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ARTICLE I.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. KARL GOTTLIEB BRETSCHNEIDER.

Translated from the German by George E. Day, Professor in Lane
Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[Concluded from Vol. IX. p. 686.]

VI. *Entrance into the Ministry.*

WITH as much certainty as the physician foresees the death of an incurable patient, I foresaw that Napoleon, in the course of the next year (after the battle of Austerlitz), would turn upon Prussia, and that consequently Northern Germany, which had so long been spared, would then become the seat of war. The prospect was for me anything but pleasant. As the fees of the students, many of whom were poor, and the stipendium which I drew, were not sufficient to support me, I was obliged to make up the deficiency by writing for the press. But what would this amount to, amid the ravages of war in Northern Germany and with Leipsic perhaps in the hands of the French? In addition to this, there was another apprehension still more disquieting. Wittenberg was tolerably well fortified; at least, it had walls and trenches, although the latter were dry. The principle passage over the Elbe, especially for an army on the march, to Berlin, lay directly through it. It was not difficult to foresee that Wittenberg would be fortified, besieged, and defended, and that in the process the university would go to ruin, and its funds be mostly lost. I did not then dream that Prussia would so soon submit, but rather

hoped it would offer a resolute resistance. So much the more, however, did I apprehend the certain destruction of Wittenberg. Unwilling to remain any longer connected with an institution, of the downfall of which I had no doubt, I came to the settled resolution, about March, 1806, to withdraw from university life and seek a situation in the church.

The first thing to be done was to acquaint Reinhard, the upper court-preacher in Dresden, with my purpose, and secure his approbation; for Reinhard, from the very beginning of my university course, had taken me under his protection. We maintained a constant correspondence. It was not without some misgivings that I ventured to inform him of my decision, and ask his assistance in procuring for me a settlement in the ministry; for he had an attachment to Wittenberg, where he had been professor, and wished me to remain there. In his answer, he disapproved of my plan, and, in order to induce me to abandon it, promised to obtain for me a pension of a hundred thaler, and the prospect of being appointed professor extraordinarius, if I desired. I acknowledged his kindness, but stated in detail all my anxieties in respect to the future, and repeated my request. One reason, however, I kept back, viz. my dissatisfaction with the comparative standing of the university. It numbered usually but three hundred students, and even among these there was no real literary enthusiasm. More than all, literature and the book-trade were at a low ebb in Wittenberg. Reinhard wrote to me under date of Aug. 15, 1806: "Against the reasons you assign, in your letter to me, for desiring a settlement in the ministry, I know not that I have really anything of importance to urge. Right willingly, therefore, will I do what I can to further your application for the pastorate in Schneeberg. May the Collegium be as ready to confer this office upon you, as they were to grant you a pension." The last sentence refers to a yearly pension of a hundred thaler (\$70) which Reinhard had procured for me, immediately upon the receipt of my first letter, and which for the six months from Easter to Michaelmas I actually drew.

I had now two places in view. My patron, Prof. Tittmann in Leipsic, was endeavoring to procure for me the pastorate in Collochau for which I had made application. But learning that the senior pastor, Dr. Richter, in Schneeberg, was called to be superintendent in Wurzen, I preferred to become his successor. The reason was, that, though this position was not very lucrative (about six hundred thaler, \$420), it was an honorable one, as the town had five thousand

inhabitants, several printing offices, and a flourishing lyceum (high school). I therefore withdrew my application for Collochau, and applied for the pastorate in Schneeberg. On the 21st of September, Reinhard wrote to me as follows: "I have the pleasure to inform you that the Collegium have this day appointed you pastor in Schneeberg. On account of the months of grace allowed to the widow,¹ you will not be able to take possession before Easter. Still, you are now assured of a support for the future, and I heartily wish that you may fill the office conferred upon you longer and more successfully than your two predecessors."

Through the kindness of Reinhard, therefore, my cherished wishes were fulfilled much sooner than I had anticipated. I was now in my thirty-first year, and was happy in the thought of the honorable position I was called to take. After announcing my success to one who, I felt sure, would greatly rejoice at the intelligence, through her brother Leopold, I hastened to Wittenberg (from which place I had been absent on a foot-journey through Thuringia), in order to be out of the reach of the war, and to prepare my lectures for the six months I was still to remain at the university. I had but just returned to Wittenberg, when news arrived of the disastrous battle of Jena. The first report was that a heavy cannonade had been heard; then that the Prussians had gained the victory; next that the courier refused to give any information; at last, however, the fugitives pouring into Wittenberg left no doubt of the defeat of the Prussians. But we did not even then dream of the whole extent of the disaster. It was soon made clear to us. As we were at breakfast previous to the conferring of the degree of *Magister*, in which I had to participate as adjunct of the philosophical faculty, a Prussian lieutenant with thirty or forty foot-soldiers arrived, took possession of the bridge over the Elbe, and required the authorities to furnish boats, straw and pitch, to enable him to comply with the order he had received to set fire to it as soon as the French should come in sight. The inhabitants begged him to spare it, but he replied and he was in the right: "as soon as the French approach, I must burn the bridge, for if I should not, it might cost my king his army."

Several days after, at five o'clock in the morning, the French un-

¹ The former pastor, Dr. Richter, had died in a fit of apoplexy. The widow and family of a deceased pastor are not only entitled by law to a sum equal to his salary for three months, reckoned from the first day of the month in which he died, but also by usage, or by provincial regulations, to a further continuance of the salary for six months, and in Prussia frequently for an entire year. — Tr.

expectedly appeared on the left bank of the Elbe. The lieutenant set fire to the bridge, and then fled with his few troops as rapidly as possible. As soon as the Prussians had gone, the Elbe-gate was opened and the inhabitants ran to extinguish the flames, which they succeeded in doing, within five minutes, by mounting a fire engine on a raft. The French then set themselves to repairing the bridge, and in an hour the brigade of General Morand passed over it, followed by one regiment after another without cessation. On the following day came the imperial guards. They remained over night in Wittenberg and filled the market-place and all the streets. Finer and stronger troops I had never seen. I went down to the market-place without fear, and took a position near the Elbe-gate in order to see Napoleon as he entered. There was so much delay, however, that I was finally obliged to step aside a minute. Just then thundered the *vive l'Empereur* from the throats of the guards, and I had only time to catch a glimpse of Napoleon in his simple overcoat, as he rode into the hotel fronting the market-place, in which he took up his quarters.

