activity of matter, whether in the sphere of mechanical, chemical or organic motion, is either wholly dependent, or at least conditioned by some external influence. Among them we see a regular succession of causes and effects. The necessity too of sequence is unlimited. The animal must thrive if it receive sufficient nourishment; and even man as far as he is sensual is subject to the same necessity. But we remark an incomparable distinction. If proper food be offered to the brute it must receive it, man may refuse to serve his appetites; and though both man and animal contain within them the laws which regulate the particular appropriation of the nourishment received, still the latter totally differs from man, because its activity is conditioned by the presence of the food.

“It results therefore, that up to man there is not the glimmering of liberty as defined and that unless he be possessed of a mind pure and untrammelled by any influence of sense, it cannot be a quality of him. This is our next inquiry.

“Between the will of man and knowledge there is a close and necessary relation, not that of cause and effect, but of precedence and consequence. By the perception of an object, we are not forced to will it, nor is it compulsory to make choice from among the many objects which may at any time be presented, for although the will usually determines itself for one, it may refuse all and seek an object not only different from those before it, but directly opposed to them. This is a peculiarity which must not be disregarded in our search for the character of the will of man. It certainly affords evidence of a freedom which is nowhere else observed, and leaves room for no inference other than that there resides in man some quality resembling liberty.

“Before man can will he must know. Thus knowledge seems to condition his will. Before he can know he must perceive and perception is consequent upon sensation. What then! Is every energy of the immortal spirituality within us dependent upon the external, corruptible sensuality? Thus were eternity indeed a point of time. But it is otherwise. For notwithstanding the spiritual seems to be conditioned by the objects which affect the senses, those objects really derive all their significance, and every smallest power to call forth the exercise of will from the spiritual law which Spirit hath implanted in them. Here, however, we must distinguish clearly between the exercise of will and mere mental affections. Whenever we are determined by the feeling connected with our perception, we do not will, but desire, for will never bases itself on anything sensual, as a feeling, but on the knowledge and full consciousness of itself; and the divine will, which as law, not only rests in every sensual object, but also elevates it above the sphere of sensuality unto that of spirituality. And if will and desire are so distinct from each other, the difference between will and other affections of the mind must be far greater since they are all more sensual than desire. Every sensual object for our will is therefore, but a medium through which spirit holds converse with spirit, not conditioning, but subserving will.

“As yet, will sways the sceptre. Its particular activity is indeed consequent upon knowledge, but in identifying knowledge with itself it sits sole arbiter. As yet, we see it free and pure, the perfect creature which the Will of wills called ‘good.’ It appears the unmarred image which the Deity impressed upon the soul. It knows no other service but its own.

“Enchanting picture! Would that at thee I might forever gaze! Separate, indeed thou art from

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thy Great Author, but in that separation, not opposed. Alone, and self-controlling in each activity, yet always one with thy Grand Source, most free in serving him. But I have dreamed of past realities. Thou once wast good, and beautiful, and true. Alas! had not the Spoiler come, thou hadst remained so, or had his witcheries but been rejected, thou still wert pure and free.

“Since then the will has lost its first estate, we must inquire how far it was affected by the change.

“Liberty is now placed in relations which influence, though they do not destroy its activity. Its relation of internal liberty principally concerns the present inquiry. As such we define it: that power of the mind by which all others are directed and determined. Here still is the appearance of free activity. The question then remains, does this power exert itself freely?

“The answer must involve a painful reality—a truth which discovers a source long concealed from human research by the mysterious windings which led to its developing the cause of the marvelous contradiction which ever shows itself in man. The relation in which liberty was placed has been perverted. Now desire or fancy so govern liberty that it is either weakened or destroyed. There existed no necessity that will should be determined and overruled by sense. So far from it indeed is truth that will was committed with the mastery of sense. But will perverting, voluntarily, the kind design had in combining agreeable sensations with the satisfaction of sensual wants, consented recklessly to yield to sense and reap such base rewards.

“From the general prevalence of this, the argument denying the possibility of true freedom of will, whilst it continues under the influence of such an inclination to sensuality, has been justly derived. For

where once an inclination to the negative of liberty exists, there liberty is gone, and gone never to be regained by any effort of that will which it influences. The healthy eye can see through light, and it is not the light which sees, but the eye by means of light. But when the eye is blinded, the light, though still continuing light, is darkness as to it. Nor can the eye restore itself to vision. Its primal power is lost and as little as it was possible for it to originate the power of vision before its own formation, as little can it now restore it by its own energy when gone. No! unless He whose word bestowed it first now interposes, its darkness must remain continual gloom. Thus, too, with liberty of will.

“Here let us notice an objection. It is said that in the very act of will yielding to sensuality, we observe her freedom and that as she is free to yield, so she may be free to oppose it, and follow what is right. The objection assumes that the will acts freely in yielding to bad. This I deny. It does not follow, that because a necessity exists for activity, therefore, it is unfree. The opposite of activity is rest. Absolute activity therefore, must be determined by a necessity not to rest. Still the liberty of that activity is not diminished by the necessity, any more than that of life is by a necessity not to die. So soon as it has become possible for free activity to fall into a state of rest, so soon will it possess within itself the germ of its own destruction, and it ceases to be absolutely free. So liberty, as absolute, has for its determination a necessity to continue free. If not, it may become something else, the opposite of freedom, and thus lose its absolute character. The inference remains therefore to be made that if the will be truly free, there must be residing in it a necessity not to enter bondage and that if it serve evil, it does so not freely, but under the powerful influence which

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it suffered evil primitively to usurp.

“Shall we now conclude that will hath sold its birthright for a savory bowl of porridge, and that its liberty is lost beyond its own recovery? And is man wholly insufficient for its ransom? What shall be answered, No? But who has seen the man that by his own unaided might, broke through each bond of sense, and entered the sphere of perfect, first born liberty? What shall be answered, Yes? But have we not seen those redeemed from sensual thralldom, whose will unchanged, fixed for it no other confines except those drawn by will itself, so that the soul commanded, and the body served? We may, but they were such as had celestial light revealed to guide them.

“Favored with such facts, the conclusion must be plain. The will may act according or contrary to the knowledge received through any medium, so that the boundaries of its activity are those of its knowledge.

“But this does not authorize us to assert that freedom is a quality of will. Here seems to lie the error. Will and liberty are regarded as synonymous. They once were so, but will in folly broke the golden chain. Of this sufficient has been said.

“It follows from the remarks upon the relation between knowledge and will, that when the former is corrupt the latter will be so too, and consequently unfree; and that if anything shall become a proper object for will, it must become so, not by perception, but by our knowledge of the divine law.

“This knowledge of the divine law is the only condition under which the will can become free. For as little as the dove can fly beyond the atmosphere, the only medium to buoy it up, as little can that will become free which is ignorant of the divine will, in perfect acquiescence with which its freedom consists. And further; as there is but one source of light and

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not many, and as all stars do but reflect the light received from it, so there is but one foundation of freedom from which every will that seeks for liberty, must draw. Hence, we justly conclude that until this fountain has been discovered, and until the will has imbibed its waters, there exists for it no liberty, but arbitrariness.

“We called it a painful reality that will suffered itself to be overruled by sense. And is there no alleviation for this pain? Yes! It is the knowledge that soon this gross material vestment shall be changed for incorruption—a knowledge which the light of nature could not afford, a change which human power could not affect. Indeed we have greater hope than this—that here already this change may be begun, that every sense may be brought under the entire control of will correctly informed and assimilated to that of which it was the image.

“And when the will has once re-attained this much longed for liberty, there will be on earth super-nal bliss. She will rest secure in her eternally happy coincidence with that Will to which she owes her origin.

“It remains yet for me to leave my vows at the altars of gratitude and friendship.

“An earlier start has brought me, Collegemates, to the grand goal before you. And is my race run now; my course performed? Ah, no! I have but tried the track, but put the harness on, and sought to fit me for my lot in life. If, by kind aid, I have succeeded well in this, there be the thanks; if not, here lies the fault.

“With many of you my intercourse has been of short duration; still it was happy. But there are those to whom long time, and especially private worth have much endeared me. The pleasant companionship which we have hitherto enjoyed will soon be

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interrupted. But need the tender chord which joins our hearts, whose each vibration starts the mutual tear of grief or joy, also be loosed? No! Be it ever strung! And always let me have an intimate participation in all your feelings. I leave you with warm assurance, that as I desire not to be forgotten, so shall I not forget.

“To you, respected Instructors, are tendered the acknowledgements of most deserved gratitude. Parental solicitude has marked all your efforts to fit me for a worthy part in the grand theatre of man. For your devotion, accept at least this small requital—a shrine in that recess of the heart, hallowed by the monument to boyhood’s home, and a fond mother’s love.”

After graduation, he was prevailed upon to complete his theological course under such aid and direction as Dr. Rauch could furnish him, the Theological Seminary not yet having been removed from York. The following letter from Dr. Rauch tells the story:

“MERCERSBURG, Oct. 13, 1837.

“MY DEAR SIR: I was very sorry to learn, that during my short absence a letter from you arrived here and was sent to Morristown under the impression that it would meet me there. Having changed the plan of my journey, the letter went to the East when I was on my return from Baltimore, and thus it happened that I have not yet seen it. Mrs. Rauch, who in my absence usually reads all communications directed to me, opened also yours before having it mailed again, and the interest she feels in our concerns makes her remember the contents of your letter probably more accurately than she otherwise would. Trusting her memory I make the following reply:

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“The salary allowed the assistant teacher in the Preparatory School is also in my opinion too small and the labor required too great. Whether the latter could be diminished or the former increased, is a question which I could not answer on my own responsibility. The members of the Committee authorized to make the appointment of an Instructor, are not all of them here; Mr. Good is absent, so is Mr. Budd, and Mr. Lane intends leaving tomorrow morning. I do not know the extent of the authority the Committee has, yet I should say that if they cannot raise the remuneration they may lower the amount of labor and I for one—and Messrs. Good and Budd will certainly agree with me—should be in favor of the latter arrangement, if it should be out of our power to make the former. As soon as we can get a quorum of our Committee, we will have a meeting, though it might perhaps be best, if you could be present, in which case it might be deferred till a week before the beginning of the session in the Preparatory School. Let it then be understood, that if we cannot raise your salary, we will try to diminish your labor, which we certainly will be able to do, since the latter may be made a matter of the Faculty.

“And now, my dear sir, allow me yet a word of friendship. As long as you have been with us I have loved you and the attachment formed to you, will remain, I hope, ever the same. It may be that for this reason I am anxious to see you among us, and yet I think to have your own interest at heart if I advise you to return to Mercersburg and devote your services to that Institution, which seems to have a greater claim on them than any other. Whilst teaching you could prepare yourself for the ministry and if you calculate the expense you will have to be under sooner or later, in order to study with ease Theology, you may say, that your salary will be worth to you \$400

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a year. And besides this—It is Mr. Budd's and my own wish to see you as soon as possible engaged as a Tutor in the College and in that case, if it should answer your taste, you might have a fair opportunity to establishing your character as Professor. It would not become me to follow out the many possible chances that might result for you from this connection with our College, but if this Institution should thrive you might either here or elsewhere demand soon a more desirable situation. We would like to have Professors out of the Germ. Ref. Church, and an Institution is always proud to have, and inclined to prefer its own graduates, etc., etc. Were it not too soon after your graduation, were your acquaintances with some students of the higher classes not too new and fresh, we should have asked the Board, to call you as Tutor forthwith. The common custom is to wait two years; yet frequent exceptions are made for particular reasons. At all events, by the time you will finish your Theology studies,—which would be not so long—we would be happy to have you a member of the Faculty. It is true, our Synod has not appointed a Professor of Divinity, but should there be none in time, I would be willing to lead you through as thorough a course of Dogmatics, as I would be able. Write soon again and let me know, whether my letter is satisfactory to you. Mrs. Rauch sends her compliments to you. Give my compliments to your parents and believe me your true friend.

“F. A. RAUCH.

“Mr. J. H. A. Bomberger, A.B.,
“Lancaster, Pa.”

Yielding to this earnest entreaty he took up his theological training under Dr. Rauch and began his work as a tutor in the fall of 1837, and continued to

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do the same until the fall of 1838. Dr. Rauch, in his report to the Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States, which convened in Lancaster, Pa., September 29th—October 6, 1838, says that “Mr. Bomberger continued his studies with diligence and perseverance and attended to 1. Hebrew—Moses and Psalms; 2. Hermeneutics; 3. Exegesis; 4. Dogmatics; 5. Writing Essays and Skeletons.

“To all these branches he was extremely diligent, and as it is his intention to enter on practical life, and for that purpose to submit himself to an examination before your Reverend body, I take great pleasure in giving testimony to this pious, diligent and talented gentleman, whose collegiate course, especially, has been highly regular, and who has rendered our Preparatory School very essential services by thorough instruction in ancient languages. His connection with that school in the capacity of a teacher, would have interfered with his study of Theology, had he not been resolute enough to employ faithfully all his time.”

Dr. Rauch's recommendation of Mr. Bomberger was favorably acted upon and he was referred to the Committee on Examination and Licensure. The Committee consisted of the Reverends Dietrich Willers and John H. Schmaltz, Elders Daniel Schneble and Jacob Keller. It is interesting to note what the Committee has to say in its report concerning the training and fitness of the applicant:

“The Committee appointed to examine Mr. Au-

STUDENT DAYS

gustus Bomberger, present with pleasure the following report:

"We first examined the applicant in regard to the intentions which induced him to engage in the Gospel Ministry, and have found his motives pure. We then afforded him an opportunity to give a display of the knowledge and ability in the Greek and Hebrew languages; by continued industry in them, they will afford him their use in his office. In Theology we passed with him through the field of Dogma, and found him so well established in the principle doctrines of science, that he may deliver them successfully to his future hearers. He read Church History, and his memory retains so much of it as will be requisite for the commencement of his ministerial career. We can with pleasure recommend this promising young man to the Reverend Synod, for ordination through the classis to which he may present a Call; and inasmuch as he has no call to lay before Synod, we propose him for licensure.

"D. WILLERS, Chairman."

In pursuance with the above report Mr. Augustus Bomberger was furnished with a written License to preach the Gospel. For some unexplained reason, perhaps due to an oversight, the full name of Dr. Bomberger was not given. This statement is made for the benefit of future generations that they may know that Augustus Bomberger and John Henry Augustus Bomberger were one and the same person.

Appended hereto is a roster of the classes of Marshall College, 1837-1842. This will give us an idea of some of his college mates during his student days at York and Mercersburg.

J. H. A. BOMBERGER

1837

Rev. John H. A. Bomberger, A.M.

1838

Rev. E. V. Gerhart, A.M.

Rev. Moses Kieffer, A.M.

Rev. George H. Martin, A.M.

Daniel Miller, A.B.

Rev. George W. Williard, A.M.

Rev. Andrew S. Young, A.M.

1839

Robert S. Dean, Esq., A.M.

R. Parker Little, A.M., M.D.

Rev. S. S. Middlekauff, A.M.

Rev. William Philips, A.M.

Rev. Samuel H. Reid, A.M.

Rev. George W. Welker, A.M.

1840

Jacob Heyser, Esq., A.M.

Rev. T. C. Hoffeditz, A.M.

David H. Hofius, Esq., A.M.

William Mayburry, A.M., M.D.

Rev. George D. Wolff, A.M.

STUDENT DAYS

1841

Rev. D. B. Ernst, A.M.
Rev. Henry Funk, A.M.
Oliver C. Hartley, Esq., A.M.
Rev. Jeremiah Ingold, A.M.
James L. Reynolds, Esq., A.M.

1842

Rev. Theodore Appel, A.M.
George W. Brewer, Esq., A.M.
John Cessna, Esq., A.M.
Rev. Jeremiah H. Good, A.M.
Rev. Reuben Good, A.M.
Rev. Henry Hoffman, A.M.
H. A. Mish, Esq., A.M.
Rev. George L. Staley, A.M.
J. H. Vandyke, Esq., A.M.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

CHAPTER III

PASTORATES AT LEWISTOWN, WAYNESBORO AND EASTON

Lewistown

After Dr. Bomberger had been graduated from Marshall College and the Theological Seminary he was, in October, 1838, licensed by the Synod at Lancaster, and in the latter part of November he received a call to the Lewistown charge. This charge consisted of three congregations, one being in the town of Lewistown, another at the east end of the Kishacoquillas Valley, and the third a preaching point east of Lewistown. He was ordained there on December 27th. It was a difficult and discouraging field. It had been run down by neglect. However, it proved a good school for a young minister beginning his work. Here he remained for twenty months, and during the summer of 1839 he supplied the Water street charge, preaching there once in four weeks. His salary was from \$400.00 to \$500.00. But this was never fully paid, and time proved that \$225.00 a year taxed the members to the extent of their ability. He said, "I preached three or four times every Sunday in English and in some sort of German, with which however the people professed to be well satisfied. To aid in my support, I ob-

J. H. A. BOMBERGER

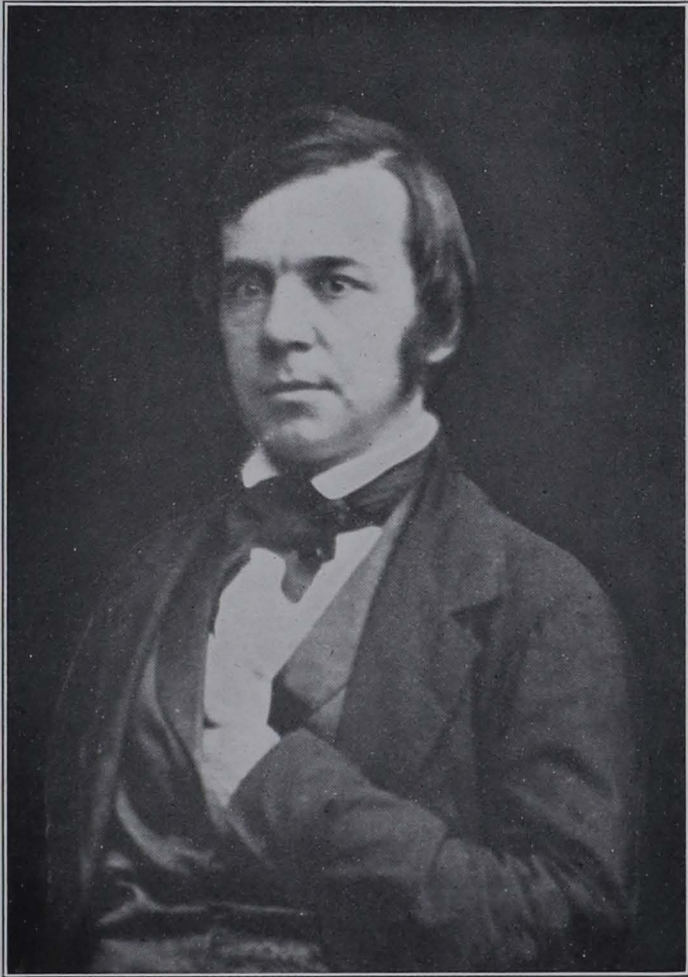
tained the academy of the place, which had run down to three pupils; and by special efforts gathered ten, thus adding two hundred dollars to my income and five and a half days of teaching to my other work." On April 11, 1839, he was married to Marian Elizabeth Huston, of Mercersburg.

Waynesboro

In July, 1840, Dr. Bomberger was called to Waynesboro, Franklin County, Pa. The charge had been vacated by the Rev. George W. Glessner. The change to him was very cheering. On Friday, August 7, 1840, he was installed as pastor there. The Rev. A. P. Freeze delivered the charge to the pastor, and preached in the evening.

Dr. Bomberger thus described his pastorate at Waynesboro: "In acceptance of an invitation I visited Waynesboro in April, 1840, and preached in the four congregations then constituting the Cavetown charge, namely Waynesboro and Salem, in Pennsylvania, and Cavetown and Leitersburg, in Maryland. Soon afterward a call was extended to me, and having accepted it I left Lewistown on the Juniata, where I had been settled for twenty-two months in a sort of missionary capacity, the last week in June. I reached Waynesboro on Wednesday or Thursday of that week. My work began there on the first Sunday in July, 1840.

"The great acceptableness of my predecessor, the Rev. Dr. Glessner, as a preacher made it very



J. H. A. BOMBERGER
Pastor at Waynesboro, about 1843

EARLY PASTORATES

difficult for me to follow him, and often I felt discouraged, but many kind friends rallied around the young man, holding up his hands and cheering his heart."

In the *Messenger* of December 8, 1841, is a letter of Dr. Bomberger's about his pastorate:

"WAYNESBORO, November 27, 1841.

"During the first week of the current month the Lutherans held service every evening preparatory to the communion, characterized by deep solemnity and earnest self examination on the part of professors of religion. No special manifestation of the effect of the truth was given, however, till Sabbath evening, when several freely embraced an opportunity afforded for special interest in the prayers of the church and for personal conversation about their soul salvation. From this evening on, for nearly two weeks, the interest was in a greater or less degree sustained and the means of grace blessed to the hopeful conversion of many souls. In a general way, we feel bound to acknowledge that it was a blessed season for our churches in view of the many who now indulge the hope of having truly exchanged the form of godliness for its power,—blessed for the Sunday-schools, many teachers having been taught savingly to know Jesus Christ;—blessed for the village academy under the care of Mr. F. A. M. Keller, many of the pupils of which have hopefully given their hearts to their Creator in the days of their youth; may they until old age never forget it. Where heretofore the voice of family prayer was never heard, now the altar hallowed to the worship of God is erected; blessed for the children of God whose hearts have been warmed, their faith confirmed, their love animated, their zeal

refreshed and all their graces drawn out into more lovely exercise; blessed, too, we confidently hope, for the centenary jubilee of our churches (the Reformed Church was then observing the centenary of its organization in this country), by preparing the hearts of the people of God for appreciation of the appeals made in view of the wants of the churches. Permit us in conclusion a few additional remarks.

“We feel called upon to acknowledge our conviction that so great a blessing has been bestowed by God measurably in view of the removal of a great stumbling block, which hitherto hindered the operation of divine grace, namely, sectarian prejudice. God so affected the hearts of His people in the commencement of the work as to melt them down to a great extent to a union of prayer and effort. For although the work was commenced in a Lutheran congregation, the brethren of that church immediately extended the hand of Christian fellowship, which was as quickly embraced. And after the first week the meetings were held alternately in the Lutheran (Union) and German Reformed Churches. Brother Diehl, of Boonsboro (who assisted at the communion of the Sabbath and the Monday following), Brother Kunkle, of Greencastle, and Brother Helfenstein, of Chambersburg, rendered essential service and had their labors greatly blessed by God. So much for oneness of heart and purpose.

“All our meetings were conducted in a manner which none could gainsay unless they hate the cause of vital godliness and therefore God Himself.

“We beg our brethren who may be inclined to smile at the simplicity of our hearts in so highly extolling the blessed unanimity which now subsists especially between the two churches under our care to bear with us. Brethren, forbear your suspicion, rather pray for us that our own hearts may be knit

EARLY PASTORATES

together by more hallowed bonds.

“How could we have expected a season of refreshing unless the fallow ground had been thus broken under God’s blessing. And how can any community of Christians pray in faith when they cherish in their hearts settled enmity against God’s way of acting, namely, by love?”

“May the mighty Jehovah pass through the length and breadth of our beloved churches and revive them all.

“J. H. A. BOMBERGER.

“F. W. CONRAD.”

“(Pastor of the Lutheran Church.)”

Another letter of Dr. Bomberger’s appeared in the *Messenger* as follows:

“January 27, 1842.

“It is my privilege to note the mercy of God in being with us during our protracted meeting which commenced a week ago. Although for reasons which might probably be given, the work was not so extensive as that with which we were blessed some months ago, there is abundant cause for humble gratitude. We were favored with the assistance of Brother Guldin on Saturday evening and on Sabbath, and were very sorry that he could not stay longer.

“J. H. A. BOMBERGER.”

Mr. Henry Omwake, the father of President George Leslie Omwake, of Ursinus College, tells in the volume of his Papers and Addresses of Dr. Bomberger’s pastorate at Salem Church. He says, “A genuine revival of religion constituted the chief epoch of my early life. When the pastor in charge

(Dr. Bomberger) announced the programme of services in connection with the dedication of the new house of worship some of the members were astounded. He told them there would be preaching every forenoon and evening for eight days. 'What!' they said, 'sixteen sermons in eight days! Why this is as many as we have in a year.' Many expressed a doubt whether people could be induced to go to church every day to hear so much preaching. The pastor, a man able, eloquent, and full of the Spirit, had arranged for two assistants to aid in conducting the services. After a few days the entire community became aroused in the interest of the meetings. The attendance increased both morning and evening. Usually a sermon was preached after which prayers and short exhortations followed. Soon a Sunday evening prayer-meeting which I attended for a number of years, was organized, at which prayers were offered by lay-members. I often witnessed what is now in many congregations a rare occurrence: members, when they met, discoursed on the subject of religion, of the ground of their faith, and their individual hope. The family altar became established in many homes where it had been unknown before. The Sunday School which was organized immediately after the dedication was a new inspiration for the congregation and the community."

Another letter in the *Messenger* is as follows:

"December 19, 1844.

"Last Monday I laid the case of the Seminary

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before the congregation at Salem. I referred to the present embarrassed state of the funds of the Seminary, giving the contents of the circular sent me by the committee. With this I left the brethren to their own reflections for a few days. Yesterday I rode around to several members to learn their determination in this matter. The result was that from five individuals I obtained subscriptions up to \$80.00. To this I am permitted to add \$50.00 from another member of the same congregation, which makes the result of the day's work at Salem \$130.00, or perhaps \$180.00, the effort however was only partial, and I shall be greatly disappointed if these brethren of the congregation upon whom I have yet to call do not double this amount."

During his pastorate at Waynesboro he was active in the affairs of the classis and synod. In 1841 he was elected secretary of Mercersburg Classis and again secretary the following year. He was elected a delegate to synod in 1843 and also in 1844. In 1844 he was made president of classis.

Dr. Bomberger wrote in the Reformed Pastor's *Helper*, October, 1880, of the Waynesboro congregation thus:

"My work in the charge continued to April, 1845, although the field was naturally a laborious one. The work was made pleasant by the kindness of many friends and the blessing of the Lord upon my endeavors. Without a single exception, so far as I can remember, the kindest relations existed to the last between pastor and people and the different parts of the charge. But for two reasons I would not have resigned when I did. They were, first,

J. H. A. BOMBERGER

that it had become desirable to divide the charge and I could not have remained in either part without offending esteemed friends in the other; secondly, Easton with one congregation was less physically laborious and afforded more opportunity for study. Besides it was near the field of my venerated grandfather Hoffmeier's earlier ministry.

"When I located in the charge the old Salem Church was still standing. It was located near the site of the present building but fronting nearly south. It was not only old in style with awkward seats and wine-glass pulpit which it was difficult to climb, but was well dilapidated. The present house of worship was erected in the second or third year of my ministry there.

"I also preached in the Waterloo school house near the foot of the South Mountain, in the neighborhood of the present Harbaugh's church, and remember what crowds pressed to the services from the recesses of the hills.

"The Sunrise prayer meetings in Waynesboro on communion day recur to my mind as I write. They were solemn, precious hours, and will never be forgotten.

"It was my fortune to get to Waynesboro soon after the charge had greatly profited by refreshing from the Lord, with but few of the extravagancies often attending such scenes, and these few were soon checked.

"The charge always took an active interest in the educational work of the church, and contributed liberally for the maintenance of her benevolent enterprises."

Easton

In December, 1844, Dr. Bomberger had been approached by the congregation at Easton, whose Eng-

lish pastor, the Rev. B. C. Wolff, D.D., had resigned. Dr. Bomberger's letter is quite interesting and shows a deep conscientiousness :

“Waynesboro, Dec. 14, 1844.

“*To the Consistory of the Ger. Reformed Church of Easton.*

“DEAR BRETHREN :—

“The invitation with which you were pleased to honor me was duly received. As it is a solemn rule with me never to accept of such invitations, unless I should be willing to change my pastoral relations in favour of the congregation inviting me to preach for them as a candidate I could not have given you so speedy an answer, had I not previously received some intimations of your intention. But as my mind was somewhat prepared for your letter and having given the whole matter prayerful consideration, I am ready to say that the Lord permitting it—I will be with you on the Sabbath specified in your letter—by the last of this month and year.

“Thus far, therefore, I feel free to commit myself to you, and by that you may unite with me in commending the result to the Lord. *He* only can overrule the whole transaction for good and cause the vacancy occasioned amongst you, by the resignation of your former worthy pastor, my much esteemed Br. Dr. Wolff, to be supplied with another Pastor suited to your circumstances, and calculated under God to promote the Spiritual interest of your Congregation and his own Glory.

“To this end may you have grace to look unto the Lord for counsel and direction in all your deliberations.

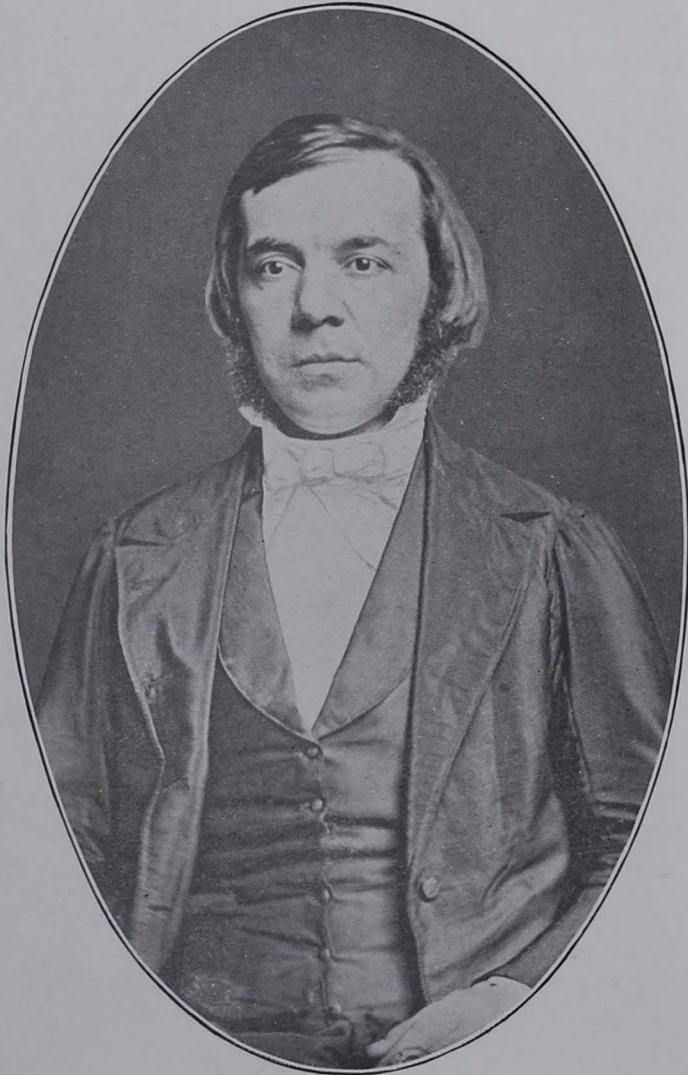
“Respectfully,

“Yours in Christ,

“J. H. A. BOMBERGER.”

On January 20, 1845, he was nominated and elected the English pastor of the congregation, the Rev. Thomas Pomp, who had served the congregation for many years, being the German pastor. "The work of building up the congregation in temporal and spiritual things," says the Rev. H. M. Kieffer, D.D., in his History of the First Reformed Church of Easton, "continued to be carried forward with marked success by the two pastors in charge. Being still of one heart and one mind and one purpose, they continued to co-operate, each in his sphere, not only without any friction or embarrassment, but with the most amicable spirit and in complete harmony." The consistory decided that from January 1, 1846, the collection of the first Sabbath evening of the month should go to foreign missions. In 1846 the church and steeple were painted.

On July 19, 1846, a great event occurred in the congregation—the fiftieth anniversary of the pastorate of Father Pomp. The church was thronged at the services. Mr. Pomp in the morning, made a brief statistical report of his labors. This was followed by a thanksgiving sermon by the Rev. Dr. Bibighaus, of Philadelphia. In the afternoon, German sermons were preached by the Rev. Dr. Hoffeditz and the Rev. Dr. Becker. The latter presented to Mr. Pomp a German Bible, as the gift of the congregation. "Father Pomp," says Dr. Kieffer, "was so overcome by his feelings that he could only respond in the melting language of tears." In the evening, the Rev. Dr. B. C. Wolff preached a historical sermon in the



J. H. A. BOMBERGER
Pastor at Easton, about 1850

EARLY PASTORATES

English language.

By 1849 the Sunday School room had become too small and agitation began for a new building. Mr. Pomp, on account of the infirmities of age, resigned April 19, 1850, and Dr. Bomberger was asked to become German pastor in his place. He preferred that some one else be chosen, but the congregation elected him May 25, 1850. The two letters which follow from Dr. Bomberger to the congregation indicate his reluctance to accept additional duties, as well as the difficulty in the way, because, as he felt, of a lack of fluency in the German language. At the earnest solicitation of the congregation he acceded to their call and assumed the pastorate of the German membership.

“Easton, May 4, 1850.

“DEAR BRETHREN:—

“In reply to the proposition you have been pleased to make to me, through your Committee of last Thursday, viz:—That I should consent to fill the vacancy occasioned by the recent resignation of your aged and venerable Pastor, the Rev. Thomas Pomp, allow me to submit the following to your consideration, and that of the Congregation:—*First*, That my desire is to serve you and the Congregation to the extent of my ability, in every way in which I may be able to promote its interests, even at a sacrifice of personal comfort, and feeling; and consequently, if you can devise no better way of meeting the present wants of the Congregation, than that proposed, I will not shrink from the additional burden of duty and responsibility which will thus be laid upon me. In the *next* place, however, I would

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affectionately ask you to consider whether some other arrangements might not be made, by which the vacancy now existing would be more satisfactorily and acceptably provided for, than it can be by my accepting of it. My duties already exceed my fitness or ability to discharge them as I would like to see them performed—and, besides, I need not conceal the fact, and have no desire to conceal it, that my deficiency in speaking the German Language will render it exceedingly difficult for me to serve the Congregation in the capacity of their German Pastor as I desire them to be served. In view of this fact, I would greatly prefer, if more satisfactory arrangements could be made, and the services of a neighboring Brother, say the Rev. Dr. *Hoffeditz*, the Rev. Dr. *Becker*, or the Rev. M. *Stern* could be secured to fill the place. As far as my own private feelings are concerned and personal comfort, I would rejoice, therefore, if this could be done, and would respectfully submit the matter to your earnest consideration.

“Should you, however, conclude that the proposition with which you have favored me, involves the best course you can devise under present circumstances, my feeble services are, under God’s Blessing, at your command. With the prayer that the Lord may guide you in this important matter with His allwise counsel, I remain, Brethren, affectionately yours

“In gospel bonds,

“J. H. A. BOMBERGER.”

“EASTON, June 1, 1850.

“MY DEAR BROTHERS:—

“Permit me herewith to acknowledge the receipt of the call of the Congregation to take charge of the services vacated by the resignation of Rev. Father

EARLY PASTORATES

Pomp and through you to tender to the Congregation my sincere thanks for the confidence thus manifested towards me.

“Whilst it has gratified me to experience this new proof of regard on the part of my kind Brethren and friends, I will, of course, not over-rate it, knowing as I do, that there the Congregation was almost compelled by the circumstances of the case, to make the choice upon which they have fallen. And for the same reason, chiefly, I feel constrained to accept of the duties thus placed in my hands, as there seems to be no other way for the present at least, of providing for them. You will please, therefore, consider this as formal acceptance of your proposition and call, with the understanding, however, that the arrangement and its conditions are only temporary.

“Trusting, therefore, that I shall have the hearty co-operation and Prayers, both of the Consistory and Congregation, to sustain me in my feeble attempts, and in the discharge of my numerous and arduous duties.

“I remain, humbly and with Christian affections

“Your Brother & Pastor,

“J. H. A. BOMBERGER.”

