"THE CRISIS IN THE EARLY LIFE OF GENERAL MÜHLENBERG."

By REV. WILLIAM GEBMANN, D.D.

(Continued from page 329.)

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.

Philadelphia, March 29, 1767.

"Your valued epistle of the 7th of November, 1766, with enclosures, reached here on the 15th of January, 1767, by the way of New York, and cost thirty-five shillings fourpence for postage. At the very same hour the news came to Philadelphia that young Mühlenberg had arrived among the German recruits under Colonel Prevost. At this crisis my friends and foes showed themselves in their true colors, as I will describe at a fitting opportunity, if I live. It so came about through friends, that I was obliged to take him home and pay thirty pounds Sterling for his maintenance and necessary clothing. The pretexts for acting as he did were: a, his excessive home-sickness; b, his perceiving that his trade would be no good in this country, and that by longer delay the expenses would be increased without the desired end being attained. I have sent him to a private English school here, where he is learning bookkeeping and making some progress. He keeps himself quiet and retired, and yet is popular among friends.

"P. S. Herr Heinrich Kämpfe, a merchant here, requests that four hundred and fifty thalers* worth of medicines (specified) from Halle be sent on his account and credit to Messrs Mildred and Roberts, Merchants in London. Herr Kämpfe has given said merchants orders to receive them and send them hither. He thinks of setting up a young man in business here,* and wishes to know how and where he is to pay the four hundred and fifty thaler."

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.

Philadelphia, May 23rd, 1767.

"My son Peter arrived during a peculiar crisis in which I stood in regard to the school here, etc. Satan had bent his bow, using my son for the arrow, and was shooting off all his weapons, thinking to set the whole house on fire. But an invisible hand watched over

* In all probability young Mühlenberg is meant; "quere, whether it would be advisable to risk them with him." Marginal note made in Halle.
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and protected it, directing and moderating all things. I have no time to describe the remarkable affair in detail. I saw the whole army of darkness arrayed and received arrows enough, etc.—a particular ad universale—but it is not finished yet. I have him with me, and am sending him to school to be taught bookkeeping. Herr Käppele and other good friends have advised me to set him up in business and let him open a grocery store, as he has no other way of earning his living without being a burden on me. He does indeed think that he can make all kinds of aqua vitae of brandy and could keep an ale-house, but this does not befit my situation, for there are already more than enough of such places, and they are the cause of the ruin of many families. My friends think he could keep the Halle medicines, together with the grocery store. And, as his Reverence, my dear Doctor Francke, in a fatherly letter, or Pro Memoria, is pleased to announce that they would not place any medicines from the Institution with such a one as Peter, Herr Käppele, and one or two other good friends, offer to stand security, together with myself, for one hundred pounds, or for four hundred thalers' worth of medicines, if they could be sent at the earliest opportunity by way of Hamburg to London, addressed to Mr. Henry Keppele, merchant, in Philadelphia, in care of Messrs. Mildred and Roberts, merchants, in London. Herr Käppele has notified the aforesaid merchants in London, and will also order that the payment shall be punctually made when and how desired. I have already mentioned this in my letter sent with Daniel Williams's epistle, on the 29th of March, a. c., in order to lose no time; but leave it to the better judgment and opinion of the Reverend Fathers and benefactors in Halle, and to the gracious direction of God, especially as I do not yet know what the answer is to my former letter. Whatever God ordains, I will accommodate myself to. The honest missionary, Herr Zaglin, with whom I was intimately acquainted, used to say: 'If thou wishest me dead, here am I, Lord; if thou wishest me to live, I will submit myself.'

Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.

September 12th 1767.

"His Reverence (the Swedish Provost) Herr Dr. Wrangel has taken my son Peter to instruct him, and intends with the help of God to make a schoolmaster, or catechist, of him, for he has become serious and gives hopes of conversion. ‘With God all things are possible,’ Ex: gr: Onesimus in the Epistle to Philemon."

Mühlenberg, Senior, to the Fathers in London and Halle.

Philadelphia June 8th 1768.