But now there arose another discomfort which I had not in the east anticipated. The French took possession of all the bakers' shops for the army, and for several days there was no bread to be purchased. The keeper of the eating-house at which I took my meals, had fled, and I was forced to go hungry. A two-groschen loaf and a little salt was all that I had; and it was only by stealth that my landlord furnished me at noon with a plate of meat and vegetables, purloined from the French kitchen established in the house. At last, after the main army had gone, I succeeded in buying of a French soldier a half ammunition-loaf, black as dirt, and for the first time for six days ate as much as I wanted. The French having strongly garrisoned Wittenberg, began at once to fortify it, and took possession of the lecture-rooms of the university for hospitals. Of course the university was broken up, and the students hastened home. I now determined to pack up my effects immediately and make a visit to my sister in Waldenberg. The packing was an easy matter, for there was little to pack besides books; but the getting away was attended with difficulty, for the great French military road from Leipsic passed through Wittenberg, and troops were constantly marching over it. Having obtained from the French commandant a pass for myself and my luggage, I found that this would not help me without a written order for horses from the general-in-chief. I accordingly hurried to the quarters of General le Marois, knocked

at several doors without obtaining an answer, but at last, at one of the doors, was invited to come in. It was the general himself. Without being offended that I had entered unannounced, he rose to meet me, and on hearing my request, immediately wrote for me an order on the postmaster for two horses, extra-post and a carriage. After some difficulty and delay, I left Wittenberg, with a joyful heart, at four o'clock in the afternoon (Oct. 29, 1806), and reached Leipsic the next morning. A squadron of French troops met us on the road, but no one offered to molest us. With still greater difficulty I managed to get out of Leipsic; but that once accomplished, I experienced no further interruption on the journey.

The remaining time till Easter, when I was to be settled in Schneeberg, I spent with my brother-in-law, Schmidt, in Waldenberg. Immediately on my arrival, I announced myself to my future Ephorus,¹ the superintendent Schlesier in Zwickau, who at once presented me for examination to the Consistory in Leipsic. This examination I sustained with honor, and received the testimonial *prompte et recte*. My trial-sermon in Schneeberg was assigned for Sunday, the third of March; the theme given by the superintendent Schlesier, was, "the blessedness of those who love to hear and keep the word of God." Meanwhile matters had taken such an unfavorable turn, without the least suspicion of it on my part, that the town-council had decided to protest, at the delivery of the trial-sermon, against my settlement. The reason was this. Two young pastors of the church, Berger and Richter, had died suddenly of apoplexy. The town had, therefore, within six years, twice had the expense of settling a pastor, which amounted to three hundred thaler (\$210); and now in my case the exhausted town-treasury was to be drawn upon for the third time. It was natural and pardonable in them to wish a strong man and not an invalid. Now I was young, active and well, but spare and somewhat pale. In consequence of my severe studies at Wittenberg, I had suffered from dyspepsy and had been compelled to go through a thorough course of medical treatment, and was relieved at last only by resorting to vigorous exercise. Still, from the paleness consequent upon confinement to my room, especially as I was slender, a superficial observer might easily suppose me to be consumptive. This was the decided opinion of a Schneeberg student who attended my

¹ Another name, which appears at present to be little used, for superintendent. To the superintendent is committed the oversight of all the pastors and teachers within a certain diocese or district. He is also the organ of communication between them and the higher authorities. — Tz.

lectures and was now at home. As soon as my nomination was known, he told every body that he knew me very well, and had attended my lectures, but that unfortunately I had a settled consumption, and a weak voice, and would soon, in the great Schneeberg church (one of the largest in the region), preach myself to death. I attached no blame to the young man for his mistaken judgment; but it is easy to see how unpleasant the prospect must have appeared to the Schneeberg people, and how natural in them it was to resolve, if the report should prove to be well founded, not to receive me. This state of mind was very much strengthened by another circumstance, of which I was equally ignorant. Not having preached in Wittenberg, but only lectured, I deemed it advisable, before delivering my trial-sermon in Schneeberg, to preach once in Waldenberg. The church there is only moderately large; but as it is not built in accordance with acoustic principles, a speaker cannot easily be heard in every part of it. In Wittenberg, I had unconsciously accustomed myself to the quiet and moderate tone of the lecture-room, and as my discourse in Waldenberg was delivered in the same style, it was not heard in all parts of the house. I observed the difficulty myself, but preferred not to rectify it during the sermon, as the effort might excite attention. It so happened that a citizen of Schneeberg, who was passing through Waldenberg, went to church to hear the new pastor, and finding it difficult to understand me, reported on his return home that I had a weak chest and voice, and could not make myself heard in the great Schneeberg church. Of course this greatly aggravated the ill feeling towards me.

In utter ignorance of all this, I journeyed to Schneeberg, full of hope, and made my visits. This did something towards allaying the feelings, for in my personal appearance there was nothing to indicate feebleness. I took a precaution, however, which was of great service to me. The day before the trial, I requested the Diaconus¹ Voigtländer to go with me into the church, and having gone into the pulpit, I looked carefully at all the objects on which my eye would rest, and recited something in order to ascertain what tone would be required in order to fill the very large church. The diaconus, who had taken a seat in a side corner, heard me distinctly. My acquaintance with music made it easy for me to notice on what tone I had spoken.

¹ In Saxony, the diaconus is an assistant preacher, who usually conducts the services, preaching included, in the afternoon. At the morning service he reads the Litany. At the Lord's Supper, also, it is a part of his duty to chant the Lord's Prayer.—Tr.

The sermon, consequently, passed off quite differently from what the public had expected. I spoke with a strong voice which filled the whole church, crowded as it was; preached rather long, showed not the least sign of fatigue, and, from having accustomed myself to speak very distinctly, was heard in every corner of the house. All opposition, therefore, had to be given up, and I received the papers for my call. I then hastened to Leipsic, where I was ordained and confirmed on the 10th of March.