On July 30, 1850, the congregation decided to erect a new Sunday School building. Mr. Pomp died in 1852. Dr. Bomberger preached the sermon at his funeral, which was ordered by the consistory to be published and the proceeds of its sale were to be used to place a suitable monument over Father Pomp's grave. On August 2, 1852, Dr. Bomberger was called to Philadelphia as pastor of the Race Street Church. His letter notifying the congregation of this is as follows :

J. H. A. BOMBERGER

“EASTON, August 2, 1852.

“BELOVED BRETHREN:—

“You are doubtless aware that I have received a virtually unanimous call from the First Germ. Reformed Church of Philadelphia to fill the ministerial vacancy, now existing in that Congregation by becoming their Pastor. The acceptance of this call is urged upon me, not only by the congregation but by many ministerial Brethren of our church for the following reasons: 1. On account of the forlorn and destitute condition of our churches in Philadelphia, not one of the four German Reformed congregations of that city being provided with a Pastor. 2nd. Because the Race Street Congregation sustains a very important relation to the other churches of our persuasion in the city as well as that entire section of the German Reformed church. Indeed the existence of these other churches is believed to depend very much upon the prosperity of the Race Street Congregation and the manner in which it is supplied. 3rd. On account of the great importance therefore of having the Race Street Congregation supplied with a pastor whose convictions and affections are intelligently and warmly sympathetic with the German Reformed Church, and whose opportunities have enabled him to become well acquainted with the peculiar character and wants of our church. 4. Because, if this call is declined, there is every reason to fear that the Race Street Congregation will feel compelled to call a pastor from another denomination, and so be exposed to the almost certain and pernicious effects of the influence of a ministry destitute of proper sympathy with the spirit and institutions of our church, if not decidedly hostile to them. 5. And finally because it is believed that the congregation in Easton could easily supply the vacancy which my resignation would occasion and so consent

to the proposed change without great inconvenience or jeopardy.

“It will be proper for me to say here, Dear Brethren, that this pressing call has come upon me, not only without my seeking, but wholly against my wishes, and notwithstanding my most earnest entreaties that I might not be pushed into the painful dilemma into which it thrusts me. Most earnestly and importunately did I endeavour to persuade the Brethren of Philadelphia to direct their thoughts and efforts to some other Brother in the ministry, in the way of whose acceptance of their call no such obstacles might lie, as I saw lying in mine. They have assured me that every available means has been employed to comply with my known wishes, and spare me the perplexity and painful struggle which their call would occasion; but they also declare their inability to unite their Congregation, under the unfavorable circumstances in which they have been left by the defection of their recent Pastor and a number of their members with him; upon any other minister of the German Reformed Church. The heavy and painful responsibility of retaining, and, under the blessing of heaven, building up the Race Street Congregation for our church, is made to devolve upon me, by depending upon my decision. In reply to all the consideration thus urged upon me, I have nothing to say, excepting that my strong attachment for the congregation I have been permitted to serve during the past seven years, and my strong predilections for this dear people and for this field of labour, unite with my deep sense of the claims of this congregation upon my warmest affections and my best services, in rendering it well nigh impossible for me to sunder the tie uniting us in so tender and hallowed a bond.

“And yet, Dear Brethren, I am constrained to

confess that the demands of duty are higher than the pleas of my feeling and affection. Seeing therefore in this earnest call in the light in which it at present is held up to me, a clear indication of the Masters' Will, I feel bound to yield, although by doing so I should be required to separate from those as dear to me, in Christian affections, as father and mother, wife and children and home and all the endearing comforts and associations of this life, it has cost me sore inward conflict to come to this conclusion, and often since the solemn question has been pressed upon my mind have I been tempted at once to cast it from me, and yield the convictions of conscience to the stronger emotions of my heart, but He who requires of his disciples to deny themselves, take up his cross daily, and follow Him, has clearly seemed to me in this case to demand of me every private and personal sacrifice for which it may call. Looking therefore earnestly and prayerfully to Him for help and light, I have endeavoured to bring my mind and heart and herewith my hands to comply with what the interests of our church seemed so loudly to demand. And now, Beloved Brethren, trusting that the Great Head of the Church, who thus appears to call for my transfer from this to another field of labour will speedily guide you to the selection of a pastor more worthy of your flattering favour and unwavering confidence than I have been, I beg you herewith to receive in the name of the Lord, the resignation of my office as your pastor and to allow me to solicit and obtain from the Classis under whose jurisdiction we stand, a dissolution of my ministerial relation to you. I shall reserve for another occasion the privilege of giving a fuller expression of my feelings and sentiments, in view of the change thus called for. Meanwhile let me assure you, Dear Brethren, of my unabated regard for the congrega-

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tion over whose spiritual interest I have been permitted, in connection with you, to preside; she and her members shall ever continue dear to me. For her and their peace and prosperity, I shall never cease to pray.

“And for yourselves, Brethren, with whom I have been permitted to labor so pleasantly and harmoniously, accept my warmest thanks, and heartiest assurances of Christian affection and fraternal regard. May the God of all grace abundantly bless you and the flock over which you are set.

“Sincerely your Brother in

“Jesus Christ Our Lord

“J. H. A. BOMBERGER.

“To Messrs. Odenwelder, Hess, etc., etc.”

The Easton congregation refused to accept his resignation and so he remained with them for nearly two years longer. The congregation raised his salary \$200, so that it was \$1,200, together with the use of a new parsonage. In 1854 the Race Street Church, of Philadelphia, extended to him a second call, which he felt impelled to accept. He offered his resignation to the congregation, which he had now served for nine years, on April 17, 1854, in the following letter:

“EASTON, April 17, 1854.

“*To the Consistory of the German Reformed Church of Easton.*

“BELOVED BRETHREN:—

“In the Providence of God I am again required to perform what is to me a painful and trying duty. The First German Reformed Church of Philadelphia whose earnest solicitations to become their Pastor, I declined in conformity with your expressed wishes

J. H. A. BOMBERGER

two years ago, have placed a new call in my hands. The necessity for this movement on their part has been occasioned by the failure of the health of their late worthy Pastor, the Rev. S. H. Reid, and the call is pressed upon my acceptance with the same importunity with which they urged their former application.

“I need hardly assure you that this renewed suit was not only unsought for by me but that I used all justifiable means to evade and prevent it. In my present field of labor, I have thus far felt at *home* in the most pleasant and comprehensive sense of that delightful word. And although there is in many respects room for improvement in the spiritual state of the congregation, and though in this view I have not felt myself as much encouraged and sustained as was desirable, yet I am not insensible to the cause for gratitude which plainly exists. Were I therefore to follow my own inclinations simply, my reply to this renewed call would have been a prompt and decided declination of it. But where the interest of the Church is concerned, we have no right to gratify personal inclinations. The will of God, as indicated by his Providence must control our movements. And by this, as far as I have been enabled to ascertain it, I feel myself required to change my present sphere of pastoral responsibilities, for that to which I have now again been called.

“In coming to this conclusion I have not been governed so much by the desire of the Congregation from whom this invitation has come, as by the expressed opinion and unanimous solicitation of my brethren in the ministry. The call comes to me not merely as the call of a single people, but as that of the whole church, and it is urged, furthermore, under circumstances so much more favourable to the change required, as far as the Beloved Congregation

EARLY PASTORATES

is concerned over which it has been my privilege to have the pastoral care for more than nine years, that I feel constrained by a solemn conviction of duty to yield to it at every sacrifice of personal predilection and present comfort which it may require.

“Submitting, therefore, to what I have so much reason to regard as the demand of duty, I herewith respectfully tender you my resignation of the pastoral charge of the Congregation over which you preside; and beg you to accept it in the same spirit which has prompted and compelled me to lay it before you, the same to take effect at the close of the next ensuing month of August, unless the interest of the Congregation should make an earlier period desirable.

“My chief comfort in this sorrowful transaction is that as the great Head of the Church seems so distinctly to require this sundering of the pleasant ties by which we have during my residence here been bound together, in the solemn relation I have sustained to you and the Congregation, He will overrule the event for good. I have hope that He will graciously continue to guide me aright in this painful movement. And no less have I faith that He will direct you, in answer to your prayerful efforts in securing for yourselves and the Congregation the cooperation and services of a Pastor as deserving of your confidence and love as I have humbly endeavoured to prove, and far more efficient and successful in building up and promoting the interest of truth and piety in your midst.

“I shall reserve for myself the privilege of giving a fuller expression of my sentiments in reference to the subject of this communication upon some future occasion. Meanwhile, Beloved Brethren, let me ask your sincere forgiveness of any errors or failings which may have been incident to my intercourse

among you and a lasting and increasing interest in your prayers, and for my own part, be assured of my cordial thankfulness for your uniform kindness and friendship towards me during the term of our official and Christian fellowship, and that I shall always cherish for yourselves personally sincere fraternal regard, and never cease to pray for your temporal and spiritual welfare. May the good Lord ever be with you and bless you in all your deliberations. May the spirit of peace and harmony which has thus far been so kindly preserved among us ever be carefully cherished. May He grant you all needed wisdom and discretion in faithfully managing the affairs of the congregation. Above all, may God abundantly bestow upon you all grace to labor and pray more fervently and effectually than ever for the spiritual prosperity of the Flock over which you have been placed in His name, and bring you and them to an inheritance of eternal rest.

“The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, Amen.

“Your Brother and Fellow Servant

“In the Bonds of Christ,

“J. H. A. BOMBERGER.”

Dr. Bomberger's resignation was accepted May 1, 1854, and thus closed a very successful, happy and influential pastorate with a people deeply attached to him.

While pastor at Easton he published two pamphlets. The first was “The Patriot's Claims to the Christian Citizen's Gratitude, A Sermon delivered July 4, 1852.” It was published by request of a number of friends. Its text was Judges 5: 9, “My heart

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is toward the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Bless ye the Lord." After an introduction explanatory of the text, he says :

"Christian citizens and friends, we meet in the house of God this Sabbath upon a two-fold occasion. It is the anniversary of our national independence. But the celebration of it is saddened by the recent death of one of our greatest statesmen (Henry Clay). Let our hearts be turned toward those patriot governors of the land who offered themselves willingly among the people struggling so nobly and so successfully for our deliverance and our liberties. Let us briefly review their peculiar claims upon our regard and loving remembrance and the encouraging proof which the God of nations gave of his approval of our country's cause by providing such men for such a time."

After referring to the heroes of 1776, and showing that God had furnished many successors in our country's history to those of 1776, he goes on eloquently to eulogize Henry Clay thus :

"Most honorably prominent among all these political worthies, raised to an almost solitary eminence by extraordinary natural qualifications for political and forensic greatness, rises up to our view the lifeless form of that honored statesman, whose recent death has clothed the nation's halls with sackcloth and filled the nation's heart with grief. For whatever diversities of opinion concerning the character and merits of Henry Clay may have existed while he was living, now that he is gone, hardly the man may

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be found who will not acknowledge that as an honest and patriotic statesman he stood among his political compeers like Saul among his brethren, exceeding them in stature from the shoulders upward. To-day then we join with ten thousand Christian congregations in this prosperous land in dropping our funeral cypress into the grave of Henry Clay. Whose heart is not turned in gratitude toward such a prince among the people, praising the Lord for blessing the nation with the life and services of such a man? Above all, let that statesman be the man upon whom this people will delight to confer their highest honors—who “would rather be right than be President.”

The other pamphlet was a sermon preached on the death of his senior colleague, the Rev. Thomas Pomp, who had been for fifty-six years pastor of the church. It was published in 1852, after Mr. Pomp's funeral. The text was II Tim. 4: 7-8, “I have fought a good fight.” His topic was “The Christian Ministry.” He said:

“Consider for a moment the nature of the ministerial profession and the duties belonging to this calling. By their very profession ministers of the Gospel are most openly and solemnly committed against Satan and all his works. In the faithful discharge of his more public official duties he will find himself involved in unavoidable and continual conflict. Truths are to be preached and reiterated which are sorely offensive to carnal minds. Errors are to be exposed and branded with their proper names. Virtues and duties are to be commended and enjoined. Vices are to be uncovered and de-

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nounced." After a brief resume of Rev. Mr. Pomp's life, he continued with this beautiful tribute: "Of his character as a man, a neighbor and citizen, I need say nothing before so many living witnesses of his excellence and worth. That man whose walk and life, private and public, have been before the community, so competent to judge of merit as this, for fifty-six years and upon whom such eulogies as those pronounced last Sabbath (by the Rev. Drs. Hoffeditz and Gray), were universally felt to have been worthily spoken, must indeed have earned for himself a most desirable reputation. The praise of his integrity, amiability and hospitality is recorded in the hearts of all who knew him." He closed with a fine tribute to Father Pomp's self-denial and power as a preacher.

These two discourses show a peculiarity of Dr. Bomberger,—that he was always ready and also able to rise to any occasion, which called for the use of his talents.

During his nine years of pastorate at Easton (1845-1854), he was active in the affairs of our Reformed Church. At the very first meeting of East Pennsylvania Classis, though only a new member, he was elected a delegate to synod, as also in the four following years, and later again in 1853. He was often elected to represent our church as a corresponding delegate to other churches,—thus in 1848 he was a delegate to the Dutch Reformed General Synod, and again in 1849, and in 1850 to the New School Presbyterian Church.

JAMES I. GOOD.

CHAPTER IV

THE PASTORATE IN PHILADELPHIA

Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger was called twice to the pastorate of the "Old Race Street Church," situated on Race Street below Fourth, in the City of Philadelphia. In July, 1852, it was the desire of the congregation that he assume the pastorate as the successor of the Rev. Joseph F. Berg, D.D., who entered the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church in Philadelphia. Two influences set to work to cause Dr. Bomberger, upon reflection, to decline the call. The affairs in the Old First Church were not left in a harmonious state by Dr. Berg, and Dr. Bomberger's church in Easton, Pa., entered their unanimous and insistent opposition to his departure. So the invitation was declined. The Rev. Samuel H. Reid succeeded Dr. Berg as the regular pastor of the church, and served the charge until February 22, 1854, when he resigned on account of ill health. Whereupon Dr. Bomberger was again elected, and a committee from the Official Board waited upon him in Easton, and pressed their claims most urgently. On this occasion the committee was successful, for Dr. Bomberger accepted the call and began his pastorate September 1, 1854.

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In his letter of acceptance he gives expression to his tender feelings for those whom he is about to leave, as well as his fond hopes for the prosperity of the Kingdom in the new relationship which they together are about to assume.

“You will readily believe,” he writes, “that it has cost me great inward conflict to yield to the conviction that it is the will of the Lord that I should change my sphere of labor. It involves the breaking up of the pleasant relations which have existed for the past nine years between myself and this esteemed and affectionate people, and the sundering of ties which each year seems to have been rendering more tender and strong. It is natural and proper also that I should feel reluctant to involve the interests of my present congregation, with which my own feelings have become so closely identified, in the perplexity and peril incident to a change of pastors. But as the circumstances under which your call comes to me clothe it with peculiar force, and as the present condition of my congregation here does not so strongly discourage the contemplated change, the will of the Chief Shepherd seems to be so clearly indicated that I feel constrained to acquiesce.

“This transaction is one which involves both parties in responsibilities of immense magnitude. Let it be our mutual endeavor to realize every day more deeply the weight of those responsibilities, and acquaint ourselves more fully with their nature and demands. Above all, Brethren, let me solicit your fervent prayers that if I am spared to enter upon the duties of my holy office in your midst, I may come to you filled with the Spirit and clothed with the grace of Him from whom I have received my

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commission and without whose help and blessing all human efforts must prove unavailing."

A few years later he wrote to his daughters who were visiting in Easton :

"Now I fear you will only begin to realize how pleasant a home we left in removing from Easton, and be tempted to regret the change. Certainly if I had merely consulted my own tastes and inclinations, I never would have exchanged a residence in Easton for one here. But I believe I did right in the circumstances."

Thus it is evident that Dr. Bomberger came to Philadelphia only in response to the clear and unmistakable call of the Lord. Viewed in the light of subsequent events this proved undoubtedly true.

With his family he removed to Philadelphia in August, 1854, and located at 723 Wood Street, then one of the most refined sections of the city. Bishops Reinke and DeSchweinitz of the Moravian Church, and a number of prominent families resided in the same block and were intimates of the Bomberger family.

It was a happy day for the Old First Church when Dr. Bomberger stepped into its pulpit as pastor; a day that augured well for the future and promised to bring the old church that which it stood so greatly in need of at the time, *viz.*, dignity, influence and renewed prestige. It meant much for the Reformed people of Philadelphia and the entire east-

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ern section of our church that he who was destined to become a great prophet and leader should assume the spokesmanship in one of the denomination's most prominent pulpits. Some of Dr. Bomberger's co-laborers in the City of Philadelphia were men of national and international fame. In the Presbyterian Church were such men as the Rev. Albert Barnes, whose notes and commentaries on the Scriptures are the handbooks of preachers in many lands; the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D.D., famous as a defender of the faith; the Rev. W. W. Barr, a Scotchman with all the characteristics of the preachers of his fatherland raised to the *nth* power; and the Rev. John Chambers, D.D., one of the most powerful and widely known preachers of his time, and a most intimate associate of Dr. Bomberger. In the Protestant Episcopal Church were men like America's own beloved Phillips Brooks, and the Rev. Dudley A. Tyng. The Reformed churches, with the exception of the Church of the Apostles, on Franklin Street above Green, which later disbanded, were all German. Adolph Rohn was the pastor at Salem Church; Frederick A. Fridell at Bethlehem, and Charles Bonekemper at Zion's Church. The Rev. Joseph A. Seiss, D.D., occupied the pulpit of St. John's Lutheran Church, one block from the First Church. The Rev. Joseph F. Berg, D.D., was pastor of the Second Dutch Reformed Church. In this distinguished company of co-laborers Dr. Bomberger found himself, and was soon to share honors with

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them. We are, however, reluctant to record that because of a lack of confidence in, and general suspicion of, the Reformed Church as a denomination in that particular period, it was a hard and trying road over which the church had to journey before it arrived at that place where it was accorded equal respect and was received with kindly fraternal regard into the fellowship of churches.

The pastor of First Church assumed a task that called forth all the mental acumen, spiritual vigor and large-heartedness that were native to the great man called to the charge. In his anniversary sermon on, "Five Years at the Old Race Street Church," preached on January 8, 1860, Dr. Bomberger took occasion to remind his people rather carefully and judiciously of the peculiar difficulties which beset the congregation before he came. "I will endeavor," he said, "to combine kindness with frankness in making this statement. And this is the more easy to do as I am consciously free from all bitterness of feeling which the great wrongs inflicted at the time in question may have excited. For, whatever I may have been made to suffer individually was so insignificant in itself, and especially in comparison with the injustice which I felt was done to our church and her position, that it was not deserving of one day's notice." In order that we may understand the situation referred to in the paragraph just quoted it is necessary for us to look briefly into some events that took place in the pastorate of one of Dr. Bomberger's

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predecessors. The Rev. Joseph F. Berg, D.D. was called from his professorship in Marshall College, Mercersburg, Pa., to become the pastor of First Church in 1837, and remained until 1852. He was a wonderfully gifted man, and his efforts were blessed by the Divine Spirit from the very beginning of his pastorate in Philadelphia. Under his leadership the affairs of the congregation prospered beyond the fondest expectations of the people. But Dr. Berg was, if anything, an intense and ardent Protestant. He is known to have accepted the challenge of infidels to public debate, and not only did he vanquish his opponents, but in several cases subsequently converted them to the Christian faith. He also delivered a series of lectures in opposition to Roman Catholicism which drew vast crowds of auditors. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that a man of Dr. Berg's views and temperament should become involved in a controversy with Dr. John W. Nevin, of Mercersburg, on the doctrinal issues underlying the subject of liturgical worship. The time came when Dr. Berg believed that the German Reformed Church was on the road to Rome, and found it no longer compatible with his own theological views to remain in that church. He resigned the pastorate of the First Church to accept a call from the Second Dutch Reformed Church of Philadelphia, in March, 1852. Some there were who were so greatly attached to Dr. Berg that they accompanied him into his new parish. Not only was the congregation as

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such affected, but the Sunday School as well, which was almost depleted of both scholars and teachers. About twenty scholars remained in the school, and only three teachers continued at their post. Indications pointed strongly to the fact that Dr. Berg encouraged this exodus from the old church, which caused the Official Board to pass an action in April of that year severely rebuking the course of their former pastor.

The Rev. Samuel H. Reid followed Dr. Berg with a brief pastorate of but eighteen months, and though his ministry was energetic and his congregation revived somewhat, his labors were interrupted by ill health.

The Berg affair had called the attention of all the Christian forces of the city not only to the Old Race Street Church and her vicissitudes, but also to the great controversy about to engage the denomination itself. As is usually the case in such matters, those who viewed the situation from the outside received a wholly unjustifiable and prejudicial impression. Grave suspicions as to the fidelity and orthodoxy of the German Reformed Church were cherished by people generally. When a certain pastor recommended "The Imitation of Christ," by Thos. A' Kempis, as an excellent book for devotional reading, this supposed evidence of instability was caught up by an ignorant reporter of one of the city papers, and cited as another indication of the Romanizing tendencies of the German Reformed

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Church. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church refused to continue fraternal relations with the German Reformed.

The effect of such grossly exaggerated and entirely unwarranted opinions upon the mind of the Christian public may well be imagined. For a time the Old Race Street congregation felt the full force of ecclesiastical ostracism. When in 1860 Dr. Bomberger recited these events he stated that the congregation stood alone, subject to mistrust and aversion. "There was none who cared to defend us against evil speaking or to silence the tongue of defamation. Happily for us, not a single deflection from our ministerial ranks to Rome has occurred during all this period of enforced obloquy." Unhappily for the church and Dr. Bomberger they were soon forced to witness a change in regard to this latter statement.

In addition to these trials which had come upon the church there was another serious handicap to the work of the Reformed Church in Philadelphia, due principally to the sin of omission. There was little or no attempt on the part of the denomination toward church extension in the city. The Reformed Church lost ground and suffered materially from this neglect of our fathers. Other denominations extended their boundaries on all sides so that their progress kept pace with the growth of the city. This condition, as Dr. Bomberger himself demon-

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strated later, was brought about by a lack of an enterprising missionary spirit on the part of the clergy, rather than indifference in the rank and file of the people themselves. When, therefore, Dr. Bomberger took up the burden, he was brought face to face with a serious condition of affairs. The church was reduced numerically, so that but a small band of worshippers numbering about one hundred and twenty souls remained. The Sunday School existed on the tiniest thread of life. Prejudices had been awakened in the community against the Reformed Church, and the church had lost time and ground by its proverbial conservatism and lack of missionary enterprise.

Dr. Bomberger's introductory sermon was a masterly discourse setting forth the privileges and obligations of the Christian ministry, and in every sense of the word was the key to his future course in his new field of labor. It was afterward, in 1856, with slight modification, preached before the Alumni Association of the Theological Seminary. This sermon is extremely significant and suggestive for our own day, and is an excellent example of the unique exegetical ability and practical adaptability of all the preacher's sermons. His topic was, "Our Position," text, I Thess. 3: 4, "But as we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the gospel, even so we speak, not as pleasing men, but God which trieth our hearts."

The passage presents four distinct and yet inti-

mately connected points for consideration :

I. "The authority to preach the gospel is derived from God. This is one of the fundamental principles of the Christian Church. As the gospel itself is of Divine origin, and the Church, its great depository and channel, is a Divine foundation, so all the proper arrangements and offices of the Church must be according to Divine direction and appointment. We must, therefore, reject as a profane error the opinion that any man is at full liberty, upon his own authority, to assume the functions of the gospel ministry who may set his fancy that way; and that other profane error that the gospel ministry is a mere profession, to be successively supplied precisely as other professions are filled. What can sustain a minister of the gospel, when he is bowed down in spirit under the oppressive responsibilities of his office, more powerfully than the conviction that he did not run after the office, but that the office laid hands on him, and by a moral impressment constrained him to enter the service,—joined to the assurance that He, who thus laid him under necessity to preach the gospel, will not fail to furnish all needful grace for the discharge of the responsibilities imposed upon him? It is not easy to conceive how a reflecting and conscientious man having numerous other openings for pious service before him, should volunteer to assume the responsibilities of the gospel ministry excepting under the influence of an irresistible conviction of duty combined with a direct call of God through His Church.

II. "The great business of the gospel ministry is to guard and promote the interests of the Church. All selfish considerations must yield to the profound concern for the success of the Redeemer's Kingdom

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and the salvation of souls committed to his care. It may require untiring effort, watchfulness, and prayer, to keep down pride and covetousness and ambition. We must notice one peril against which, in these days, the gospel minister needs to exercise special caution. I mean, of course, that of mistaking and substituting his own fancies, or the plausible and popular opinions of the age, for the gospel. A chief and almost exclusive part of the duty of the ministry of our day has come to consist in preaching, and in such preaching as will entertain audiences whose tastes have not been formed in the school of Calvary. Who can tell how many vain speculations have been and are now put forth in the name of Christ, and baptized with the sacred cognomen, Bible Christianity? But we are put in trust with the gospel, and must deliver messages which it puts upon our lips, and administer the ordinances which it commits to our hands. It is the gospel in which we are to glory, not in our fine-spun theories of theology and piety. It is the gospel which is the power of God unto salvation, not human wit and eloquence.

III. "In doing this the gospel minister must remember that his great aim should be not to please men, but God. Of course those to whom he may be sent will desire to be pleased by one who occupies so influential a position, and whose opinion therefore may be turned to such capital account. It is easy to perceive into how strong a temptation, for the minister of the gospel, Satan and a weak heart may convert circumstances like these. Let true doctrine be preached whether it secure favor or draw down displeasure and reproach upon our heads. Let true worship be maintained, and the ordinances of Christ's appointment be advocated and administered in His own sense of them, whether men will honor

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or despise them. We are not responsible for the character of the gospel doctrines or the nature of gospel institutions, nor for effects, but merely for their sincere defense and faithful administration.

IV. "Finally in discharge of our ministerial office we must be true to those principles to which we pledged fidelity when we assumed its duties. Our assumption of office implied a declaration of our faith in that form of Christianity which characterizes the Evangelical Protestant Church, and a pledge to devote our energies to its prosperity. When we avow ourselves to be fully and cordially committed to Protestantism we mean, of course, old-fashioned, genuine, well-tried Protestantism as that which may be distinctly ascertained from the acknowledged standards and symbolical books of the Evangelical Protestant Church. No man has a right to require us to adopt his private misconceptions and perversions of the truth. This is also implied in our particular position as ministers, that we are sincerely attached to the German Reformed Church, and to those peculiarities which distinguish her from other branches of the Evangelical Catholic Church. It is not to a mere name that we cling, but to the principles of which the name is an index. We cannot be fairly charged with bigotry in doing this. The love of home does not exclude sympathy with those who live outside the home circle, but is the deepest root and purest fountain of such sympathy. No man can love others whose heart is a stranger to the beatings of filial affection. We are not German Presbyterians, as we are sometimes called. There would be far more propriety in the Presbyterian Church calling itself English Reformed. God has assigned to us our particular position, and we have a right to hold it, subject only to His Will. If others, weary of the

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beaten track, prefer trying new paths let them do so, but we claim the privilege of going forward in the old line of march. And surely for this we should not be reviled as innovators. It is better to be called by hard names than to deserve them. If we only take care to be right, and then do right, and thus have our ways, please the Lord, He will not only heal all estrangements, but make even our enemies to be at peace with us."

This sermon, augmented by the fine personality of the preacher, his unalterable conviction, and his characteristic fearlessness, gave evidence to the people of the "Old Race Street Church" that a new day was dawning for them and their beloved Zion, and that their leader was a true prophet of God. These words have no strange sound in our ears today. They are apropos to our time. All that they promised and more was to find fulfillment in the fifteen years to follow.

The church building was the third structure erected in the history of the congregation. It was a plain rectangular building, erected in 1837. The auditorium on the second floor had sittings for almost a thousand persons. The Sunday School, which was organized in 1806, held its sessions in well-equipped quarters on the first floor.

Dr. Bomberger set about in a determined, quiet way to build up the broken walls of Zion. A canvass of the neighborhood was made, and a lively interest in all departments of the work was inspired. His unique ability as a preacher soon attracted great

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numbers to the house of God, and frequently the large auditorium was filled with worshippers. The Sunday School, with its twenty scholars and three teachers, took on new life. Men and women of ability and the mind to work came to the support of the pastor, and their efforts soon brought great changes to pass.

An interesting feature of parish work was the parochial school maintained in connection with the church. This was a small endowed school the sessions of which were held in a large room adjoining the Sunday School rooms. Sufficient funds had been set apart from time to time in the form of an endowment permitting the payment of the salary of the teacher and the supply of the pupils with books, pencils, pens, paper and other necessary articles for school work free of charge. Since our efficient public school system had not yet been inaugurated, many children took advantage of the opportunity offered from year to year. The school was established and conducted solely for the benefit of the children of the congregation. All the children of parents who were regular pew-holders in the church were eligible for admittance. The School Regulations were drawn up by the Rev. John Conrad Steiner in 1760.

Concerning the teacher, it is required that, "he must be qualified in reading, writing, arithmetic and singing. He must be one who takes a lively interest in, and helps to build up the Christian Church, a lover of the Word of God and diligent in

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its use among the children. He must set a good example before the children and avoid exhibitions of anger. He is not to show partiality among the children, but he must receive them lovingly and without distinction. He must be judicious, and adapt himself to the various dispositions and gifts of the children. He must exercise patience, love and gentleness, that he may win their hearts and work with blessing among them. He shall have power to correct and punish children, though with moderation and forbearance, without animosity, passion or anger. He shall at all times open and close his school with a hearty prayer to God for His grace and blessing. He shall train the children to pray, and exhort them to continue in the practice. If time will permit he should sing with them and instruct them in the art of singing. All who are able to do so should learn the catechism by heart, and this shall be strictly followed until they are able to recite all the questions and answers. In the absence of the minister, or in case of sickness or inability to preach, the schoolmaster will read some verses of scripture, etc., to the edification of the congregation."

The first yearly salary paid the schoolmaster amounted to £8.

This school became a very unique feature of the church's life, and while no more than forty pupils were enrolled at any one time, nevertheless, men and women who afterwards became the pillars of the church received their early instruction in the parochial school. In 1865 the pastor's oldest daughter, Miss Mary A. Bomberger, became the teacher, at a salary of \$360 a year.

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From time to time the sermons of Dr. Bomberger made such a profound impression and created such a lively interest that a demand was made for their publication in permanent form. This was notably true of his introductory sermon, of his sermon on "The Atlantic Telegraph and Its Religious Aspects," preached in 1858, of his anniversary sermon on "Five Years in Old Race Street Church," and of a number of others. It will be recalled that in 1858 the first Atlantic cable was laid and enjoyed a brief success of four weeks. In celebration of this marvellous achievement Dr. Bomberger preached a sermon on the significant text, Psalm 104: 4, "Who maketh his angels spirits, His ministers a flaming fire." Here is laid down the proposition that "All the elements and agencies of nature are under the sovereign control of Jesus Christ, the great Head of the Church, and He employs them continually in subserviency to the advancement and ultimate triumph of His Cause." This is developed under three heads, *viz.*, "The Atlantic Cable in Its True Character, in Its Practical Uses, and in Its Moral Lessons."

In the sermon preached on the occasion of his fifth anniversary as their pastor he brings before the people very concisely and fully the account of the progress made in that period. After making a statement of the condition of affairs when he arrived, to which we have already alluded, he proceeds to recount the changes wrought by their united efforts since that time.

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Concerning the numerical increase he states: "Two hundred and eleven new members have been added to our communion. This is encouraging in consideration of the fact that it has resulted from God's blessing upon the ordinary means of grace. No new schemes for swelling our membership have been devised. On the contrary I have been more averse than many of my brethren thought wise, to the use of any of those artifices which I regret to say are sometimes employed by churches for the purpose of drawing full houses and gaining notoriety. It has been my constant aim and conscientious endeavor to avoid unprofitable discussions of exciting themes, and to discard pulpit controversies."

The Sunday School had increased from twenty scholars to over three hundred. In 1859 Miss C. Arnold, the teacher of the primary school, reported one hundred and forty scholars in her department alone. The regular sessions of the Sunday School were held before morning worship, while there was a school conducted in the afternoon for Germans who desired to be taught the Scriptures in the English language. In addition to these, the main school had under its care a mission school on Noble Street near Ridge Avenue, in which there were about fifty scholars.

The attendance at the services had greatly increased. While many families had removed from the district adjacent to the church, and occasioned many vacancies, new families were brought in. The pastor says: "Not only have these vacancies been supplied, but the church has succeeded besides in having many

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more gather in to share the means of grace provided in accordance with Divine appointment."

Concerning the Wednesday Evening lectures he says: "For the last three years the attendance has been remarkably encouraging. Indeed I have never seen an ordinary week-day evening service so full. I hope this interest may never flag. Rather let it become necessary for us to provide more ample accommodations for the service than our room at present affords."

Then, "The Lord has enabled us to outlive the temporary effects of contumely, and restored to us that Christian confidence in the community which for a season had been withheld. No one now points to our spiritual house as a breeding place of popish errors, or discards us as disguised friends of the enemies of Evangelical truth. Whoever may have cared a few years ago whether we perished or not, and whoever may have secretly hoped that such a catastrophe might befall us, now that the Lord is evidently with us, we have many friends. In five years' preaching it has certainly been discovered whether we preach the truth as it is in Jesus or not. And to the best of my knowledge, my preaching is not one whit more evangelical than that of my brethren throughout the Church. I have not labored to suit my dialect in this respect to this particular locality. And in these five years those who have listened with candor and attention must have perceived that my aim was, however imperfectly reached, to declare the whole counsel of God, for the edification of saints and the salvation of sinners. And this course has been so far blessed that we enjoy the confidence of our brethren in full measure."

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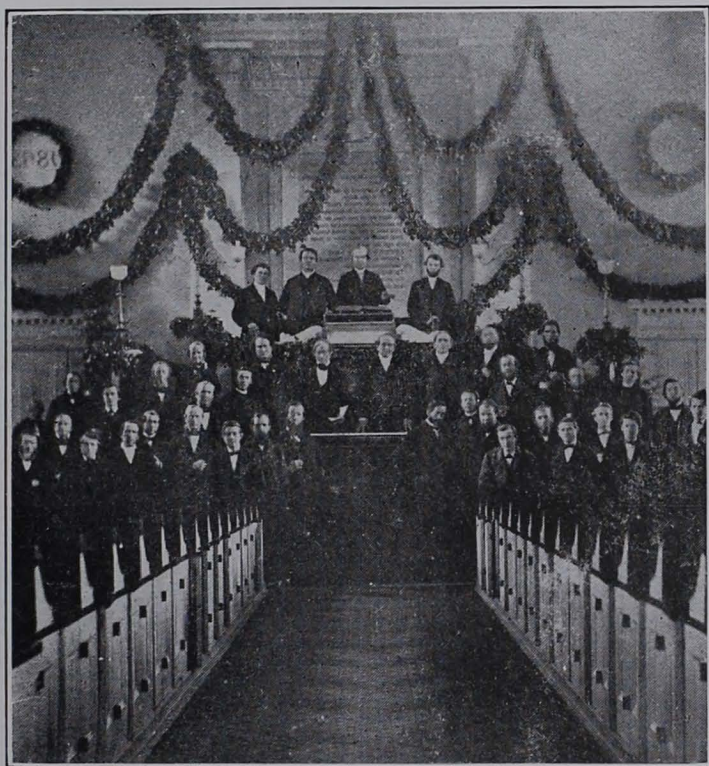
Thus we see that an eminently successful work was accomplished in those years which brought honor to the pastor from his own people and recognition from the Christian public at large. The congregation gave evidence of esteem and appreciation in a number of ways, among which was a substantial increase in the pastor's salary.

Alas for the old church, and for every church in the land, the Civil War interrupted the progress of the work very seriously. The First Church for a time was literally depleted of her young men, many of whom were leaders in the work and could be illy spared. While most of these men enlisted for a short term of service, yet the general depression incident to the war had its serious effects upon the work of the congregation. In line with the general plans of retrenchment, Dr. Bomberger appeared before his Official Board and requested a reduction in his salary. His desire in the matter was acceded to, and his salary was accordingly reduced \$500 per year. It appears that this was a concerted move on the part of most clergymen in Philadelphia at that time.