"If I might pour out my heart still more without troubling the Reverend Fathers too greatly, I will add something concerning my
son Peter. After his return home, I strove with my other friends in five or six different ways, to put him into an honest business, in which he might earn his own living without being prejudicial to my position. I did not cease to pray to God to show a way. As often as I made an attempt, the door seemed to be bolted. Finally, considering the need of catechists in the neglected country congregations, Herr Dr. Wrangel decided to risk trying him, and taking him into his house; he worked upon his heart, and strove to cultivate the faculties of his mind. Beginning to teach him the foundation of theoretical and practical theology, he made use of him as amanuensis, in which capacity he took down in church all the English sermons preached by the Herr Doctor, who was greatly surprised to find him able to write out his whole sermon so quickly. Sometime afterwards, Herr Dr. Wrangel said that it would be a great pity not to allow the young man to enter upon so useful and necessary a profession. For nearly a year past I had kept in my house a worthy youth of poor and pious parents,* Christian Streit, whom I had maintained gratis, out of regard to his future, so that he might complete the cursus philologicum and philosophicum in the English Academy here, and be able to take the gradum magistri. Dr. Wrangel took him too, to his house, instructing him and Peter together, while the youth taught the latter Latin and Greek in the spare hours. It seems that Herr Doctor Wrangel's work and pains were not unblessed in both cases, for his influence was apparent in their conduct and course of life, attracting some notice and surprise in the town, though Satan, also, tried to come between. Last winter it was thought advisable for Peter to travel once or twice to one of the neighboring country churches and there deliver a memorized catechetical discourse. The people received it well and were very grateful. Afterwards Herr Dr. Wrangel paid a visit to the vacant church at Lancaster, it being his turn, and during his absence allowed the young men to preach in English in the Swedish church at Wicaco and in the country, which resulted in a crowd and the applause of their friends. I was fearful and afraid, for I had already suffered and been scorched by the wiles of Satan. At last I allowed him to make a trial at Barren Hill, and in the old neglected chapel of ease, called Pikestown, once served from Providence and New Hanover, but now entirely forsaken. Both of these small congregations earnestly request that he may be sent to them again and allowed to officiate for them. After Herr Dr. Wrangel's return, the Swedish consistory sent Peter a written invitation, asking him to preach again in their church at Wicaco as a probationer, which he did. As a good many friends went to the Swedes' Church when he preached, it was thought that there might be but little given in alms in our church of St. Michael, and the question was privately raised why he should not preach in our church as well. I remained entirely passive, not wishing it allowed

* [Kuhn from Lancaster] crossed out.
on several grounds; but praying before the throne of grace for mercy and gracious protection from Satan's wiles. Finally, on Good Friday evening, a. c. he was permitted to speak on the burial of the Saviour. As soon as it became known, there was such a crowd and press at St. Michael's Church as had not been known since its existence, it was said. I did not go, but remained at home in my little room, like a condemned sinner and worm, praying with tears to the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, that He would shield us from Satan's craft for His name's sake, and not allow His cause to be injured through me or mine. After the sermon, the Elders, or, as they are called, the members of the Corporation, came in the house and congratulated me with great affection and emotion on the sermon my son had just delivered. I returned my thanks. But no one knows how I feel in such matters, for I am slow of comprehension and trust to nothing good in me or mine, except it be by grace and mercy from above. I could not take it ill, if my friends in Christ, loving the cause, said privately to each other: 'Thank the Lord! for when the old man, now standing on the edge of eternity, retires, the providence of God points out to us an offshoot, who will serve and comfort us in case of necessity.'

"Since then he has preached several times at Barren Hill and in Pliesstown. I do not neglect to refer him to the proper medicine which will purify and heal him if he uses it aright.—Towards the end of April, urgent necessity drove me to send him to the churches made vacant by the death of Herr Pfarrer Schertle, and from there to New Germantown and Bedminster in Jersey, where he preached in both German and English, winning praise in both, but especially in the latter. I have not yet heard him myself; but have always examined his compositions, without finding anything in them to object to, because he is assisted by Dr. Wrangel. Impartial, intelligent, and experienced people say, that he has a pleasant tenor voice, a clear and distinct delivery, puts his emphasis in the right place, is polite, quiet, and guarded in his conversation, and will have nothing to do with strong drink, with which he has been tried, for there are all kinds of temptations on all sides. If the thing is from above, it will stand; if it is of men, it will fall to pieces. As, through the grace and help of God, we are expecting some ministers, I make use of him in the mean time as a wedge to put in the open doors to keep them from closing and locking themselves before the new preachers come, just as I did with Deacon van Buskerk, whom I placed between Providence and Hanover; but when help came with Herr. P. Voigt found it almost too late to remove the wedge without injury. Herr P. Volgt and Herr Dr. Wrangel also, reproved me sharply for inserting such a person, unversed in Latin, etc. Answer. If Herr Voigt had come two or three years earlier, it would not have been necessary for us to insert Buskerk. If he does not know Latin, he does, English, which is necessary here and more useful than Latin or Greek. In the poor country congregations we do not need critics, but catechists, who can present the divine truths in the German Bible and Catechism..."
simply, and, living honest and sober lives, be satisfied, like the boy prophets, with vegetables. At the solicitation of the vestry of New Germantown and Bedminster, I have, this week, sent Peter thither for some weeks, as they desired him to instruct the young people in the Catechism.

"Since I am kindly permitted by the reverend Fathers to express my opinion about my two children now in the Orphan Institution, I can say nothing at present but that I heartily wish them to become catechists for our poor congregations here. I cannot keep them at the University, which, according to my humble opinion, would not be necessary in the circumstances, but rather injurious in the present condition of the universities. What they have learned in humanloribus in the blessed Institution is sufficient to put them on a level with the learned here. If they could be prepared and drilled now in the foundations of theology for catechists, that would be the shortest, best, and nearest way of making them useful to God and their fellow men, a result not to be attained in Universities as they are at present, but only in Institutions like Glaucha. What can be built out of the husks and straw of the so-called noble sciences, if the good part is wanting? The year which I spent in the blessed Institution, together with nearly three months with his Reverence Herr Ziegenhagen, did me more good than the previous precious years spent in heaping up countless lectures in the old way, always learning and never attaining to true knowledge or practice. If they can reach such a useful and happy end through the mercy of God, I will consider it a great benefaction, and if some faithful care-taker of souls would take them to himself and prepare and practise them for this object, he would be doing me and the work here, a great service. I do not know what else to advise. Only not the University!"