VII. *Pastor in Schneeberg.*

I was now pastor in Schneeberg; and on my return through Altenberg, determined at last to offer my hand to Charlotte. But unluckily I had but just arrived, when some of my Altenberg friends came in, and concluded to keep me company the few hours I was to stay. Vexatious to the last degree as this was, I could not help it, and so put a good face upon the matter and made up my mind to conduct my cause by letter after returning to Schneeberg. From my whole deportment, however, Charlotte might have easily guessed my state of mind.

I arrived at home on the 25th of March, 1807, and two days after delivered my introductory sermon. From my want of practice in the composition of sermons, I had enough to do, at first, in preparing for the pulpit. For this reason I proposed not to be married immediately, but first to get a little money, as Charlotte I knew had none of her own. My resolution soon gave way, and on the 22nd of May, I wrote to Charlotte and solicited her hand. On the 1st of June I received her written answer in the affirmative. My next step was to travel on foot to Altenberg, where, on the 7th of June, we formally notified Charlotte's friends and acquaintances of our engagement, and made arrangements for the future. I had sparingly provided myself with furniture in Schneeberg, by purchase from the widow of my predecessor. The rest that was needed, I left for Charlotte to procure, and we agreed that our marriage should take place on her birthday, the 3rd of July. The old Baron von Kotsau took upon himself to bear the expense of the wedding. We were, therefore, married by the pastor Rothe, in Niederwiera (half a mile from Oberwiera), took dinner at Oberwiera, and returned in the evening to Altenberg, whence, on the 16th of July, we set out for Schneeberg.

I was very well pleased with the place of my settlement. The region is pleasant, and the inhabitants refined. They showed me

every attention. My situation brought me in about six hundred thaler (\$420), and this with Charlotte's economy was abundantly sufficient for our wants. The only thing that annoyed me was the state of the ministerial funds on which I mainly depended for support. These were in such a miserable state, that there was constant reason to fear they would entirely fail. Indeed, this had actually happened ten years before, and ministers and school-teachers had considerable sums due to them from the church-treasury, which had been running on from that date, and for which the town council refused to be responsible. I was, therefore, exceedingly desirous, at no distant period, to obtain a situation which promised a more certain income; for the whole of the salary was indispensable to me. Once the payments from the ministerial treasury actually failed; but *for that time* the town council agreed to be responsible for the deficiency, though only to oblige me, as one of the senators assured me. This was not very encouraging.

I published nothing during my residence in Schneeberg. I had enough to do in preparing my sermons, working in the two gardens of the parsonage, and living for my young wife. In the course of the winter, I began to read Josephus, with the view of collecting whatever pertained to the Jewish theology. Early in the spring, the Superintendent Gensel died in Annaberg. I read of his death in the papers, but did not dream that this might be an opening for me, as I was an utter stranger there, and my hopes were fixed upon Zwickau. I was, therefore, quite unprepared for a letter I received from the Burgher-master Biedermann in Annaberg, under date of May 21, 1808, in which he wrote that I had been recommended to the town council as superintendent by the upper court preacher Reinhard, and he therefore inquired whether I was willing to accept the situation, and if so, whether I would prefer to visit Annaberg or receive a deputation of the council at Schneeberg.

Although I felt like a man fallen from the clouds, my resolution was instantly taken. I wrote in reply, that I was not disinclined to accept the situation, but that before giving a definite answer I wished to be better informed respecting the income and the diocese, and that, as the feast of the Ascension was at hand and my wife was daily expecting to be confined, it was not possible for me to visit Annaberg before Whitsunday. I remained till Ascension-day, the 26th of May, without an answer. But on that day, as I was coming out of the church, the second Burgher-master Dietze, who had heard me preach, introduced himself to me. He repeated the call and gave me all

necessary particulars. The diocese was large, containing eighteen towns and a population of about ninety thousand souls. I hesitated no longer, but engaged to go. Dietze dined with me, and in the afternoon set out for home. On the next day, May 27th, my eldest son was born. A few days after, I sent to the town council of Annaberg the formal application for the pastorate there, and had now nothing to do but to await the result. On the 9th of June, 1808, my son was baptized. The old Baron von Kotzau and other friends were present. Dietze had written to me that the election in Annaberg would take place on the 9th of June, and that, in the event of my appointment, of which he had no doubt, he would immediately send me word by the messenger of the council. I baptized my son myself, and in the afternoon arranged a little play for my guests. As for myself I was too restless to sit still, and as the evening approached, my eyes were constantly turned towards the church-yard, by which the messenger would pass. At last he came, and brought me the appointment, which I at once made known to my friends.

The preparations for my removal now went rapidly forward. I was summoned to the Colloquium in Leipzig to be held on the 13th of July. On the 10th, I preached, as was customary, in the court church, in Reinhard's place, before the Minister, and was then invited by the latter to dinner. The gospel for the day was the passage respecting the mote and the beam, and the subject of my sermon was "the mote-judge." On Monday I met the Upper Consistory, by whom the text "He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son hath not life" (1 John 5: 12), was assigned to me for the sermon for Wednesday. I prepared it as soon as possible, and preached it on the morning of the 13th of July, in the court church, after which I immediately met the Upper Consistory for the Colloquium. These colloquia, in Reinhard's time, were numerously attended, and even the Minister, civil officers, and men of science were usually present. It was, therefore, no small thing to sustain one's self with credit, especially against Reinhard, who indulged his inclination to wit more than was right. When I entered the hall it was crowded to overflowing. The heat was terrible. Tittmann, as the senior member, commenced the Colloquium, and, so far, it passed off very well. Reinhard, who followed next, spoke first of my Sunday's discourse, and found fault that I had preached upon the mote-judge, and had therefore taken for granted that my hearers were guilty of the error, which, considering that I was a stranger, was not becoming. I replied that I certainly did believe that even the good people

of Dresden might not be entirely free from a fault so common, but that in the criticism in respect to the propriety of preaching a sort of castigatory sermon to a strange congregation, he was right. The remainder of the Colloquium passed off pleasantly, and the Upper Consistory declared in their report to the ministry, "that the office could be *well and profitably* intrusted" to me. I now returned to Schneeberg. On the 7th of August I preached my trial-sermon in Annaberg, and thence travelled to Dresden, where I was inducted into office on the 10th.