On November 21, 1860, the angel of death visited the home of Dr. Bomberger and called away to her eternal home the mistress of the manse, leaving the oldest daughter, Mary, who was then eighteen years of age, to become the mistress of the home and care for four children younger than herself. During the summer of 1861, Dr. Bomberger suffered a protracted illness due to overwork. He was required to

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take a vacation lasting several months, but returned to his work greatly refreshed, and plunged into the innumerable tasks of those busy and serious times. He made daily visits to a hospital which was constantly filled with wounded soldiers returned from the front. There he carried cheer, good council and very frequently the necessities of life for those in need. The church building became a veritable beehive of activity. Thither men and women came to bring articles of clothing, make bandages, and prepare baskets and boxes to be sent off to the boys in the army. Dr. Bomberger became actively interested in the celebrated Christian Commission, and on several occasions took time to visit the boys of his church at the front. When General Lee and his army threatened their invasion of Pennsylvania, he accompanied a body of men from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, that they might assist in trench building and help protect the capital city from possible destruction. During the entire course of the war Dr. Bomberger never brought the issues involved into any of his pulpit discourses, except in a general way, when on several occasions he deplored the necessity of war at all, and asserted that all shedding of blood, with its consequent sorrow and hardship; all the destruction of property and staggering loss of money might have been averted if the government of the United States would have proposed to free the slaves by redeeming them for gold, and the South would have been willing to accept such a plan for settling



TERCENTENARY JUBILEE
Old Race Street Church, 1863

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the great issue of slavery for all time. When almost immediately upon the close of the war, and the celebration of the hard-earned victory for the Union arms, the nation's chief was stricken down by the hand of an assassin, no citizen could have expressed more sincere sorrow and regret than Dr. Bomberger. He called his Official Board in special session, and together they decided that the church building should be draped in black.

During the dark and uncertain days of the war, and a few days after President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation became effective, one of the most important events in the history of the Reformed Church took place in the Old Race Street Church. It was an event which for the time being overshadowed everything else for the church. This was the Tercentenary celebration of the Heidelberg Catechism. This event took the form of a great general convention participated in by all the synods of the church. The convention assembled on January 17, 1863, and adjourned after having sessions morning, afternoon and evening for six days. It was fitting that this celebration should take place in this particular church, which could even at that time look back upon one hundred and thirty-six years of continuous existence, and which had taken such a prominent part in denominational affairs in our land, and whose Sunday School, established in 1806, was the first Bible School in the German Reformed Church. Great preparations were made by the church at

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large for this event. As early as 1859 a set of resolutions was offered by Dr. Philip Schaff at the annual meeting of Mercersburg Classis, held in Huntingdon. From that time forth synods and classes throughout the church made full and complete preparations, so that when the time for that great occasion actually arrived the whole church was on the *qui vive*. It was a large and interesting assembly composed of three hundred ministers and laymen prominent in the church. All these were handsomely entertained by the congregation, whose guests they were. Dr. John W. Nevin and nine other brethren were guests in Dr. Bomberger's home. The church was beautifully decorated with laurel wreaths and festoons, and presented quite a gala aspect. On one side of the pulpit, encircled with a wreath was the date 1563, and on the other 1863. The whole occasion marked an epoch in the history of the church. When the convention organized for business the Rev. John W. Nevin, D.D., of Lancaster, was chosen president, together with seventeen vice-presidents. Written addresses were contributed by Dr. C. Ullman, formerly Professor of Church History in the University of Heidelberg; Dr. C. B. Hundeshagen, Professor in Heidelberg; Dr. Herzog, Professor at Erlangen; Dr. J. P. Lange, of Bonn; Dr. Ebrard, of Heidelberg, and Dr. G. D. J. Schotel, of Leyden, Holland. Addresses were delivered in person by Dr. B. S. Schneck, Prof. T. C. Porter, Dr. Henry Harbaugh, Dr. S. R. Fisher, Rev. Prof. Theo. Appel, Rev. Thos.

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G. Apple, Prof. M. Kieffer, D.D., Prof. E. V. Gerhart, D.D., Rev. Thos. DeWitt, D.D., Rev. Geo. B. Russell, Rev. D. Gans, Rev. B. Bausman, Rev. Prof. B. C. Wolff, D.D.

Dr. Bomberger delivered a most interesting and instructive address on "The Fortunes of the Heidelberg Catechism in the United States." In this address he endeavored to answer the following questions which the topic suggested, *viz.*, "What fortunes attended the Catechism when nearly a century after its first publication it entered upon a new career in this country?" "How did it endure transplantation from the parent vineyard to the richer mould of cleared forests and reclaimed valleys on the great and almost unknown continent of the west?" "Did the change improve it or hurt it; drive unnaturally forward or unhappily retard its growth?" "Has it been gathering greater inward strength and yielding even better fruits than in its native land?" These questions, which indicated the scope and bearing of the subject assigned, were treated by Dr. Bomberger in a way that evidenced literary ability, broad general knowledge, historical research and earnest piety, to the edification and delight of all his hearers. It was one of the strongest and most pertinent addresses on the program. Toward the conclusion of his address he gave utterance to these significant words of admonition and warning:

"It is a mistake," he said, "to feel secure in the belief that our symbol has now escaped all shoals

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and rocks, and is sailing on a fair open sea, wholly free from perils. As surely as the Catechism had to encounter dangers in that part of its course already traversed, so surely may we expect others to spring up in the future. It has escaped the whirlpool of unchurchliness; are we quite certain it will not strike against the rock of churchism? It has gone through the shallow waters of a rationalistic delusion of the sacraments; is it beyond the reach of harm from a superstitious over-exaltation of them? It has been rescued from Puritan perversions; should we not be jealous of other possible subversions of its great Evangelical doctrines? To the cherishing of such devout jealousy we may feel the more encouraged by the interesting occasion on which we are here assembled. This occasion is a monument of praise to God for the grace bestowed upon us as a Church through the Catechism. It is, therefore, also at the same time a solemn declaration of the Church's undiminished—nay, increased—regard for this old symbol of her faith in its proper Reformed sense. Woe be to the presumptuous hand that dares to disturb those old and tried foundations! And thrice woe to any who may impiously attempt to defile the foundation from which these three centuries the Church has been drawing the waters of life!"

As the hour of adjournment drew near and the moment of parting was almost at hand—a parting which forbade the hope of ever meeting on earth again under like circumstances—it was a great privilege for Dr. Bomberger to announce to the assembly what he chose to call "the first fruits of the tercentenary." He said he had just received a letter from the Rev. Samuel Helfenstein, D.D., sending his

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Christian greetings and regretting that he had been prevented from attending by the infirmities of age, but that he sent two bonds for \$500 each to be held in trust by the Race Street congregation, the interest of the one to be given annually to the Widows' Fund, that of the other to the cause of beneficiary education. He also had the pleasure of announcing the receipt of two letters from two members of the congregation, who wished their names kept secret, containing donations of \$1,000 each to special objects.

The Old Race Street congregation, though not exceedingly large in numerical strength, had come to be a wealthy corporation. During the course of a century and more, many faithful and loyal members of the church who passed on into the ranks of the Church Triumphant remembered their spiritual mother in their last will and testament. In some instances the congregation came into possession of real estate or money representing large sums. In this period from 1854 to 1870 the congregation had an income from city property, from coal land in Luzerne County, and from other investments, which was almost sufficient to maintain the congregation irrespective of the contributions of the people themselves. In addition to this the church counted among its membership a number of men and women of considerable wealth. It was not unusual to hear this congregation styled "the gold mine of the Reformed Church."

Notwithstanding these extraordinary conditions,

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financially, the benevolences of the congregation were merely normal. Paltry sums were given on occasion to general causes, and whenever a deficit occurred in the running expenses of the Sunday School or any other department of the church, the Official Board merely instructed the treasurer to put his hand in the money bag, and extract an amount suitable to the needs required. There was scarcely ever a thought of allowing the people the privilege of directly contributing to causes that should have been near to their heart. The old pew rent system was in vogue, the most desirable pews renting for \$20.00 per annum, and those least desirable for about \$8.00. These pews accommodated five persons, thereby making the contribution of the pew holders to be from \$4.00 to \$1.60 for each person. Four per cent. commission was allowed the officer whose business it was to collect the pew rents, and in fact every one who rendered any special service to the congregation expected to be paid for it. Dr. Bomberger set to work to change this situation, and learned to his great delight that his people were with him in this matter. Apparently they were waiting for a leader to show them the way into larger fields of service for the Kingdom. The pastor, together with John Wiest, Charles Santee and Gilbert Lentz, were constituted a committee on benevolence. This committee soon inaugurated a plan of systematic giving, which for thoroughness and efficiency equalled any systematic plan of our day. During those strenuous and trying

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days of the Civil War the benevolences amounted to between three and four thousand dollars a year. The budget plan for the raising of funds to meet the regular congregational expenses was also introduced. At the close of each year a statement was prepared showing the probable income for the year and the probable expenses. Dr. Bomberger and his aids finally succeeded in bringing the finances of the church to that point where the living members, those who were members of the Church Militant, and not those who were members of the Church Triumphant, actually paid out of their own pockets the amount necessary for the maintenance of their work.

This condition naturally gave the congregation the incentive to enter into a real forward movement looking toward the extension of the Reformed Church into other portions of the city. Calls for aid came from all parts of the Reformed Zion, both German and English. These appeals invariably brought forth some response from the old mother church, so that we discover no less than six church enterprises assisted financially in sums ranging from \$300 to \$24,000. In this splendid work Dr. Bomberger was the prime mover. He was an ardent advocate of church extension. A careful and impartial view of the entire situation concerning the progress of the Reformed Church in the city will lead us to discern that it was mainly through Dr. Bomberger's initiative, his encouragement and commanding influence, and because of his unselfish devotion to the

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larger interests of the Kingdom, that the Reformed Church in Philadelphia is what it is today. He had men of splendid ability and magnanimous spirit to assist him in this great work.

It was apparent to Dr. Bomberger and his associates that the growth of the city would soon make necessary the establishment of Reformed Churches in many new localities, if the church was not to lose a large number of her members. In 1858 a lot was purchased on Green Street below Sixteenth by First Church, and the following year seventeen members of the First Church met in a hall at Broad and Spring Garden Streets. This was considered the northwest section of the city at that time, and presented a splendid field for a new congregation. The Race Street congregation was hardly strong enough, numerically, to send out many branches and survive herself, but every encouragement and help was given this new enterprise. Not only was the ground purchased, but plans and specifications for the proposed new building were prepared by the Official Board, and arrangements made for gathering the funds to finance the erection of the building. Some unproductive property belonging to the church was sold and the proceeds devoted to the new building. In the fall of 1859 the new congregation was formally organized and took the name of Christ Evangelical Reformed Church. The congregation held its first meeting in the basement of the new building on January 2, 1861. The entire structure was finally

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completed and dedicated in 1865. In nine years the pastor of Christ Church reported two hundred and seventy-seven members, with property valued at \$100,000. The pastors of this congregation have been Rev. S. H. Giesy, D.D., Rev. Joseph H. Dubbs, Rev. Geo. H. Johnston, Rev. James Crawford, D.D., and the present pastor, Rev. Eugene L. McLean.

The old mother congregation not only gave thousands of dollars for the establishment of this new work, but was also called upon to pass over into it a corps of men and women who were to become the backbone of Christ Church for years to come.

A few years later another branch was put forth and fostered which was destined in the course of time to become the largest Reformed Church in the City of Philadelphia, and one of the most influential in the whole denomination. This church was to be established in territory to the north of the Old Race Street Church. A few persons met in a lodge hall at Fourth and George Streets in 1867. An organization was effected, and the new congregation took the name of Trinity Reformed Church. They purchased a lot of ground on Seventh Street near Oxford, and began the erection of their church edifice in 1869. In the same year the officers of the new Trinity Church, who knew well the affairs of the mother church, pressed their suit for a large gift of money in order to assist them in their building. A valuable lot at Seventeenth and Cherry Streets was in possession of First Church, and many overtures came

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from the new Trinity Church urging the sale of this property and the conveying of the proceeds for Trinity's needs. These overtures finally prevailed; the ground was sold, and the proceeds, amounting to over \$18,000, were contributed to the new work. Their new building was completed in 1870. The pastors of this congregation have been Rev. D. E. Klopp, D.D., Rev. Charles H. Coon, D.D., and the present pastor, Rev. James M. S. Isenberg, D.D.

In 1868 another congregation came into existence in still another part of the city. Heidelberg Reformed Church was organized by persons who came out of Christ Church. But it appears that the majority of the charter members of Heidelberg were originally members of the Old First Church.

Thus do we get some idea of the way Dr. Bomberger led his people out to do wonderfully large things for the Kingdom in the city. No other church in the denomination has such a record of achievement. Intensely loyal to the Reformed Church himself, Dr. Bomberger succeeded in implanting a like spirit into the hearts of his people, which made them anxious and zealous not only to conserve for the Reformed Church the energy it already possessed, but to possess new fields and gain new conquests for our beloved Zion. The foundations of church extension were deeply laid under Dr. Bomberger, and more was accomplished in this direction during his sixteen years' residence in Philadelphia than in all the previous one hundred and forty-three years of

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the church's activity. It is not too much to state that most of the English congregations of the Reformed Church in Philadelphia in our time owe their existence at least in some degree to the tremendous impetus given to church extension by the Old Race Street congregation between the years 1854 and 1870.

The type of service in vogue was what we have come to know as the "free service." This was always maintained, from the beginning of the First Church to the present day. So fearful was the congregation at times lest the high church or liturgical tendencies should creep into their worship that they often discussed the advisability of repeating together the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. Indeed the sentiment on occasions was so strongly against all forms or formalism that there were periods when the congregation had absolutely no part in the service except the singing of hymns. For more than a century the congregation adhered to the old custom, brought over from the home of the Reformation by the church fathers, of partaking of the Holy Communion while seated about tables prepared for that purpose. Long tables were placed in the spacious aisles of the church, the members sitting upon benches placed along the tables, and all partaking of the Lord's Supper at the same time. This custom was changed under Dr. Bomberger. The people expressed their preference of coming forward in

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groups to the chancel rail.*

Certainly it was not the hand of fate, but the omniscient hand of the Almighty, which directed Dr. Bomberger to Philadelphia. He who was destined to become the great defender of Protestant principles and practices as promulgated by the Reformed Church was placed in a prominent pulpit and among sympathetic and like-minded people that he might be given the prestige and support which he was finally to need as the Joshua of the Reformed host. The storm which was about to break over the Reformed Zion was brewing when Dr. Bomberger came to Philadelphia. The denomination was to receive the full force of its fury during the years that this great leader was laboring in the pastorate of the church which always had stood where he stood in relation to our Reformed faith. When finally the greater part of the church looked to him as their defender and spokesman, he assumed those additional labors, and responsibilities, which were thrust upon him, with great zeal, and gave himself in body, soul

* It is said that the worthy dominie was led to press for a change of this time-honored custom because of the importunities of the female members of the congregation, who contended that they were greatly hampered for room in moving about with ease and grace from their narrow pew to their places at the tables. We can only imagine what a difficult task confronted the aforesaid ladies, who were required, if they would conform to the dictates of Dame Fashion, to come to the house of God arrayed in hoop skirts that usually measured four yards around the bottom.

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and property to the cause. Only because the Almighty had endowed him with a splendid physique as well as with admirable mental acumen was he able to shoulder the duties which were his. At classis, at synod, at General Synod, he became a dominant figure. His desk was flooded with invitations and overtures from those of his brethren who desired him to take part in important and prominent events all over the church. He was diligent and faithful to his own flock, but at the same time he was anxious to heed the calls to those places where he might do good. Consequently he traveled much. Many of his sermons and addresses were written while traveling on the trains. When night came on he would take advantage of his privilege of securing a candle from the conductor that he might continue to write for a little while longer. There was scarcely a locality in the eastern section of the Reformed Zion which had not heard his voice. The trend of events inevitably brought him to the front. The confines and limitations of the ordinary pastorate prevented Dr. Bomberger from meeting the exigencies of the situation resulting from the great liturgical controversy.

Only one plan of action under the circumstances remained for him: that he should become the prime mover in a wider plan which should have for its aim the conservation and perpetuation of those principles and practices which actuated the founders of the Reformed Church, which had found favor among

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millions of adherents over the world. The mother which gave them birth must not be allowed to abandon them.

On December 9, 1869, Dr. Bomberger resigned his pastorate. In presenting his formal resignation he wrote: "You will believe me that in taking this step I am filled with no ordinary emotions. It has been my privilege to sustain my present pastoral relations for nearly sixteen years. The connection, so sacred in itself, has been made so prevalingly pleasant to me by the general kindness and many special proofs of Christian regard and personal esteem which I have experienced from the Brethren of the Board and the Congregation at large. The period during which I have been permitted to stand thus related to you all and to serve you in the Lord has not only been a comparatively long one, but covers what in many respects has been the most eventful period of my life."

The Official Board of the congregation passed the following action :

"WHEREAS, Our beloved pastor, Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., in view of entering upon his duties as the President of Ursinus College, has signified to us his desire that the pastoral relation between him and the Race Street Reformed Church be dissolved;

Resolved, That we reluctantly consent to unite with him in an application to Classis for such dissolution.

Resolved, That in parting with our pastor we do unanimously concur in testifying to the ability

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and faithfulness with which he has performed his labors among us, the purity of his life as a minister and man of God, our cordial approval of his efforts to maintain and defend the Gospel of Christ, and our entire satisfaction with him as a pastor.

Resolved, That in leaving us he shall take with him to his new field of labor our earnest prayers that he may exert a powerful influence for good among the youth of our land, and that the great Head of the Church may make him an honored instrument for advancing and extending Christianity with original apostolic purity and simplicity."

These are significant words, and would seem to indicate that Dr. Bomberger had succeeded admirably in inculcating into the hearts of his people of the Old First Church the spirit of service and worship for which he himself stood and in behalf of which he was to give the remaining years of his life with unrelenting vigor.

EDGAR R. APPENZELLER.

CHAPTER V

PERSONALITY AND LARGER LIFE

There entered into the unusual personality of the subject of these chapters a humanism that was without frontiers. It was a humanism, however, that was judicious and well-balanced, sound in its conception and safe in its expression. It did not violently separate the fraternal relations, the privileges and obligations, that exist between man and his fellow man, from the equally essential relationships that exist between man and his Maker. It did not make any vain attempt to glorify the idea of human brotherhood at the expense of suppressing the idea of divine fatherhood. On the contrary it constantly recognized the fact that to depreciate or deny either was to disqualify or repudiate both; for they are one and inseparable, joined together in the undermost foundations of God's eternal purpose and universal plan. His humanism never failed to observe that the man who smites his brother man strikes his father God, and that the man who aims a shot at God his father boasts of man his brother in terms that simply hiss for the very shame of them.

The characteristic humanism of the man memorialized in this volume was therefore strictly Christian in the most literal, evangelical sense. But

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it was a deep, downright humanism that was not

“ . . . cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, bound in
To saucy doubts and fears.”

It embraced a brotherhood that knows no social or sectarian barriers, no racial or commercial classifications, no pretentious national *ne plus ultra*—a brotherhood that had not been case-hardened by the insistent considerations of self, that was not a matter of physical geography, or of statute miles, or of sordid materialistic calculations, not the curious creature of overworked patriotism or of underfed economics, but that was the real, vital brotherhood of a soul set free and of a life redeemed.

Dr. Bomberger cheerfully accepted man's responsibility for the welfare of his fellow man, of every class, creed, clime and condition, a responsibility that has never been charged off, as universal as nature, as wide as the human race, as boundless as the government of God. And it was inwrought into his inmost nature that the man who declines this responsibility is possessed of a shrivelled, callous soul.

His nationalism was as deep and broad as his humanism. Dogmatic in his attitude toward clearly defined, essential truth, positive and uncompromising toward evident error, conservative in his definition and advocacy of every mooted subject or unproved theory, wary with reference to any mere human hypothesis, not given to sensational theologi-

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cal expeditions into the unknown, or to hazardous philosophical speculations, he was nevertheless a courageous, though guarded, liberal. To him the broad-churchman was next-door neighbor to the no-churchman, liberty lived close to license, the fair estate of love adjoined the riotous race-course of lust, freedom and fanaticism looked into each other's windows, the liberality of to-day was frequently the prodigality of to-morrow, and latitudinarianism was the consequential boulevard that begins in a bog and ends in the bush.

So that with keen and careful discrimination—the lack of which is a universal catastrophe—he was constantly sounding warnings against the overloaded liberalism that “turns turtle” in the dangerous cross-seas of specious barter and easy-going toleration. Reviewing an article in a well-known Quarterly, he commended it as “an able exposure of the deceptiveness of modern religious liberalism,” and in a subsequent review of an equally prominent periodical, he commended this for being “spirited, learned and liberal (sometimes even to a fault).”

Notwithstanding all this circumspection, however, Dr. Bomberger was in all things a true liberal. The narrow-minded man was a cross to his soul. Contact with the small, hard man, without great impulses, with no gracious sentiment or trembling heart-throb in his purpose, bruised him as would the sudden kick of a solar-tipped boot. Yet the man, on the other hand, whose soft, sentimental liberality was constantly spilling over all the generally ac-

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cepted, fixed limits of fact, and truth, and orthodoxy, was regarded by him as an even more dangerous object of commiseration, while he put the confirmed vagarist, whether serious seeker or complacent sycophant, into the same van with the intellectual or religious vagabond.

Withal he was a liberal. Liberalism dominated him. Liberality was of the very essence of his nature. He was the soul of neighborliness. Every man was his brother, with whose interest he felt himself personally and specially charged. In a true sense every church was his church, every school was his school, every nation was his nation—he made all things his with an unusual intensity of satisfaction and feeling of personal responsibility.

From the liberal lexicon of his thought-life the very term "foreign" was cast into the discard. To him there was nothing foreign to Christian manhood but corruption, nothing to be feared but fraud, nothing alien but alienation. The seas set no limit to his nationalism, much less to his religion, of which the former was an integral part. He was not bound by mere tradition. Cut-and-dried conventionalism could not confine him. No self-interest could deaden his keen, quick sense of humanity. Every sign or symbol of imperious, artificial exclusiveness was his abomination. His spirit was all-inclusive—sin excepted. In the sacred inner circle of his life he was every man's apologist, an unaffected counsellor, a true and trusted friend.

The multitudes moved him, not so much with a

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so-called "passion" for souls—for passion did not sway him, but rather with a gracious "compassion"—a spirit of divine pity rather than one of human distemper. This very largeness of personal soul, breadth of mind and purpose, and intensity of resilient, unselfish sympathy, led him constantly far afield into active endeavors that were in his thought intimately associated with his ministry, though beyond the bounds of a local, circumscribed parish. The latter was his citadel, his field was the world; God was his father, humanity was therefore his brother; the church was his home, but his duty was abroad, was not confined, not walled in.

The dominant motive in his life seems to have been fidelity and constancy in consecrated service. As he consciously owed much to God he felt much indebted to his fellows, in the discharge of which indebtedness only could he liquidate his obligations to God. And as he owed much to his fellows he was consciously in debt to God, in whose service only could he pay his fellows what he owed them. He knew that he who knows how to serve knows how to be served, and that that man is most served who serves most. He was awake to the fact that when men come to an honest and practical acknowledgment of their indebtedness to their fellow men the indebtedness of their fellow men to them is many times increased.

He was therefore a servant, yet never servile; a man, but not a menial. He stooped, but it was like

a conqueror receiving his crown. He put his fellow man in his debt by laboriously and faithfully discharging his debt to his fellow man. Thus the servant comes to be greater than the man he serves, the slave becomes the master, those of low degree come to be men of high degree, the follower soon finds himself the leader, the subject ascends the throne, the vassal returns victor, the moralist metamorphoses into a man of God, and the dead man lives.

These things are exceedingly simple and elementary. Yet this is where human life usually breaks down. A successful life, like a great building, broadly speaking, is merely a matter of materials, judiciously selected, industriously assembled and properly placed. It is the story of right relations, expressed in glad and dutiful service. For "the smallest roadside pool has its water from heaven and its gleam from the sun, and can hold the stars in its bosom, as well as the great ocean." In these terms there is some more or less inadequate expression of the mind, the spirit and the life of Dr. Bomberger, whose personality it seems desirable to set forth and interpret to those who shall follow.

He responded readily, and with penetrating discrimination, therefore, to the call of obedient service, whenever and wherever such service beckoned, regardless of cost or criticism. He counted not his life of value unless it was liberally and freely given for the public good, in the largest sense of an intensely Christian neighborliness and an unquestionably orthodox devotion to his native land. And for

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all this carefully guarded liberalism, founded upon an immovable radicalism, he was the better churchman and the more trustworthy patriot. Even beyond his "three score years and ten," he seemed to say, in the hoary spirit of the aged Ulysses—

"How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use;
As tho' to breathe were life. Life piled on life
Were all too little, and of one to me
Little remains: . . .
And this gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge, like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

Before his preparation for the ministry was finished he is found dispensing his talents as a teacher. And later, in his first arduous pastorate at Lewistown, he reaches beyond its conventional bounds, gathers together a few youths who were desirous of instruction in the arts and sciences, and seeks to satisfy their need.

It is quite true that in his day the line of demarcation between exact ecclesiastical service and civic or public welfare activity, was more sharply drawn than now, the office of the ordained ministry was greatly restricted, and the opportunities presented to this ministry of the church for serving the state, or for engaging in what may now be called social service, were comparatively few and far to find. At the same time sectarian fences were so high and

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straitly set, with but few "bars," and rarely one let down, that interdenominational fellowship and work were generally taboo. Nevertheless, there were occasional calls from outside the more or less narrow circle of strictly denominational pastoral work, which Dr. Bomberger accepted, and to which he constantly addressed himself with discretion, energy and peculiar tact.

He was never actively engaged in "politics," or in political discussions of any sort. There were several reasons for this. In the first place he lacked the opportunity; his exceptionally busy life precluded the possibility of it. His mind and time were exclusively preoccupied with exacting duties that seemed to him to lie closer to his special calling, to which he was most devotedly wedded. Neither was there presented to him, in this connection, in any other respect, an open and effectual door.

In the second place he lacked the disposition; politics was more or less distinctly distasteful to him. He could not be designedly "politic," much less partisan. The political game of "give and take" did not appeal to him. In diplomacy there was in the very nature of the case too much compromise and deceit. He was not inclined to be clever, cunning or crafty. Sharp practice was the more reprehensible when successful. Offences committed within the limits of the civil law were to him doubly offensive. A soulless legalism, devoid of conscience because lacking ideals, he heartily detested.

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As a citizen he did his duty as he saw it; he lived up to what light he had. He invariably voted. But if he generally voted some particular party ticket, as he probably did, even the members of his own immediate family with difficulty discovered it. He had respect for an honest opponent. Indeed he showed a rather rare degree of consideration for the frank opinions of an open and sincere adversary. But to tricks and trifling he gave no quarter. Mere policy provoked him. Poltroonery aroused his indignation. The trimmer he dismissed with scorn. Affectation, of every sort and degree, in mart or manse—the “pride of race or place, of face or grace”—intellectual conceit, social arrogance or business bluff—was to him the certain voucher of an egotistic parasite. Expediency he compelled to give a full and strict account of itself before he would lend it the slightest endorsement. He was in all matters above-board, outspoken and honest, modest and without display, but never wanting in moral courage.

Dr. Bomberger was a radical abolitionist; but he never allowed this radicalism to give offence even to the least of his brethren. He was particularly persistent in his advocacy of a pure, constructive Christianity. His parishoners, his children, his students and his friends generally, were constantly expostulated with concerning the essential dangers of destructive criticism and policies. He was never known to “throw the first stone.” Compelled by circumstances to be a controversialist, he heartily dis-

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liked controversy. He was an ardent apostle of peace, but not at-any-price. He was positive and progressive rather than negative and reactionary. His sense of the fitness of things never allowed him to take the purely political issues involved in the emancipation of the slaves into his pulpit. He believed that the province of preaching was properly restricted to the simple gospel of the Son of God, presented fully and with the unction of the Holy Spirit, but in its larger aspects and deeper purposes. Consequently the strenuous, critical days of civil war found people of all faiths and political attachments flocking to his ministry.

He viewed and treated the live issue of temperance in the same broad and liberal, yet evangelical and earnest manner. He keenly realized that sin was not born of human slavery, but that human slavery was a child of sin; and with becoming demeanor he went after sin. He knew that iniquity did not originate in a whiskey barrel—though this may have greatly aided its propagation, but that the whole evil of strong drink sprang from the human depravity of which all men are heirs; so he aimed his thrusts at constitutional depravity—his axe was always laid at the root of the tree, he could not be superficial. Yet he stood openly and strongly for freedom from the evil of human slavery and from the vice of strong drink, the fundamental and effectual freedom wherewith Christ makes men free. He publicly, but considerately and inoffensively, in the spirit of Christian affection, advocated abolition,



J. H. A. BOMBERGER
Pastor in Philadelphia, about 1862

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not only of human slavery in the narrower sense, but in the broader sense with reference to all evident evil, and sin its fountainhead.

Permanent, available records of these larger ministries are generally lacking. The good that men do is oft interred with their bones. But apart from what has been written of historical value and of interest here, many truthful traditions indicate his place and power in that broader sphere of activity of which this chapter treats.

When the Confederate army was threatening southeastern Pennsylvania just before the battle of Gettysburg, in 1863, Dr. Bomberger was sufficient of a patriot to doff his simple clericals, don an old linen suit, shoulder a shovel, and personally engage with hundreds of others in casting up fortifications on Lemon Hill, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, the lines of which are discoverable to this day—a mere incident, but of some import.

Numerous incidents of this sort disclose the real substance of a liberal manhood, the slight importance he attached to conventional habiliments and customs, and the true quality of his unostentatious love of country.

With characteristic abbreviation the following detached notes of a sermon preached in the Old Race Street Church, Philadelphia, on the 2nd day of July, 1865, immediately after the close of the Civil War, may more clearly indicate how a broad, deep humanism joined hands with a genuine nationalism in

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all his words and works. His text for the occasion was I. Samuel 12:24—"Only fear the Lord, and serve Him in truth with all your heart: for consider how great things He hath done for you."

"There is abundant warrant in the Scriptures for the people of God taking a deep and lively interest in the affairs of a nation. As Zion of old was in Jerusalem, and as the ancient Church had its local habitation amidst the territory of the tribes, so has God to-day set up his Church in the midst of the nations of the earth.

"Indeed civil and political matters are laid upon the heart of the Church as proper objects of interest and prayer. It is most emphatically a Christian's concern how it fares with the state and the country in which he lives, by which he enjoys temporal protection and many social blessings, and in which there is lodged so much power for good and evil.

"There is now at hand another anniversary of our national foundation—the eighty-ninth. And the circumstances under which the celebration occurs will invest it with very peculiar significance. We all must feel deeply interested in the occasion. Would that it might be observed with decent gladness all over the land! Let us so far anticipate it as to dwell for some moments upon thoughts appropriate to it.

"I. We may hardly be in a frame of mind as yet rightly to estimate how 'great' things the Lord has done for us. The din and confusion of war may still reverberate through the soul, and disturb the reflective faculties. We may not have quite recovered from its fearful desolations and woes. The spirit of animosity and revenge may not have sufficiently subsided. To obtain a just view of an extensive landscape it is necessary to get to some elevated spot,

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and we have not yet reached such a height. Nevertheless we have enough before us to serve to impress the mind and excite wonder and praise.

"Everything connected with the history and events of the last four years has been 'great,' has assumed and exhibited vast proportions. The rebellion was the great political rebellion in the world's history. Its aim was stupendous. Its armies and munitions of war were immense. And still greater have been the means employed for its suppression. But the great things achieved are especially notable. Observe some of these results.

"1. The rebellion has been crushed. Many thought it could not be put down, at home, and abroad, and among those engaged in it. It indeed seemed formidable. At times the cause of the government looked exceedingly gloomy, and they that knew best feared most. I know that some affected to laugh at all these fears. But two years ago today the nation was in imminent peril, and there was not a brave, intelligent man in Washington, or in the army, who did not think and feel so. Ask the noble General in chief command at Gettysburg, or any of the corps commanders. Humanly speaking, our victory there was the result of the strange and unaccountable mistake of the enemy in having voluntarily abandoned the eminence on the southeast of the town. More than once was the cause in no less jeopardy. The foe was sure of full success. But at last he had to succumb. And how entirely was he put down!

"2. The integrity of the government has been preserved, and its power to maintain its authority has been vindicated. Had those been successful who resisted authority, it would have encouraged others to like attempts. By the results of recent events the nation has most solemnly declared that it will not al-

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low its oneness to be broken, that no cost of blood or money will be spared in maintaining the Union. This is surely an important result. It must serve as a safeguard against all future attempts to destroy our national unity. It shows that right makes might.

"3. The suppression of the rebellion has been effected without the destruction of any integral part of the Union. Every State and Commonwealth composing the Union has been preserved, and will soon be restored again to its former position.

"4. In connection with all this, and as a natural consequence of it, one of the greatest social evils of the age, and the great bone of contention among us, has been finally and forever removed. It has, indeed, been purged out by blood, by the most terrible and desolating means. But the nation would have it so. There were many, years gone, who hoped, desired and prayed that the curse might be taken from us by gentler means. And had the nation been so minded it might have been amicably done, if ten years ago the North had been willing to pay one thousand millions, and the South had been willing to take it. But both were obstinate and grew fanatical. So the problem had to be solved in another way, by the sacrifice of five billions of money and the greater sacrifice of one million lives, by the incalculable woes and desolations of war.

"O, the madness of reasonable men appealing to arms for the settlement of differences of opinion! When shall this cease? (Author's note.—This public appeal was made more than half a century ago, when the very word "arbitration" was little known and used less; and those best acquainted with his spirit and method will fully appreciate the fervor and force with which the preacher must have dwelt upon this brief sermon note.)

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“But now, by whatever mournful means, we are rid of this evil, and it is not likely to vex our peace again. Only let us not think that all the devils have been driven from the land because the fiendish spirit of slavery has been banished. This riddance, however, is one of the ‘great’ things the Lord has done for us, as all will soon or later acknowledge.

“II. All these things impose upon us peculiar obligations.

“1. To ‘fear’ the Lord. All his wonderful dealings with us through these trying years call on the nation to do so. He that hath done such great things is a great God. What has this rebellion been but a rod in His hand?—Now a rod not simply smites but is smitten.—What have all the noises and tumults of the war been but the angry thunderings of our offended Jehovah? Surely He who can use such weapons of vengeance is to be feared. He that can cause armies to fall on the field of battle like the grass before the mower’s scythe is to be feared. Let us therefore stand in awe of Him. But let us also fear with filial reverence. Let the nation worship Him. Let the nation not be ashamed to confess a religion, and that the true religion. We may not have a national Church, but we cannot do without a national religion.

“2. To ‘serve’ the Lord. In a general way it must be admitted by every upright mind that by the events of the last four years this nation is called, as it never was before, to devote its life and powers to the service of God. Now God is served by keeping His holy commandments. These are for the government of nations as well as for individuals.

“But this war has presented some special ways for our serving God, and lays us under obligations to regard and meet the special wants growing out of it.

“(1). By providing for the temporal and

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spiritual wants of the thousands of returned soldiers scattered all over the North. Many of these are disabled for life. Many are in danger of falling before foes mightier and more insidious than those they met on the field of battle. The small annuity they receive is simply enough to keep them in dissipation. Who shall care for them? Christians, and the Christian Church.

“(2). There is a great work to be done in the South. Churches are dilapidated and congregations broken up. We had a flourishing congregation in Shepherdstown; it now receives missionary aid. Still worse conditions exist in other places. North Carolina may be an exception; we have been gratified to learn that our clergy and people there have maintained their steadfast loyalty.

“(3). But there is one field which now has special claims upon us. I refer to the freed colored population. It was comparatively easy to give them political liberty. Are we willing to meet the demands of the case? We ought to be. There they are and must either be cared for or perish. Even the political right of going to the polls to vote will not help them. They need bread and raiment for body and soul. And it is most fortunate that with such pressing exigencies at hand there are also at hand organized agencies for meeting them.