There is nothing else to add to the papers given here; they speak for themselves. Only witness must be borne to the fact that there is not the slightest sign that Peter Mühlenberg left his master so suddenly on account of some secret crime, as the somewhat mysterious expressions of his letter to his principal on leaving, led the people in Halle to suppose. If any suppositions are to be made, a much more probable one would be, that it was the flight of a pure-minded youth from threatening temptations, like that of the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, from Niméguen. No! it was homesickness, and the certain knowledge that his apprenticeship to this trade had been too hasty, and the conviction that his master had had
more than enough profit out of him and that every day longer was a loss to himself. The sight of the English uniform at the same time roused in his heart the feeling that that was his proper calling, for although he afterwards became a minister in America, there are evidences enough that he was not predestined for the office of pastor. The Divine guidance led him through the pastoral office that he might grow as to his inner man in spiritual knowledge. His running away from Lübeck may be looked upon as youthful precipitation, especially as he could have returned to America without hindrance six months later; but this folly of youth does not cast a stain upon his character,—rather the contrary, considering all the circumstances.

The biography quoted before* considers it another dark spot on his character, and Peter should have been ordained by the Lutherans in the beginning of 1768, and in the Anglican Church, on the 23rd of April 1772. An ordination is not considered a sacrament by Lutherans; nevertheless for a Lutheran minister to receive a reordination was, at least in those days, almost the same thing as for a layman to be re-baptized. By so doing, the son would have put a great affront on his father and his brethren in the ministerial office. It is indubitable that Peter received the Anglican ordination the above mentioned day; but that he was also ordained as a Lutheran by his own father in the beginning of 1768, will only appear credible, if there are incontestable proofs thereof brought forward. Consequently we continue to make extracts from the documents, and, as in the first outburst of the father's letters, he apparently intended to remove Peter's two brothers and to recall them from Germany in haste it will be eminently proper to give some explanation.

of the further developments in regard to these younger brothers.

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.

Philadelphia Dec. 16th 1768.

"Several months ago, our Governor, together with several other Governors of the neighboring northern provinces, with their suites, travelled a distance of some hundred miles to visit our allies among the Indian nations, in order to renew a treaty of peace with them and to settle the boundary lines, in which General Johnson, Baronet, was the chief agent. The Reverend Herr Richard Peters, Commissioner of the English Church in Philadelphia, was obliged to be there with them. There were three thousand Indians, delegates from all the nations, at the assembly.* One of the nations, which dwells near the boundaries of the Province of New York, has been visited for many years by English missionaries, who have labored with them and baptized a number, holding their services through interpreters. My father-in-law, the late Herr Conrad Weiser, was adopted by, or united with, this nation, and was received as the friend of their race, which they consider the highest nobility after their kind, because he had learned their language and acted as interpreter between them and the Government of Pennsylvania. At the aforesaid congress, Herr Peters preached to this nation by help of an interpreter and baptized many children. He told us afterwards how the Indians had earnestly begged General Johnson and other gentlemen to establish Christian schools among them, so that their young people might be instructed in the Christian religion. He had since received orders from the Government to look for one or two young men, to undertake this important work and project, whom he was to send to General Johnson, where they were to learn the Indian language at the expense of the Government. After this had been done, they could begin the school under Gen. Johnson's protection, receiving each one annually fifty pounds sterling, as an inducement, from the Society in England, together with his necessary maintenance and his own land. As children born here are better fitted for this Christian work than Europeans, and those who understand both German and English are required, seeing that these Indians live near German and English people, who might profit jointly by the establishment of these schools, and, as I had a learned and pious Magister, Christian Streit, with me, as well as a son of good character, that is Peter, who would be especially loved and respected by the Indians on account of his grandfather, Mr. Weiser, having been their especial friend, and being still held by them in solemn remembrance, Mr. Peters gave these two young men the preference over many others, and proposed to them to undertake this important work, which aimed at the honor of Christ and the best good of souls, subject to my