On the 4th of September, 1808, I delivered my farewell discourse in Schneeberg, and on the next day set out for Annaberg. Cold as my reception in Schneeberg had been a year and a half before (for when I came no one welcomed me, or even inquired after me), there were none, now, who did not regret my departure. They honored me with a farewell poem, and accompanied me in several carriages a number of miles on my journey. This, however, did not prevent them from afterwards demanding payment for the expenses of my settlement, which the law allowed them to do, because I had been with them less than three years. They made out against me a heavy bill, but finally reduced it to the moderate sum of a hundred and fifty thaler (\$105) which I afterwards paid.

I was glad to leave Schneeberg. The parsonage was in a miserable condition, and there was no money in the treasury to pay for needful repairs. The principal part of my salary was uncertain. The further contributions from the congregation depended to a great degree upon the good will of the people, which I found, on examining the receipt books for ten years or more back, had considerably diminished. I had no confession-money,¹ no weddings or baptisms, and the collections were of no account. Then, too, I was in the very prime of life (32), and exulted in the prospect of the large and promising sphere I was going to fill. I felt that I was able to do more than just to preach once every Sunday, which was all that my office in Schneeberg required. With joy and hope, therefore, I journeyed to Annaberg, and the distinguished reception which met me there contributed still further to my gratification. Four leagues

¹ In Saxony, confession and absolution precede the Lord's Supper. The former, according to Lutheran usage, is a confession, in which is required not an acknowledgment of each particular sin, but only a general acknowledgment of guilt. The payment of confession-money, derived from the old Roman Catholic church, has been retained. Wigger's Statistik, II. 114. In this instance it would seem the sum collected from this source went to the church. — Tr.

from Annaberg, I was received by the whole of the town-council, who breakfasted with me. Then, attended by them, I made my very magnificent entrance into the town. A splendid dinner was prepared for myself and the council, and the whole abundance of the meats and drinks which remained was presented to my wife. The clergymen of the town delivered poems, and the citizens honored me, in the evening, with a serenade.

Still there were some, even in Annaberg, who were dissatisfied with my election, because they had endeavored to secure the situation for a native of the town. They were, however, honest and upright men, and not only made me no difficulty, but soon became my best friends.

VIII. *Superintendent in Annaberg.*

On the 11th of September, 1808, I preached my introductory sermon in Annaberg, and entered upon the duties of my new and responsible office, for which, however, I was but indifferently prepared. I had only a year and a half of pastoral experience, knew but little of the routine of my official duties, and was entirely unacquainted with the Saxon Canon law. This, however, I soon remedied. I first of all, studied the ephoral records, and from them soon obtained a knowledge of the usual order of procedure. The *Corpus juris Saxonici* was almost always on my table, and I soon became perfectly acquainted with its contents. My greatest difficulties arose from the very numerous disputes respecting marriages and marriage engagements, which by the constitution of the church, at that time, were entirely committed to the superintendents. I soon, however, became at home in these matters, as their number was so great, and at least one hearing must be had every week.

The ephoral records and business I found in good order, for my predecessor, Gensel, had been a diligent Ephorus. Hence I could not understand why Reinhard, in my interview with him, had made the remark, that the district of Annaberg needed an active and strict Ephorus, as it had been hitherto very negligently managed. I soon, however, discovered the ground of this severe remark.

In looking over the current ephoral business, I found a number of disputes which had sprung from the school-law, recently enacted by the government. It required every child to pay one groschen a week for tuition, but the tuition of poor children was to be paid from the parish treasury. This regulation had been first tried as an experiment in some of the districts of the low land, e. g. in Weissenfels,

and as it worked well there, was extended to the whole country. To the high lands, and especially the district of Annaberg, this law was not at all adapted; indeed, it was impossible to carry it into execution. There were here in one school, not from eighty to a hundred children, as in the low lands, but from three to nine hundred, and many school-teachers would have received an income of more than a thousand thaler, if the law had been enforced. Besides, the number of the poor was ten times greater than in the low lands, so that no parish treasury was able to pay the tuition for the poor, and consequently the whole ordinance was impracticable. My predecessor, Gensel, who was a native of Annaberg, and thoroughly acquainted with the condition of this part of the country, fully perceived its impracticability, but the government was determined and would not yield. Who could blame him, in his old age, for having no disposition to enforce a law which evidently could not be obeyed? He had only failed in not having endeavored to settle the controversy between the school-teachers and parishes, and in allowing the latter, by his indifference, to carry the matter all their own way. It was for this that Reinhard had publicly blamed him.

I found from the records that, in the pleasant village of Lauterbach, especially, there was a violent quarrel between the Cantor¹ and the parish. The former had entered a complaint against the parish, for refusing to pay the tuition-money, and the latter in return had instituted two suits against the schoolmaster. The three suits were still pending, and I found that the Upper Consistory had expressed their dissatisfaction with the superintendent and the judge of the district on account of their remissness in the matter. The aged superintendent, Gensel, had not visited Lauterbach for four years, and the fact that the civil officer had done nothing, satisfied me that I could expect no help from that quarter in bringing the controversy to an end. Fortunately, according to the Saxon church-government, I had no need of it. I therefore took the matter in hand; but what an immense undertaking it was, I soon learned from experience. First of all, I made a journey to Lauterbach, in order to hold a visitation there, and at the same time, if it were possible, to reconcile the contending parties. I took good care not to intimate to the authorities the impracticability of the tuition-law, which they would not have