“Among these the American Tract Society is putting forth noble and earnest Christian efforts, establishing schools, sending out colporteurs with Bibles and other books, scattering tracts, and employing every possible means to meet the needs of the situation. Let us co-operate. We can work through it. Let us aid in liberally sustaining it. And when another Fourth of July returns may we be able to look upon the land wholly at peace and prosperous.”

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Thus the appeal of a loyal nationalism invariably returned to the challenge of a liberal humanism by way of self-sacrificing devotion to Christian service in the fear of God and love of mankind. And it is notable that amid all the unusually numerous and exacting duties and engagements that tended to narrow his point of view, foreshorten his outlook and circumscribe his usefulness—pressing pastoral work, the demands of a prominent pulpit, the urgent calls of leadership in a theological controversy that literally raged in his own denomination, threatened to rend it, and attracted almost world-wide attention, voluminous editorial efforts, in the days when stenographers, typewriters and private secretaries were either entirely unknown or were a luxury that very few enjoyed, and the responsibilities of an exceptionally large family—Dr. Bomberger was nevertheless impelled by his own native liberality, versatility and largeness of desire, to enter these more extended fields of Christian service and to voluntarily assume burdens that but few men would have undertaken even under the most favorable conditions.

During those desperate days of the Civil War there was no active agency of relief and mercy that was more to be commended than the historic Christian Commission. Its fine spirit, lofty aims and earnest efforts were spoken of far and wide in terms of the highest praise.

And it is needless to say that it afforded the subject of this sketch another such ready opportunity of

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usefulness as he was given to seeking. He therefore promptly associated himself with the Commission and engaged in its beneficent work with the utmost self-abandon. Daily, with well-filled basket on his arm, he would make his way to the army hospitals located at Fifth and Buttonwood Streets, and at Broad Street & Washington Avenue, where he would speak words of good counsel and cheer to the sick and wounded soldiers, pray with the dying, distribute Testaments and tracts, often articles of clothing and surgical bandages, and such simple food delicacies as his basket might contain.

The latter hospital was located in the old Baltimore & Ohio R. R. depot, which in those days was not of easy access, the Fifth and Sixth Street car line being the only down-town line then in existence. Consequently vehicles of every description had to be impressed into service, supplementing the insufficient and uncertain 'bus service, or those messengers of mercy were compelled to resort to that most ancient and exclusive means of transportation employed by Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. In these distressful surroundings there was no more familiar figure than Dr. Bomberger, and no man was more respected and beloved by the sorry victims of that cruel conflict who from time to time were brought in from the various battlefields.

Many of the young men of his own church had enlisted in the army. These he followed during their terms of service with the greatest personal interest and solicitation. If he himself could not meet

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them at the front, he would commission some mutual friend to carry thither his assurances of prayerful sympathy, or he would summon his never-failing pen to express his patriotic loyalty and pastoral affection. A man among men he thus busied himself on their behalf, as a companion, as a spiritual adviser, and as a patriotic citizen. The following home-letter, typically human and unpretentious, in simple, uncoined phraseology, will suggest something of this intense personal interest in his own "boys in blue." The Mr. Apple mentioned was the Rev. Thos. G. Apple, D. D., LL. D., then pastor of the Greencastle Reformed Church, who was at a later period the president of Franklin & Marshall College, and whose son now presides over that institution.

"GREENCASTLE, PA., Monday, 6 P. M., Sep. 22, '62.

"MY DEAR CHILDREN:—

"At last I have succeeded in finding both the regiments, and all our friends. Last evening I was out to the encampment of the Grey Reserves and saw them fixing their tents. They did it in a most quiet and orderly manner. This morning I heard that Will Lambert was with his regiment in a warehouse near town. I went at once in search of him, but failed. Coming back I sat on the porch (I am staying with Mr. Apple), and who should come along but Harry Bibighaus, Mr. Babcock and Mr. Yunger, of the same regiment with Mr. Wiest. (John Wiest was an elder in the Race Street Church, a member of the Christian Commission, a vice-president and later the treasurer of the Pennsylvania Sabbath School Association, and one of the leading spirits in

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the organization of Ursinus College.—Author's note). So they told me of his whereabouts. They had straggled in advance of their regiment in search of a breakfast. As Mr. Apple was "eaten out" I went over to a Mr. Hartman and soon coaxed some breakfast for them. Just as they were crossing the street, their regiment (Blue Reserves) came marching up through the town. It would have made you cry (or laugh) to see the poor fellows, all covered with dust, faces begrimed—you could hardly tell their color. Then, too, though they marched very regularly, to the beat of a drum, they were evidently tired and fagged out. While standing and looking at them I soon saw our young friends passing along. One of the first to shake hands was Captain Audenried (about the finest looking officer in the regiment excepting the Colonel). Then Alfred Butz, N. Levan, E. Santee, Harry Bibighaus, Mr. Gundrun, Buck, John Alburger, Will Johns, and others, but not Mr. Wiest. In a few minutes I followed them, and found them taken to the same woods occupied by the Greys. The first thing they did, after throwing down their knapsacks, was to throw themselves down. They had marched about six miles this morning, and, footsore and weary, wanted rest. The next inquiry was for food. Hungry as spring bears, they had nothing to eat. Since yesterday noon they had had nothing but a hard biscuit and some water. How I was wishing for a wagonload of Wood's bread! Their stores had not been received and they had received but two government rations since they left home. There was plenty on the road somewhere, but nobody could get it. The biscuits I had brought along were but a flea-bite. Still I had seen yesterday how badly the Grey Reserves were off, and tried to get the good ladies here to bake some hasty shortcakes this morning early. As most of the fami-

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lies were out of flour I could get but few baked. Mrs. Rebaugh prepared a small basketful, and taking them with my own biscuits, I began to distribute. I guess you and I have never been as hungry as those poor fellows were. Their eyes lighted up with fresh lustre, their faces glowed with revived life, their jaws moved with peculiar energy—I tell you those shortcakes made them a good breakfast. I said to Eugene, "Does it taste good?" He said, "Good? I guess it does!" So Mr. Lentz, John Alburger, Harry and Charley Bibighaus, indeed all of them. How I wished for a wagonload! I shared all pretty equally, and at noon took out a loaf of fresh bread for some for whom I had no cakes.

"This P. M. at 3.00 I preached to the Grey Reserves (Lentz, Bentz, Dunn, Berkenstock, Capt. Welsh, and others), about 500 present, in companies. As I was waiting in the parlor for dinner to-day, I heard a couple of men on the porch, and one said, "Why, this is T. G. Apple's, we won't go in here!" I knew it was Mr. Wiest's voice and went out to the door. There he stood with Mr. Kline. They were hunting a dinner and concluded none could be found at a poor preacher's house. They stopped and took dinner! But I must stop, though I could fill sheets with incidents. To-morrow at 8.00 A. M. I am to have a service for the Blue Reserves. Then I expect to go to Hagerstown.

"Just now I read in today's 'Inquirer' that the Philadelphia regiments would be home this evening. I am sorry for the friends who will be disappointed. What stupid dispatches! The regiments are here, a half mile from Greencastle, east on the road to Waynesboro. They are not likely to return (I think) for some days. They are all well, only tired. This evening they are over their hunger. Their commissary got a beef for them this P. M.—and now for

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roast beef and plum-pudding! They all have tents to sleep in, small shelter tents, and tonight they will get along first rate. Please let as many of their friends hear the contents of this hasty scribble as possible, and without delay. John Alburger received the letter they sent off last Wednesday, or Thursday, this evening. Their friends may feel easy about them now, though they have been in very great danger. All speak well of them. They behaved bravely, patiently endured their toils, and I hope in a few days will be home to tell of their exploits.

"I hope, dear children, you are all keeping well, and eating your bread and butter with thankfulness. May the Lord preserve you from harm. Much love to each and all of you and all friends. I saw Mr. Brenneman this evening. He has been out a week. Also George Heitshu this morning. Well.

"Your affectionate father,

"J. H. A. B.

"P. S.—I did not get here, as you may have learned from my note to Dr. Mayburry, until last evening. We were shamefully detained at Chambersburg."

The fine-looking Captain Audenried mentioned was the son of George Audenried; he was a first cousin of the Hon. Judge Chas. Y. Audenried, of Philadelphia, and a brother of Mrs. Dr. Mayburry. Will Lambert was the late Major William H. Lambert of Philadelphia, in which city Alfred Butz and Mr. Gundrun still reside. Mr. Kline was the late Mahlon H. Kline, of the Smith, Kline & French Co., Philadelphia, a teacher in the Race Street Sunday School.

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An interesting coincidence will be noted between the date of the above letter and the date of Lincoln's preliminary proclamation announcing the general emancipation of the slaves, to take effect January 1, 1863, should the rebellion then continue to exist. The very day this historic proclamation was issued, Dr. Bomberger was at Greencastle, close to the Maryland line, distributing his biscuits to his boys in blue and feeding their souls with the bread of life. And pressing on to the south, across Mason and Dixon's line, in pursuit of his patriotic and gracious mission, as if in pursuit of Lee's retreating army, two days later he wrote from the bloody field of Antietam. From Boston he had previously written—

“There is a rumor in the city this evening that Stonewall Jackson has defeated Pope. I trust it is not correct. Recruiting is going on briskly and the assessors will begin tomorrow to go around for drafting. They say the United States does not exempt preachers! As the drafting time approaches a good many youngsters are getting very nervous.”

It may not be out of place to recall that after the defeat of the Army of the Potomac in the seven days' fighting on the line of the Chickahominy, the Confederate Army of North Virginia, under Lee, prepared for an invasion of Maryland, worsted Pope's army at Cedar Mountain, in the second battle of Bull Run (August 30, 1862), and at Chantilly. The Confederates then crossed the Potomac, near Leesburg, and concentrated their forces at Frederick,

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Md., about twenty-five miles southeast of Hagerstown. Meanwhile the Union Army, withdrawn from Harrison's Landing and consolidated at Washington with Pope's command, moved out under General Geo. B. McClellan to meet the Confederates. McClellan's advance guards entered Frederick as the Confederate rear guard was leaving it. At this place, on September 12th, the Union commander became acquainted with the disposition of Lee's forces. The subsequent movements of the opposing armies finally resulted in the Battle of Antietam, September 16th and 17th. The outcome of this bloody encounter was a virtual victory of far-reaching possibilities for the Union Army; but jubilation was quickly followed by great dissatisfaction throughout the North because of McClellan's failure to make the most of the momentous advantage gained, by swift pursuit of the retreating Confederates; and on November 7th, when he appeared to be making preparations for an attack in force, he was superseded in command by General Burnside.

While McClellan thus rested, or at least delayed his advance, marking the crisis of his career, five days after the Battle of Antietam, Dr. Bomberger was at Greencastle, and two days later was at Hagerstown, Md., from which point he went out into the field, as the following hastily lead-penciled home-letter sets forth. The place is not given, but it was probably Boonsboro, midway between Hagerstown and Frederick.

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“Wednesday evening, 6 o'clock,
“September 24, 1862.

“MY DEAR CHILDREN :

“After some detention and trouble I reached this place (slaughter-house) and am now writing under a window all shattered by shells, in Mr. Shuford's house, our local minister. A week ago today the balls and shells were flying here in all directions. Almost every house bears fearful marks. Brother Shuford (Rev. M. L. Shuford) had to leave with his family and seek shelter in a cave. O, the desolations of war! Unable to get away from Greencastle until last evening, I reached Hagerstown too late to go farther then. Mr. Armstrong kindly took me in. No room in any hotel. This morning I set out in search of our young men's (mess). Learned that all were down here. Then I looked for a conveyance. Passing up the street I saw them carry a very sick and wounded man—from Hestonville (now 52nd Street and Lancaster Avenue, Philadelphia.—Author's note), a cousin of Newton Heston, the Methodist preacher. It was raining. I had my umbrella, so I went along and held it over him until they reached the depot. Next I bought 1½ yards of oil cloth, got Mrs. Wagner and Miss Withers to make two buttonholes and put on buttons. It came good on the way in the rain. At 10½ A. M. I started for this place in a small market wagon, no springs, no cover. Reached here at 1½ o'clock. Ate my lunch, prepared by Mrs. Armstrong. Found our committee. Saw a few sick in the Episcopal church used as a hospital. One was Mershon, from near 1220 Parrish Street, a member of Matlack's church. Went out to McClellan's headquarters, 1¼ miles from town, southwest, just in time to see him go out with his staff. I spoke to him and shook his hand. No picture I ever saw is correct. His face is bland as a woman's, a most amiable smile,

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a gentle expression, dark hair, with moustache and imperial a little lighter. He was going out somewhere to reconnoitre, but stopped and spoke very affably. The Lord bless him and keep him; let us all pray for that. I keep very well. There is much work to do, and I may be kept all week. If possible I will return by Saturday. But I will write again tomorrow. Will McKinstry is two miles out from here with other Mercersburg boys. I saw Mr. McFarnall today, of L. & B.'s store. Do not trouble yourselves making any more lint. It seems not to answer the purpose. I received no letter from you in Hagerstown today. The mails are very irregular. Love to all and to all friends. The Lord preserve you all in safety and bless you.

“Your affectionate father,

“J. H. A. B.

“P. S.—This town is alive with soldiers, wagons, etc. McClellan has nearly 100,000 men around here.”

L. & B.'s store mentioned in this letter was the house of Lindsay & Blakiston, Dr. Bomberger's publishers. Brig. Gen'l Geo. W. Mindil, breveted on the field of battle for bravery, was one of his most distinguished soldier boys, a member of the Race Street Sunday School.

An appealing Communion sermon, briefly outlined, and dated “Chambersburg, Oct. 19, '62, A. M.,” found among some stray notes, was probably preached during the above visit to the Philadelphia regiments then in the field. The text is 1 John 4: 19—“We love Him, because He first loved us”—and thus he joined together the love of country with the

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love of God, both originating in God's love of mankind.

Dr. Bomberger was among the multitudes who were ardent admirers and staunch supporters of Lincoln, never wavering in his loyalty even when the great President was under fire. There remain to this day many evidences of this affectionate loyalty. In a letter written to some friends in Easton, Pa., under date of "723 Wood Street, Philadelphia, July 17, 1860," he notes the following passing incident:

"It was dark when we returned from Fairmount Park by the Green and Fourth Streets line. Just as we reached Fifth Street we met a very large torch-light procession of Lincolnites. It was a splendid sight, and being in the car we had the full advantage of it, passing right down through its midst."

Thus, in little things and great, he closely followed the career of the distinguished emancipator, with intense personal interest, until the morning the newspapers announced that the latter had been assassinated the evening before (April 14, 1865). While the family lingered at the breakfast table, he had just seated himself at a front window to read the morning's news. Instantly he sprang up in the greatest consternation and exclaimed again and again, "O, it cannot be! It cannot be!" In alarm his family hastened to his side and immediately discovered the occasion of his keen distress. A week or so later, when the body of Lincoln lay in state in

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Independence Hall, Philadelphia, from Saturday until late Sunday night, enroute to Springfield, Ill., for burial, Dr. Bomberger was among those who mourned most deeply, marching in the funeral procession side by side with his friend, Bishop Edmund De Schweinitz, of the Moravian Church. The crowds were dense, gathered from every section of the nation, and all approaches to the historic hall, save one only, had been closed; and this one was wholly inadequate, the human line leading into it being many miles in length. An inclined passage-way had been constructed from the Chestnut Street curb to one of the windows, through the hall, above the bier and out of a window to the pavement of Independence Square on the opposite side. With certain members of his family and several friends, on that inexpressibly sad Sunday, he tried to get through the congested crowds to view the body; but it was in vain, until with tears he besought the guards—"I have been preaching all day on the sorrows and responsibilities of this occasion, can't you get us through?" They immediately permitted him and his little party to pass through the throng, under the ropes and into the almost interminable file of those who with souls cast down, and faces blanched with righteous anger as well as with anxiety for the future, were seeking a last look at the mortal remains of that illustrious man.

All of these things are but incidental suggestions of the personal character, the broader humanity, devout patriotism and larger lifework of him of whom

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these things are here set down. But they will suffice to impress the mind with the fact that he was by no means a narrow ecclesiastic, a hardened dogmatist, or one whose heart and life, by free choice, or otherwise, were given entirely to sectarian, theological controversy.

The American Tract Society, mentioned in the patriotic sermon notes already quoted at length, and for which that sermon closed with an earnest plea, was one of Dr. Bomberger's many active interests among what may be broadly referred to as his civic and public welfare activities—or, at least, as his extra-denominational activities. Among his numerous sketches an interesting address, presenting the claims of this Society, appears in brief outline on the back of a printed invitation which reads as follows:

“Tract House,
“Philadelphia, May 3, 1858.

“DEAR SIR: The fifth anniversary of the Pennsylvania Branch of the American Tract Society will be held in Musical Fund Hall, Locust Street, above Eighth, on Thursday evening next, May 6th, at 7½ o'clock.

“A brief abstract of the annual report will be read by the Secretary.

“Rev. John M'Cron, of Baltimore, Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., of Mercersburg, Pa., and W. H. Allen, LL.D., President of Girard College, will deliver addresses.

The Executive Committee respectfully invite you to be present.

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“Tickets of admission may be had gratuitously at the Tract House, 929 Chestnut Street, one door below Tenth.

“By order of the Committee,
“N. W. GOERTNER,
“Corresponding Secretary.”

The date of the above invitation indicates Dr. Bomberger's active identification with this Society for a number of years prior to the Civil War. During the war, however, and the equally critical days of reconstruction that immediately followed, he found in it an avenue to effective Christian and patriotic usefulness, and an instrument of good, the like of which did not exist, with very few exceptions. In 1870 he was elected a life director of the Society, and in 1871 he became a member of the Board of Managers, being thus closely associated once more with a number of the choicest spirits and most highly respected men of the times. The annual report of the Society, dated 1891, contains the following statement:

“Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., LL.D., elected a member of the Board of Managers in 1871, was prominent in the Reformed Church, and one of the best known clergymen of that denomination. He was of German ancestry, the son of George H. Bomberger, and was born in Lancaster, Pa., January 13, 1817. His elementary training at the Lancaster Academy was followed by a partial theological course at York, Pa., a full college course in Marshall College, and another year of theological study. Ordained at

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Lewistown, on the Juniata, in 1838, he was subsequently pastor of churches at Waynesboro and Easton, and in 1854 of the Race Street Church, Philadelphia. Early in 1869 he was called to the presidency of Ursinus College, Montgomery Co., Pa., where he officiated until his death, August 19, 1890. Dr. Bomberger was powerful as a preacher, and was a successful pastor; and while president of the Board of Missions of his own Church, and holding other offices of honor in it, he had at heart the welfare of the whole Christian Church."

The accompanying sermon sketch, dated September 11, 1859, was recently discovered. In this Dr. Bomberger makes an ardent plea for the Pennsylvania Bible Society, similar to the foregoing appeal on behalf of the American Tract Society. The sermon is entitled "The Circulation of the Holy Scriptures a Christian Duty," and it is again entirely characteristic of the evangelical Christian minister and the broad-spirited Christian man. In this instance his text was the 130th verse of the 119th Psalm—"The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple." The sketch is unfinished and was apparently intended merely as an introduction to an extempore effort.

"The tendency to despise common blessings is proverbial. — Air. — Water. — Light. — In nothing, however, is this infirmity and folly of human nature more manifest than in spiritual things.—There is a standing offer of salvation to condemned sinners. And because it is continually urged upon them it is slighted. So the Lord has established a means of

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continual communication with Him. And because we may at any time enjoy this privilege we contemn it. Some old monk produced intense excitement in his day by professing to have received a letter from the Virgin Mary, which he exhibited to wondering crowds. And yet these people never read the Bible. All of us are indeed willing to confess the great value of the Bible. But such acknowledgements are not sufficient. This morning I desire so to direct my remarks that we as Christians may be led to appreciate the Bible more effectually, and to unite more zealously in efforts for its general circulation. And what is the character and power of the Book whose claims to such effort we propose to plead?

"It is the Word of God—the Word of the Word—the written revelation of Him whom God revealed to take away our sins. It is the instrumentality and means by which God communicates with men, concerning His character and their relations to Him. The Bible is the only proper and true source of such knowledge.

"NOTES.—There are two classes to whom the Bible should be taken: 1. Those who can't get it; 2. Those who don't want it.—In many cases the Bible may not be read, but if only one in five would read it effectively our labor would not be lost. It has sometimes been feared that our government would become Papal. What if the circulation of the Bible were prohibited?

"The existence and operations of the Pennsylvania Bible Society have drawn increased attention to the sacred Scriptures, have contributed to the perfecting of the text, etc.

"Finally. How can we co-operate? What the Society has done.—What it proposes to do.—Who can refuse its claims to liberal support?"

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It is of some interest to note that, in his customary style, the above was written on the blank pages of this printed notice:

“A Stated Meeting of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Bible Society will be held at the Bible House, on Thursday,

“August 11th, 1859.

“at 5 o'clock P. M.

“RICHARD NEWTON, Rec. Sec'y.

“Ex. Committee meet at 4½ o'clock.”

On another fugitive scrap of paper, appropriated by the preacher in the same manner for a like purpose, the following formal announcement appears:

“Twenty-fifth Anniversary

“of the

“Philadelphia Bible Society

“Wednesday Evening, December 9, 1863.

“The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Philadelphia Bible Society will be held, by Divine permission, at Concert Hall, Chestnut Street, below Thirteenth, on Wednesday Evening, the 9th of December, at 7½ o'clock.

“Addresses may be expected from the Rev. Bishop Simpson and the Rev. John H. Suydam.

“Philadelphia, Dec., 1863.”

The Old Race Street (First Reformed) Church of Philadelphia was a regular contributor to these societies during Dr. Bomberger's pastorate. In the 19th annual report of the Philadelphia society, No-

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vember, 1857, after charging himself with such a contribution, amounting to \$45.61, the treasurer adds this note: "The amount to constitute Rev. Dr. Bomberger a Life Member of the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Bible Societies." In the 20th annual report of the same, November, 1858, a similar contribution of \$54.00 is recorded with this note: "To make Rev. Dr. Bomberger a Life Member of the American Bible Society and Mrs. Bomberger a Life Member of the Philadelphia Bible Society." Among the individuals participating in the above contributions were Charles Santee, a vice-president of the Philadelphia Society, John Wiest, J. C. Wanner, S. H. Bibighaus, E. Yunger, C. A. Rubicam, Chas. Gearhart, Jacob S. Fry, and L. K. Greaves. The 21st Anniversary of the Philadelphia Society was commemorated in Concert Hall, November 29, 1859, James Bayard, Esq., presiding. Rev. Joseph A. Seiss, D. D., pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Communion, then located at the southwest corner of Broad and Arch Streets, read the Scripture lesson. Rev. James M. Crowell, D. D., pastor of the Old Penn Square Presbyterian Church, located on the present site of the Lincoln Building, offered the prayer. Addresses were made by Rev. John Chambers, D. D., M. Russell Thayer, Esq., later the Hon. Judge Thayer, Dr. Bomberger and Rev. A. A. Willits, D. D., a galaxy indeed. Dr. Bomberger's address is printed in full in the 21st annual report. He probably referred to his pastorate at Waynesboro in this address when in introducing an illustration, he said,

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“During an earlier period of my ministry, though I was not a circuit rider, I had what I may call a diocese, which was about fifteen miles long and about seven or eight miles wide.” When Dr. Willits rose to speak, the latter remarked, “My good Brother Bomberger has swung his German cradle with a strength worthy of his ancestry and with an almost everlasting freshness.” On the occasion of its 23rd anniversary, in 1861, with Dr. Bomberger appeared his friends Governor Pollock and Geo. H. Stuart, Esq.

He served on the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Society from 1855 to 1874, and as a member of its Executive Committee from 1858 to 1870. In 1874 he became a Vice-President of the Society, which office he held until his decease in 1890. On this official board he was associated, among others, with Bishops Matthew Simpson and Cyrus D. Foss of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishops Wm. Bacon Stevens and Ozi Whittaker of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Rev. John Chambers, D. D., and Rev. Albert Barnes, D. D., of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. H. A. Boardman, D. D., of the Baptist Church, Rev. Chas. A. Hay, D. D., of the Lutheran Church, and the Hon. William Strong, LL. D., a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus he did his part and “held his own” with the most liberal and distinguished men of his day. When the 53rd anniversary was held in Harrisburg, May, 1861, Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D. D.,

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being one of the eminent speakers present, it is noted in the minutes that "the annual report of the Board of Managers was offered and read by Rev. Dr. Bomberger of Philadelphia."

The following resolutions, presented by Rev. Wm. M. Baum, D. D., of the Lutheran Church, appear in the printed minutes of the annual meeting held May 6th, 1891:

"RESOLUTIONS ON THE DEATH OF "REV. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D.D., LL.D.

"At the regular monthly meeting of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Bible Society for October, 1890, the death of Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., LL.D., was announced; whereupon it was ordered that the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to prepare a suitable minute for our records for transmission to the family of the deceased.

"At the succeeding meeting for November, the following was submitted:—

"It appears from an examination of the records of the Society that Dr. Bomberger became a member of the Board of Managers in the year 1855, and that he served therein with fidelity and Christian zeal until 1874, when he was elevated to the honorary position of Vice-President, in which office he was retained uninterruptedly to the day of his death. His connection with our Society has been of long duration, and has been marked by equal ability, activity and usefulness.

"Dr. Bomberger was born in the city of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, January 13, 1817, so that at his death he had reached the seventy-fourth year of his age. His parents were identified with the (German) Reformed Church, and to its best in-

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terests he devoted his entire life and labors with filial devotion and untiring energy. He was educated in the schools of his church, then located at York and Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, entering the active ministry in 1838. He occupied successively the pulpits of the (German) Reformed Congregations of Lewistown, Waynesboro, Easton and Race Street, Philadelphia. While pastor at Race Street, in 1869, he was chosen President of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, to which Literary and Theological Institutions he devoted the remaining years of his laborious life, raising it to high grade in the church and community.

“Dr. Bomberger was a man of vigorous intellect, extensive acquirements, and strong convictions, and was fearless in the declaration and defence of his opinions and decisions. He was very prominent in the current discussions and controversies of his day, being regarded as a leader among those who thought and acted with him.

“He was fitted by natural endowments and large experience for almost any post, and was exceptionally successful with the pen and in the pulpit, in the pastoral office and in the professional chair. He was honored and beloved, trusted and followed, by a large constituency, who now mourn his death, and anxiously look for the coming man upon whose shoulders his mantle may fall.

“It remains for us to speak of him as to his relations with our Society. He was ever the avowed friend of our Association, and an able advocate of our cause. Accepting the sacred Scriptures as the inspired Word of God and the only rule of faith and practice, and as containing the only way of life and salvation, he labored lovingly and earnestly for their diffusion among all classes. He needed but the oppor-

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tunity, and his active interest and valuable co-operation were most cheerfully manifested.

"In his extended and intimate association with a long line of members and officers of our Society, he has left the strong impress of his marked individuality, and is remembered with the warmest feelings of fraternal confidence and regard by those of us who now sit under the shadow of his removal and grieve that we shall greet him no more in our assemblies.

"RESOLVED, that this tribute to the memory of our deceased co-laborer and Vice-President be entered upon our minutes, and that a copy of it be transmitted to his family.

"W. M. BAUM, Corresponding Secretary."

It has been observed that Dr. Bomberger was, perhaps, pre-eminently a teacher. Even as a preacher he constantly aimed to instruct as well as to arouse his hearers. His unusual success was probably due to this fact largely. Strong and convincing as he was in the pulpit, however, graceful and fluent as he was in public speech, possessed of a manner that was as magnetic as it was free from oratorical demonstrativeness and mere rhetorical flourishes, and of a method that was ever calculated to inspire, he was at his best in the class room, or on the platform as well when the occasion called for instruction rather than emotional stimulation. Constitutionally, in intellectual attainment and spiritual predisposition, he was a teacher.

He moreover realized that in the purpose of God, reason and religion were handmaidens each of the other, uniting the head and the heart in a gra-

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cious wedlock that could issue only in willing conduct acceptable to Him who alone is the author of right thinking, right feeling and consequent right living. As a result he stood openly and always for Christian education, founded firmly upon the Word of God, that the church might indeed be a center of intellectual, spiritual and evangelistic power. In this he saw the essential means by which the kingdom of Christ could be established in the earth. He noticed with alarm the decadence of the home as such a center of moral and religious training, the failure of the public school, the college and the university as sources of genuine Christian culture, while Jehovah's word to Moses he had always in mind—"These words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children."

The Master's great commission to His disciples to "go teach," to make "disciples" of all nations, clearly indicated to his mind that the church was divinely designed as an educational system of evangelization of which the sacred Scriptures were to be the substance and strength. He had no faith in pure intellectualism; and he had as little faith in pure emotionalism. The primitive Christian Church, modelled after the synagogue, was the ideal he upheld everywhere—a school; one that appealed to the mind, by the presentation of Scriptural fact, in order to an intellectual result; that appealed likewise to the heart, however, by the presentation of divine truth, with a view to an emotional result; and that

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finally appealed, through the mind and the heart, to the will, the seat of action, that the supreme end and aim of it all might be attained,—that is, a religious result, religion being ultimately a life, a matter of conduct, a matter of deed rather than creed, of works that verify and vindicate beliefs and make these live.

He therefore regarded the Sunday School as a very means of grace; and he seized every opportunity to support its vital claims and to further its interests. So that when some of the leaders of the several evangelical Protestant denominations proposed an interdenominational, co-operative effort to strengthen and advance the Sunday School cause in Pennsylvania, he was one of the first in the field associated with its most ardent advocates.

With nine hundred delegates present in the First Independent (later the Chamber's Presbyterian) Church, Broad and Sansom Streets, Philadelphia (now the site of the North American Building), the first Pennsylvania State Sunday School Convention met on the 28th, 29th and 30th days of May, 1862. Among those present were Dr. Bomberger, his constant friend, John Wiest, and the Rev. Joseph H. Hendricks, of Collegeville, Pa., with whom he was so closely associated after the establishment of Ursinus College in 1870. The last two were chosen Vice-Presidents, after the Convention had been called to order by the Hon. James Pollock, former governor of Pennsylvania, and the distinguished George H. Stuart had been chosen temporary chair-

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man. In the permanent organization that was effected Governor Pollock was elected President.

The second State Convention was held in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th days of June, 1863. Owing to his active personal interest, and the conspicuous part he took in the Philadelphia convention, Dr. Bomberger was elected President, succeeding Governor Pollock. And again, Dr. Hendricks and John Wiest were chosen Vice-Presidents. In an extended report of this second Convention, and among many other items of interest, the *Sunday School Times* of June 20, 1862, says:

“On the important subject of the relation of the Sunday School to the Church, the President, Dr. Bomberger, resigned the chair to utter his views on this question. He thought it unfortunate that good Christian men and women should ever bring the Church and the school into the unjust position of contrast, still more of collision. There can be no jealousy or collision between the Church and the Sunday School. Can there be jealousy between the sun and the moon and the planets in their course? The sun’s face never grows red or green or pale with jealousy at the light of the moon and the stars. And the latter never for a moment dream of setting themselves up in contrast or opposition to the sun! Just as little can it be thought that the Church of Christ could be jealous of one of the fairest of her daughters, one of her noblest children, that has gone out of her own heart, and carried with it her own spirit, and is doing her own work in the name of her Master. On the other hand, will any reflecting friend of the

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Sunday School for a moment think of casting any unjust or unkind reflections on the Church? In this view, the Church is spiritually, under God, the mother of the Sunday School cause, and this cause as a dutiful daughter will never be ashamed of or disown the relationship, or disclaim the duties flowing from it."

The third State Convention was held in the First Baptist Church, Broad and Arch Streets, Philadelphia (now the site of the U. G. I. Building), on the 28th, 29th and 30th days of May, 1867. Governor Pollock was again elected President, succeeding Dr. Bomberger, while the latter became one of the Vice-Presidents. In its issue of June 8th, 1867, the *Sunday School Times* says that in the opening services, immediately following several minutes of silent prayer—

"Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., said that the service in which we had just engaged was one of the most solemn that could be entered into, and that it was based upon a great and blessed doctrine that should ever be held in lively remembrance by God's people, especially when they are associated together for the purpose of taking into consideration and mutually deliberating upon the interests of a work so great, so far-reaching and fundamental as that which has called the convention together today. Among the most pleasant memories of his life were the recollections connected with the Sunday School Convention held four years ago in the city of Pittsburgh.

"He said that the battle of Gettysburg prevented

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the friends of the cause from assembling the following year in convention at Harrisburg; but he felt thankful that the cause had progressed, for throughout the land, while rent with intestine war, the Sunday Schools were kept up. Feel encouraged, therefore, in the prosecution of this great work. You are laboring for the advancement of the Lord's cause and kingdom, and in no other way could you labor more effectually than in the sphere of Christian activity to which you are devoting the energies of your lives as well as the love of your hearts. The rule holds good that the life of a Christian teacher is one dedicated sacredly to the Lord's work. We are laboring in the Love of the Master and He will crown our earnest efforts with ultimate success."

His active interest in this important work never abated. Through all the years of his later ministry, and during the prolonged period of his college presidency, he gave to it his earnest consideration and active support.

In this particular field of Christian effort the American Sunday School Union had long held a most conspicuous place, and had successfully accomplished an extended work of far-reaching importance. As laymen only may be officially connected with this organization, however, Dr. Bomberger's zeal in its behalf was necessarily displayed on the side lines, in an entirely unofficial capacity. But he laid hold of every possible opportunity to further its interests. In this he found a worthy and congenial colaborer in Rev. James M. Crowell, D. D., for many years the head of its missionary department, previously the

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pastor of the second Mrs. Bomberger, and who was the officiating minister at her marriage.

In a great mass of Dr. Bomberger's incidental notes and scraps, scores of items of interest may be found, of which the following are fair examples.

“Franklin and Marshall College,
“Lancaster, March 26, 1868.

“Respected Sir:—As a member of the Committee on Examinations, you are hereby informed that the examination of the several classes in Franklin and Marshall will be held on the second, third, fifth and sixth of April, from eight to twelve o'clock each day, which you are respectfully invited to attend.

“By order of the Faculty,
“Theodore Appel,
“Secretary.”

“To J. H. A. Bomberger, D. D.”

“1737 Filbert Street, Phila.
“April 8, 1864.

“*Rev. Dr. Bomberger.*

“DEAR SIR: A sub-committee was recently appointed to arrange for a public meeting favorable to an amendment of our National Constitution so as to recognize God and Christ, of which committee you are a member. This committee is requested to meet at the Library of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, 821 Chestnut Street, on Monday next, 11th inst., at 4 o'clock P. M. Punctual attendance is requested.

“Yours, &c.,
“J. EDWARDS,
“Chairman.”

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"HARRISBURG, Oct. 20th, 1858.

"To the Reverend Synod of the G. R. Church in the U. S.

"REV'D & DEAR BRETHREN :—

"We, the undersigned, would respectfully ask to be received as candidates for the Holy Ministry.

"Very respectfully,

"J. HENRY DUBBS.

"GEO. E. ADDAMS."

This request was presented to the "Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States," Frederick City, Md., October 19-28, 1858, of which Dr. Bomberger was president, Benjamin Bausman, D. D., was Corresponding Secretary, and Samuel R. Fisher, D. D., was Stated Clerk. Many years later the Rev. J. Henry Dubbs, D. D., became Audenried Professor of History in Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

"READING, PA., Jan'y 13, 1865.

"REV'D & DEAR SIR :—

"I returned your copy of Bushnell's 'Natural & Supernatural' per Mr. Samuel Hechler. He left it at Dr. Fisher's establishment. I thank you for the loan of it. I now write more particularly to make a request of you in behalf of my people and myself. It is that you devote a Sabbath to our benefit in, say, about four weeks from this time. Having paid our debts as a church, by the aid of you and others, one of the young men of the congregation concluded that he would, in a quiet way, try to raise the money necessary to place an organ in the church. Instead of six hundred, he raised nine hundred dollars, and thus encouraged he ventured a few hundred dollars

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higher on his own responsibility, and thinks that something handsome may be realized at the consecration. And we have concluded to ask you to take the burden of preaching on that occasion. Bro. Bausman will omit his services and render all the aid he can. I know that your will is with us, and I hope your health will allow you to grant our request. With the highest regards for you and yours, I am

“Your obliged Brother in Christ,
“C. F. MCCAULEY.”