*The locality was Albany or Fort Stanwix.
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consent. I answered that I had nothing against it for my part, if I or mine could contribute in any fashion to the honor of God, the good of my neighbor, or my own benefit through God's grace; but as they were both grown up and of age, he had better ask them himself. They went to him the next day, and he asked them himself whether they were bold enough to venture to learn the language of the Indians and to plant the seeds of Christianity among them in their own tongue. Their answer was that they were entirely and perfectly ready to qualify themselves to serve the Lord when and where it pleased Him, and proposed to lay this important matter before Him in prayer. They considered the matter pro and contra, and the poor young men wished to know my opinion and decision; but how can I advise or foresee? In our united churches only one language is required. They already know two, German and English. I would be the gladder if they could learn another one, and serve their Lord and Saviour better in all three, by revealing the glorious plan of salvation to the heathen youth. Oh! that I had a thousand tongues and a thousand-fold mind! and but one heart! My salarium, as well as that of my brethren in office is not sufficient to maintain these young beginners and to let them give themselves up entirely to work. Therefore I would have nothing against it, but would rather desire that Christianity should be introduced and spread among the poor heathen, at the expense of the Government, to the honor of our Saviour, if it would stop at school work and the catechism, and not come to Articles and Canons, which although Protestant, are foreign; for we no longer live in the times of the Apostles, but are bound to swear to certain regiments and their articles and cannot pass without a Shibboleth. Just as the English Episcopalians swear by the Articles, and explain them in the Lutheran sense, so there are not a few of us who swear by the Formulam Concordiae, although they may have never read nor examined it. I was so fortunate as to have had a Collegium disputatorium on this subject in Göttingen, and took pains enough to, in some measure, strip the kernel of its hard Aristotelian shell. I am old and, from having had pleuro-pneumonia, am somewhat more asthmatical than before, yet I have feeling enough to wish from the bottom of my heart, that the glorious plan of salvation might be known, recognized, accepted, and enjoyed, throughout the whole world and among all the nations, for through the one seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed! I have often spoken on the subject, during my life, with my father-in-law, and I would not be so blindly partial to any child of mine as not to be willing to give him up, if he were called properly and were willing to make such an attempt; but there should be the freedom to venture the single combat with Goliath in the name of the Lord, and not be obliged to put on Saul's garments, helmet, and coat of mail. I Samuel 17.

A praiseworthy society in England is so sublimey magnanimous and catholic, as to maintain German Evangelical missionaries among the heathen in the East Indies.
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"I have neither heard, or seen, anything for a long time of my two sons, Friedrich August, and Heinrich Ernst, who, as my offspring, reflect me. May God grant that they may well employ their precious—yea, priceless—period of grace in the blessed Institution, and may become vessels for the honor of the Lord, the advantage of their neighbors, and the joy of their masters! If there is time and opportunity, I would desire them to be practised in singing, chorals, and thorough bass on the piano, besides in the studio catechetice, for in this part of the world it is useful, as I myself experienced, seeing that by it, immediately on my arrival, during the first half year, I earned my board, made friends, and convinced old Welser's sensibilities, so that he gave me his daughter as a wife, or helpmate, because, at my first visit, I played and sang the edifying Halle songs on his house-organ (seraphine). Sometimes a hard heart can be thus softened and an entrance gradually won for the word of God. A certain old German Separatist once declared in great earnestness that he could not go to church on account of the organ, nor stay indoors when he heard the frivolity. A bystander remarked that it was no wonder; the evil spirit could not remain in Saul when David played on the harp. I will willingly pay the expense if my boys are permitted to learn."

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to the Reverend Fathers.

Philadelphia April 15th 1769.

"The two sons of mine in the blessed Institution have written and also sent word by Herr Brother Helmuth, who arrived on the 2nd of April, that they would like to begin the studia academica, if his Reverence, the Herr Director and Counsellor of the Consistory, Francke, feels called upon to give his consent. I leave it entirely to the higher and better judgment of the Reverend Fathers, with the humble reservation that they are not to go into the town, but to remain in the Institution. My wife and I will heartily and willingly pay for all, which we are now better able to do, as we are gradually getting clear of the Barren Hill matter.* I have entirely, but politely, refused the Reverend Peters' proposal in regard to Streit and Peter, because it tended towards incorporation into the Episcopal Church."

Record of the Synod held in Philadelphia from the 24th to the 28th of June, 1769.

"The Church in Pikestown is again vacant, since Peter Mühlenberg and Christian Streit are no longer at hand boarding with me.

* Mühlenberg, who had become surety for the debt for the erection of the church, was in extreme danger of being put in prison.
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"The President chose a Committee of the Reverend Ministerium, and directed them to examine the candidate Georg Jung, who had just arrived from London with a recommendation from P. Wachsel, and Peter Mühlenberg, in theology, etc.

"The Reverend examiners were occupied from half past three in the afternoon until seven o'clock, in examining the candidate, Herr Jung, and Peter Mühlenberg in theology."

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.

Philadelphia August 12th 1769.

"Peter Mühlenberg, as an examined and appointed deacon, holds German and English services in the churches of New Germantown and Bedminster, and young Majister Streit has the neighboring chapels of ease, such as Greenwich, [near Easton], Amwell, Brunswick, and Pawlingskill, and as Herr Kurtz, sen., is minded to serve the church in Yorktown, the great Tolpehocken field will be empty, and it would be a pity if the churches were to be deserted and allowed to go to pieces. My wife has a great longing for this place as her first home, and thinks that her two boys, Friedrich and Heinrich, would be able in time to support their old father there, if he were to live a year or so longer and could rest and recruit himself there. ‘Homo proponit, Deus disponit'; but, in matters relating to my profession, I am not very willing to have anything to do with the advice of women."

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to the Reverend Fathers.

Philadelphia August 23rd 1769.