¹ Generally the teacher of music in the gymnasium, or other high school, to whom the direction of the singing in public worship is committed. Here, however, it is used in the sense which it frequently has, of *teacher of an elementary school.*

acknowledged, but resolved to persuade the school-teachers voluntarily to waive a part of the claim which the law gave them, and to demand from the smallest children, who required but little attention, only from four to six pfennige (ten to fifteen mills) a week; from those who were older, eight to nine pfennige, and a full groschen only from the oldest children. A private arrangement of this nature, I did not doubt, the Upper Consistory would very willingly sanction. At the close of the business of the visitation, receiving the accounts, etc., at about five o'clock in the afternoon, I took up the matter of the prosecution, with which I had previously made myself accurately acquainted by the study of the records. I soon succeeded in securing the assent of the school-teachers to my proposal; but on the directors of the parish, my statements produced no effect. The civil officer, who frequently interposed, became excited, and so did more harm than good. Nearly four hours I labored to reconcile the parties, but in vain. The reason why the parish officers could not be brought to a decision finally occurred to me. None of them were willing to speak out without having first taken counsel with the others. I therefore broke off the interview, requested them to talk over the matter among themselves, and the next morning at eight o'clock to meet me and give me their decision. This was the right course; on the next morning they declared themselves willing to accept the proposals submitted; a formal instrument of agreement was drawn up and signed by both parties, in which all the three suits were entirely settled, including even the costs of prosecution. The Upper Consistory were rejoiced to see these miserable prosecutions ended, and confirmed the settlement in every particular. This matter had the good effect of securing the confidence of the Upper Consistory in myself as Ephorus, which was continually strengthened by the termination to which I brought the controversies respecting the tuition-money in other places.

In short, I very soon succeeded in standing well with the Upper Consistory; for I may say, without vanity, that I was really a very active Ephorus, and took hold of everything that was necessary, with force and energy. The more difficult and complicated a thing was, the more I liked it; and it gave me special delight to disentangle knotty questions and bring them to a decision. I should seem prolix and vain, were I to add anything further. I will only say, that nearly all my plans received the approval of the Upper Consistory, and that, during the eight years of my service, I never received a

reprimand or remonstrance from the Upper Consistory, but was often commended by them.

In the year 1809, I received a letter from Reinhard, in which I was offered a professorship of theology, together with a pastorate, in Königsberg. I declined the invitation, partly from not wishing to remove to that remote section of the country, and partly, because I had but just indemnified the people of Schneeberg for my early removal; and now in Annaberg, where I had not yet been three years, I should have been obliged again to make good the expenses of my settlement. This would have involved me in debt. An invitation to a theological professorship in Berlin, with a salary of a thousand thaler (\$700), had still fewer attractions, since I was much better off in Annaberg.

My income in Annaberg amounted to about fourteen hundred thaler (\$980) a year. Of this, the living gave scarcely four hundred thaler. The rest were ephoral perquisites. As a fourth part of the ephoral duties was official, and a fourth part of the perquisites had to be remitted, on account of the poverty of the people, it may be easily imagined how much labor it required to earn a thousand or eleven hundred thaler in perquisites. I employed a copyist every day. Hence, at least in the early part of my residence there, I had no time for learned studies. The facilities, also, for progress in theological literature, were limited.

Much, therefore, as I was pleased with Annaberg, I began to entertain the wish to be transferred to another place. The reason was this. The ephoral business pleased me; the inhabitants were very excellent people, and gave me numerous proofs of respect and affection. I had a very beautiful stone dwelling-house, with eleven windows in front, large, high rooms, noble cellars, and fire-proof vaults. My income was considerable, and abundantly sufficient for my necessities. On the other hand, there were many unpleasant things connected with my situation there, which entirely justified my desire for a change. In the first place, the ephoral business was attended with many annoyances. In consequence of its great amount, I could do very little in theological studies. I was brought into connection with four royal districts, and a multitude of judicial and civil officers, with whom my relations were not always pleasant. The frequent difficulties respecting marriages and marriage engagements, of which, in a population of ninety thousand souls, there was no end, were a special source of vexation. In the second place, although my income was considerable, yet much of it was uncertain, e. g. the perquisites

from silent burials, Sunday marriages, and the like, which, by a change in the law, might easily fall away, and for which I could expect no equivalent. For the authorities, in introducing new regulations, never asked of the superintendents what injury they would suffer from the change; my predecessor actually lost from three to four hundred thaler per annum from this source. I was extremely dissatisfied, also, that the government laid such a load of official labor upon the superintendents, without allowing a single groschen for their support, so that I was obliged not only to labor gratuitously for the State, but also to pay for the necessary paper and copying, from my own purse. In the third place, the climate of Annaberg did not agree with me. The city lies seven hundred feet above the level of the sea, with no protection against the winds. There was no opportunity for the culture of fruit, which was my favorite recreation. The winter was long and steady, the spring, rough and short. I suffered much from colds and sore throat. After having lived from my fourteenth to my thirty-second year in the mild and fruitful lowland, the rough mountains did not please me, and I longed, not like the Swiss, for the mountains, but for the fertile plains of the valley. In the fourth place, there was too much poverty in the district. The destitution which continually came under my observation was painful to me, and rendered many of my plans of usefulness impracticable.

These were the reasons which led me to wish not to remain in Annaberg, but at some future period to remove to another position. With this in view, on the 17th of August, 1812, I publicly took the degree of Doctor of Theology in Wittenberg. This was the last doctorate of the kind at this university. The subject of my disputation was the *Capita theologiae Judaicae* from Josephus, a work which I commenced during my residence in Schneeberg. The honor, however, cost me over three hundred thaler (\$210), an expense which I have often regretted, as the title was shortly afterwards made common. The good people of Annaberg on my return commemorated my promotion in a number of poems composed for the occasion.

In the September following, my great patron, the upper court-preacher, Reinhard, died in Dresden. I had no expectation of being thought of as his successor, for I was too deeply sensible how far I stood beneath him, both as a preacher and scholar. I was quite surprised, therefore, to find myself regarded as a candidate. At the dedication of the church in Grünhain, the Minister of Public Worship, Count von Hohenthal, came unexpectedly from Chemnitz to hear me preach. Soon after, he sent me a book, upon which he

requested my judgment, and finally, a number of questions, which he wished me to answer. Among the latter was this: "Whether Luther's German translation of the Bible needed correcting or not?" I knew that my answer to this question would decide my fate. But since I had always greatly disliked to see laymen, in high positions, taking upon themselves the guardianship of theological science, and Hohenthal had been particularly forward in doing it, I now resolved to maintain my theological independence, whatever might become of my prospect of succeeding Reinhard. I therefore answered the questions in strict accordance with my convictions, pronouncing in favor of a revision of Luther's translation, and quietly awaited the issue. Naturally enough, however, I could not help thinking of the matter, and one day as I was listlessly looking out of my study-window, I noticed a scrawl on the glass, which after deciphering with some difficulty, I made out to be: "hope not but die!" For a moment, this struck me as oracular, as I had never before observed it; but only for a moment, for I had long since lost all superstitious fears. I smiled, and said to myself: "from my answer to the Minister it is true there is nothing to be hoped for, but as for dying, I shall take my own time for it." And so it turned out. Nothing further was said of me at Dresden, and Ammon,¹ who was far more deserving of it in every respect than myself, was called to Reinhard's place.