Dr. McCauley was for many years the beloved pastor of the Second Reformed Church of Reading.

Such invitations as this, with generous testimonials of a like tenor, could be enumerated indefinitely, together with notices of meetings, and other occasions, indicating Dr. Bomberger's extended labors covering the whole field of religious and philanthropic endeavor, notably including the Young Men's Christian Association.

Thus in the midst of all these diversified activities the man himself appears, the truer inner man, the human man, detached from all these fettering things that yet his personality inspired, into which his life was projected, that measurably reflected the image of his deeper soul, and that in quick responsiveness returned to bless and broaden a spirit whose warmest impulses sprang forth without restraint at every call, to every man, and up to God himself. No effort has been made that might cumber this brief space with voluminous and lifeless data, but simply to set down sufficient incidental fact to enable the reader to get a glimpse of the larger outlook,

the deeper spiritual purposes, and the more extended endeavors of one who has too generally been associated with a narrower sphere of life, a spirit more contracted and a purpose more confined.

It would also be trespassing beyond the prescribed limits of this chapter to speak of Dr. Bomberger's liberal interests in the sphere of public education, his many benevolent enterprises outside of his strictly denominational duties, and his greater circle of social attainments and attachments. But it would be a serious mistake to fail to take at least a look at this man off his guard, in the solitudes of his own soul, in the freedom of his private intercourse and good fellowship, away from the scrutiny of public gaze. Here the unveneered, sincere simplicity of the man is seen in its truest aspect, where his heart led, and friends in purest sentiment let joy be unconfined, and humor burst convention's bands in happy repartee, where children romped and dogma dared not tread. Yet here, at times, the shadows also fell, and he is seen in seclusion pouring out his pleading, shriven soul to God, where no man heard, and no eye pierced the sacred veil save that of Jesus only.

During his student days at Mercersburg, in 1837, when the somewhat ancient, though graceful, game of "grace-hoops" was in vogue, he penned the following lover's lines to the sweetheart whom he later married. The verse accompanied the gift of a set of the "hoops," which it seems was a "philopena" forfeit.

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Here come the graces, graceless tho' they be,
And rude in form, yet, if used gracefully,
Graceful they'll seem, and thus will grace receive
From graceful usage, to which grace they'll give.
That you will use them gracefully, I trow
I'm not mistaken when I say I know.
To make the knowledge strong with certainty,
I'll call this evening, if you please, and see.

In 1861, twenty-four years later, after he had sadly laid away this same sweetheart, mother of his earlier offspring, to her eternal rest, he gave expression to his grief in these impressive verses:

If thou wert in some desert waste
 Beyond the sea,
How would I long for eagle wings,
 And fly to thee!
The tempest's roar, the raging wave
 I would not fear;
All danger would I gladly brave
 To have thee near.

O, then would this poor aching head,
 That cannot rest,
Repose, as oft in happier days,
 Upon thy breast.
Sweet days! ye are forever gone;
 And I am left
To weep in anguish, sad and lone,
 Of thee bereft!

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And yet, fond hope, with tearful eye,
 Awaits the day
When e'en this bitter grief shall die,
 And pass away.
The grave shall not always divide
 My heart from thee.
Soon, soon I will rejoin my bride
 Eternally!

The following year, 1862, while visiting some friends at Dayton, Ohio, their little girl and he became bosom companions. Her name was Katy Haas, the latter name being the German for "rabbit." Before the visit ended he wrote this dainty stanza in the child's album. If the simplicity is the soul of greatness, the greatness of his soul is manifest in this.

A sweet little Rabbit,
 One bright summer day,
Came laughing and frisking
 Along my rough way.
Though timid and harmless,
 Her bound made me start;
When, lo! the sweet Rabbit
 Leaped into my heart.

On Christmas Day, 1889, after he had been called upon again to drink the bitter cup of conjugal bereavement, his struggling spirit burst forth in the following hymn of prayerful praise.

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Bright Sun of Righteousness, arise;
And with Thy radiant light divine
Into the darkness of my night now shine,
And scatter all its gloom. Now let these eyes—
Which thou hast often gladdened with the sight
Of heavenly visions of the wondrous grace
Revealed in Thee, the Truth, the Life, the Light,
The Image and Reflector of the Father's face—
Again behold Thee, and once more rejoice
And sing thy praise with cheerful heart and voice.

It is in the times of severest testing that men may gain their greatest victories over self and circumstance. Such times were not infrequent in the life of Dr. Bomberger, and his victories were always made the surer and the more sweeping because of his constant attendance upon the throne of grace. On one such occasion he wrote as follows:

THE PRAYER

Lead me, O Lord, the way is dark and dreary,
Tho' thou hast marked it as the way of life,
And oft my anxious heart grows faint and weary
Of its toil and strife.

THE ANSWER

I will guide thee, child of sorrow,
Faint and weary in the race;
Tho' to-day be dark, to-morrow
Shall reveal my helpful grace.

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In this connection an interesting incident of Dr. Bomberger's pastorate at Waynesboro may be fittingly related. The family occupied one-half of a double house of somewhat generous dimensions. In the other half, beyond the central hallway which was used in common by both tenants, lived the late General John Stewart and his estimable family. Those were the days of very modest financial circumstances and of mutual good neighborliness. Now morning and evening family worship, which included the reading of a passage of Scripture, a prayer, and frequently the singing of a hymn, without instrumental accompaniment, held a very sacred and inviolate place in the Bomberger household economy. Attracted by the evident earnestness of these overheard devotions, the Stewart family would devoutly, but unobserved, assemble in the said neutral hallway and share the privileges of these hallowed occasions. Discovered at last, however, the two families thereafter met regularly together for such family worship, under Dr. Bomberger's leadership, as long as they continued to abide under the same roof. Fortune soon smiled on General Stewart, who, grandfather of the present Countess of Essex, was a brother-in-law of the late Thos. A. Scott, father of the Pennsylvania Railroad. These two noted men never forgot those early days in the Bomberger family circle. They followed the family to Easton with their constant friendship. Later they were frequent callers at the Bomberger home in Philadelphia. And to the day of Mr. Scott's death Dr. Bom-

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berger was granted many unusual courtesies by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

During the last year of his life, his large family entirely scattered by death and marriage, in his lonely home at Colledgeville, which he was fond of calling "Zwingli-Hof," Dr. Bomberger's feelings were best expressed in the following lines from his weary pen :

And yet I'm not alone!
The precious blood with which thou didst atone
For human sin, and which avails for me,
Not only ransomed from the penalty
Of endless death, but lifted my lost soul
Out of its depths of woe, and made it whole,
By life-renewing grace, and raised me up
To living, loving fellowship with Thee. My cup
Of chastened joy is full, it overflows,
And turns the bitter waters of my stricken life
Into a stream of sweetness, hastening to its close,
The end of sorrow and all earthly strife.

After this manner a pure, well-balanced humanism, inspired by the same joys, subject to the same infirmities, tested by the same trials, moved by the same tender sympathies, touched and lightened by the same spark of divinity that all true men know, with ever-widening horizons, following on, that it might apprehend that for which it was apprehended, to "the utmost bound of human thought," a light that shineth more and more, unto the perfect

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day, passed out with him through the golden gates of cloudless sunset. And it will not seem inappropriate to close this chapter with Cunningham Geikie's last tribute to his friend, Dean Stanley:

"Farewell, sweet saint, farewell! As the light reflected in the evening sky tells us that the lands beyond our horizon lie in full sunshine, though we may know nothing of their scenery and charms, so the fair sunset of a godly life speaks of the splendors of eternity, of which, after all, we can realize so little."

"Sure the last end
Of the good man is peace! How calm his exit!
Nightdews fall not more gently to the ground,
Nor weary wornout winds expire so soft.
Behold him in the ev'ning tide of life,
A life well spent, whose early care it was
His riper years should not upbraid his green:
By unperceived degrees he wears away;
Yet, like the sun, seems larger at his setting."

NOTE.—The author makes due fraternal acknowledgment to Mrs. B. N. Bethel (nee Mary A. Bomberger), of Philadelphia, eldest daughter of Dr. Bomberger, whose filial devotion preserved many of the above letters and verses through all the years since they were written, and whose vivid recollection of events and things has entered essentially into this unpretentious narrative.

HENRY AYMAR BOMBERGER.

CHAPTER VI

EARLIER ACTIVITIES IN THE CHURCH

The Reformed Church was a comparatively small body in 1838. The Rev. John Philip Boehm rendered his first report to the Synod of North and South Holland in 1734, but as an organized body in the form of the Coetus the history of the church begins in 1747. The Coetus continued its meetings and reported its proceedings to the Synod of Holland until 1793 when by the preparation and adoption of a constitution of its own the Coetus became the Synod and thus became an independent body. The Synod accordingly was forty-five years old and the church as an ecclesiastical body four years more than a century. Very substantial progress had been made during this century; some foundations had been laid; and the way was now opening for larger activity and growth.

In 1838 the church had one hundred and eighty-three ministers. The old synod, known as the Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America, had seven classes, namely, Philadelphia, East Pennsylvania, Zion's, Lebanon, Susquehanna, Maryland and North Carolina. There was another known as the Classis of the West which covered the territory of Indiana and Illinois, but the

minutes of the succeeding years no longer make mention of this classis. The Synod of the German Reformed Church of Ohio and adjacent States was made up of six classes, namely, Miami, Westmoreland, Sandusky, Erie, Columbiana and Lancaster. These two synods then formed the bodies under whose jurisdiction and supervision the work of the church was carried forward.

There were some well-established congregations and charges, but the entire territory of the church was largely missionary ground. The Home Missionary work was carried forward with some degree of zeal, because there was opportunity everywhere, and whilst the church did not contribute large amounts for home missions, much heroic and self-sacrificing labor was bestowed upon this work by the ministry. The receipts for home missions in this year were \$1,000. In 1840 the treasurer's report of the Home Mission work shows a total sum of \$556.06½. Of this amount, \$173.46 represented a balance from the preceding year, so that in that year the actual contributions amounted to only \$382.60½. At the meeting of the Synod in 1838 the Foreign Mission Board was organized. It carried on its missionary operations through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for many years. The receipts for foreign missions in 1840 were \$1,166.06.

The Theological Seminary was established in 1825. Much interest was manifested in this institution, for its need was keenly felt by the church.

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The seminary had already rendered valuable service to the church in preparing a number of earnest and efficient pastors, but because of two removals, from Carlisle to York, and later from York to Mercersburg, and because of financial and other difficulties, it had not become a strong institution. The first year after its removal to Mercersburg, the seminary had only one professor, Dr. Rauch, who also served as president of Marshall College, and three students. Of these one had to withdraw on account of sickness, another because of lack of funds, leaving only one (J. H. A. Bomberger) at the end of the year. An attempt was made about this time to establish a theological seminary at Canton, Ohio, but this effort proved abortive and the western seminary was not established until twelve years later. Marshall College had developed out of the Classical School in York. It was founded in 1836 and had sent out Dr. Bomberger as its first graduate in 1837. The college had a small faculty, was hampered by a lack of funds, and the achieving of the splendid record which the college made for itself yet lay in the future. The church had no publication board and there was as yet no denominational literature, a very necessary factor to create a Reformed consciousness. The *Messenger* was being published and had a subscription list of 2,000.

It will be seen from this brief survey that there was ample opportunity for a young man of thorough education, active mind and warm heart to enter into the activities of the church, outside of the duties of

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the pastorate. Pastors who were willing to make great sacrifice, serve the small and scattered congregations at low salaries were, indeed, needed. But, in addition to this, there was not only great opportunity for men to take hold of work outside of their immediate parishes, but there was an urgent call for such men. Dr. Bomberger, from the very beginning of his ministry in 1838, began to take an active interest in all the activities of his church, and because of this interest and because of his ability he early took a prominent place in the synod, in all the interests of the church, and as time permitted in work that was not directly under the supervision of the church, but germane to it.

The educational interests of the church claimed the earnest attention of the pastors and of the churches during the early ministry of Dr. Bomberger. The institutions of the church were in their incipiency, many of the congregations were unable to give much support to these institutions, and the number of individual benefactors was as yet small. It devolved, therefore, upon the graduates of the college and seminary, who, by reason of their recent connection with these schools, had great interest in them, to do all they could in arousing interest in their congregations, to get the support of their membership and to make such contributions as they themselves could. This they did and displayed not a little zeal in the maintenance and support of their college and seminary. Dr. Bomberger was among this number and from the first mani-

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fested a deep and vital interest in the life and support of the educational work of the church. The seminary was in great need and there were times when its very life was in question because of a lack of financial support. In 1845 Dr. E. V. Gerhart, in a letter to Dr. Bomberger, makes this statement: "During the last classical year I raised about \$170 for different benevolent purposes. This year I may do the same. . . . *The seminary must be sustained*, and if it be by private contributions of ministers, I will do as much as I can through my people; if that is not enough I am willing to be one of a certain number of ministers to give \$5 or \$10 annually out of my pocket." This spirit of self-sacrifice was shared by Dr. Bomberger and a number of the other early graduates of the seminary, as the minutes of the synod show. The congregations served by Dr. Bomberger made relatively large contributions to this cause, an indication that the pastor was heart and soul in the work.

This interest lay not only in securing contributions and making personal ones, but also in the moral and spiritual support given to the work. The relation maintained with the college and seminary was very close during the first twenty-five years of his ministry. This is indicated by the letters exchanged with students and professors and by the frequent visits to the institutions. Dr. Bomberger was a member of the Board of Visitors of the Theological Seminary from 1842-45. The latter year he changed his classical relation, moving from Waynes-

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boro to Easton. He was now farther removed from the seminary and could not, because of the distance visit as frequently, but his interest remained unabated. The college likewise lay near his heart which was but natural, since he was the eldest son of the college. He took a keen interest in the removal of Marshall College to Lancaster and its union with Franklin College. He became a member of the first Board of Trustees and remained on the Board until 1869. He was the chairman of the synodical finance committee which directed the work of raising the \$17,000 necessary to buy the interest which the Lutheran Church owned in Franklin College. The securing of this amount dragged through several years and entailed a considerable amount of labor and vexation upon the chairman of the committee.

When Franklin and Marshall College was organized in 1853 discussion was rife as to who should become president of the institution. The men whose names actually came before the Board of Trustees were at first, Drs. Nevin and Mesick. Dr. Nevin was elected and declined the office. Then the names of Drs. Mesick and Schaff were considered. Dr. Schaff was elected, but after some delay the Synod declined to release him from his theological professorship, so that the presidency was again open. It was then that the Rev. E. V. Gerhart was elected. Before all this had taken place the discussion among the alumni of Marshall College had brought out sentiment in favor of an alumnus of the college for the

presidency. It is of historical interest to quote here from a letter written by Dr. Gerhart to Dr. Bomberger from Tiffin, Ohio, March 15, 1854.

“As regards the Presidency of the College,” says Dr. Gerhart, “my voice goes for a son of the College. Dependence upon foreigners I have all along regarded as a necessary evil. But we have outlived that period. The college no less than the seminary should be the exponent of our church life. It should be in living sympathy with our genius and history, and with our national character. How else can it subserve the end of a college of our church? How else can it be the organ through which our life may not only exist, but also expand and perfect itself? With such a design and such relations, it is a great inconsistency to man our institutions with strangers, or more than this, to give the chief office, the most influential chair to one, whose character and education, no matter how good and commendable in itself, places him in a different category. True, he may study and seek to imbibe the German Philosophy and Theology, and develop another character, but it will be most likely to be a caricature. Some months ago I learned Bro. Kieffer or Bro. Bomberger and Dr. Yeomans were spoken of. All my influence has since been put forth for a man of the Church. The office is unenviable, I admit. Yet it must be filled. If the Board unite upon you or Bro. Kieffer what right has either one to say, no? Intellectual ability is indeed a valuable qualification; but so is the possession in a natural way of our genius and life. For sixteen years Marshall has been sending forth her graduates, at a cost of thousands of dollars to the Church. Among all these is there not one who is fit or willing to be President!”

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The same feeling as to the choice of a man for the presidency, and the consideration of Dr. Bomberger as an eligible man is shown in the following letter from the Rev. F. W. Kremer to Dr. Bomberger:

“LEBANON, Nov. 7, 1853.

“REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:—

“Immediately on my return from Synod, Dr. J. W. Gloninger, one of the trustees of Franklin and Marshall College, called on me to learn particularly the action of Synod in relation to Dr. Schaff. He appeared satisfied that the Dr. was retained in the Seminary and observed that the other three trustees residing in this place and neighborhood were pleased with the decision, as for several reasons they are of the opinion that the College would not be likely to prosper much under the presidency of Dr. Schaff.

“The question now came up, but whom can we find in our own Church who would be suitable for that station? and allow me to say that I mentioned *you* the *first* graduate of our College. For this proposal, the Dr. seemed prepared, as a number of persons interested in the matter had mentioned your name before.

“The only objection that was supposed might be mentioned, was that Lancaster is your native place and that you might feel reluctant on that ground. Yet on the other hand, if your appointment would meet with the approval of the Church, as we feel satisfied it would, you would doubtless be willing *for the good of the Church* to waive the supposed difficulty alluded to, as well as your preference for the strictly ministerial or pastoral life to which you are so cordially devoted. For my own part, dear brother, I would be highly gratified, did Providence

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direct you to the post in question. I am daily becoming more fully satisfied that if our Institutions, both theological and literary, are to prosper as they might and should, and as the interests of our beloved Church demand, *we must have at their head our own native sons*. And as one simple proof, I would only refer to our western institutions. I would say more on this whole subject but my crowded engagements, especially this week, forbid it. And now to the particular object of my letter. Dr. Gloninger desired me to address you with the view of ascertaining whether you would allow your name to be mentioned in connection with the presidency of the College. As I am not a member of the Board of Trustees I wished to be excused from addressing you on so delicate a subject, but he desiring it very much, I promised him to comply with his request. And I have no doubt, care will be taken to make only such use of your reply as would be agreeable to yourself. *I do hope*, whatever may be your difficulties in the case, you will not positively decline your name as desired.

“May God in mercy, direct in this, and in all the interests of (our) needy but beloved Church. Please answer soon.

“Your brother as ever

“F. W. KREMER.”

“Rev. J. H. A. BOMBERGER.”

In a postscript to this letter Mr. Kremer said that all the trustees in Lebanon, namely, Messrs. Gloninger, Krause, Killinger and Heilman were decidedly favorable to the appointment of Dr. Bomberger to the presidency of the college.

Unfortunately the reply of Dr. Bomberger to

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this letter is not at hand and we do not know what his disposition toward this matter was. It seems justifiable, however, from the tenor of both letters, Dr. Gerhart's and Dr. Kremer's, to draw the inference that he was not favorably inclined toward permitting his name to be considered.

Franklin and Marshall College held its first commencement on August 31, 1853. At this commencement the college honored the Rev. Mr. Bomberger by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was then a young man of thirty-six years, and the youngest of the coterie of prominent men in the church at that time to be so honored. He received the first Bachelor's degree conferred by Marshall College and the first Doctor's degree conferred by Franklin and Marshall College.

The work of Home Missions called forth the best energies of the members of the synod. The congregations were not able to make the large contributions which the later period saw, but the pastors zealously presented the cause of missions and the reports of the treasurer of the Board of Domestic Missions indicate commendable effort and encouraging contributions from the congregations. Dr. Bomberger was an earnest advocate of the missionary cause from the beginning of his ministry. The treasurer's reports indicate very considerable contributions from the congregations served by him. This is the very best indication that the pastor of those flocks possessed a missionary spirit in his own

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heart and that he succeeded in imbuing the hearts of his parishioners with the same spirit, which bore fruit in the efforts put forth to support the work of missions.

Upon his removal to Easton in 1845 to become the English pastor of the First Reformed Church, he was elected a member of the Board of Domestic Missions. At that time this board was composed of two members from each classis and in addition to these, of seven members chosen from the church at large. He remained a member of the board until, in 1865, it was merged into the General Synod's Board of Home Missions. The General Synod's Board was elected at the organization of General Synod in 1863 and Dr. Bomberger then became a member of that board, but the actual transfer of the work was not made until 1865. He served on the General Synod's Board of Home Missions until 1869, thus rendering continuous service for a period of twenty-four years.

After the retirement of the Rev. Isaac Gerhart as President of the Board of Domestic Missions in 1860, Dr. Bomberger succeeded him in this office, serving as President of the Synod's Board until it was dissolved. He also became the first President of the General Synod's Board and served until his retirement in 1869. It is to be remembered that in those days there were no secretaries and superintendents who devoted all their time and attention to the work of the different boards, but that the work had to be undertaken by the officers. To be sure the

work was not by any means as large as it has since become and, therefore, did not require the same amount of attention, nevertheless the duties of the President of the Board were not inconsiderable. Because there was no field secretary there was much correspondence required and this was not done by the aid of a stenographer, but by the president himself. The reports to synod during Dr. Bomberger's presidency show how well he had the work in hand and how carefully and solicitously he watched every part of the Home Mission field.

The report offered to the Synod of 1862 reviews comprehensively the work of the board, and because of the condition then existing in the country is, in part, reproduced here. It reads:

“Intimately related as the Church in this country, through its members, stands to the State, it cannot escape the depressing influences of a National tribulation. Though formally separated from civil institutions, and theoretically independent of them, ecclesiastical life is so interwoven with our political life that whatever seriously assails the latter must, more or less, disturb the functions of the former. It is no wonder, therefore, that a year of violent political tumults and sanguinary intestine civil feuds, like the past, should be a year also of deep sorrow and of rare trial to the Church—a year of distraction, and of embarrassment to all benevolent operations. Humbled by the fearful, devastating judgments visited upon the nation for its sins; perplexed by alarming apprehension, lest our folly and impenitency, even under such visitations, should provoke the infliction of still greater woes; astonished by the

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display of a stubborn spirit of rebellion, which persists in its course with the vigor of despair; brought low by the personal sufferings and losses to which that rebellion has subjected us,—how could the proper work of the Church, in toiling for the spread of the kingdom of grace, be otherwise than hindered, and made to languish!”

The report then shows that the receipts were not what had been anticipated and that instead of extending the work it had become necessary to decline important applications from different parts of the field. The entire number of Missions decreased from thirty-two to twenty-six. The report continues:

“Gladly would we pass over such facts or strive to exhibit them in such colorings as would soften the shadows of the picture. But fidelity to ourselves, to the Church, and above all, to Him whose chastising sword is smiting the Church through the State, demands a candid and unreserved delineation of our real condition. Why should we represent the garden as flourishing with unwonted beauty, when its hedges are broken down, and its glory is trodden under foot? Why should we say that the vintage is more abundant than ever, when portions of the vineyard are overrun with desolation, and the branches of its vines are yielding but scanty stunted clusters? To cheer ourselves with such deceitful consolations, could only serve to keep us from the keen sense of our affliction which the Lord designs us to feel, and from that deep humiliation and repentance to which His chastisements are ever intended to lead. Let the world, if it will, thus daub its broken walls with untempered

mortar, and make light of the troubles sent upon it,—but let not the Church thus falsely soothe the hurt inflicted upon her, and sing a mirthful song of peace, peace amidst the woeful desolation of a time of war. The present lamentable state of the country is a heavy burden on the Church, a burden which is sadly palsyng her moral energies, and seriously retarding her proper work. And the sooner and the more deeply this is felt, the sooner and the more deeply, and, therefore, also, the more effectually, will she prostrate herself in the dust, and so pray for the restoration of the peace of Jerusalem, that God will in mercy interpose, and for Zion's sake, put forth His arm and save us."

After giving a survey of the work of the Board, giving a report and statistics of every Mission under its care separately, speaking of their failures and successes, their discouragements and hopes, the report concludes in these words:

"Then let us pray to the Lord to revive His work, in our own hearts and congregations, that a spirit of missions may be awakened among us, which shall constrain us to make some efforts and sacrifices commensurate with our duty and our opportunities. But this good work must, of course, begin with us who are members of this Board and Synod. We are chosen from different parts of the Church, in order that we may keep up and spread a proper interest in our great work. If we are callous we cannot expect the Classes and Churches we represent to be cordial in their co-operation and support. Let us, therefore, be careful to keep up in our hearts the liveliest sympathy with the cause entrusted to our care. Let us carry with us, wherever we go, a glow-

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ing zeal for the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom, and for the speedy supply of our numerous spiritual destitutions. Then may we expect to see a corresponding flame kindled throughout the Church, and the love of the Lord Jesus Christ so constraining the hearts of our members, that they will cheerfully supply all the pecuniary means needed to carry on our great work, and continually offer up their fervent prayers to the Chief Shepherd that he may abundantly bless our efforts to gather the scattered and lost sheep of the house of Israel into the green pastures of His grace and the fold of His salvation."

During the year 1863 the Tercentenary Celebration of the Heidelberg Catechism was observed. This was made the occasion for special gifts from congregations and individuals, so that the receipts for Mission work were largely increased during this year. The Race Street Church of Philadelphia, of which Dr. Bomberger was then pastor, contributed through its treasurer, and the gifts of individuals, over \$1,400.00. These Tercentenary offerings continued to flow into the treasury during the year 1864, so that a new impetus was given to the work and the reports of these years are much more encouraging.

There were, however, three difficult problems to contend with in the work of the Board during Dr. Bomberger's incumbency as president. The first of these was that it covered the period of the Civil War when the country was convulsed in a great struggle. This has already been referred to in the report quoted. The second of these problems was,

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that incident to the organization of the General Synod there followed a reorganization of the Board and a new and larger policy was adopted. A secretary who devoted his time to visiting the Missions and stimulating the work and the giving of contributions was put in the field. The third difficulty was caused by the controversy which was then going on in the church and in which Dr. Bomberger was a prominent participant. The interest aroused by the Tercentenary Celebration had somewhat abated and in 1868 the Board came before the synod with a deficit of over \$4,000.00. This was not a large deficit, but it looked large at that time. The Executive Committee had requested the Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Home Missions to give a statement of the status of the work. In his statement this official said that the church was not less liberal than before, but that she was really doing more. However, the money was diverted into other channels and did not reach the treasury of the Home Board. This the Corresponding Secretary attributed to the fact that there seemed to be a lack of confidence in the minds of many, justly or unjustly, in the head of the Board. He claimed that in collecting funds he had a "continual struggle against the current." Dr. Bomberger in his report to General Synod in 1869 calls the attention of that body to this statement and claims that it is "an unwarranted reflection upon the President of the Board, whether so designed or not."

The General Synod of 1869 did not re-elect Dr.

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Bomberger and his connection with the Board consequently ceased. The minutes of that synod state that the retiring President "transferred all the books, documents and papers in possession of the Board to the new Board, accompanied with a few appropriate remarks." The synod subsequently adopted the following action:

Resolved, That the thanks of the General Synod be tendered to the Rev. John H. A. Bomberger, D. D., for the faithful and efficient discharge of his duties as President of the Board of Home Missions.

Thus ended his long period of service in an official way in the cause of Home Missions.

At the General Synod of 1872 Dr. Bomberger was elected a member of the Board of Foreign Missions. He served on the Foreign Board during that triennium. He was again elected in 1878 and served until 1887, making a period of twelve years' service on the Foreign Board. It will be seen, therefore, that his service on the two Boards covered a period of thirty-six years, a long period and a noble service, especially when considered in view of the distracted state of the church during that period.

During the earlier years of his ministry Dr. Bomberger engaged in extended correspondence with a number of ministers of the Reformed Church. Among his papers are found letters from all the men who were prominent in the church, as well as from many who served in their pastorates, but whose names do not appear prominently in the proceedings

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of the synod. Among the ministers with whom he carried on a regular correspondence for a longer or shorter period were Drs. B. C. Wolff, E. V. Gerhart, F. W. Kremer, J. H. Good, W. A. Helffrich, G. W. Williard, H. Rust, P. Greding and George Wolff. Unfortunately the editors of this volume were unable to secure any considerable number of the letters which he wrote. All these correspondents have passed to their eternal reward, and the letters, if preserved by them, have in all probability, since been destroyed. For this reason it becomes necessary to quote somewhat more freely and fully from the letters written to him than would be necessary if the letters written by him were to be had. The letters received by him give us the subjects with which the correspondence dealt and often give us hints of what he had written. In reading them one is reminded of a third person listening to a conversation over the telephone by two other persons; he can hear what the man at one end of the line is saying, but must conjecture what the person at the other end is saying.

The most important, and in many ways the most interesting of these correspondences is that with the Rev. E. V. Gerhart. This correspondence began in 1843 and was continued more or less regularly until 1864. Dr. Bomberger and Dr. Gerhart were then young men serving in the pastorate. They were both earnest, serious, studious, and filled with a zeal for the extension and prosperity of their church and of the Kingdom of God. The bonds of friendship

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between them were close and beautiful, as is shown by the letters. The correspondence in those early years was largely a discussion of theological subjects and many of the letters, which are long, read like theological essays, for this is what they really are. A number of these letters have been preserved by Dr. Bomberger, not only the letters received from Dr. Gerhart, but those written by himself to Dr. Gerhart. These letters with the replies are serially numbered and marked "The B. G. Correspondence on religious and theological subjects." Here are discussed subjects like Moral Ability, Baptism, Mystical Presence, Mystical Union, etc. Sometimes there occurs the outline of a sermon and frequently there is a criticism of each other's articles in the religious papers. During the earlier period of the controversy in the church that subject weighed heaviest upon their hearts and was uppermost in their minds. It receives considerable attention in these letters.

Referring to the friendship existing between the two young pastors we quote from Dr. Gerhart's letter written while he was pastor in Gettysburg. The letter is dated March 2, 1847.

"Dear Bro. Bomberger.—

"Glad to find you so prompt. The pleasure I feel in renewing our correspondence is equal to what you express. In our previous letters there was much of the understanding at work; perhaps not enough of the heart, for our own spiritual good. Whilst I should be sorry to see less careful exercise of thinking, I am at the same time pleased to know that you

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feel disposed to develop and discuss, the more hidden workings of our souls, with the view, if possible, mutually to advance each other in the divine life. My heart responds to your proposal confidently. Assured that you will not misinterpret my freedom or misjudge the sacred exercise of my struggling soul, I am willing to reveal myself to you without restraint. I sometimes long for the ear of a ministerial brother, in whose judgment, honesty and kindness I could confide with all my heart, to whom I might unbosom my thoughts and feelings and receive such counsel as I need. And let me say that I am willing to speak to you as I would be to but very few others. I believe that you have too much wisdom at any time to flatter me for what you approve, and too much sincere love to ridicule me for what you condemn. My confidence in, and attachment to you, is strong. I feel a kind of fraternal nearness to you which indeed I have never tried to conceal, but to an extent perhaps that you have never suspected. Hence you have always had much influence over me, and I have learned much both from the bad and the good traits in your character."

The letter then continues in a discussion of theological topics. It closes with this significant sentence, "I have been very free this time, but there was so much *heart* in your last letter that I was drawn out. I pray that we may mutually be a source of profit to each other."

In an earlier letter, written December 31, 1845, the question of the theological positions held by the professors in the seminary was discussed. The brief passage from Dr. Gerhart's letter indicates that neither of the two correspondents was in hearty accord with the views held and particularly with the

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manner in which the professors expressed themselves. Dr. Gerhart writes, "I am not prepared sincerely to defend our Professors at all points. Their expressions I can by no means always adopt. In the main I concur with them and do so without materially changing my theological opinions. But I cannot say with you that I have any 'perplexing difficulties.' "

This same topic continues to claim the attention of the correspondents. While Dr. Gerhart was laboring as a home missionary in Cincinnati and later as President of Heidelberg College, he was removed from the immediate circle of the controversy going on in the church and viewed it as an onlooker rather than as a participant. In his letters he asks Dr. Bomberger to give him the proceedings of synod at first hand, which was more satisfactory than the reports in the papers. Both men were deeply solicitous for the welfare and good name of the church and both of them were reluctant to assume an attitude of opposition toward the professors in the seminary. As time went on and the evil results of the controversy became more and more manifest and the church was being maligned from without, they gradually came to the point in their thinking when it seemed imperative that some one should rise up in defense of the Reformed doctrine, so that a reaction might be brought about within the church, and that the church might be set right in the eyes of the other Protestant denominations. In a letter written from Tiffin, O., October 14, 1852, Dr. Gerhart carefully

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sets forth his views of the situation as he saw it at that time. The letter was, of course, confidential, inasmuch as Dr. Gerhart was president of the college and a teacher in the Theological Seminary at Tiffin and, therefore, very properly wished to keep aloof from the difficulties in the eastern section of the church. All the men engaged in the discussions of that day have passed away and the letter is here reproduced in the interest of history.

“TIFFIN, O., Oct. 14, 1852.

“Dear Brother Bomberger.

“ . . . I am willing to give my ‘impression’ to *yourself*. From the nature of my position it is necessary that all I say to you on this delicate and painful topic, must be regarded as *strictly confidential*. And they will be *impressions*, not positions that I would hold myself fully prepared to maintain.

“1. The decided friends of Mercersburg, with but few exceptions, regard Drs. Nevin and Schaff as sound and firm Protestants in the sense of the Heidelberg Catechism. As such they are defended. They are regarded as setting forth the evils of Protestantism with a view to remove them, and thus advance the cause of Christ, in opposition to the haughty claims of Rome. The favor with which Drs. Nevin and Schaff meet is therefore no reason to believe that our Church as such has become untrue to its own standards.

“2. There is a noiseless but growing dissatisfaction among ministers and intelligent laymen with Mercersburg developments. It is deep and strong. Men are beginning to realize that Dr. Nevin, particularly, no longer occupies Protestant ground; but that just as far as his one-sided and unfair mode of

argumentation has any force, it sweeps away all the foundations of Protestantism. There is consequently a growing determination, firmly to resist these errors and abide by the faith delivered to the saints.

"3. There is, paradoxical as it may seem, more energy, spirit and life, more hearty and earnest cooperation in our Church, East, than I have ever seen. This argues an actual advance, brought about by the activity and zeal of the ministers educated in our Sem'y., and, in a great measure, by the earlier writings of Dr. Nevin. There is more prospect now that our Church may accomplish something for the cause of Christ among Am. and For. Germans than at any previous period. A cloud, it is true, to my eye, overhangs our Church. I cannot see beyond it, yet I believe that the Captain of our Salvation will lead forth this branch of his sacramental host into a large place.

"4. In my opinion Dr. Schaff and Dr. Nevin, particularly, are no longer true Protestants. Dr. Nevin regards Rome with more favor than Protestantism; considers the reigning Theology entirely wrong, stands in doubt of the Reformation; and has been drawn into such a strong current of Romish thought and feeling, that he seems to hang only as by a slender twig to the Protestant shore. I respect him as highly as ever; perhaps, more so; he is conscientious and in solemn earnest; and has no inclination to conceal the fact that he has 'no position.' Yet I can not see with what consistency he can occupy the place even of Pres't. of Marshall College—an institution established by decidedly Reformed with no other object than to afford the necessary preparatory education to young men who would enter our Sem'y with a view to become ministers in a church that is most determined in her opposition to all the errors of Rome.

"5. Dr. Schaff is not far in the rear of Dr.

Nevin. He feels free to start every imaginable difficulty against Protestantism, whilst he is not certain that they can be met satisfactorily; at least he does not meet them manfully nor to the satisfaction of the students as I judge; on the other hand he extols and magnifies all the advantages and claims of the Roman Catholic Church. To yield passively to the natural effect of his church teaching, must make one doubt or despair of the legitimate birth and the certain growth of the Ref'd. Ch. whilst one would admire the Romish Hierarchy, and give a docile ear to her exclusive demands. I admire his learning, his intellectual ability; and for different reasons am warmly attached to him personally; yet, holding and teaching views so favorable to Rome and so unfavorable to Prot'm., I can not understand with what propriety he, who has sworn to teach cordially and defend firmly the Heid. Cat., can occupy the chair of Professor in our Theol. Sem'y.