"My meaning was, as I have often told Herr Schultz* and others, not to go away from Philadelphia until the Lord God and the Reverend Fathers thought it well. But, as I sighed for some relief, I wanted to rent a house, or small place, near the city, but removed from the bustle, so that I could live somewhat in quietness with my poor, sick, over-wearied, hysterical wife,† and be able to give more attention, as a man and father ought to do, to my children. Then Herr Schultz could move into the roomy parsonage with his wife and maid, where he could easily and comfortably lodge an assistant, with whom he could work, with one mind and heart, performing the duties of his office in brotherly unity. I desired to

* Mühlenberg's son-in-law.
† The alarm about the Barren Hill matter had brought on epileptic fits.
take much more school work on myself, so as to try and relieve my outer necessities, and preferred to take the Sunday work in St. Michael's church, where the numerous young people, the old and hard of hearing, etc., who have no room in the new church [Zion] must be ministered to, if it so pleases God, and I should have some days longer to live. When I said I was obliged to seek some relaxation for myself and family in the country, if my representations met with no kind of a response, then Herr Schultz answered that he would go into the country too, and so it goes round in a circle, and I remain in the press. Herr Schultz thinks he could not trust himself to manage with a new worker in the intricate circumstances of the country, because new works are so easily influenced by Satan's crafty wiles, as he knew from his own experience, having been subtly set against me and irritated during his first year. I answered that he should treat an assistant as I did him, and Satan would accomplish nothing through his instruments. It has been suggested, among other things, by some well-meaning members and brethren in office, whether it would not be advisable to ask for Friedrich August Mühlenberg for an assistant, subject to the judgment and matured counsel of the Reverend Fathers. He would certainly like it and be guided by, and amenable to, his father and brother-in-law. 'Relata refero,' and I commit it to the great Shepherd of the sheep and to the Reverend Fathers for their gracious direction and better judgment. Time passess quickly, correspondence at so great a distance is slow, the need increases, and sometimes the stable is repaired when the cow is dead. The Lord is, and remains, the ruler of His own. He has never neglected aught under His government. I am anxious about the young men. They have done so much in humanioribus in the blessed Institution that they would be ranked with the learned in America; they have had the finest opportunity to hear the substance and quintessence of theology, and have seen the best examples and regulations as well, and according to the latest news may be experiencing the beginning of the work of grace in their souls. But how great danger the poor youths are placed in when they again breathe the free, intoxicating American air! If there is nothing better offers, nor other help to be found, and August Friedrich must be sacrificed, might it not be only necessary, according to my humblest and most deferential opinion, to send August Friedrich alone, letting the younger, Heinrich Ernst remain, for I would like to have one come to maturity in the blessed institution. On the one side, it is both suspicious and painful for a poor farmer to be obliged to put a two year old colt to the plow. It will become stiff and worn out too soon. On the other hand, it is good for young people to begin to work early under direction and oversight, for their conceit disappears sooner. If it were God's gracious will, I would far rather have both the boys remain in Europe and make themselves useful there. For I cannot adequately describe how crafty and unwearied Satan has been in pursuit of my children, seeking by means of them to cast a stain upon me, to dishonor the holy
name of God and His work, and to destroy the work of my ministry here, insignificant enough without that. My wife is incapable of the necessary oversight and training, on account of her hysterical seizures; the parsonage has in front, behind, and on the side, four or five entrances and doors, and when I am surrounded by people and their business and held almost by the hair in my room, then it is that Satan and his crew seem to scent it, and they appear before the other doors, seeking to insinuate to my children or people some harmful temptation. All this moves me to sigh for some relief in order to be able to better look after my own house.”

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.

Philadelphia November 26th 1769.

“I heartily wish that, if it is the will of God and the judgment of the Reverend Fathers, my two boys could come here, the sooner the better, for I look for some support from Friedrich August, and could make Heinrich useful in the school work, for I am in a sad case, and, in my weakness, have no help for Philadelphia and Whitemarsh. It is to be wished and entreated that our people could, through the grace of God, do something for Philadelphia and Tolpehocken. If I were to die before the children arrive it might not be serviceable. Herr Pfarrer Schultz often grumbles that he cannot go to Lancaster, because he thinks the country air and way of living would conduce to the restoration of his health and the prolongation of his life. Thus Philadelphia is in a bad way; one with a secret homesickness for the country, and the other, fearing the leap to eternity. And Philadelphia might receive a great blow, if it were to be forsaken under the present circumstances. ‘Lord, help us, or we die!’

‘My wife would like exceedingly to have a hundred thalers’ worth of Halle medicines sent with the boys and will willingly pay for them and take the risk on them, for she believes the almighty and most gracious God will protect and watch over the boys, and consequently the medicine. I have only a couple of weak assistants in the Jersey churches, namely, Peter Mühlenberg and Christian Streit, to look after the chief churches, which are divided thus: Peter has New Germantown and Bedminster; and Streit, the chapels-of-ease, which are Greenwich, Amwell, and Pawlingskill. I really ought to take a journey there before the winter, to patch up various matters (if the little holes are not mended, there will soon be nothing but holes); but I find it impossible, partly from want of strength, and partly because I cannot leave Philadelphia, unless some one takes my place.”