¹ Christopher Friedr. v. Ammon, a distinguished theologian and pulpit orator, was born at Baireuth in Bavaria, Jan. 16, 1766. First, professor of philosophy, then of theology, in the University of Erlangen, and after in Göttingen, he returned in 1804 to Erlangen, where he was subsequently appointed Superintendent and Bavarian church-counsellor. After his removal to Dresden, in 1813, as Reinhard's successor, a succession of honors awaited him, among which was the order of nobility. "In his earlier exegetical works he adopted the principles of Heyne, Eichhorn and Koppe, who changed the science of interpretation into a philosophy of interpretation, which became more and more sceptical and negative, and at last left nothing of the text of the Bible, except the interpreter and his own individual opinions."—*Conv.-Lex.* As a theologian and preacher, he embraced the Kantian philosophy, which appeared to him to offer the best basis on which to reconcile science and faith. Accordingly, his ethical and doctrinal system rests upon the principle of the practical reason. His course in reply to the celebrated theses of Claus Harms in 1817, led Schleiermacher to accuse him of disingenuousness and a species of Jesuitism. His learning was varied and extensive. He resigned his office as upper court-preacher in 1849. Of his numerous works on doctrinal theology, ethics and homiletics, the more important is his "Progressive moulding of Christianity into the universal religion," in four volumes, in which he maintains that the highest aim of the theologian is to reconcile the progress of theology with the progress of science.—*Tn.*

About this time, I resumed my theological studies. I reviewed a number of works in Wachler's Theological Annals, and formed an association composed of the candidates residing in Annaberg and Buchholz, which met weekly, for discussing subjects in the Latin language. I also commenced a larger theological work. I have already remarked that there was a deficiency of recent works in which the doctrines of the church were exhibited; I therefore determined to write a "Manual of Dogmatic Theology," in which the church-doctrines should be first accurately stated, next compared with Scripture and reason, illustrated by everything which can be advanced in their defence, and then a final opinion be pronounced upon the whole. The first volume was published in Leipsic by Barth, in March, 1814. This work directed Von Ammon's attention towards me. It was subsequently the immediate occasion of my invitation to Gotha.

The disturbances occasioned by the war in 1813, diverted me for a long time from the prosecution of this work. I had followed the expedition of Napoleon against Russia, on which the fate of Europe was pending, with the greatest interest, and even went so far as to copy off all the accounts of the military operations in order to be able to keep my eye upon the progress of the whole. We also had, in Annaberg, the reading of the Austrian Observer, which brought us more impartial information than the other papers. Respecting the retreat of the French, and their disaster at the Beresina, we received both printed and written accounts, which we could only privately communicate to each other. All this I faithfully copied, together with all the accounts of the battles of Lützen, Bautzen and Leipsic. I conscientiously continued this collection up to the entire overthrow of Napoleon, and thus arose my "History of the four years' war of the allies against Napoleon," which was published at Annaberg, in the spring of 1816, in two small volumes.

I then applied myself, once more, to the preparation of the second volume of my "Manual of Dogmatic Theology," but was soon interrupted by my invitation to Gotha. In respect to homiletic matters, I published a considerable number of Festival-Sermons at Annaberg, and subsequently a small volume of discourses "on Death, Immortality, Resurrection and Eternal Life." I also took a very active part in the founding of a Lyceum, still flourishing, the exercises of which consisted in music, reading, declamation and dancing.

After the battle of Leipsic, the militia of Annaberg, in common with the rest of the kingdom, were called out. I administered the oath

the same evening in the principal church, and was so carried away by enthusiasm, that I should have accompanied them myself, if my wife and children had not held me back. I went, however, with my last gold coin to the bureau of the militia, in order to aid in equipping them, but did not finally contribute it, because the whole of my remaining money was only eighteen groschen (54 cents), and I did not know, with a wife and family to support, when I should see another. When the Congress of Vienna, however, so unwarrantably rent Saxony in twain, I was very glad that I kept my money, and have been ever since. Nothing in my life ever excited me more than this outrage, and I cannot think of it, even now, without indignation. In the sermon which I had to deliver at the celebration of the return of the King of Saxony, the whole bitterness of my wounded patriotism came out, so that when it was afterwards printed in Gotha, I saw fit to erase many of the expressions which were too violent.

The Count von Einsiedel became Minister, after the division of Saxony, and no clergymen were inducted into office without his consent. This had an important influence upon my position and feelings. He was a warm admirer of Stephan, the pastor of the Moravian church, who afterwards became so notorious.¹ He attended his church nearly every Sabbath, and this led those who wished to get into his good graces to go there too. I saw how everything was made to conform to the theological taste of the Minister, and by what means his patronage was sought; and I firmly resolved to adopt no such means, and to preserve my scientific independence in theology. From this time, also, I turned my attention to other parts of Germany, and came to the settled resolution to accept the first eligible call which would free me from this theological Egyptian bondage.