"6. The Sem'y or Institutions at Mercersburg at present in my opinion do not fulfil their design, but just the reverse. The natural effect of such teachings must be to cause young men to doubt the validity of Prot'm and of the Ref. Ch.—to destroy the spirit and pleasure with which they ought to engage in the work of the ministry. The ham-strings are cut. The training, so far as it moulds and produces its legitimate result, must unfit young men for entering with confidence, comfort, decision and joy on their work. Indeed, if I could believe all Dr. Nevin's and Dr. Schaff's teachings—should I yield passively to their influence, I would become a Romanist or an infidel. Hence I would not send a son or a brother to Mercersburg. So far as I am acquainted with Mercersburg students, on whom these teachings have produced, what I believe to be, their natural effect, their painful state of mind corrob-

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rates my views. Would Dr. Schaff start as many difficulties against Christianity and take as much pains to represent the arguments of infidelity in their most favorable light, and continue for three or four years, his pupils would just as naturally doubt Christianity.

"7. I did not converse with you respecting Bro. Schneck's resignation of his Editorship to the Church of Bro. Miller's appointment by Kieffer & Co. Had not time to converse with Schneck himself. Has Synod given up the control of *Messenger's* columns? Bro. Miller's name even is already emblazoned as Editor. I shall wait with anxiety to see if Synod will allow its free choice of an editor thus to be forestalled. For my part I desire to see a man of higher and different qualifications in the editorial chair.

"8. To my mind the time has come when *you* and others should take up the pen against these Romish innovations, and in favor of the *Reformed* character of the Reformed Church and of the Heidelberg Catechism. The one-sided and unfair and inconsistent reasonings of Drs. and the opposition of the Heidelberg Catechism to Romishness, should be set forth. It does not become us. Our hands are full of other work. There are no such tendencies in the Western Synod. Yet you and others should proceed in a very mild, calm and kind tone and spirit. The present state of things loudly calls for something.

"9. I have thus spoken *freely to you*. Do not make any use of my name. I wish to keep entirely aloof. If my opinions are worth anything to *you*, you are very welcome to them. I cannot see beyond this crisis. Yet God will certainly deliver us the Romish whore. Give me an account of the *Coblentz* affair and the Board. Indeed I shall be obliged to you

for all those proceedings and movements at Synod, that one cannot get through the papers. And if Dr. Heiner publishes the proceedings in a Baltimore daily please send me the numbers. May God direct you. We have 75 students on the ground.

“Your Brother in Christ our Lord,
“E. V. GERHART.”

So much confidence had these two men in each other's judgment that they constantly sought advice from each other. Thus Dr. Gerhart puts before Dr. Bomberger the question of his removal to Cincinnati to take charge of the mission in that city and asks his advice in the matter. Likewise when he accepted the work in the institutions in Tiffin and later when he accepted the presidency of Franklin and Marshall College, he counseled with his tried and true friend.

When Dr. Bomberger resigned the pastorate of the church in Easton to accept a call to the Race Street Church, in Philadelphia, he suggested to Dr. Gerhart that he should become his successor in Easton, but the latter did not see his way clear to sever his relation with the educational interests in Ohio at that time.

During the early history of the Reformed Church in this country various liturgies were used by the pastors in the observance of the ordinances of the church. Many of the older ministers who had been educated in Europe, had brought with them the liturgies in use in the church from whence they came. Dr. Mayer, the first professor of Theology in the

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Theological Seminary had prepared a liturgy which came into use in a number of the congregations, but as there was neither uniformity in the use of liturgies nor entire satisfaction with any of those at hand, there developed a feeling that the church should prepare a liturgy for its use. In 1847 the East Pennsylvania Classis made the request of synod that the Palatinate Liturgy which was more extensively used than any other should be issued in a new edition, or a new liturgy should be prepared. Other classes expressed a similar desire. The Synod accordingly took the following action: "*Resolved*, That this whole subject, with the action of the several classes upon it, be referred to a special committee to report at the next annual meeting of Synod. The committee consists of the Rev. John H. A. Bomberger, Daniel Zacharias, D.D., John F. Mesick, and elders George Besore and William Cameron."

At the Synod of 1849, held in Norristown, Pa., this committee offered a report in which were recited the object of Christian worship, the manner of worship in the Jewish Church, in the early Christian Church, together with a brief statement of the mode of worship in the Protestant Church, showing that in all these centuries suitable provision has been made in books of worship. The committee, therefore, suggested:

"1. That the use of Liturgical forms of church worship, as recognized by our forefathers, has the clear sanction of the practice and peculiar genius of

the original Protestant churches.

"2. That there is nothing in the present circumstances of our Church in this country to call for or justify the total departure from this ancient and long-established usage.

"3. That the Liturgy now authorized and partially used by the Church, is inadequate to our wants, inasmuch as apart from other deficiencies which may be found in it, it makes *no provision for ordinary occasions of public worship.*

"4. That whilst the older Liturgies of the Church, and especially that of the Palatinate, are of such a character as to commend the greater portion of them for adoption, there is still need of various modifications in order to adapt them fully to our wants and circumstances.

"5. That the present would be as favorable a time for making the requisite provision in the case, as any which may be anticipated in the future.

"6. That Synod therefore proceed to make such arrangements as it may in its wisdom think best for the securing of this object."

This report was signed by John H. A. Bomberger, Chairman of the committee. After considerable debate in the synod this report was adopted and a committee was appointed to whom the whole subject of the proposed Liturgy was referred. This was the committee which, after several changes in its membership had been made, prepared the Provisional Liturgy. Of this committee Dr. Bomberger was a member and in its work he took an active part.

The history of the preparation of the Provisional Liturgy is written elsewhere and need not be repeated

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here, but it should be stated here that Dr. Bomberger was vitally interested in the project, that he made a careful study of the liturgies in use in the church in Europe, that he was educationally, temperamentally and religiously well qualified to prepare liturgical material. It was about this time that he translated a large part of the Palatinate Liturgy and published it in the "Mercersburg Review," in the issues of January and May, 1850, and March, 1851. In one of these articles he answers a number of objections to the use of Liturgies which had been issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Some of his theological opponents later charged Dr. Bomberger with having completely reversed his position and having become anti-liturgical. This charge he denied and both his teaching as a theological professor and his practice in the ministrations of the church are sufficient evidence that he was not opposed to the moderate use of liturgical forms. In the debate at the Synod of 1849, the question was asked what the character of the proposed liturgy should be, whether it should be high or low. Dr. Bomberger, who was chairman of the committee, replied that it should be a medium liturgy. To this position he held all through his ministry. Whilst he plead for freedom in the stated worship of the sanctuary, he used the liturgy and commended the use of it on the part of others in all such services as the administration of the sacraments, the marriage service, the burial service, etc.

The Church in the West was not in sympathy

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with the liturgical movement as developed in the East. The Provisional Liturgy did not meet with the approval of the ministry and the congregations in the Ohio Synod, yet that part of the church was in need of a liturgy for use in its congregations, and therefore took steps to provide one that would suit their needs. The committee appointed by the synod to prepare a suitable liturgy through Dr. Herman Rust appealed to Dr. Bomberger to assist them in preparing the forms for the different services and invited him to sit with their committee. They recognized his preparation and fitness for this work and consequently wished to avail themselves of his services. A number of letters from Dr. Rust are at hand in which he requests Dr. Bomberger to prepare certain formulas, and others in which he thanks him for having sent material to be presented to the committee. One letter which contains so much bearing on the state of the church is here reproduced, so that it may be preserved. It will be of interest to readers of the present day in that it sets forth the state of things as the earnest men of that day saw it.

“TIFFIN, Febr. 6, 1864.

“*Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger:*

“MY DEAR BROTHER: The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and all yours. Accept of my sincere thanks for the heartfelt and encouraging sentiments of your last letter, which fell like refreshing dewdrops on my languishing spirits. The Lord has blessed you with the gift of administering comfort and encouragement, as well as instruction per

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letter, which you ought to make use of with all your might. It would be well if you would write friendly letters to all our ministers, or at least to those with whom you are personally acquainted. For it is high time for every true son of the church to bring all his power and influence to bear against the dangerous tendency of that modern scholasticism, which is now actively at work to gain a permanent foothold, and which, if not checked, will, sooner or later, sweep away the entire system of our fathers. I am glad that you have commenced again to write for the *Messenger*, and trust you will give the warning in such a manner that the church will be aroused from her slumbers and duly awakened to her imminent danger. Be not afraid of men, dear Bro., but speak your convictions freely, with a voice of thunder, in the name of God and his church. Thousands of anxious eyes are daily turned toward you, expecting light and help in this trying season of our church.

“Harbaugh has announced himself, in his answer to the students, as the champion of the Mercersburg System of Theology. The Lord have mercy upon our poor Zion! To show you how some of our ministers feel on this subject, let me give you an extract from a letter received night before last: ‘I am now, and have been for some time, in trouble about certain things in our church. My head is swimming and my foot is faltering. Indeed I have been to such an extent perplexed, as to render me unfit for anything but pacing my sanctum. I feel unhappy and know not but that the staff may yet fall from my hand. I need not particularize. Mercersburg has become a pestilence to our once peaceful church, the native simplicity and glory of which it has well nigh brought into the dust. There is clearly a full determination to impose upon us all that Nevin and Schaff so fondly dream of. In a single article on the

Heidelberg Catechism, in his *Evangelische Zeugnisse* Dr. Schaff faults not less than five questions in it. (I have not seen that article, not having the paper.) Knowing that both are laboring day and night in their self-constituted Mission, and that many little satellites are trying to reflect their light, I feel pretty sure that it will not be many years until but little will be left us of all we once held as the distinguishing doctrines and principles of the German Reformed Church. I am not willing that my name shall stand on a formula that espouses a counterfeit Heidelberg Catechism, I must have the genuine thing or none. Can't subscribe to sacramental grace, etc., as set forth at Mercersburg. I love the German Reformed Church, as it came down from the fathers, above all others, but just as soon as she ceases to be what she was, and what she, thank God, measurably is, how can I, true to my vows and convictions, continue to regard her thus. My prayer to God is that you may have grace manfully to stand up for the truth, and that the threatening wave of jesuitical intrigue and folly may yet be rolled back upon Rome and Oxford, from whence mainly Mercersburg started it, &c.'

"The author of this was formerly so completely carried away by Nevin that his name had to be perpetuated in his family. How he has changed. But he has turned back, there are others striving to follow the boasting crowd. One prominent Brother near me is fast getting onto the high horse. He even tries to surpass the transcendental points of the provisional Liturgy. The Lord help us to stem the flood. I have been looking for documents from you, or have you not got my last letter per Bro. Samuel Giesy? Please send without delay your revision of the Provisional liturgy, and the Palatinate liturgy, and whatever else you have of value and use for us.

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Please do not refuse nor delay to prepare formulas, as many as you can. And be sure to come to the meeting of the Committee on the 16th of March. You know, Dear Brother, we stand in need of your counsel and assistance, and the work is of incalculable importance. If we are successful, the Church will be saved, but if we fail, all is gone. O the Lord be merciful unto us, poor sinners! Please let me hear from you by return of mail. When you send your revision of the Provisional Liturgy and other documents, please enclose a copy of Dr. Nevin's report. All these documents were lost with my trunk. Remember me to your family and to all the friends. Have you a Hermeneutics? Please ask Schaeffer and Koradi whether they have Lutz, Clausen or Schleiermacher's Hermeneutics. I prefer to get Lutz's. Let them send me a copy forthwith. Must use it now. Tell them also to send me a copy of Ebrard's Kirchengeschichte, including Dogmengeschichte, now being published. If suitable I shall introduce it as a textbook. Ask them also whether they have copies of Goethe's Faust on hand, and how many. I know you will do me this favor, for you are too kind to refuse. Don't say now: "I have taken a wife, therefore I can't work on the Liturgy."

"God bless you all richly.

"Your Humble Bro.,

"H. RUST."

Dr. Bomberger was not only a ready speaker, but he was a ready and versatile writer, as well. He began early in his ministerial career to contribute articles to the religious periodicals and it was not long before he wrote more extended articles. His contributions to the *Mercersburg Review* begin with the very first issue of that periodical in Jan-

uary, 1849. The first article of the first number was from the pen of Dr. J. W. Nevin, who was the editor. The second article came from the pen of Dr. Bomberger on the subject, The Rule of Faith. This was followed by a second article on the same subject in the July issue of the same year. Two important articles which he wrote for this *Review* were printed in the issues of January and April, 1853. The subject of these articles was, Dr. Nevin and his Antagonists. Dr. Nevin resigned the professorship in the Theological Seminary in 1851. The Synod of Baltimore in October, 1852, elected the Rev. B. C. Wolff, D.D., professor of Theology. Dr. Nevin had now retired to private life and Dr. Bomberger hoped for a cessation of the attacks on Dr. Nevin, whose friend and admirer he was, and also on the synod of the church, whose good name he wished to defend. There had been five specific charges made against the orthodoxy of Dr. Nevin and attacks had been repeatedly made against the synod for permitting a man who was unsound in doctrine to hold the position of professor of Theology. In the two articles aggregating about seventy pages, Dr. Bomberger took up the charges separately and by argument and quotations from the writings of Dr. Nevin concluded that the charges could not be sustained. It was afterward charged against Dr. Bomberger that he had written in Dr. Nevin's defense, had stood with him and later had shifted his own position. But whilst Dr. Bomberger in these articles in the main defended Dr. Nevin's position in 1853, he

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expressed a decided dissent on some points. The Reformed Church *Messenger* of April 3, 1853, makes special mention of this fact. Dr. Bomberger later admitted that he had allowed himself to be misled, and to make a few statements in these articles as in accord with the teaching of the Heidelberg Catechism, which the Catechism did not teach. It is of interest to have in Dr. Bomberger's own words his purpose in writing what he did on this subject. "My main objects in writing these articles were: (1) To vindicate our Synod and Church against the charge of endorsing and countenancing the errors of which Dr. Nevin and his associates were accused, by showing (2) that upon his own earnest repudiation of those errors, and on interpretation of his language of which it was susceptible he did not hold them. (3) A third object was a moral one; to bind, as it were, Dr. Nevin by regard for the confidence of the Church and personal friends, to an honest, faithful maintenance of doctrinal integrity."

Dr. Bomberger's contributions to the *Mercersburg Review* continued until 1860. The *Review* was discontinued in 1861. In 1867 it was revived, but Dr. Bomberger no longer contributed to it. In 1868 *The Reformed Church Monthly* was started. Dr. Bomberger became editor of this publication, and was its chief contributor. It continued for nine years and after the publication of the *Monthly* was discontinued, a department continuing the work of the *Monthly* was maintained in the *Christian*

World for six years. During all these years the pen of Dr. Bomberger was kept busy producing articles month after month and week after week. Prior to the publication of the *Monthly*, the *Messenger* was the organ through which he spoke. A number of sermons and pamphlets, doctrinal and controversial, were published by him. These are mentioned elsewhere in this volume, and need not be repeated here.

Two works of importance in which his literary skill manifested itself should be mentioned here. These were translations, but they were of such magnitude and character that it is proper to speak of them. The first was a new edition of "Kurtz's Text-book of Church History." This was partly a new translation, a revision and to some extent a reconstruction of the Edinburg translation. This translation had omitted parts of the original and had, as Dr. Bomberger claimed, in many instances failed to convey the author's sense, because of imperfect translation. Wherever this occurred, a new translation was made. For this work the latest German edition was used, whereas the Edinburg translation has been made from the third German edition. This work, in two volumes, aggregated about a thousand pages. The first edition was issued from the press of Smith, English & Co., and the later editions from that of the J. B. Lippincott Company. The work was extensively used as a text-book of Church History.

A work of still greater importance was "The

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Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia." This was a condensed translation of Herzog's "Real Encyclopedia," with additions from other sources. In this enterprise Dr. Bomberger had associated with him in the work of translation a number of professors and clergymen from the Reformed Church and from several other Protestant churches, but the management of the entire undertaking devolved upon him, and a large proportion of the papers were from his pen. Of this work Dr. Nevin says, in the October number, 1856, of the *Mercersburg Review*: "The translations read smoothly for the most part, and bear evidence of having been executed with judgment and care. Altogether the work bids fair to reflect lasting honor on those by whose diligence it is in the way of being offered to the American public, and we may already very safely assign it a place among the most important contributions yet made to the theological literature of our country." Of this same work Dr. Gerhart writes in *The Mercersburg Review*, October, 1857: "We are much gratified at the regular issue of the successive numbers of Dr. Bomberger's translation of Herzog's Encyclopedia—the most extensive, thoroughly scientific and trustworthy theological publication of the kind that has proceeded from the American press."

A letter from Dr. Herzog to Dr. Bomberger on this subject has historical interest. For this reason it is here reproduced:

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“REV. AND DEAR SIR:—

“First of all I owe you an apology for my long delay in answering your cordial and flattering letter. New obstacles constantly came in my way, besides my absence from home on a vacation tour.

“You must allow me to render my thanks for the kind and indulgent reception with which you and your friend have honored my Encyclopedia. I feel myself greatly encouraged by such kind appreciations of my labors, and incited to press onward with my difficult task, and use every exertion to prove myself not wholly unworthy of such confidence. Such encouragements are truly a balm to the spirit under the manifold heavy toils, perplexities, vexations, and cares of all sorts, which the writing of a work like this involves. What chiefly supports me under all this, is the thought that I have undertaken a work which may somewhat subserve the interests of Protestant Theology, and the Protestant Church. That eminent men in America so regard my work, and that it has found so many friends in that country, who sympathize with its true catholic spirit, is for me an important consideration. May God enable me in carrying forward the work, to develop those characteristics more and more, which have won for it so much confidence. In reference to your condensed translation, I must confess that it has my full approval, as have also the principles you have adopted, as communicated to me in your welcome letter, and which I find carried out in the first part of your translation sent to me, and I must express my gratification that the work has been undertaken by such competent hands. If such a translation should be attempted—and it is very natural that the matter should be thought of—it would necessarily assume the form which you are giving to it; that is, on the one hand it must be an abridgement, and on the other

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include additions of many articles which I have omitted. In regard to the former point, you remark with perfect correctness, that many articles may be condensed without injury to their integrity. In this respect you are much more at liberty than I can be.

"In regard to the second point, you could hardly avoid introducing some articles which I have omitted, especially from Weiner's Real Lexicon. Moreover, you will find occasion to take up some English names which I have not noticed; neither should I be surprised at your omission of some names which I have taken up, but which are of less importance for your readers. In this respect again I must fully approve of your plan, as one that necessarily calls for the exercise of personal discretion.

"I conclude with the prayer that the blessing of God may rest upon your undertaking, that it may accomplish much good, and prove a new bond of union between the Protestant churches of America and Europe. I repeat my thanks for your grateful letter, &c., &c.

"Respectfully yours,

"HERZOG.

"To the Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, Editor, &c., &c."

A few extracts from a letter written April 13, 1857, by Dr. Bomberger to Dr. Herzog, throw some light upon this project and the favor with which the work was received:

"The great diversity of style necessarily belonging to the original work, renders it peculiarly difficult to secure in all cases a perfectly accurate translation. And some of my coadjutors who are best versed in the German language complain of the occa-

sional ambiguity of a few of the writers. And among the most difficult for us are Rettberg and Jacobson. Thus far I have been much encouraged in my undertaking. The work in its English dress elicits approbation in this country and even in England, where they test everything American with microscopic scrutiny. Competent critics, of the most impartial character, have pronounced the translation, as such, superior to the translations of the Foreign Theological series of the Messrs. Clarke of Edinburgh. And I am conscious, without entertaining a too exalted opinion of the ability of my respected assistants, much less of my own, that this judgment is correct." . . . "In conclusion, Rev. Sir, allow me to congratulate you upon the increasing favor with which your noble work meets. As you will see by the commendatory notices published on the cover of the translation, the Encyclopedia is hailed as constituting an era in the literature of the Evangelical Protestant Church. Even Baptists and Independents (Congregationalists), though by nature hostile to its Churchly standpoint and spirit, commend it in the highest terms. The notices taken by the Episcopal press of this country and England, have been especially flattering."

This work was issued from the press of Lindsay & Blakiston, and came out in parts. These parts were later combined into volumes. Unfortunately the work was never completed. The original work became much more extensive than was at first intended and the translation, after two large volumes had been completed, was abandoned.

A study of the minutes of the synod from 1840

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to 1870 at once reveals the fact that Dr. Bomberger had a very prominent part in the proceedings of the annual meetings. Such a study further shows not only that he had the qualities of leadership, but also that he was looked to as a leader by his brethren in the ministry. This is further shown by the extensive correspondence which he had with ministers and elders of the church. These letters received from these correspondents are at hand. They show that he was asked for advice, that he was asked to formulate plans of action for classes and synod, that he was placed on committees where difficulties were to be adjusted. The fact that he occupied prominent pulpits, of course, gave him a certain prestige, but also laid responsibility upon him, a responsibility that weighed heavily upon his shoulders.

The fact that he became the leader in a long and bitter controversy does not by any means prove that he was polemic in his nature. It must have caused him the keenest regret to be obliged to lead an opposition against those who were his warm personal friends. But to him it became a duty which conscience pressed upon him, that he defend the faith as he understood and conceived it. To him men older and younger, from the ministry and the laity, appealed that he should lead them in the defense of what they conceived to be the truth. The number of letters and appeals of this character are too numerous to be reproduced here. In addition to the letter from Dr. Gerhart and the one from Dr. Rust bearing upon this, we quote here from a

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letter by Dr. B. S. Schneck. Dr. Schneck was for many years editor of the Reformed Church *Messenger*, and for sometime editor of the *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung*. He was himself looked upon as a leader and was by more than ten years Dr. Bomberger's senior. Yet the older minister appeals to the younger brother in what appears to him a great crisis.

“CHAMBERSBURG, Aug. 29, 1853.

“DEAR BROTHER BOMBERGER:—

“ May I also add a few other words. I have just returned from a three months absence in Western Pennsylvania, and therefore know little or nothing new. But I left with a heavy heart, and it has not yet been relieved. I allude of course to the State of our Church. I found that Dr. Nevin is still full of his antipathies to Protestantism and full of laudations of Romanism (private letters to his special friends in West Pennsylvania, who had written to him inquiringly—he tells them, he received much more edification from Romish than from Protestant Devotional Books and sneeringly asks: Where is the Catholic that ever on his dying bed became a Protestant?)

“When I look at the *Messenger* and see, how Dr. Nevin is held up as the only sufficient exponent of the German Reformed Church—who is both able and willing to stand by her, and then bear in mind, that *he* himself must, of course, smile at such nonsense, in short, when I look around and see how the church keeps quiet, because she trusts that all will come right—and yet find many of our ministers—if not most of them, at unrest, I hardly know what to do. Sometimes I felt like taking an

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open stand—protesting—and I addressed a letter six weeks ago to a Bro. on this subject—but soon found that he was already out in public in a very violent way. I wrote him a cautioning letter and there it ended. But I feel now, that if Synod will take no steps at all, to right us before the world—if no Declaration of sentiments—nothing is done to roll off the Reproach (and to a certain degree just reproach, God knows), then I am done. I may not blow trumpets but I may be compelled, like some other good and true Brethren, with weeping to turn my back upon that portion of Christ's heritage which nourished me, and which I loved with unquenchable love. Oh! I am greatly distressed! Sometimes I am well nigh in despair. And thus far I have kept it to myself. Do, my dear Brother, write to me, and give me some ray of hope and well founded comfort. Mr. Heiner's course (I only saw his second letter in the *Intelligencer*), I don't like either.

“But be assured, *something* must be done, or there will be a sad breach. Tell me, my Brother, what had best be done? I am no Delegate to Synod, but may be there. Write soon.

“Your affectionate Brother in the Lord,

“B. S. SCHNECK.”

“REV. MR. BOMBERGER.”

It may be said then that it was Dr. Bomberger's ability, his qualities of leadership, his love for the truth as he conceived it, and the numerous appeals from his brethren in the ministry, that drew him into the long and bitter controversy in the church. Personal ambition was not the motive. There is sufficient evidence at hand to show that his predilections were for the pastoral office for which his

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native gifts so well fitted him, and in which he met with continued success. It was what appeared to him an imperative duty that took him from the work of the pastorate, and after he took up educational work he still served for thirteen years as pastor of St. Luke's Church, Trappe, Pa. It was only when increasing years made the double burden too heavy to carry, that he finally gave us the pastorate.

CALVIN D. YOST.

CHAPTER VII

THE FOUNDING OF URSINUS COLLEGE

There were three causes which have been said to have led to the founding of Ursinus College. The first was a personal cause; the second, a theological cause; and the third, an historical cause.

The first or personal cause that was asserted to have led to the founding of this college was said to be the disappointed ambition of Dr. Bomberger, because he had not been elected professor of theology in the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg in 1863, when the Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D., was elected to that position. The charge was made that he broke away from Mercersburg Theology because he had not been chosen to fill this chair in the Seminary, and that in consequence he determined to found a new institution. This charge was made some years later by his theological opponents, but was always repudiated by Dr. Bomberger himself. It was publicly made in the Reformed Church *Messenger* and was answered by an article in the *Christian World* of November 19, 1874.

We do not believe that Dr. Bomberger became the founder of Ursinus College because of thwarted personal ambition, but that he was led in this movement by a succession of events caused by the narrow-

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ness and oppression of the adherents to Mercersburg Theology toward the Old Reformed or Low Churchmen with whom Dr. Bomberger allied himself and whose leader and spokesman he became. That the charge cannot be sustained may be shown by the following facts: (1) At the Synod of 1860, three years before the election of Dr. Harbaugh to the professorship, Dr. Bomberger had differed from the followers of Dr. Nevin by urging that the Provisional Liturgy be sent down to the classes for adoption or rejection. This Dr. Nevin and his adherents bitterly opposed, because they feared that the Provisional Liturgy in this way would be rejected. (2) At the Synod of 1861 Dr. Bomberger was the leader in urging the immediate revision of the Provisional Liturgy. This was also opposed by the followers of Dr. Nevin. This was two years before the election of Dr. Harbaugh. (3) When the new committee, appointed by the Eastern Synod to revise the Provisional Liturgy, met, Dr. Bomberger urged that certain ritualistic features and language be stricken out. This, which occurred a year or two before the election of Dr. Harbaugh, was also strenuously opposed by the High Church party. (4) At the Eastern Synod of 1862 Dr. Bomberger was the leader of the Low Church party in bringing a minority report to the Synod on the revision of the Provisional Liturgy. This was a year before Dr. Harbaugh's election. (5) During the winter of 1862-63 Dr. Bomberger wrote a series of articles against the High Church views.

It will be seen that these five significant events

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occurred before the election of Dr. Harbaugh, when it was said by the opponents of Dr. Bomberger that his ambition had been thwarted. The charge was that he broke with the High Church party because he was not elected professor of theology, but it is clearly shown that three years before this election he had begun to differ with them; yes, a year before the first date mentioned, in 1859, he had already begun to diverge from them, as may be seen in his book on Infant Baptism. This charge against him cannot, therefore, in the light of these facts, be proved. Dr. Bomberger may have had ambitions as every man naturally has, but he was not vindictive. The fact is that the cause of the founding of Ursinus College was not a personal one. Dr. Bomberger had nothing to gain by it personally, but on the other hand, he had everything to lose. He made a personal sacrifice when he became the first president of Ursinus College. He resigned as pastor of a prominent and prosperous congregation, the Race Street Church, in Philadelphia, to enter into the work of a college which at its outset had a somewhat uncertain future; he resigned his charge to enter upon a career full of anxieties, trials and persecutions. Had he consulted his own personal comfort he would never have founded Ursinus College. We must conclude that he founded it from a sincere conviction of duty that the theological crisis in the Reformed Church in the United States demanded such an institution.

The second cause stated above—the theological—is the real cause for the founding of Ursinus Col-

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lege. Great theological differences had developed in the Reformed Church, and it was because of these that the new college was brought into being. The roots of this theological division run farther back than has been supposed. The ultimate first cause of it all lay across the sea in Germany. In the year 1817 the king of Prussia, by an arbitrary political act, united the Lutheran and Reformed Churches into one body which was called the United or Evangelical Church of Germany. There grew up in this Evangelical Church a new theology called the Mediating Theology, which was neither Lutheran nor Reformed, but which was an attempt to mediate between the Lutheran and Reformed types of theological doctrine. It also, as in the case of Schleiermacher, tried to mediate between orthodoxy and pantheism, and was often, therefore, not orthodox. This Mediating Theology was of all sorts, some evangelical, some rationalistic, some irenic, trying to unite both wings. The fundamental question of the controversy in the Reformed Church in the United States for nearly a century was whether the Reformed Church should cling to its old confessional position and the Reformed type of theology, or whether she should reject that and accept the new Mediating Theology of the Evangelical Church of Germany, which was often as much Lutheran as Reformed, and as much rationalistic as orthodox. This produced the theological cleavage in the Reformed Church. The church has now arrived at an understanding and both views are permitted to exist, but it has produced much friction to bring it

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to this status.

The first theological professor to bring this new Mediating Theology of Germany to the Reformed Church in the United States was the Rev. F. A. Rauch, Ph.D., who taught in the Theological Seminary from 1832 to 1841. Before that time the theological position of the Reformed Church had been, mainly, either Zwinglian or Calvinistic. In Germany, Dr. Rauch, then a young man, had been an Hegelian rationalist. But after coming to America he had been converted to God through the influence of the Rev. Henry L. Rice, pastor of the Reformed Church at Chambersburg, Pa., and president of the Board of Trustees of Marshall College. Dr. Rauch was therefore, when teaching the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, an evangelical of the Mediating School, but he could hardly be called confessionally Reformed, for although his father was a Reformed minister in Germany, he himself had been educated in the Lutheran university at Giessen. Confessionalism played little part in his creed, but he was distinctly evangelical, as is shown by his Sermons on the Inner Life. But although not confessionally Reformed, he did not influence his students from the old Reformed position. However his philosophical presuppositions were somewhat Hegelian, for though now evangelical, he never got over the terminology of his early training in Germany. At that time the Rev. Dr. Nevin, who had just come into the Reformed Church from the Presbyterian, was the conservative

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—the confessional Reformed,* while Dr. Rauch was the liberal, holding to the Mediating Theology, although he was evangelical and conservative in doing so.

After the death of Dr. Rauch in 1841, the Rev. Philip Schaff, Ph.D., came to America in 1844 to become professor in the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg. Dr. Schaff was an adherent to the Mediating Theology, like Dr. Rauch, and was of the evangelical wing of that school. Having been born in Switzerland, Dr. Schaff was traditionally Reformed, but he had been educated and confirmed in the Lutheran Church of Wurtemberg. Later he attended the University of Berlin, where he accepted the positions of the Mediating Theology, as taught in church history by Neander, and became an evangelical of the Mediating School. He did not belong to the Reformed Church until he was ordained to the ministry at Elberfeld just before coming to America. He tried to adjust his previous Lutheran education and mediating views to the Reformed doctrine, but he only partially succeeded. He was always an adherent of Luther and thought more of him than of the Reformed reformers, though he also wrote excellently about the latter. His Lutheranism appears in his Mercersburg theology, which is Lutheran rather than Reformed in its emphasis on the high views of the sacraments and on the liturgical

* This shown by his articles on the Heidelberg Catechism and on other subjects in the *Messenger*, 1840-43.

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in cultus. Dr. Schaff was a Broad Churchman rather than a confessional Reformed.

It was Dr. Schaff who gave the Mediating Theology a permanent place in the Reformed Church. Before he came to America Dr. Nevin had, under Dr. Rauch's influence, been inclining toward German philosophy, and Dr. Schaff's influence completed that process in Dr. Nevin's mind. But Dr. Nevin, although he thought he had accepted the idealistic philosophy of Germany, with his strong Scotch bent toward realism, never grasped it fully. Dr. Nevin, therefore, became an Hegelian in philosophy and thus laid the philosophical basis for Mercersburg Theology. Dr. Schaff in coming to America came into contact with Puseyism in England and was fascinated with its ritualistic peculiarities. These two, the Hegelian philosophy and the Puseyistic liturgic tendencies, blended together to form the basis of Mercersburg Theology. That Dr. Schaff was instrumental in introducing High Churchism in the Reformed Church is shown by the fact that, when in 1855 Dr. Nevin, discouraged, gave up the attempt to make the Reformed Church liturgical by resigning from the Liturgical Committee, Dr. Schaff was the man who put life into that committee which finally produced the Provisional Liturgy in 1857. Thus the Mediating Theology of Germany gained a permanent foothold in the Reformed Church.

But all this caused much and continued friction. The question which caused the division in the Reformed Church was whether the Old Reformed the-

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ology should prevail, or whether the new Mediating Theology of Germany should become the theology of the Reformed Church. The latter opens the door very wide, for the Mediating Theology has had in its school rationalists as well as orthodox, and we have seen the rationalistic influence of the Mediating Theology in the Reformed Church in some movements that have come up since the death of Dr. Bomberger. It was this controversy between the old confessional Reformed theology and the new Mediating Theology that ultimately led to the founding of Ursinus College. The confessional Reformed, that is, the element in the Reformed Church that wanted to hold strictly to the Reformed confessions and consciousness, opposed the breaking away from the time-honored doctrines and worship and customs of their Reformed fathers. And when the Mediating Theology, with its Puseyite addition in ritualism, gained entire control in the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, this movement had either to be quietly acquiesced in (but that would cause the old confessional Reformed consciousness to die, for the college and seminary were the feeders to the future ministry), or there was the other alternative, that the confessional Reformed should found a new institution to train ministers in the old Reformed faith and customs, and thus perpetuate that tendency in the Reformed Church. The founders of Ursinus College chose the latter course, and since the institutions at Mercersburg and Lancaster were the exponents of Mercersburg Theology, they founded a new institution. Ursinus College, it

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will be seen, was not the outgrowth of disappointed ambition, as shown in the beginning of this chapter, but its founding was due to great, far-reaching theological differences. These differences were of such magnitude that the two tendencies could not at that time live together in harmony.

But there was a third reason why Ursinus College was founded. It may be called an historical one. A series of historical events occurred that greatly outraged the feelings of the Low Church minority in the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church. While the second reason given above, namely, that the founding of Ursinus College was due to great theological differences, is the main reason for the origin of the college, yet there was added to this a series of events that goaded the Low Churchmen on to radical action. In saying this it is not intended to impugn the motives of their opponents. The High Churchmen were honest and conscientious in their beliefs and actions. They were zealous, but their zeal, especially viewed from this distance of time, was not according to wisdom. Undoubtedly both sides, in the heat of the controversy, made mistakes. The High Churchmen made mistakes, for they, in addition to their peculiarities in doctrine and cultus, also emphasized one side of church government, namely, authority; while the Low Churchmen, following the easy-going methods of their fathers, emphasized liberty. The former emphasized the power of the minister, due to their high idea of the priestly office of the minister. They also emphasized the power of

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the upper church courts, while the Low Churchmen emphasized the power of the lower church courts. The clash finally came, as it always does in denominations, on questions of church law and constitution. In their zeal for the authority of the church the High Churchmen did some things that seemed tyranny to the Low Churchmen. One of these was that with their high views of the priestly office of the minister, they claimed that the minister alone had the right to decide what the character of the worship should be. To this the Low Churchmen objected, claiming that the congregation, or at least the consistory, ought to decide so fundamental a matter. The Peace Commission, which at the end of the controversy settled the dispute, upheld the Low Churchmen's view on church government. The special act that seemed to outrage the feelings of the Low Churchmen was the attempt by some of the adherents to Mercersburg Theology to force the Provisional Liturgy into congregations which the opposite party said did not want it, as at Lancaster where the consistory and congregation twice rebelled against it.* But the crowning abuse was the introduction of the Provisional Liturgy into the college at Lancaster and into the Theological Seminary. The Low Churchmen claimed that this was contrary to the wishes of a large number of the supporters of those institutions. They saw in it a plan to capture the church for ritualism, and they

* See Dr. Good's "History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century."



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feared that, if they sent their sons to these institutions, they would become tinctured with ritualism. Another abuse that the Low Churchmen greatly objected to were the assessments. It was claimed by the High Churchmen that the synods and classes had sufficient authority to collect these, some even threatening to go to law to compel reluctant congregations to raise the assessments laid on them by the synod. There was still another grievance. The Low Churchmen were in the Eastern Synod being crowded out of the prominent places in the church by the High Churchmen and kept from getting prominent charges. They claimed that the whole machinery of the church was in the power of the other party, who were using it against them, and thus the church was becoming a political machine. This discrimination against the Low Churchmen became so severe that a number of them were forced out of the active ministry because they could not get charges. The High Churchmen, we believe, did not realize what they were doing in their zeal to carry everything for their side. Now against such high-handed measures there could not but be a reaction. And that reaction finally led to the founding of Ursinus College.