H. Mühlenberg, Senior. Journey to New Jersey.

June and July, 1770.

“On the 14th of June, about one o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived in good condition at the parsonage in New Germantown, [Hunterdon Co., N. J.], and found the Deacon engaged at a funeral. On the 15th
of June, from eight o'clock in the morning until one o'clock in the afternoon, I was instructing in the dogmas of the Evangelical church, some twenty young people, whom the Deacon had been teaching for some time, and who desired to be confirmed at this opportunity. On Saturday, the 16th of June, twenty-two young people came to the class, whom, in the presence of the Deacon and young Herr Streit, as well as some of the parents, I exercised in the necessary articles of doctrine and practical duty, seeking to inculcate the truths pertaining to salvation. Towards noon we went to Zion's Church in New Germantown. The Deacon gave the meeting a preparatory discourse upon some verses for the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians. I examined the twenty-two young persons before the meeting, then allowed them to renew their baptismal vows, and had confession with them, as well as with the old members of the congregation. On the first Sunday after Trinity, the 17th of June, I repaired to the Church, where I found a numerous congregation, and baptized some children, and preached on the text of the rich man and poor Lazarus. The listeners were attentive and devout. After this, I again examined the young people, and, after they had, amid deep emotion, taken on themselves the solemn vows of fidelity to their great Redeemer and Benefactor, I laid my hands upon them, and gave them the Holy Sacrament. Then came some more old members of the congregation, who, living at a distance, were not able to be present yesterday. After having preparatory services and holding confession with them, we (both Deacons assisting in the celebration by holding the cup) gave the Holy Sacrament to some eighty and more persons."

The elder Mühlenberg officiated in a similar manner in the churches entrusted to young Streit and Candidate Jung.

_Director Knapp to H. Mühlenberg, Senior._

_Halle, May 14th 1770._

"Although your two dear sons would have been allowed to remain here some years longer, to be thoroughly grounded in studiis theologiciæ, as well as in general information, and above all in the Catechism, I have, after mature deliberation and sincere appeal to God, and for reasons that seemed to me sufficient, thought it not wrong to let them go to you by this favorable opportunity; first of all, because their beloved parents seemed to wish to have them with them again, and secondly, because the late Herr Rath Francke, deceased September 2nd 1769, intended to suggest to your Reverence, whether it would not be better for them to supply what they still wanted in solidity of knowledge by industry at home, under the paternal supervision, for several of my fellow-workers, who had had to do with them, have often declared that they believed such a course would be more useful to them, and more likely of success..."
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than here. In the third place, they themselves seem to have a longing for home, while, fourthly, the expenses of their longer stay here might fall too heavily on you. Moreover, fifthly, one cannot tell how soon so good an opportunity in such desirable company (that of P. Kunze who was called to Philadelphia), and under such guardianship, might arise again. But, sixthly, and principally, I am troubled about their souls, fearing they may be diverging towards wickedness and taking up principles which though lurking under the appearance of great scholarship, may do great harm. Young people are fond of novelty, and the more they are warned, the more curious they seem to become.

"As to their hearts, I wish indeed that I could assuredly say that they obey with fidelity the call of their Heavenly Father. Herr Helmuth has perhaps told you the good hope which showed itself in the younger boy before his departure. His improvement continued in earnest for some time. But, on a certain occasion, he was so carried away by pride and insolence, as to ill-treat an innocent little boy who stood near him, although in the presence of the preceptors and all the orphans.* He had to be punished by confinement, when, although at first he was very reserved, he finally promised faithfully to improve in everything, and, afterwards, until he went to the University, behaved properly, and, at the latter place, he, as well as his elder brother, made no trouble. He has an unparalleled spirit, in which the elder, too, is not wanting; but the latter is by nature more tractable, and I cannot say that he has given those in authority over him any trouble. But no real earnestness has been observed in them up to this time, indeed, on the contrary, from their associates, etc., their minds appear to incline to frivolity. Your Reverence will easily see yourself from these circumstances, that it was not possible for me to vote that either one of them was fitted for the pastoral office, as I could not find the beginning of a real change of heart in them, if the want of sufficient knowledge was overlooked. Nevertheless I trust in the merciful Saviour. He will follow after them, and bless the prayers and example of their beloved parents to them, and thus not only draw them to Himself, but make them instruments of His grace to others. If you intend to occupy them constantly and to point out to them how they can strengthen their theological knowledge by their own industry, and above all to give them direction how to treat the Divine truths in an edifying manner, they have already been so grounded in the school and the colleges annexed, that they can help themselves by the reading of good books. And if God consecrates their naturally good talents, they may become useful, if they behave well otherwise, they will soon be able perhaps to undertake a sermon, and it would do no harm, if they would oc-

* Apparently the family tradition of this youthful folly was transferred, somewhat modified, from the life of the youngest brother to that of the eldest.
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Casilonally preach at Barren Hill, or at other places, where there cannot be service every Sunday, on the intermediate Sundays. But as to trusting a church to them, before they are roused to greater seriousness, I could and would not advise it.”