It came unexpectedly. The Leipzig Journal brought us the news of the death of Loeffler, general superintendent in Gotha, which

¹ Martin Stephan, born in Moravia about the year 1780, after having studied at the universities of Halle and Leipsic, was called, in the year 1810, to be pastor of the small Moravian church in Dresden. Here he distinguished himself by maintaining the strictest Lutheranism, and also by his attractive preaching, which drew many of high rank to hear him. The excessive admiration of his friends was more than he could bear. Brought under the watch of the police and suspended from office, he fled, in 1838, with a number of ministers and laymen, who thought there was no hope for the progress of the truth in Europe, to the United States. After many trials, they established a Lutheran society in Missouri, but their leader, on account of his extravagant assumption of power and his criminal conduct, was excommunicated. He afterwards became a Roman Catholic, and died in Illinois on the 22nd of February, 1846. See Guericke, *Kirchengeschichte*, III. 546.—T.N.

occurred on the third of February, 1816. He died of apoplexy, while engaged in the installation of a pastor in Gamstaedt. My wife, who had lived three years in Gotha, related to me many interesting things respecting the deceased, but we had not the most distant thought that this might be a place for myself, as I had not the slightest connection with Gotha. It therefore quickly passed out of mind. In May, we read in the Journal, that the Duke August of Gotha was on a visit to the court in Dresden. This visit of the Duke decided my future course. He had inquired of Ammon, the upper court-preacher in Dresden, whether he would be willing to come to Gotha in Loeffler's place, and had given him a general view of the income of the office. Ammon declined the invitation, as he could hardly help doing. The Duke then requested him and Boettiger to recommend a man whom they regarded as qualified for the situation. They had become personally acquainted with me some time previously, and recommended me so decidedly to the Duke, that he immediately authorized them to write to me and inquire whether I would come. This letter, requesting an answer to the Duke's inquiry, before his departure from Dresden, I received on the 10th of March, 1816. Of the income of the situation, Ammon had only written that I might depend upon receiving eighteen hundred thaler (\$1260) or more.

My resolution was instantly taken. On account of Einsiedel's influence, I could expect no further promotion in Saxony; the situation in Gotha was honorable; Duke August was known as an able and enlightened prince, and a patron of learned men. I was in my forty-first year, and therefore just at the right age to occupy a wider sphere. The income at Gotha, it is true, was only four or five hundred thaler better than my income at Annaberg, but it was much more certain, and did not have to be earned in dribblets, as at Annaberg, by an oppressive load of ephoral business. At the same time, a favorite wish was gratified in the opportunity I now had of removing to a mild and fruitful climate. Ammon, in his letter, had dropped the remark, that he would rather I should occupy such a position in my native country, but he could not say, and did not suppose, that all the pious people in Dresden agreed with him. This hint I perfectly understood, and, indeed, was already aware of the fact. I immediately replied, on the following day, that I was quite disposed to engage in the service of a prince so able and enlightened as Duke August, and would accept the invitation, but must request a statement in detail of the income and the official relations of the place.

Duke August did nothing by halves. Immediately after his return, he directed Hoppenstedt, the counsellor of the government and of the Upper Consistory, to write to me. After giving me the particulars I desired, he apprises me that in case of my decease, my wife would be entitled to a share of the great fund for widows in Gotha, which would give her a pension equivalent to a fourth part of my income. This provision for my wife and children, if I should die early, had great weight with me, as my family, if I should die in Saxony, would only receive a pension of about thirty-two thaler, but here, from 450 to 470 thaler. I immediately replied, that I would accept the call, with the understanding that the whole income which my predecessor had received, should be secured to me, and that my entire salary should be paid from the widows' fund. It was well for me that I made these conditions so definite. My predecessor had received four hundred thaler in addition to his regular salary, and this sum the ministers proposed to strike out, as they thought the salary was large enough without it; but the Duke would not consent. The claim upon the widows' fund was also refused me, after I came to Gotha, because it was not designed for clergymen, and therefore only my salary as counsellor of the Upper Consistory, which merely amounted to a hundred thaler (\$70), could be drawn from it. I appealed, however, to Hoppenstedt's letter and my express stipulation, and was then with my whole salary placed "exceptionally" upon the widows' fund.

After the reception of my letter in Gotha, the electoral college, at the instance of the Duke, made choice of me on the 10th of June, and two days after sent me the call. I was to enter upon my new office at Michaelmas. I now presented at Dresden my request for a dismissal from office, which was granted me with honor. Proposing, on the journey to Gotha, to spend a few weeks with my relatives in Altenberg and Waldenberg, I preached my farewell sermon in Annaberg, had it printed and distributed, sold a part of my effects which I did not wish to take with me, at auction, and left Annaberg on the 5th of September, 1816. It was a trial to me to bid the people adieu; for they loved me, were unwilling to lose me, and at my departure gave me every possible token of regard. I had spent eight happy years in Annaberg. As I walked through the now empty rooms of my dwelling for the last time, to see that nothing was left, and came to the room where three of my children were born, my feelings were so painful that I was obliged to hasten away. A great number of the first people in the town accompanied me, on my

departure, as far as Thum, where we took breakfast together, and then bade each other adieu with many tears. I was so much affected, that, as I left Thum, I silently promised myself never to leave Gotha if I should again find myself esteemed and encircled with friends.

IX. *Induction into office in Gotha.*

Not wishing to enter my new home in Gotha in the evening, I lodged at Erfurt, the night previous, and reached Gotha about noon, on the 30th of September. Little as I anticipated in respect to a reception, not even the most moderate of my expectations were realized. Besides the city council, with whom I had business, not a soul, save my future colleague, Perrin, had addressed me a friendly letter. The reason, as I afterwards learned, was this. Two Gotha ministers had been nominated for Loeffler's place, and for one of them, especially, much effort had been made. These projects were all defeated by the independent appointment which Duke August had made in Dresden. Those who supposed themselves to be able to exert an influence in the choice of a new general superintendent, as may be easily imagined, were deeply wounded, and vented their ill-will against myself. In addition to this, no very great respect was entertained in Gotha for a mere superintendent. Still further, it was said not only that I did not deserve the honor, but also that my salary was enormous. I had scarcely been eight weeks in Gotha, when the high cup-bearer, Count von Salisch, said to me by way of reproach, in a promiscuous assembly: "You have a salary like a cabinet minister." I replied briefly and promptly: "when I was invited to Gotha, I did not inquire what salary a minister then received, but what it was proposed to give to myself. Had less been offered, I should have remained where I was, for I have only bettered myself about four hundred thaler."

There were still other circumstances which contributed to this state of things. In Annaberg, I had been elected by the free choice of the city council; but here, I had been called by the electory college only by direction of the Duke. There, I was the pastor of all the inhabitants; here, only of the city congregation. The whole court and the garrison constituted separate congregations, with which I had nothing to do. There, as superintendent I ranked as one of the first men in the city; here, the general superintendent stood far below a mass of high civil officers and noblemen. In Saxony, and

especially in Annaberg, the inhabitants were much attached to their ministers; here, they were less so.