Then finally came the straw that broke the camel's back. This was the action of the Eastern Synod in 1867. In the summer of 1867 the Low Churchmen had held a convention at Myerstown, Pa., to protest against the introduction of ritualism and high sacramentarianism into the Reformed Church. They had drawn up a series of resolutions on this

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subject, which they presented to that synod. The synod virtually treated them with contempt. The communication was treated as non-official, because it was the action of a free convention and not of an authorized church court. And yet the synod recognized these petitioners in a way, for it adopted an action based on the Myerstown resolutions. The synod adopted resolutions charging that the Myerstown Convention and its resolutions showed a tendency to schism and rebellion in the church. Though not recognizing the petition as official, the synod adopted a severe action based on the petition. It ordered a pastoral letter to be prepared by a committee of synod and ordered it to be read in all the churches by the ministers. This letter denounced the Myerstown Convention as unwise, dangerous and schismatic. The letter was so extreme that even many who were sympathetic toward the Mercersburg Theology, as, for example, the Rev. Dr. B. Bausman, did not read it from their pulpits. This was the last straw. The Low Churchmen now felt that they had no means of redress at synod or anywhere in the church. They therefore proceeded to take matters in their own hands. Fortunately the Myerstown Convention had appointed a "Committee of Ways and Means," consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Rupley, Vaughan, George Wolff and Bomberger, together with seven elders, in order to meet any exigency. This committee proceeded to move, and ultimately Ursinus College came into existence. Freeland Seminary, at what is now Collegeville, was purchased in

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January, 1869, and Ursinus College was founded in February of the same year, and began academic work in September, 1870. But although Ursinus College was then established, there still remained a controversy in the Reformed Church about its status. The High Churchmen, because they made much of authority, detracted from it continually and cast aspersions against it, in that it did not have ecclesiastical sanction. Its defenders replied that it had been endorsed by Philadelphia Classis and that that was sufficient sanction. As long as it remained a college, there was no formal attack made on it. But its charter provided that theology could be taught in it. In 1870 its advertisement stated that theology would be included in its curriculum. The attention of Philadelphia Classis was called to this on June 10, 1870, by the Rev. S. R. Fisher, D.D. The classis decided against Dr. Fisher in favor of the college, so he carried the matter up by appeal to the Eastern Synod.

The point at issue between the two parties was this: The High Churchmen claimed that no persons could teach theology unless they had been elected by the synod as professors of theology and by it ordained to that office. This had not been done in the case of the Rev. Drs. Bomberger and Super, who taught theology at Ursinus. On the other hand the Low Churchmen claimed that from the beginning of the Reformed Church in this country, ministers had privately taught theology and this right had never been

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recalled.* The synod referred the matter back to classis. But two years later the matter came up again before the synod. It then passed a resolution that "the conduct of Dr. Bomberger in teaching theology was disorderly," and ordered him to desist. At once Dr. Henry W. Super, who was a member of the synod, took up an appeal to the General Synod of 1872, which met at Cincinnati. That General Synod sustained Dr. Super's appeal by a vote of 100 to 78. Its judgment in the case was "that the conduct of Dr. Bomberger and those associated with him was not disorderly or contrary to the constitution of the church, even though they had not been invested with the office of teacher of theology, or conducted their training under the direction of the synod." It also declared that the Eastern Synod had acted unconstitutionally in assuming original jurisdiction in the case in not letting the Classis of Philadelphia, of which Dr. Bomberger was a member, take the initiative. Under this decision of the General Synod of 1872, Ursinus College always claimed to have the authority of the General Synod to teach theology. The High Churchmen used to minimize that action by saying that the action of that General Synod was negative and not positive. Efforts were made to get this decision reviewed at the next General Synod at Fort Wayne in 1875, but General Synod refused to reopen the case. To Dr. Super, who happened to be

* See Dr. Good's "History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century," pages 510-512.

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present at the Eastern Synod of 1872 (Dr. Bomberger was not present) and who carried up the appeal to General Synod, must belong the credit of stepping in at this great crisis and saving the theological department of Ursinus College.

Thus Ursinus continued to live in spite of opposition, thanks to the efforts, at times almost heroic, of its friends to sustain it. Among these, Dr. Bomberger stands pre-eminent. He guided it through its dark days, when sometimes the door of hope seemed almost to be closed.

Before concluding this subject we desire to call attention to the mission of Ursinus College and its Theological Department, as it used to be called. It is not too strong a statement when we say that Dr. Bomberger and Ursinus College saved the German Reformed Church from being Romanized by the extreme Mercersburg men. The founding of Ursinus caused a reaction in the church against the Romanizing tendency. It kept the Reformed Church Protestant. It became the centre around which the true Protestant element in the Reformed Church rallied. Its very existence was a continued protest against such a tendency to Catholicism and it led to a reaction in the Reformed Church against the extreme Mercersburg views. This is shown by the fact that, although Dr. Gans was elected the Tercentenary Professor, yet some years later when the choice of a theological professor was made by the synod, the Rev. T. G. Apple was elected and Dr. Gans was passed by. The reason was that the church had outgrown

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Gans's Romanizing views. And when some Reformed ministers later went over to Rome, Ursinus College by its firm adherence to Protestant principles aided in holding together the Protestantism in the Reformed Church. It is, therefore, not too high praise to Dr. Bomberger and Ursinus College to say that the movement led by him saved the Reformed Church from Romanism,—that it saved the church to herself—to her old faith as a continued protest against Catholicism, for her name shows she was a Church *reformed* from Catholicism. May the college ever remain true to the Scriptural, evangelical principles for which it was founded by Dr. Bomberger and his early colleagues.

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CHAPTER VIII

TWENTY YEARS AS COLLEGE PRESIDENT

Three months after his election as president of Ursinus College, Dr. Bomberger was still undecided as to whether he should accept the call. He had been foremost in the movement that had led up to the founding of the college, and, because of his natural position as leader, his associates doubtless had thought of no other when, on June 7, 1869, they unanimously chose him as president. Yet in September of the same year he notified the Board that he could not give a definite answer as to his acceptance.

During the summer months his mind had been much preoccupied with other matters. His "Editor's Desk" notes and monthly summaries in the Reformed Church *Monthly* are almost devoid of any reference to Ursinus College. The pages of this magazine during this period are witnesses to extensive studies in church history and to exhaustive argumentative essays and editorials relative to the theological controversy in the church which was most intense at this time. Besides the work on the *Monthly* there were also the manifold duties of his large pastorate.

Yet, at times, his thought must have turned

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with much concern to the incipient college. At the beginning of the year the incorporators had secured a site and equipment by taking title to the buildings and grounds of Freeland Seminary, twenty-four miles out of the city, at Freeland, in Montgomery County. In the purchase of this place he had taken a deep interest. He had proposed the name for the new institution, had gone into such important details as the suggestion of the device for the corporate seal, had helped to work out the provisions of the charter, drafted the constitution on which the Board was organized, had recommended the titles of the several chairs for the faculty, and had even engaged in the work of helping to finance the new enterprise, for at the meeting in September he reported pledges aggregating more than twenty-five thousand dollars. But he had done all this as pastor of the Race Street Church. Here he had been happily located for nearly sixteen years. Associations had been formed which could not easily be given up. As a citizen of Philadelphia he had personal attachments running into many lines of intercourse, the loss of which he would keenly feel on leaving the city, even though it should be to take up his residence in a nearby community.

More perplexing than the change of location and the consequent interference with numerous happy relationships, however, must have been the proposition that he change his profession. To a man past fifty, this presents itself as an exceedingly difficult step. The college presidency, it should be observed,

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was not so sharply defined as a profession in those days, and it was the rule, especially in denominational colleges, for this office to be filled by a minister of the gospel. The duties were relatively few and simple. The president of a small college was the head of the faculty and was not called upon to engage himself in duties far afield from that of the teaching function. This being the case, it was comparatively easy for a pastor, provided he possessed the necessary scholarship, to step into a college faculty as president. In this instance, however, the problem was far more difficult. The college itself had to be formed, no faculty as yet existed, there was no established patronage, no endowment; nothing was felt to be certain save the necessity for the institution itself as viewed from the standpoint of the church's welfare. But this was compelling, and indeed the die had been cast as far as the founding of the college was concerned.

Aside from all other considerations, it took unusual courage for one with a large family, whose requirements, owing to the fact that the children were growing up, were increasing from year to year, to forego a fixed salary and a comfortable home only to face uncertainty of support and no established abode. This difficulty was partly met a few months later when St. Luke's Reformed Church of Trappe invited Dr. Bomberger to become its pastor. This congregation, which had suffered through internal dissensions, was at the time without a pastor, and apparently welcomed the opportunity which their

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call, by supplementing that of the college, would afford in securing for them the services of so distinguished and experienced a minister as Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger.

The following petition to the consistory, signed by ninety members of the congregation, constitutes one of the highly prized documents in the archives of this church:

"To the Consistory of the St. Luke's German Reformed Church at Trappe.

"BRETHREN: As members of said church, being desirous for a restoration of peace and order among us, and feeling that it can best be accomplished by having a suitable and satisfactory Pastor who should be chosen at the earliest day in order to preserve and maintain the interest and welfare of the Church, and, believing that Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger from his position and vast Church experience would bring about harmony in feeling and action; and would thereby restore the desired Christian unity which should always prevail among the membership, and would signally promote the growth and prosperity of the Church, we earnestly and sincerely pray you to hold an election at as early a day as practicable for the Rev. Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger as pastor of our Church."

The call was tendered in due time, and Dr. Bomberger accepted, taking charge of the congregation on April 1, 1870. This arrangement secured two results that were especially acceptable to Dr. Bomberger: It provided in part the means of living, and it opened the way for him to continue in pastoral

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work.

Willing to accept whatever issue might be in store, he stood ready to follow the path of duty according to God's purpose as this became clear to him. The people were already calling the institution "Dr. Bomberger's College," and not without reason. His position in the institution as its head was as much a logical necessity as was the establishment of the college itself. No record of his formal acceptance was ever made in the minutes of the Board, but from this time forth his relation as president is assumed, and along with it the professorship of "Moral and Mental Philosophy and Evidences of Christianity," as was proposed at the time of his election.

Meanwhile the work of perfecting the organization of the college went forward. The disinclination of Adam H. Fetterolf, A.M., principal of Freeland Seminary, to continue as head of the old school, which was now to become the academic department of the college, precipitated the question of manning the faculty. Consequently this became the chief item of business at a special meeting of the directors on February 10, 1870. The attempt was wisely made to preserve as close a relation as possible with the institution to whose estate the college succeeded. Thus the Rev. Abraham Hunsicker, to whom Freeland Seminary owed its existence, was made a member of the new board. The connecting link in the faculty was Professor J. Shelly Weinberger, A.M., who had been instructor in ancient and modern languages in the Seminary and who now became "Ad-

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junct Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages" in the college. A Yale man of '59, being at the time thirty-eight years of age, and having had ten years' experience as a teacher in the school, Professor Weinberger was chosen at once for the chair of the classics in the new faculty. His complete familiarity with the place, his wide acquaintance among the constituents of the old school, his characteristic enthusiasm for progress and his unrestrained loyalty to whatever cause he chose to espouse made him a valuable associate to Dr. Bomberger in the work of setting up and starting the college.

To a position ranking above that of Professor Weinberger, however, the board elected an older man who was both a teacher and a minister of the Reformed Church, the Rev. Henry William Super, A.M., who was made "Vice President and Professor of Mathematics, Mechanics, the Harmony of Science and Revealed Religion, etc." Professor Super, now forty-six years of age, was a graduate of Marshall College and the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, where he spent seven years as a student in the earlier days of Doctors Nevin and Schaff. For some years he had been in the active ministry, serving for a time the Waynesboro charge, a former field of Dr. Bomberger; but, having a physical constitution unsuited to the rigors of the pastoral life and having a natural predilection for teaching, he later accepted a position as instructor in mathematics in the Keystone State Normal School at Kutztown, Pennsylvania. He, therefore, brought to Ursinus College

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qualifications and experience which especially fitted him for holding up the hands of his chief both in the college and in the church.

Another helpful aid in setting up the college and in the guidance of its affairs for a number of years afterward was Dr. J. Warrenne Sunderland, a trained educator, who was Dr. Bomberger's senior by three years. This man, who at the time was principal of Pennsylvania Female College, a flourishing institution founded, as was Freeland Seminary, by Abraham Hunsicker, and located in the same village, possessed a knowledge of educational institutions and of the technique of college administration which made him an excellent adviser. He was graduated from Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1836. For nearly twelve years he had been a college professor in McKendree College, in Illinois, and in Kemper College, in Missouri. He had just entered upon a position in what is now Washington University, at St. Louis, when, in 1848, he came east and associated himself with Abraham Hunsicker in the educational work at Freeland. Dr. Sunderland was both a director and a member of the faculty from the very beginning of the new institution. As director he lent valuable aid in framing the charter. He also prepared the by-laws for the institution. As a member of the faculty he took charge of the chair of Natural Sciences, and conducted the work of this department for five years.

Another professor who took major rank in the original faculty was the Rev. John Van Haagen,

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A.M., a brother of Anthony Van Haagen, a member of the Board of Directors. He had been educated at Mercersburg, and had subsequently studied in Germany. After some correspondence with Dr. Bomberger, he accepted the professorship of the "German Language and Literature, History, the History and Philosophy of Language, etc."

This coterie of scholarly and experienced men deservedly commanded respect and confidence. They took up their labors together with enthusiasm and set the gauge for serious work and high standards of scholarship from the beginning. While Dr. Bomberger himself had not previously taught in college class rooms except as an instructor while pursuing his theological course at Mercersburg and possibly still earlier at York, nevertheless he was at no time in his career out of touch with college work. In organizing the new college he was not without more or less intimate knowledge of the ways of similar institutions elsewhere. In the first place, there were the recollections of the setting up of old Marshall, in which, as the first and only senior in the initial year, he took peculiar part as a student. During the nine years of his pastorate in Easton, he undoubtedly became quite familiar with Lafayette College, and, as a director of Franklin and Marshall College from 1853 until 1869, when he became the founder of Ursinus, he had full knowledge of that institution. As a long time resident of Philadelphia, he doubtless knew very well the ways and workings of the University of Pennsylvania.

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Thus it becomes apparent that the men who stood for the educational work in the new college were not novices. The early catalogues bear witness to this fact. There is nothing amateurish in their composition or appearance, a single exception being, perhaps, a reference to the students residing in the college dormitories as "inmates." A notable addition to the faculty was made in 1872 by the election of Samuel Vernon Ruby, Esq., A.M., as "Professor of Natural Sciences and Belles Lettres." In the latter capacity especially Professor Ruby rendered valuable service in helping to edit the publications of the college.

It is stated by persons who were students in the institution in the early days, that Dr. Bomberger was relieved of much routine by other members of the faculty. Several of the professors were unmarried and lived among the students in the college buildings. Their influence was felt directly in the dormitories and the refectory as well as in the classrooms. The somewhat rigorous regime to which professors and students alike were subject is indicated in the following sketch from the pen of Dr. Bomberger in the Ursinus College *Reportory*:

"MONDAY IN URSINUS COLLEGE.

"Believing that it will be gratifying to our numerous patrons, who have sons and relatives in Ursinus, and to the still larger number of friends who take a lively interest in the institution, we shall attempt a pencil sketch of a day's doings in the

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school. The first day of the working week is selected, as being a fair specimen of what takes place on all the others, except Saturday, when, according to general custom, there are no recitations or lectures.

"We start, then, with 5.30 A. M., on Monday, when the large bell rings, rousing the inmates of the building from their slumbers, and summoning them to preparation for the work of the day and week. To new-comers, the loud, clear peals of the early bell are at first quite startling. In most cases, unused to such sounds at that hour, when, during the fall and winter months, it is still dark, they leap at a bound from their couches, and, half-scared, hurry through their preparations for breakfast. Soon, however, the ear becomes accustomed to the sound, and the sleeper wakens slowly to the call, rises reluctantly from his rest, and barely manages to reach the dining-hall before 'the door is shut.'

"At 6 A. M. the steward's bell rings for breakfast. All the students in the house meet in the large recitation-room, and at the tap of a small desk-bell pass, bench after bench, in due order to the dining-hall. Each boarder has his proper place. At present two long tables accommodate them, by a little close packing. One of the professors, residing in the building, occupies a seat at the head, another at the foot of each table, so far as they may be said to have a head or foot. About twenty minutes are occupied at the meal. When all have finished, they are dismissed in order, by a stroke of the tap-bell.

"Then follows an hour of study in their respective rooms. From half past seven until the time for morning prayer and roll-call, they are at liberty for recreation. If the weather allows, this time is mostly given to walking, base ball, or some other amusement involving bodily exercise and the exer-

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cise of the respiratory and vocal organs in mirthful ways.

“At 8.45 A. M. the large bell again rings, summoning professors and students to the large recitation-room (now yet used as a chapel) for morning prayer and roll-call. After calling the roll, a chapter is read from the Bible, a hymn sung, and prayer offered. These devotions are conducted in strict accordance with the simple usage of the Reformed Church. Any requisite statements or announcements are then made by the faculty.

“The students are then dismissed in classes, by a stroke of the tap-bell, to their respective recitation-rooms in the following order: first bell, the Theological Class, and Prof. Super’s class in Elementary Algebra. Second tap, Prof. Weinberger’s, the Junior Class (Agamemnon, or Tacitus’ Agricola). Third tap, Prof. Van Haagen’s, Freshman Class (Latin). Fourth tap, Prof. Bowers, a Preparatory Class, Reading. Fifth tap, Prof. Snyder’s, Reading and Orthography. The Theological Class is occupied an hour and a half, the other classes three-fourths of an hour.

“At 9.45 a large tap-bell strikes the second recitation hour, and at 10.30 sounds the signal for the third series of recitations.

“At 12 M. the large bell announces the close of the morning’s work, and the boarders meet in the chapel, ready for the call of the steward’s bell to dinner.

“After dinner follows an hour of recreation and exercise for those who choose to take it. At 1.30 the afternoon’s work begins, the large bell again summoning all the students into the chapel, to be dismissed to their several class rooms, in the order already indicated.

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"At 4 P. M. the large bell rings for roll-call and evening prayer, with which the public duties of the day close.

"In addition to the above, Prof. Sunderland attends to Chemistry.

"Immediately after evening prayer the steward's signal calls to supper. This over, the students have about two hours for exercise and recreation.

"At 7 P. M. the large bell calls all the boarding students into their rooms for study, for which they are allowed time until 9.30, when the large bell rings the signal to prepare for bed; and by 10 o'clock all lights are required to be extinguished."

The first catalogue announces that the discipline of the institution "will be Christian and parental." After stating that every proper liberty will be allowed and no arbitrary or oppressive restraints imposed, it is declared that "violations of decorum will incur prompt and decisive penalties." A penalty not infrequently imposed by the faculty was that of a public reprimand by the President. In administering this the offender was bidden to stand up at the close of the chapel service, whereupon Dr. Bomberger, with withering severity, pictured to him the viciousness of his offense, and with equal earnestness counseled him to mend his ways. Few forms of punishment were regarded as more severe than the public reprimand by the President. In his annual report to the Directors at the end of the third year, the President stated that two students had been expelled for "contumacious insubordination," a penalty inflicted, as he said, "with reluctance and sorrow."

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During the first five years in Collegeville, or Freeland, as the village was then called, Dr. Bomberger and his family occupied the old-fashioned homestead directly opposite the college grounds, long since the home of Captain H. H. Fetterolf. To provide an office he erected a frame building in the yard west of the main structure. Here, according to the minutes of the Board, the meetings of the Executive Committee were held regularly after the spring of 1870. The quiet and charm of the country, after many years spent in the city, lent enjoyment to his new home. His descriptions of the locality which appeared in the catalogues and circulars, we may well believe, were inspired by a genuine love for the place.

On the last day of January, 1876, he reported to the Executive Committee of the Board that he had purchased of Abram Grater a lot of ground opposite the college, and asked the members for counsel as to the erection of a house. The Secretary's minute states that they "encouraged the President to build a good house suitable for the President of the college; and said that they thought the college would buy the property on equitable terms if ever it would be for sale." Then was built "Zwingli Hof," not only the pleasant home of the President, but the hospitable lodge of many a visitor as well. Perhaps no minister in the Reformed Church had a larger circle of friends, and to all of these "Zwingli Hof" bade hearty welcome. Here his study found place within the walls of the home, although the house was

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so planned as to give the large room designed for this purpose a degree of privacy. The premises were acquired by the college after his death, in accordance with the belief expressed by his colleagues when he first sought their advice with regard to building. The house, afterwards enlarged and slightly remodeled, is now used for college purposes and is known as "Shreiner Hall."

About the same time, perhaps a year or two later, Dr. Super also built a beautiful home a few rods distant on a lot adjoining the grounds of Trinity Church. Into this new home he brought his bride, Mrs. Sarah H. Detwiler, of Trappe, and henceforth the home of the Vice President shared with that of the President in entertaining students, returning alumni and visiting friends. These premises, by bequest of Dr. Super, became the property of the college at the death of Mrs. Super in 1914, and this place is now the home of the President.

The visits of ministerial brethren were usually paid back by Dr. Bomberger on their own invitation, for nearly every Sunday found him in some distant parish, called thither to assist in the ministrations of the Lord's Day before always eager audiences. There were probably no churches that were sympathetic with Ursinus College in which his distinguished form was not familiar. Then, too, there were the trips of vacation times. The summer numbers of the Reformed Church *Monthly* are rich in narratives of journeys hither and thither, now

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into the manors of the Lehigh, now into the Lebanon Valley, this week to York County and next week into the ever welcoming Cumberland Valley—and the accounts never fail to tell of the “substantial interest” shown in Ursinus College.

The financial management of the college gave the President no little concern. There was not a year during his administration of twenty years in which this problem was not prominent among the concerns of his office. And no wonder! The financial history of Ursinus College constitutes a magnificent monument to faith and endurance on the part of the men who assumed the responsibility for the institution. Only the supreme faith in Providence which abounded in the heart of the heroic founder could have enabled him to meet successfully the disappointment and discouragement which all too frequently attended his worthy endeavors, and which would have blasted the hopes of a less courageous leader.

Reference has been made to the uncertainty of support with respect to salary which he was obliged to face on accepting the presidency. But this was only a minor part of the hazard he was assuming. He had already witnessed the founding of the institution, and well knew that, contrary to the avowed policy for starting institutions of higher learning, Ursinus was founded on debt instead of on endowment. Of the \$20,000 offered as the purchase price of the Freeland Seminary property, only \$2,500 cash

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was specified, and this was not really paid until the first day of April following the date of agreement, February 3, 1869. However, the directors addressed themselves to the financial problem with due courage and promptness. Steps were taken without hesitation to provide an endowment of the presidency amounting to \$40,000, and a movement was organized to provide \$50,000, through the sale of stock, to be used in the purchase of the property and the erection of additional buildings. The original Finance Committee of the Board of Directors consisted of John Wiest, A. W. Myers and A. Kline, who, backed by personal means, offered welcome encouragement to the cause. The subscriptions made by these and others to the endowment fund gave inspiration to the movement and warranted the belief that the new institution would be taken care of financially from the beginning.

The details of financial failures and lost fortunes which constituted the bitter experience of many prosperous citizens in the "Panic of '73" need not be related here. It was a lamentable fact, however, that among those whose fortunes were drawn down in this maelstrom were those of some of Dr. Bomberger's most ardent supporters, and ere these subscriptions were paid, the substance out of which the original endowment of the college was to have been gathered had dissolved into nothingness. The men who had entered the Board at the beginning with strongest assurances of financial aid to the college became less and less prominent in its counsels,

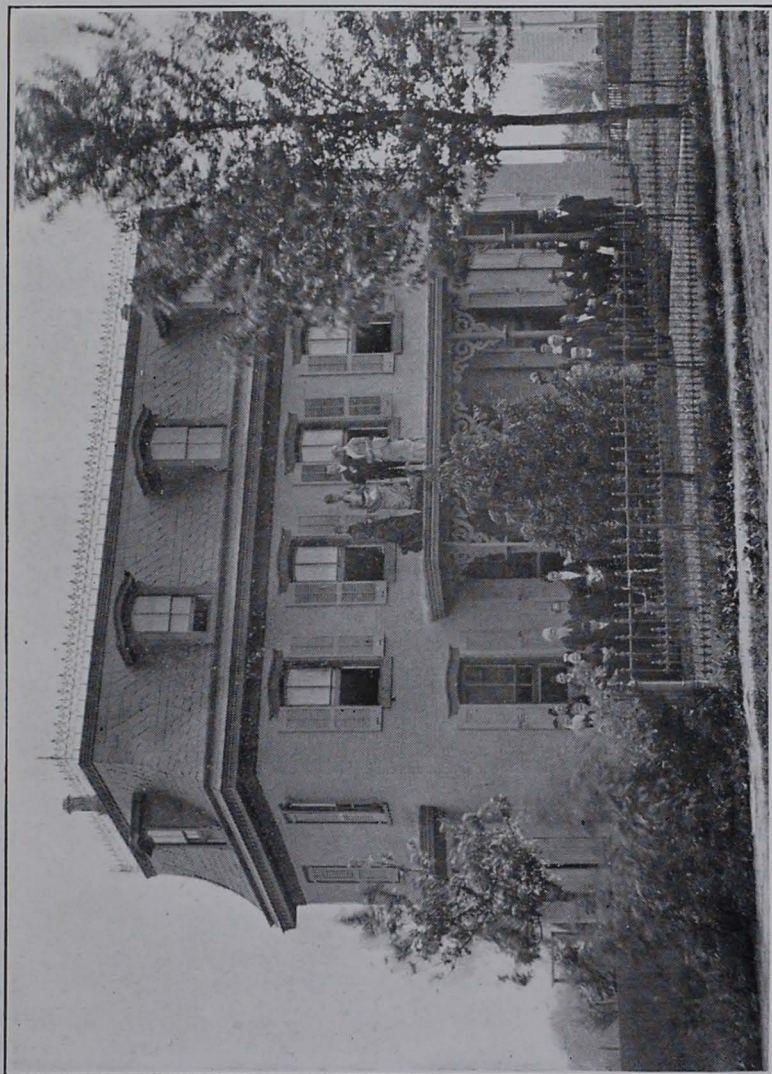
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and ere five years had passed they had dropped out entirely. Meanwhile, with undaunted zeal, the President and his associates, reconciled to the necessary hardships and sacrifices, turned to the people of the church, whose devotion to the cause of which the college had now become the exponent had given much encouragement in the work of the institution. The "irregularity" of the college from the point of view of the High Churchmen made support through the regular channels of benevolence in the church impracticable, so that the securing of funds for the maintenance of Ursinus College among the churches, however sympathetic the latter might have been, became doubly difficult. Pastors had not only to raise the money among their people, but in classes and synods, had to meet the charge of diverting these moneys into extra-ecclesiastical channels, the college not being under synodical or classical control. Technicalities, however, in these instances, as in all cases in which burning issues are at stake, were with more or less hardship set aside, and the task of maintaining the college through the private gifts of church members and the offerings of congregations was carried on. In order to give encouragement and a degree of system to this work the pastors of congregations affiliated with the college banded themselves together in the Ursinus Union. The annual meeting of the Union on commencement occasions had almost as much significance for a time as the meetings of the Directors. The fact that the college had definitely faced about and now looked not to a

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few benefactors, but to the churches for support, is seen in the change of personnel in the Finance Committee of the Board. Whereas this committee was originally composed of three supposedly prosperous laymen, it was now made up of prominent ministers. In 1875 this committee was constituted by the appointment of the Rev. George Wolff, D.D., the Rev. H. H. W. Hibshman and Dr. Bomberger. One of the results of this appeal to the churches for maintenance was that the college became a center of interest for great numbers of people of the Reformed Church. The church also came to assume a sort of proprietary interest in the institution. It was no longer called "Dr. Bomberger's College," but was given a place in the list of institutions of the Reformed Church.

In 1871 the problem of providing more room had to be met. The alternative of purchasing the adjoining premises of James Palmer or of erecting a new building was met by the choice of the latter. In this matter Abraham Hunsicker took the initiative. He moved that the college "build a wing adjoining the east end of the college, the same to be built of stone, four stories in height, corresponding in position with the other wing." The last distinctive service which he performed in behalf of the cause of education in Freeland, to which he had devoted much of his energy and means, was the preparation of the plans for this building. He died on January 12, 1872. The building was dedicated on October 1, 1872. The money for meeting the



"ZWINGLI HOF"

Home in Collegeville, Commencement Day, 1877

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cost of its erection was raised largely by Henry Leonard ("The Fisherman"), who had been the successful financial agent of Heidelberg College in Ohio. His services were deeply appreciated by Dr. Bomberger, and the Board voted that it had "heard with emotions of thankfulness to the Lord" of the success of its "esteemed agent, Henry Leonard, Esq."

While the Board was fortunate in its choice of a Secretary in the person of Henry W. Kratz, Esq., due to whose care the early records of the institution were kept with scrupulous accuracy, the corporation was not so highly favored with reference to the other offices. A number of persons were elected to the presidency of the Board and also to the treasurer'ship before these offices became efficiently filled. This was accomplished at the annual meeting in 1873, when Henry W. Kratz was elected President, and Frank M. Hobson, Secretary and Treasurer. From this time forth these officials were always in their places when meetings were held. They assumed responsibilities freely, and attended to duties laid upon them with excellent judgment and commendable promptness. In these officials of the Board the President had faithful support and ready assistance through all the succeeding years of his administration. And yet as business men they were much occupied with their own affairs.

After the first five years of the institution's history there seems to have been for a time a falling off in interest. The financial support became more slender and the number of students grew less.

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In November, 1879, a proposal was made by persons interested in Palatinate College, at Myerstown, Pa., that a union be effected between Ursinus College and that institution. The proposal was given consideration but finally declined on recommendation of Dr. Bomberger. The effect of the discussion was bad, both within the institution and without. Reports were put in circulation that Ursinus College was to be discontinued, and prospective students turned their faces in other directions. The whole situation was full of discouragement, and steps looking toward retrenchment, some of which were painful to take, were put forward by the Board. On the other hand, however, there came about a better safeguarding of the institution's financial interests. An effort was made to collect moneys remitted to former students as beneficiaries who had gone into secular pursuits, and greater care was exercised in admitting beneficiary students to make sure that funds for their support should be provided.

In 1880 Dr. Bomberger was enabled to begin his annual report with an expression of thanksgiving for "revived prosperity of the school in the vitally important respect of an increased number of students." The receipts from tuition had increased fifty per cent. over those of the previous year. However, there was great need of larger income through gifts, and, after fruitless efforts on the part of the Board to procure the services of a financial agent, action was finally taken at the annual meeting in 1883 asking Dr. Bomberger himself to lay aside his other

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work and take the field in a campaign to raise a sufficient sum to clear the college of all indebtedness "and as much more as possible." He acceded to the request, but having been chosen by the General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States as a delegate to the meeting of the Reformed and Presbyterian Alliance at Belfast, Ireland, the Directors granted him leave to attend. He was thus absent on a trip to Europe during several months in the year 1884. This visit abroad gave him not only a well-earned vacation, but filled him with renewed energy for the resumption of his labors on his return. Prior to his leaving he had raised nearly \$9,000, and in his absence two things had happened which were of signal importance in promoting the welfare of the college—Robert Patterson had made a donation of \$5,000, and Henry T. Spangler had been made a member of the Board.

Mr. Patterson, an elder in Trinity Reformed Church, Philadelphia, was elected a member of the Board in 1887. He made the first donation of which recognition was made by the Board in June, 1883, when he gave \$500 to repair and paint the buildings. That he should follow the next year with a gift of \$5,000 was gratifying indeed. Due to his benevolent action the college premises from this time forth were kept in excellent order.

Henry T. Spangler, who was graduated in 1873, had become pastor of St. Luke's Reformed Church at Trappe on April 1, 1884. His election to the Board of Directors of the college took place on

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June 25th following, at which time he was also made a member of the Executive Committee. Within a year he was appointed on a committee with Frank M. Hobson to carry out the program undertaken by Dr. Bomberger to wipe out the debt and accumulate a working fund for the college. A month later this committee had already in hand new subscriptions amounting to over \$3,000. At the next commencement Robert Patterson offered another gift of \$5,000, provided \$5,000 additional would be raised among the friends of the college. The offer was promptly accepted, and by September following Mr. Spangler reported \$6,000 raised with which to meet the condition of Mr. Patterson's gift. Thus the story of the college's better days runs on. A generous benefactor on the one hand offering large personal gifts, and a director who had the energy and ability to draw contributions from the people, on the other, constituted a combination within the Board which not only brought substantial help in the financial affairs, but inspired new life and ambition throughout the whole institution.

Thus did the President now feel the financial burdens lifting from his shoulders. Taking account of the help now coming, and looking back over the many hard experiences to the days of the beginnings which were bright with hopes of material support, he could count full fifteen years which had to be passed in sacrifice and toil before those hopes, so soon blasted, could be made good in the generous deeds of other men. But now, with the hostility

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within the church largely allayed, and the college thriving as never before, he was relatively free from the burdening care which no night's rest nor any day's vacation could remove through all the busy years. His greatest gratification of all came at commencement in June, 1890, when his now bosom friend, Mr. Patterson, made his unprecedented offer of \$25,000 toward a new administration building for the college. Thus the history of his administration on the financial side reached its successful climax.

As an educator, J. H. A. Bomberger was in theory and in practice a "doctor of the old school," an appellation which he doubtless would have accepted with satisfaction. As a defender of a faith already defined, he relied much on authority, although he was an original thinker. Consequently his mental processes were for the most part deductive. His mind was familiar with the forms of logic. Like the Schoolmen of old he could argue with wonderful effect. Quick to detect a fallacy and skilled in the art of reasoning, he was a conspicuous instance of an *a priori* thinker. This characteristic practically fixed his position as an educator. The genetic psychology was uncongenial to his type of mind. He proceeded with the work of education under the view that students should be "moulded" rather than that they should be permitted to "grow." To him, education was a formative process in which the function of the teacher received especial emphasis. However, he did not overlook the facts of growth and of self-

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activity on the part of youth. His nearest approach to a discussion of this matter is perhaps the following:

The first thing to be done evidently is, to prepare the mind itself for the effective acquisition of knowledge, and the heart for the proper exercise of its affections. Spiritual powers no less than those of the body, must be drawn out and trained to healthy activity. And to stir them up and lead them on in such activity demands the teacher's primary attention and often his highest skill. The work of every young man's education, intellectually considered, must start with inciting and teaching him to think. To crowd his memory with facts and rules in geography, grammar, arithmetic, history, the mathematics, the languages, may indeed satisfy him for the time, and deceive others by a display of mechanical scholarship; but all is at the expense of his true education.

The master-mechanic never puts a beginner to the more difficult and delicate work of the trade. He must first learn to use his hands and manage his tools. The teacher of music keeps his young pupil at simple exercises until he has been taught the elements of the art, and has acquired, by practice, the proper use of his fingers in touching or striking the chord or key. And so the true instructor in the usual branches of a literary education devotes his first and chief attention to drawing out those faculties which are as the hands and fingers of the mind in apprehending what is to be learned.

He sets forth with characteristic clearness the older and more strictly disciplinary college course in contrast with the newer vocational type of cur-

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riculum. The latter was not then conceived in the radical form in which it is being advocated to-day. Yet his discussion of the merits of the two systems written almost fifty years ago, sounds like a present day treatise:

Two methods, chiefly, are advocated. One, by far the older of the two and prevalent in most of the long established European and American colleges, rests upon the principle that a certain course, embracing what are deemed needful proportions of the ancient Greek and Roman Classics, the Mathematics, the Physical and Psychical Sciences, must be closely adhered to and pursued by every student from the beginning to the end of an academic course. This method is not only regarded as being the most liberal, and suited to produce the largest amount of erudition and general culture. It is also claimed for it, that it is the best calculated to secure the fullest development of all the mental powers, and to form the most vigorous and richly furnished scholarship. Starting the pupil with the elements of language, and the first principles of the exact sciences, it is believed that under this method he receives the most encouraging stimulus to study, and the most wholesome discipline in the prosecution of his studies.