The travellers, who had hastily passed through Wernigerode and Braunschweig, without stopping at Eimbeck as they desired, on their way to Altona, arrived in London on the 21st of June; took ship again on the 29th of July and reached New York on the 23rd, and Philadelphia, on the 26th, of September. In a letter of Dec. 10, 1770 Mühlenberg writes to the Fathers at Halle: “Everybody there was extraordinarily curious to see and hear their two fellow-countrymen, who had been so long in another part of the world, and especially in the renowned and blessed Halle Institution, and that the sooner the better; and there was no other way to have peace, but to let them both hold forth at the Thanksgiving meeting in Zion, Friedrich August in the afternoon, and Heinrich in the evening. Thousands filled the church and listened and looked as attentively as if they had never seen or heard the like before.”

Record of the Synod held in Reading on the 24th and 25th of October, 1770.

The Synod had been postponed until the arrival of the travellers. On the 22nd of October, the father and two sons departed for Reading, leaving Peter Mühlenberg, who was suffering from fever, on guard in Philadelphia during their absence.

Among the matters acted upon by the Synod, the following was brought up:

“Motion for a preliminary tentamen of one of the sons of Herr Mühlenberg, Senior.”

“Concerning the examination and ordination of the five candidates, Herrn Jung, Kuhn, Streit, Friedrich and Heinrich Mühlenberg, as Deaconi Ministerii.”

“The motion about an appointed preliminary tenta-
men of one of the two sons of Herr Mühlenberg, Senior, who have just returned from Halle, was considered good and useful by all, and immediately passed. Thereupon Herr Heinrich Mühlenberg was chosen, the place of examiner being supplied by Herr Pfarrer Voigt. First of all, the original text of the first Psalm was translated into Latin, after which various analytical and exegetical questions were put in the same language, all of which were answered accurately. The Herr Examinator was especially astonished at his evident readiness in the Hebrew tongue. The first chapter of the Gospel of John was afterwards gone through in the same manner, in which the same readiness and fluency as before were noticeable. According to the unanimous opinion of all, the knowledge of the younger Herr Mühlenberg is especially admirable, considering his age [he was born the 17th of November, 1753] and the time of his stay at Halle, that being only seven years."

"In regard to the examination and ordination of the candidates present, the President (Mühlenberg) set forth the reasons for the necessity of the proposed action, the way and manner in which it should be taken, and the aim and destination of the new workers, whereupon the matter was recognized as necessary and favored by all. Herr M. Kuhn only, who had been under Herr Dr. Wrangel's teaching and instruction, demurred, desiring to be previously employed in preaching, and to do this without and further assumption of proper ministerial functions in the church, so as to be able to receive more preparation and to remain a candidate longer. He was therefore excluded, at his desire, from the number of those to be ordained. There was no doubt in respect to the other four, first, because they were acknowledged to be active, capable, and clever workers; second, because it was possible to place them in such positions that they would be
under good oversight at first; and third, because Col-
laboratores ministerii, to send hither and yon, were
so urgently needed. The stipulations which were made
and submitted to them were: first, they must be strictly
examined; second, they must be ordained Deacons, or
Collaboratores Ministerii; third, they must be bound
by a written declaration. Thereupon the examina-
tion of the aforesaid candidates was begun in the name
of the Lord. Herr Pfarrer Voigt was the first exam-
iner; he chose the Article on Holy Baptism, which he
explained by briefly asking questions, proved by pas-
sages from the Scriptures, read in the original text,
and elucidated by stating some objections. Herr Krug
continued, at first taking up the same Article, and then
examining them on the doctrine of the Being, qualities,
unity and Trinity of God. Then Herr Kurz, the
younger, took up Original Sin. The examination was
carried on principally in German, changing finally to
the Latin tongue. Afterwards, in the name of the
Triune God, the four above-mentioned candidates were
ordained to the holy ministerial office, into which they
were solemnly received as Collaboratores Ministerii,
after then and there binding themselves by a written
declaration with the consent and imposition of hands
of all the members of the ministry, with the perform-
ance of the principal ceremony by Herr Pfarrer Voigt.
At the end everyone added his good wishes and the
meeting was finally closed by prayer and song."

_H. Mühlenberg, Senior's, Journal of his Journey to
Tolpehocken, October and November, 1770._

After the Synod, the Senior and President travelled
for some time (until the 7th of December), among the
vacant churches near Tolpehocken. The following pas-
sage occurs in the Journal of his travels:

"My wife informed me that she would much like
to have me home on the 6th of November, on account
of a family matter which, however, can just as well be arranged by writing. As I have decided to send my two sons D. V. to Philadelphia next Monday from here, and as I also must depart tomorrow D. V., I passed the night in writing; a., to my wife at length; b., to Herr Matthaeus Mayer, living in Philadelphia, and an old warden of our Church, in which letter I gave my full consent to, and wishes for a blessing on, the betrothal and marriage of my oldest son, Peter, to his oldest daughter Hanna, which is to take place by Divine grace on the 6th of November, for therein I have perceived a Divine leading.”