The method has, in all main features, both the advantage and the disadvantage of being an old one. There has, therefore, been abundant opportunity of proving its merits, or of exposing its defects. Open for generations to criticism, and challenging whatever tests might be applied to it, it is not surprising that censors should be found who have tried and condemned it. It seems especially in keeping with the literary characteristics of the present period and our own country, that a scheme so ancient and staid

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should be subjected to renewed investigation, and this in no friendly spirit. In the judgment of not a few warm friends of educational progress, this investigation has resulted in the condemnation of the old method, as superannuated, and incompetent to meet the wants of the age. It might train literary giants a century or two ago, but the present times do not want such prodigies, it is contended; they require men of great *practical* sense and power. Of what value the learning which can write or speak Greek like that of Plato and Demosthenes, or Latin like that of Cicero and Livy, when the time required to acquire such power might be much more advantageously employed in the study of some *useful science*. To this the friends of the traditional method reply, and it must be confessed with considerable force, that their system can appeal to its fruits in vindication of its superior claims. It is not conceded that the old course is stiff and rigid in an objectionable sense; or that, so far as it is at all successful in its line, it produces only book-worms, men of great learning, but unfitted for practical work. From the past it cites, as illustrations of its power to lead each generation in every form of progressive civilization, numerous achievements in the various spheres of practical life. Nay, it retorts upon some of its most zealous opponents, by demanding of them where they acquired the skill which they display in their controversy with them, and where their great masters of what are styled the more useful sciences learned their first lessons, and received their training. It urges the injustice of using the weapons forged in its shops against the method by which such effective armor has been produced, and complains that children, whose intellectual power proves them to have been fed on the choicest aliment, and reared to a most vigorous maturity, should denounce the system

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under which such strength of mental muscle and sinew has been developed.

The other method starts upon the assumption that *practical utility for immediate work* is the true end of education. Hence the ancient classics are discarded as dead languages and unworthy of being disinterred, excepting perhaps to gratify the antiquarian's taste, or to furnish employment to some literary geologist. Time on them is wasted and the acquisition of those languages costs far more toil than they are worth. For mental discipline the modern languages, German or French, serve the purpose fully as well as Greek and Latin, and when learned supply the student with what may be turned to profitable account. The natural sciences, physics and the mathematics, it is contended, will more effectually improve the mental faculties and equip young men for the proper work of life, than the studies which they have been usually required to pursue. Trained by these they can be prepared at once to go forth and engage in some useful and lucrative avocation.

It would be unjust to charge this plan with utterly ignoring the importance of disciplining the mental powers as a proper part of education. But its advocates contend that this object may be quite as fully secured by their method as by the other. How false or correct their theory is, remains to be seen. As yet it is in its first trial. And although it may seem to run counter to well established principles, time and experience may justify the revolution it is striving to accomplish in the sphere of education. That its utilitarian and seemingly materialistic features should excite suspicion against it, is altogether natural. The present tendency to level all things to the plane of secular usefulness and material interests, undoubtedly seems rather to

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need curbing than the stimulus of educational appliances to encourage and urge it on. And if our higher schools lower the aim and standard of education to suit the taste and temper of popular sentiment, how shall the most unhappy results be prevented?

But without following this point further, time forbidding it, we may say that our preferences are for the older theory and its method. Some modifications of it may of course be allowed, in accommodation to individual circumstances. At the same time we adhere to the old doctrine, that the first purpose of all academic education is thorough mental culture, the development of the latent strength of the faculties to disciplined activity. And we are of the old persuasion, that, in the main, the course and method which has usually been pursued, is the best for the attainment of this end.

Knowing the exalted position which he took respecting the matter of personal religion, special interest will be felt in what he had to say on the influences which the college should exert in this direction.

In the prospectus of Ursinus College, issued in 1869, he states that "the institution owes its establishment to the lively interest felt by its founders in the advancement of education in the higher branches of learning, *upon the basis of Christianity, and with chief regard to religious ends.*" He further emphasises the fact that it is the desire of the founders to secure these ends in full harmony with evangelical Protestant principles. In his inaugural address, delivered at the opening of the college on September

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6, 1870, from which the above excerpts are taken, he sets forth at length his view of the original and inherent character of the religious nature in human life:

The moral and religious nature of man needs as earnest and diligent cultivation as his intellectual powers. Indeed where this is neglected there can be no true mental culture. The neglect will prove an insuperable hindrance in the way of thorough intellectual development, and will lead to a warped and ungainly result. For a wholly exclusive development of the rational powers, considered apart from morality and religion, and unaffected by moral (or immoral) and religious (or irreligious) influences, is hardly conceivable. The eye is not more susceptible of light, nor the ear of sound, than the soul of man is of moral and religious facts, truths and principles.

This susceptibility or capacity is as innate in the mind as any of its other capacities, and pertains to all its faculties, is a rational quality of each. In being endowed with reason and personality, or a personal intelligent will, man was necessarily invested with a moral and religious nature, and placed under the responsibilities, divine and human, involved in the possession of such a nature. The inner activities of such a nature will accordingly reach after things moral and religious, after what may serve to satisfy this element of its being. And its longings in this respect must be met by the nurturing influences and aids of education, or they will go wandering in false and dangerous directions. Think, feel and act truly or falsely, wisely or foolishly, man will. The moral and religious elements in him cannot be separated, abstractly or practically, from what is as natural to him as thought and as unavoidable as observation.

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To state the case of religious education is not difficult, but to propose effective methods by which education can be conducted with chief reference to religious ends is another matter. In contemplating this problem, Dr. Bomberger laid down two principles: First, the possession of a moral and religious nature is a sure guaranty of the capacity of man for high and noble culture; and Secondly, a system of education fully conformed to man's nature as religious and moral, surrounds the student with an atmosphere that is exhilarating to the intellect as well as sanctifying to the heart. "Such a system consistently carried out," he says, "will constantly inspire the student yielding to its benign influence with motives to diligence and faithfulness which will make duty easy and mental efforts a delight." Thus, with foresight as to the probable failure of the system to achieve fully such beneficent ends, he wisely conditions its success on the attitude and receptivity of the student. And so education in religion and morals, as in memory and reason, succeeds only as the student yields to the educative process itself. He had no charmed panacea for wickedness. The work of the teacher in this direction he stated briefly, thus:

This part of the educator's work, is not to be something superseded only, in a formal way, to other parts of a prescribed course of study. It must be judiciously blended with every branch of learning. And whatever may be done in a special, separate way, must simply serve to promote and confirm the general influence thus constantly operative. Pupils

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will then find it impossible to escape that influence, and will often be found, unconsciously almost, imbibing wholesome, moral principles, and sound religious convictions, which mould their character, and fit them for the highest usefulness for life.

The students of the institution did not come under the President's instruction until in the junior year and in the theological department. Here he employed the lecture and quiz method supplemented by assignments in text books and outside reading. The work of his classroom was conducted with a degree of dignity that possibly amounted to austerity for the more diffident students. There was a seriousness in the Professor which brooked no horseplay. His instruction was often "over the heads" of some students, to whom, of course, his courses seemed difficult. To these, however, he showed considerate mercy in assigning marks and recommending promotions. The younger students had little opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the President, and yet his influence along moral and religious lines was strongly felt throughout the institution. The pervasiveness and intensity of this influence is touchingly referred to in a student editorial which appeared in the *Bulletin* after his death:

For twenty years Dr. Bomberger stood as a tower of strength at the head of Ursinus College. To the public he was the most conspicuous exponent of its life and character. In the internal work of the institution he was equally impressive. His superior intellectual endowments, his generous sympathies,

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and his graces of manner enabled him to fill a large place with dignity and power.

His response to the exactions of daily duty was singularly faithful. At all seasons and under all circumstances his familiar figure would be seen emerging from Zwingli-hof at the first tap of the morning call to prayers, and with rapid step hastening up the avenue, first to escort the young ladies to their place in chapel, and then, with a fervor and unction which few men possess, to lead the devotions. His devout reading of the inspired Word, his sonorous voice in song, and the warmth and inspiration of his prayers seemed to have become a part of the very life of the institution. One could not have imagined in advance how the college could gather for worship and repair to its daily tasks without his leadership.

GEORGE LESLIE OMWAKE.

CHAPTER IX

THEOLOGICAL VIEWS

Dr. Bomberger was a lifelong student of theology. In his large library were found the works of the great theologians of Germany, as well as many of the writings of the English theologians. His reading in theology and church literature was extensive, as is shown by the numerous extended articles from his pen. His own theological views are found in his writings, especially his books and pamphlets, and also in his lectures to his students in the Theological Department of Ursinus College. The following bibliography, beginning with his address at the commencement of Marshall College in 1837 and ending with the address delivered at the dedication of the new building of Heidelberg College in 1886, gives a complete list of his published works:

1. The Moral Liberty of Man. Valedictory address, 1837.
2. Spiritual Libertinism. An address before the Alumni Association of Marshall College, 1846. A pamphlet.
3. The Rule of Faith. Two articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1849.

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4. The Old Palatinate Liturgy. Three articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, being a translation of a large part of that liturgy together with observations, 1851.
5. Our National Religion. An article in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1851.
6. The Faithful Pastor's Monument. A sermon on the death of the Rev. Thomas Pomp, of Easton. Published in Philadelphia, 1852.
7. The Patriot's Claims to the Christian Citizen's Gratitude. A sermon, 1852.
8. Zwingli as a Commentator. Two articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1852.
9. Dr. Nevin and His Antagonists. Two articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1853.
10. Zwingli at Berne. An article in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1854.
11. "Our Position." A sermon before the Alumni Association of the Theological Seminary, published in Philadelphia, 1856.
12. The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia. A condensed translation of Herzog's encyclopædia. (Dr. Bomberger, as editor, had associated with him a number of scholars who translated many of the articles.) Two volumes, Philadelphia, 1858.
13. The Atlantic Telegraph in Its Religious Aspect. Philadelphia, 1858.
14. Infant Salvation in Its Relation to Infant Depravity, Infant Regeneration and Infant Baptism. Philadelphia, 1859.

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15. Introduction to the Study of Philosophy. An article in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1859.
16. The Church and Charitable Institutions. An article in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1860.
17. Five Years' Ministry in the German Reformed Church, Race Street, Philadelphia, 1860.
18. Kurtz's Handbook of Church History. Edited and largely translated. Two volumes, Philadelphia, 1860.
19. Articles in the *Reformed Church Messenger* against the use of the Provisional Liturgy, 1861 and later.
20. The Fortunes of the Heidelberg Catechism in the United States. A paper at the Tercentenary Convention in Philadelphia, January, 1863.
21. A Discourse Commemorative of the Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, D.D. Published in Philadelphia, 1866.
22. The Revised Liturgy. A pamphlet. Philadelphia, 1867.
23. Reformed, Not Ritualistic. A pamphlet. Philadelphia, 1867.
24. Prayers and Hymns for the Sunday School. Philadelphia, 1867.
25. Inaugural Address, Ursinus College, 1870.
26. Editor of the *Reformed Church Monthly*, 1868-1876.
27. Editor of the *Reformed Church Monthly Department* in the *Christian World*, 1877-1879. The same was continued under the heading, The Eastern Department, until December 14, 1882.

28. Address delivered at the dedication of Heidelberg College, June 16, 1886.

The publications that best reveal the theological views of Dr. Bomberger are (1) his articles in the *Mercersburg Review*, 1849-59, and (2) his articles and pamphlets on the Liturgical Controversy, and his articles in the *Reformed Church Monthly* and the *Christian World*, 1861-90. His theological position in the earlier period needs careful study. In the later period his views were distinctly pronounced: he was a Low Churchman and an opponent of Mercersburg Theology.

To understand the earlier period, it must be remembered that Dr. Bomberger entered the ministry before the Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D., the founder of Mercersburg Theology, had entered the Reformed Church from the Presbyterian. The latter did not show his divergences from the Old Reformed faith until 1844 and later. Dr. Bomberger's ministry began in 1838. His theological professor was the Rev. F. A. Rauch, Ph.D., whose theological position is to some extent revealed in his volume, "Sermons on the Inner Life." But Dr. Rauch knew nothing of the later Mercersburg Theology. As far as his sermons give any hint, his theology was of the simple evangelical type.

It becomes of great interest to see what was Dr. Bomberger's position when later Dr. Nevin formulated the system of theology which became known as Mercersburg Theology. At first Dr. Bomberger seems to have been greatly influenced by Dr.

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Nevin; in fact, he was his great defender when in 1853 he wrote his articles in the *Mercersburg Review* on "Dr. Nevin and His Antagonists." There he strongly defended him against the charges made by the Rev. J. F. Berg, D.D., and others. He takes up the charges one by one and answers them. These charges made against Dr. Nevin were that he maintained: (1) Tradition is co-ordinate with the Scriptures. (2) The denial of the right of private judgment. (3) The Romish doctrine of the Lord's Supper. (4) The objective power of baptism, or baptismal regeneration. (5) Justification by impartation instead of imputation; the person of Christ was tainted by sin.

There can be little question, from the tone of the articles, that Dr. Bomberger's sympathies were then strongly with Dr. Nevin. Another series of articles significant of his theological position at that time were his remarks on "The Old Palatinate Liturgy" as found in his last article on that subject in the *Mercersburg Review*. His remarks were so favorable to a liturgical service that in 1861, after he had begun to attack the Provisional Liturgy, Dr. Harbaugh charged him with inconsistency, because in 1851 he had been favorable to the liturgy, and in 1861 he was against it. The charge was also made that he had said in 1857, when the Provisional Liturgy was completed, that that liturgy was what the framers of the old Palatinate liturgy would have made it had they been living in our day; yet he afterward attacked this same liturgy. Dr. Bom-

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berger in reply to these criticisms made the statement that if he had ever said anything in favor of responses, baptismal regeneration and sacerdotalism, he did not mean to do so and now recalled such statements.

In regard to Dr. Bomberger's theological position covering the period from 1849 to 1859, perhaps the fairest statement to be made is this: Dr. Bomberger was in sympathy with Dr. Nevin at that time; but with this statement several qualifying remarks must be made. First of all, he was always a Protestant. He had no sympathy with Romanism or Romanizers. This is clearly shown by what he says in 1853 in his defense of Dr. Nevin in the article, "Dr. Nevin and His Antagonists":

"Unquestionably the German Reformed Church is bound by a most solemn moral guarantee to the evangelical Protestant church of the land to maintain inviolate the sacred treasure of truth, with which she believes herself entrusted and is acknowledged by others to be entrusted. By the holiest obligations is she pledged not to permit the acknowledged foundations of her faith to be moved or altered." "We think it must be manifest to all that so far from having given the least occasion for fear or suspicion, she (the Reformed Church) was permitting herself to be decoyed from 'the old paths and good ways' of evangelical Protestant orthodoxy. The true secret of any recent troubles which may for a season have disturbed her peace is to be found precisely in her firm refusal to be frightened or frowned out of those paths." "Let this proof of her firmness, maintained amid agitations of past trials, be ac-

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cepted as a pledge of what may always be confidently expected of this old branch of evangelical Protestantism in the future."

One who writes thus cannot but be a true Protestant, for there is no wavering in his words. He admitted later that he was mistaken in his judgment of Dr. Nevin when he wrote this, but he did not waver in his adherence to the Protestant faith as did Dr. Nevin in his "Early Christianity" and "Cyprian."

In his booklet "Our Position," which is a sermon preached before the Alumni Association of the Theological Seminary in 1856, he says, "Were we aught else than Protestants and evangelical Protestants, honesty and honor would forbid our continuance in that branch of the catholic church which, as a whole, has continued more firm and faithful than any other, in her adherence to the original principles and customs of the Protestant Church—we mean, of course, old-fashioned, genuine, well-tried Protestantism." While with Dr. Nevin, he was severe against Puritanism, he was, as we see, strictly Protestant.

Perhaps the best explanation of Dr. Bomberger's theological attitude may be given when it is remembered that there were two kinds of adherents of Dr. Nevin in those days,—extreme and conservative. The extremists were led by the Rev. Dr. Gans, who later went into the Roman Catholic Church, Rev. Mr. Hudson, who soon after left the Reformed ministry, and others. But there was also a more

conservative following which later found a leader in the Rev. Thomas G. Apple, D.D. This latter party was distinctly Protestant. The difference between the two types of followers of Nevin is shown in the election and the later passing by of Dr. Gans as Theological Professor. Dr. Gans was provisionally elected a theological professor at Mercersburg after the Tercentenary Celebration, in 1864, but when in 1869 the Eastern Synod was ready to elect another Professor of Theology, it passed by Dr. Gans, for by that time he had become too extreme for the church, and elected Dr. Thomas G. Apple. Dr. Bomberger then belonged to this conservative party, for he never swerved from his Protestantism as did the Rev. Dr. Nevin, who for a period of five years was uncertain about Protestantism, or like a number of followers of the latter who passed over to Rome.

It is also seen that at that time he was a mediating Nevinist,—that is, his state of mind was conciliatory. His aim seemed to be to reconcile Mercersburg theology with Old Reformed theology. In Germany there is always in each theological school a tendency to the right and also one to the left. So here, Dr. Gans went to the left and went Romeward; Dr. Bomberger went to the right and went Protestantward. This appears quite clearly in his book on "Infant Salvation and Baptism." The book had hardly been published when one critic, the Rev. N. Strassberger, called attention to the fact that Dr. Bomberger was diverging from Mercersburg theology. He especially criticized (July, 1860) Dr.

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Bomberger's statement in the book, that all infants were saved. Strassberger, with a strong High Church view of baptismal regeneration, asks, of what use was baptism if all were saved, even those that were not baptized. The truth is that Dr. Bomberger in that book tried to harmonize the Old Reformed view of baptism,—that the children of pious parents were born in the covenant and that baptism was the seal of that covenant,—with the newer Mercersburg view of baptismal regeneration. The Old Reformed view held that children were born in the covenant, while Mercersburg held that they were not in the covenant until baptism. The Old Reformed view held that the covenant existed before baptism; the Mercersburg theology, that the covenant was made at baptism. This book reveals that Dr. Bomberger as early as 1859 was diverging from the extreme views of Dr. Nevin. He thus reveals his irenic disposition in regard to Mercersburg theology by trying to harmonize it with the Old Reformed theology.

Another statement is necessary. It must be acknowledged that Dr. Bomberger changed his views between 1853 and 1860, but this only directs attention to the far more remarkable changes of theological position on the part of his principal antagonist, Dr. Nevin. The latter was first a Presbyterian, then he inclined to Catholicism, and toward the end of his life he leaned to Swedenborgianism. When he entered the Reformed Church in 1840 he was a New School Presbyterian. That was one reason why he

left the Presbyterian Church, for the Old School Presbyterians were "high in the saddle" at the Allegheny Theological Seminary where he had been teaching. His articles in the *Reformed Church Messenger* of 1841 on the Heidelberg Catechism revealed that he was an out-and-out Calvinist.* Yet later, after he had formulated the Mercersburg theology, he bitterly attacked that same Calvinism as "Puritanism." Again he was at first bitter against Rome, as is shown in his review of Berg's "Lectures on Romanism," in the *Messenger* in 1840.† And at first also he opposed baptismal regeneration, and the special presence of Christ's body in the elements at the Lord's Supper.‡ Yet later in his Mercersburg theology, he defended all these doctrines. Dr. Bomberger and Dr. Nevin both changed their views, but in opposite directions.

The same fact is true of another leader of the Mercersburg School—the Rev. Dr. E. V. Gerhart. Professor Gerhart, who was later the author of the dogmatics of the Mercersburg theology, was many years before, as Professor of theology at Heidelberg Theological Seminary, Tiffin, Ohio, 1850-1854, an anti-Nevinist. The Rev. Dr. Moses Kieffer told the Rev. Dr. J. H. Good that Dr. Gerhart had at that time considered the propriety of writing a book against Dr. Nevin's High Church views. Dr. Ger-

* See Dr. Good's *History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, pages 113-115.

† *Ibid.* page 115.

‡ *Ibid.* page 116.

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hart wrote thus to Dr. Bomberger about that time (July 20, 1853) :

“Until within two or three years, I could, whilst condemning Dr. Nevin’s unchristian sarcasms and his frequent method of qualification, with a cheerful heart defend our doctrinal position against the aspersions of opponents. I could say ‘Dr. Nevin is misunderstood and misinterpreted and misrepresented; he is a warmer and sounder friend of Protestantism than his opponents; and his great labors serve to advance the best interests of the Church of Christ. I could smile at the childish predictions of outsiders, and without any hesitation—what I often did—vindicate his teachings. But now the case is entirely different. I am chagrined and my heart is sad. I do not know what to do. I am under a cloud. No matter how unjust many of the imputations cast upon us have been . . . one thing is painfully true. Dr. Nevin has continued to change and advance (or retrograde, as you choose to call it) until he seriously doubts the whole theory of Protestantism and really sympathizes with the contradistinguishing features of Roman Catholicism and the papacy. Of this I am fully satisfied . . . What the papers say now of the Romanizing tendency of Dr. Nevin is true. Their predictions, whether the result of logical acumen or of a morbid antipopery sensitiveness, have turned out to be correct. The fact is an estoppel to all further vindication. . . . How else but sad can I feel and discouraged too.”

He then suggests that a statement signed by all who will, particularly in the East, be published setting forth dissent from Dr. Nevin’s views of Rome. But he was not prepared to recommend this course

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as best. However, he adds, "something must be done."

Another instance in illustration of Dr. Gerhart's early position is the following: At one of the general synods Dr. Gerhart found fault with his former students at Tiffin, such as Drs. Klein, Vitz and others, for not supporting him in his Mercersburg theology. They replied that that theology was quite different from what he had taught them when he was a professor at Tiffin. And yet notwithstanding these facts, he later wrote his Institutes of Christian Religion, the most important work of the Mercersburg theologians.

It was therefore with ill grace that Dr. Bomberger was attacked as inconsistent, because he changed somewhat his theological emphasis from that of a conservative, mediating Nevinist to the Old Reformed position that he had held before Dr. Nevin came into the Reformed Church in 1840. Both Dr. Nevin and Dr. E. V. Gerhart were alike inconsistent. And Dr. Bomberger had the better of them, for he was returning to the Old Reformed position, and they were going away from it.

From 1861 on, his opposition to the Mercersburg theology and the High Church position begins to appear. We do not wish to enter into the theological controversy that then so bitterly divided our church. That is now past history. If the reader desires to examine the controversy in detail he may consult the writer's "History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Cen-

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ture." Suffice it to say that in Dr. Bomberger's later writings, especially in the *Reformed Church Monthly*, he was a consistent Low Churchman, defending what he considered to be the old doctrines of the Reformed Church. In one of the volumes of that publication (1871, pages 366-370) he gives a contrast between Mercersburg theology and the Old Reformed theology. His statement there of the latter embodied his own views on theology and as such it is here reproduced:

1. Reformed theology is clear and decided—a truly positive theology. It declares plainly and undoubtingly the fundamental doctrines of grace.

2. Reformed theology presents a firm basis of faith and confidence, and begets clear convictions, and a comfortable personal assurance of faith.

3. Reformed theology constantly appeals in support of its doctrines to the Word of God—faithfully and fairly interpreted—and makes all traditions, creeds, and confessions, subordinate to that Word.

4. Reformed theology is unequivocally Protestant, in distinction from all Popish errors in doctrine and worship, and evangelical in distinction from ritualistic high-churchism, and from rationalistic pantheism or atheism.

NATURE OF THE INCARNATION

Reformed theology teaches, so far as the mystery can be explained or stated, that the Eternal Son, the Second Person in the Godhead, voluntarily and graciously took into union with His divine nature a perfect individual human nature, miraculously pro-

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vided; that whilst the union between these two natures was mysteriously close, yet there was no fusion of the two, or mixture of them into one nature; and that the Word, thus became flesh, remained as to His Person, one and unchanged, under all the humiliation to which He freely submitted. This union holds only with regard to Him.

THE PURPOSE OF THE INCARNATION

Reformed theology teaches, that the Word became flesh in order to redeem lost man from the punishment of sin, by Christ enduring that punishment, in His Human nature, in man's stead; and to restore man to the favor of God, and to newness of life, through the Holy Spirit.

REDEMPTION APPLIED

Reformed theology teaches, that men are saved through Christ, by their being convinced of sin, by repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord, Jesus Christ. This conviction, repentance, and faith, are wrought, in the heart by the Holy Ghost, through the Gospel; and faith so wrought is confirmed by the Sacraments. All is an immediate personal matter between God and the redeemed. They are justified by faith in Jesus Christ.

THE SACRAMENTS

The Reformed Church teaches, that the Sacraments are divinely appointed signs and seals of grace to those who are in Christ, by which the blessings of redemption in Him are more fully declared and confirmed to them.

BAPTISM

Reformed theology teaches, that Baptism is an external washing with water, appointed by Christ to assure us of the certainty of the forgiveness of

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sin for the sake of His blood, and of our renewal by the Holy Ghost, if we heartily repent, and believe in Jesus Christ as our only Saviour. In regard to Infant Baptism, we are told that it does not make our children Christians, but recognizes and confirms—Sacramentally—their part in the covenant of grace.

THE LORD'S SUPPER

Reformed theology teaches, that the Holy Supper of our Lord is designed to be a sacred and blessed commemoration of the one sacrifice of Christ upon the cross for our redemption—a certain assurance of the efficacy of His passion for every one who heartily believes in Him—and a cheering pledge of our saving interest in His atonement, and of His supplying us with all things needful to our final salvation. Christ is present spiritually in the Supper to all who believe, by virtue of His Godhead. His human nature is in no sense present in the Supper, but is exalted at the right hand of God in glory.

THE CHURCH

According to Reformed theology, the Church is so far the body of Christ as it is made up of all, in all ages, who are gathered, defended and preserved by Christ, through the Spirit, out of the whole human race, and who, by the Spirit, agree in regard to all things essential to the true faith.

THE MINISTRY

Reformed theology teaches, that the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments is appointed, not as a sacerdotal priesthood, to offer sacrifices in propitiation for sin, or to mediate between God and the people, but to preach the Gospel, to administer Church ordinances, and assist in maintaining discipline.

Dr. Bomberger's lectures on theology as given to his students when he was teaching in the Ursinus School of Theology represent the Old Reformed Theology as based on the Heidelberg Catechism, historically interpreted. In them he was evidently Calvinistic. In fact, he once told the writer that he had no difficulty with the doctrine of election as Calvin stated it. But we have been unable quite to decide, to which school of Calvinists he belonged. There are two schools of Calvinists, the Infralapsarian and the Sublapsarian, or as they used to be called in the days of the division of the Presbyterian Church in this country, Old School and New School Calvinists. The Infralapsarians held to the doctrine of the two Covenants and to limited atonement (Christ died for the elect). The Sublapsarians were lower and broader. They differed from the Infralapsarians in these respects: (1) They granted man more ability than the Infralapsarians, though not enough to save himself. (2) They held to universal atonement (Christ died for all men). (3) They gave the human will more activity in conversion.

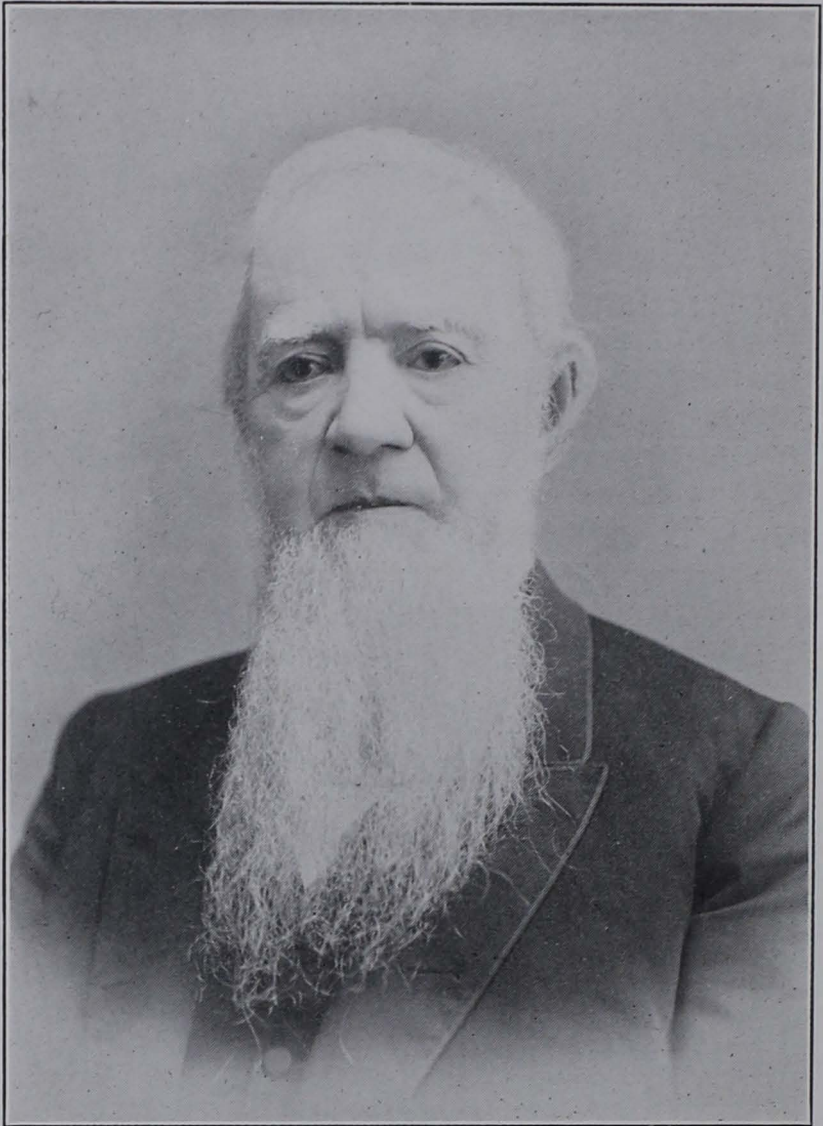
Although we have been unable to discover from his notes to which school of Calvinism he belonged, we are inclined to believe that he leaned to the Sublapsarian; for he seemed to make predestination to be in Christ,—that is, redemptive Calvinism, which was one of the peculiarities of the New School Calvinists. He did not, like the High Calvinists, emphasize metaphysical election in the mind of God, but election as related to Christ's incarnation and

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atonement,—historical election. In other matters he held to the generally received doctrines as expressed in the symbol of his church—the Heidelberg Catechism.

Holding as he did to these evangelical views, and holding them so tenaciously and boldly at a time when they were under fire from certain directions, Dr. Bomberger may well be named “The Defender of the Faith.” To him these doctrines were not a mere intellectual belief, to which he had given assent; but they were the hearty confidence of his heart. He believed them so intensely, that they existed not merely in his mind, but they became part and parcel of his being. His courage amid opposition, which only seemed to rouse him to greater heights of argument and eloquence at the synods of the Reformed Church, his continued defense of them in the church papers and periodicals, all make this title “Defender of the Faith” most suitable for him. If the pope could in the Reformation name King Henry VIII of England as “Defender of the Faith,” the Reformed Church, as it looks back on Dr. Bomberger’s zeal, courage, and devotion, can also and with greater reason give him the same title.

JAMES I. GOOD.



J. H. A. BOMBERGER
President of General Synod, 1890

CHAPTER X

CLOSING DAYS

Dr. Bomberger's heart was warmed with grateful appreciation when the General Synod of the Reformed Church at Lebanon, in the early part of June, 1890, conferred upon him the highest honor it could bestow by electing him its president. At this time of life, being in his seventy-fourth year, he was not seeking honors, and the synod's action was, therefore, the more kindly conferred and the more affectionately received. He had fought a long and hard fight in the church in the interest of her ancient and honorable beliefs and customs; yet this distinction seemed to him not so much a triumph as a tribute.

He returned to the college to conduct the exercises of the nineteenth annual commencement, which was soon to follow, with his usual interest in the institution quickened by the gracious action of the church, for he had come to regard any favor to himself as a favor also to the college with which he had long since become completely identified. His report to the directors at their annual meeting contained a devout acknowledgment of Divine grace. He made kindly references to the student body and gave expression to his sincere regard for his associates in

the faculty in whose behalf he expressed the hope that the time might be near when they could be more adequately compensated for their work.

He made no reference in this written report to the magnificent offer of Robert Patterson, made shortly before the report was read, providing \$25,000 toward the erection of an administration building, although he refers to the pressing need of such a building. Yet his words bear indications of the buoyancy of spirit that was certainly engendered by the knowledge that this announcement would be made in the meeting. Just as the church a few weeks before in honoring him had honored the college, so now this generous offer betokened not only regard for the college, but also for him. What a happy circumstance that these cheering things should eventuate when life's close was soon to press upon him!

After commencement he sought much needed rest in a week's sojourn at Ocean Grove, New Jersey. His family, through the death of Mrs. Bomberger, the marriage of his daughters and the entrance of his sons upon their work in the world, had now all taken leave. As though his own approaching leave-taking was foreseen by him, he asked his children to come to the seaside to spend the week with him. All but his daughter Clara (Mrs. Brecht), who resided in Florida, were able to accept his invitation. Refreshed by the rest and made happy by the reunion of his children, he returned to Collegeville to take up his summer's work, which included weekly

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meetings with the Executive Committee in planning to meet the conditions of Mr. Patterson's gift, and in filling vacancies in the faculty. As was his wont, he accepted invitations to preach. On a Sunday early in August, the last before his final illness set in, he preached in a neighboring church, his theme having been "Heaven on Earth."

On occasions, he had said that it was his hope that he might "die in the harness," and this hope was fulfilled. When the malady that proved fatal first attacked him, but a fortnight before he died, he was enjoying the vigor of a well-preserved old age. During the brief period of rapidly wasting physical strength which ensued, his faculties of mind retained their brightest luster. On the morning of August nineteenth, he entered into glory, slowly repeating in deep measured words, "Onward—Christian—Soldiers! Onward—Onward—Onward!"

The following lines on his death from the pen of his son, the late Augustus Wight Bomberger, published anonymously in the Ursinus College *Bulletin*, and offered here in loving regard for the son as well as the father, constitute a fitting close for this volume:

All thro' the Night, alone, yet not alone,
A mighty man has wrestled in the Valley;
And still Death's awful shades encompass him,
And hide his path, and trap his weary footsteps,
Nor give a distant sign of breaking day.

But he that wrestles is a seasoned warrior,
Touched at enlistment by the flame of Heaven:
And in this darkest hour of final conflict,
The great High-Captain of his host, that went before,
Has looked in mercy on his weight of years,
His deep-set scars, his ill-dissembled weakness;
And pitying love has moved: And, lo!
A wondrous vision of a legion true,
That rallies at his very back, with throbbing breath,
And, dauntless, follows in his lead to triumph,
Is sent to give him strength.

He feels its thrilling pulse: His chieftain heart,
To inspiration swift, is stirred with fire,
Until burns in his veins the holy joy
That faithful champions of an army know,
When battling for the right.
Nor does he falter now, or faint, but presses on,
His form erect; his venerable head,
In majesty of faith, uplifted high: Upon his face,
A luminous expectance—half-fulfilled,
(Like that, perchance, which shone from angel eyes,
At earliest dawn, about the guarded tomb
Of Him of Nazareth, ere night gave forth
The Resurrection joy,
As if he saw afar the gleam of Morning,
And waited but to greet its blessed light.

Bravely he wins his way; and as he goes,
In solemn tones, deep-rising from his fervid soul,
Incites the spirit cohorts in their course,
As Christian soldiers, marching on to God.

Yet even now the bitter fight is done!
For just ahead, emerging from the gloom,
Their summit shown in outline strong and clear,
The hills eternal stand. Now twilight dim,

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Turns at a breath to noon. Glad wings of life
Unloosen weary feet; the host behind
Becomes a host before, in radiance clad.
For Day has dawned,—the deathless Day of Heaven.
And fullest strength is come to him that strove,
And love and rest, and joy made pure by grief,
And fountain-springs of youth, and sweet release,
And Christ the crown of all,—and perfect peace.

THE END.