H. Mühlenberg, Senior, to Pasche.

Philadelphia February 23rd, 1772.

“My son Friedrich, a stricter Lutheran than Peter, lets me have a distant hope, that, if God, in His great mercy and grace, preserves him, strengthens him by His spirit, and promotes his growth, he may become in the future a fellow-worker in the Philadelphia Church. He has by nature an honest heart, some experience of God’s grace, a tolerably clear head, a sound stomach and moderate bodily vigor. He can endure hardships and is more accustomed to the American climate than a born European; he has a fine, clear, penetrating voice for Zion, and family connections by means of which he can by Divine grace be settled. He has already made one or two trials in his poor little congregations, which pleased me well, and has been over hasty once or twice, with good intentions, however, and I willingly overlooked it and endeavored to show him the right way, for young soldiers sometimes want to discharge their guns before they are loaded, from a courageous anxiety to kill the enemy before they can hit him. My son Heinrich is liked for his catechisation, because he can deal so wisely with young people. His unruly spirit which has never been rightly broken, and the scars which the lectures of Herr Dr. Semler’s left on his mind, will, it is to be hoped gradually disappear and be smoothed away by grace and trouble here. Herr Brother Schmidt has been serving St. Peter’s Church at Barren Hill near Germantown since November, while Heinrich was with the Jersey Churches.”

This remark about Niemeyer’s demand for compensation follows:

“It certainly is a dear ransom for two years and a half. If I had put the boy in a grocer’s shop and liquor-store here, he would have
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received his board and clothing for four years and wages besides. I am heartily sorry to have given my dearest and best friends in Halle so much trouble and anxiety about my children.”

Diary of H. Mühlenberg, Senior’s, Journey from the 1st to the 26th of May, 1772.

“As my son Peter Mühlenberg, a former pupil of his Reverence, Herr Dr. Wrangel, who has been my assistant in the Jersey Churches at New Germantown and Bedminster, has received a call to Virginia, leaving the Jersey Churches last February, I was obliged in spite of my incapacity, to make a visit to them.”

Künze to his Brother, Pastor in Naitschau near Greiz.

Philadelphia September 16th 1772.

“Those of the high church [Established Church] here are called Lutherans, as the Presbyterians are called Calvinists. My father-in-law’s eldest son, Peter Mühlenberg, who was for some time under the instruction of the Herr Provost Dr. Wrangel, at present Court Chaplain at Stockholm, preacher and Companion of the Seraphine Order and President of the Consistory of the Court, went to England to be ordained by a Bishop, and has now returned, and is an English minister in Virginia, all without changing his belief.”

The manuscript annals of Halle contain nothing else pertinent, while in the printed reports, Peter’s name, after the mention of his arrival with his two brothers, is never mentioned. His running away from Lübeck was never forgiven. As to the Lutheran ordination, the earliest time it could have taken place must have been after the examination on the 28th of June, 1769, by the Synod at Philadelphia. But, apparently, he was then, like his colleague Jung, only received among the number of candidates, for Jung, with three others, was again examined by the next Synod in 1770, at Reading, and then ordained. It is somewhat remarkable that Peter remains behind in Philadelphia, suffering from fever, as warder, that is, only guardian of the large church, and finds time within a fortnight, to be
betrothed and married, while his father does not go to the wedding, and his fellow-student, Streit, passes his ordination-examination and is ordained. It is true that another pupil of Wrangel’s, young Kuhn, modestly refuses to be ordained. Are we to suppose that Peter had similar scruples? It may be that he avoided ordination, perhaps not only from modesty, but from a certain alienation from the Lutheran Church, born of his experience of life with the people at Halle. It is more probable that his father himself held him off, for he evidently does not think highly of his son’s theological disposition, having respect for the judgment of his Halle and London patrons. That must have increased the estrangement. However, our evidence is only circumstantial and *e silentio*, and it will be necessary to seek for direct proofs, or disproofs, in North America itself. Moreover, the crisis in the life of Peter Mühlenberg did not end with the ordination in London, but with the celebrated farewell sermon of a certain Sunday in January, 1776, when he called out to the dense crowd: “There is a time to fight, and that time has now come!” And after pronouncing the blessing, threw off his gown, showing an officer’s uniform beneath, and ordered the drums to beat for recruits at the church-door. Then, when the Germans had flocked to his standard so quickly and numerously that the German Regiment of Colonel Peter Mühlenberg was among the first to be ready at the outbreak of the war of independence of his native country, then he was in his element and had found his vocation. And who would have supposed from the glimpses we have had of the development of the younger brothers, during one consideration of the crisis in the youthful life of the eldest, that Friedrich August, treading in the footsteps of his senior, would forsake theology and render substantial services to his country as a skilled statesman, while the youngest, Heinrich, would remain
faithful to theology, and serve the church with his whole heart? When the father, in advanced old age, reviewed the careers of his noble and finely gifted sons, he must have felt the truth of the word of God: "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."

Windsheim July 15th 1881.

* Isaiah 55 v. 8–9.