It was natural, therefore, that I should be quite coldly received at Gotha. I slept but little the first night, and was anything but happy in my new relations. Still, I did not give way to despondency. I was under obligations to no one but the Duke; of all others I was entirely independent, and consequently was able to enter, unfettered, upon the discharge of my official duties. First of all, I was to be introduced to the Duke. I had expected to be received, as was due to me, in a private audience, instead of which I was only invited to dinner. At the table, he merely asked me "how I liked Gotha," and after I had replied by expressing admiration of the good taste, exhibited in the environs of the city, he turned to some one else, and the conversation ended. This surprised me not a little; but I was not yet acquainted with Duke August. This was one of his peculiarities; he was and remained my great patron till his death. I next paid not only all the visits which my relations rendered proper, but made the first visit to many who were under obligation to visit me, without exhibiting the slightest sign of dissatisfaction.

On the 13th of October, I preached my inaugural sermon, and was presented to the church by the upper court-preacher, Schaeffer. This man had been engaged for some years in a controversy with my predecessor, Loeffler, in which he had the unanimous voice of the public against himself. On introducing me, he committed the great indiscretion of mentioning these difficulties in a manner to reflect upon Loeffler, and expressed his conviction that my theological views would be of an entirely different character. Nothing ever so much disgusted me, on a public occasion, as this. I deeply felt how much it might injure me in the estimation of the public, and how mean it was for Schaeffer to make me, at the outset, responsible for his own theology. The consequences I had anticipated soon followed. There was a general expression of disapprobation; pamphlets were exchanged, and it was resolved to erect a public monument to Loeffler by subscription, to which I also contributed.¹

On my introduction and admission, the next day, into the Upper Consistory, I at once took occasion, upon Hoppenstedt's referring in terms of disapprobation to Schaeffer's discourse, to express my feel-

¹ From the account of this excitement, given by the highly esteemed and celebrated Friedrich Jacobs, in his "Personalia," Leipzig, 1840, appended to this volume, it appears that Schaeffer had originally sympathized with Loeffler in his rationalistic views, but afterwards embraced orthodox sentiments. — Ta.

ings plainly in regard to his conduct. This immediately became known, and protected me to a degree against the injurious consequences of Schaeffer's indiscretion, and it was not long before the public became gradually convinced that I was no zealot for ecclesiastical orthodoxy. It was fortunate for me that Duke August remained my protector and patron till his death, and regularly attended upon my preaching. The coldness, also, with which I was received in the city, was counterbalanced by the tokens of respect everywhere shown me in the country, during my general visitations.

X. Gotha.

I entered upon the duties of my new office with energy and independence. The labors connected with the Consistory and the spiritual lower court, together with preaching, constituted my principal business. Accustomed to work rapidly, I found it an easy matter to discharge the duties of my office, and to gain time for study. First of all, I applied myself to the second part of my "Manual of Doctrinal Theology," after finishing which, I published a number of other works, and furnished many reviews for the *Leipaisc Literaturzeitung*.

In the year 1822, Duke August died, in the prime of life. His death, which was sudden, deeply affected me, not only because he was my patron, but also because his brother, who now succeeded him, had become a Roman Catholic in Rome. I had learned in Saxony how ruinous this might be, and therefore, though full of apprehension, resolved at once to do all in my power to prevent the Catholic duke from directing in person the government of the church in a land exclusively Protestant like Gotha. As president of the clergy of the country, I believed this to be my duty. Fortunately, I was strongly supported by the will of Duke Ernest the Pious, in which it was provided that, if any one of his successors should become a Catholic, the direction of the church-government should pass into the hands of the oldest Protestant relative on the father's side, who in the present case was Duke Frederick of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The ministers before whom I laid the matter received me coldly and took no action. I then went again to the youngest of the ministers, von Lindenau, and earnestly begged him to arrange the matter according to our wishes, because we were expecting every day to receive a summons from Hildburghausen to acknowledge the jurisdiction pointed out by the will of Ernest the Pious, which, according to that will, we could not refuse. At length, in the fifth week, there came a rescript from

Duke Frederick, of Gotha, in which he promised to preserve in their full integrity the rights and constitution of the evangelical state-church, to appoint only Protestant (cabinet) ministers, and through them to conduct the government of the church. This perfectly satisfied us, and we acknowledged his jurisdiction without hesitation. This was but just finished, when a rescript arrived from Hildburghausen requiring our obedience, according to the will of Ernest the Pious, and commanding us not to comply with orders from Duke Frederick of Gotha. It came too late. We replied that Duke Frederick had committed the government of the church to his evangelical ministers, and had given satisfactory security to the established church, and that, therefore, we had pledged ourselves to obey his ministers, and must now refer the Duke of Hildburghausen to our court. I was very glad that an arrangement so important to the established church had been secured, but there were many in the city, I heard, who disapproved of the course of the Upper Consistory. They were only those, however, who understood nothing of the case, and I paid no regard to their well-meant but mistaken judgment. Duke Frederick died in the third year of his reign; and after an interregnum was succeeded by Duke Ernest of Coburg. The change, although it occasioned a new organization in the State, affected the church but little, and my official relations not at all.

Before this, I had provided for Gotha a new book of psalmody, many of the hymns in which are of my own composition. The prayers and devotional parts prefixed, with a single exception, are also mine. In compiling the psalmody, I steadily adhered to the principle of retaining, in the old hymns, ancient biblical conceptions and expressions, but striking out those which go beyond the Bible, or only pertain to doctrinal theology. The introduction of the new collection was not compulsory, but was left to the free choice of the parishes, in consequence of which it was shortly used in nearly all the congregations.

My social relations in Gotha soon became exceedingly pleasant. Gotha was also at that time the residence of a great number of learned and celebrated men, among whom were Doering, Kries, Schulze, Ukert, Regel, Rost, Wurstemann, Welcker, connected with the Gymnasium illustre; also v. Schlotheim, Fr. Jacobs, v. Hoff, Streler, Galletti, Becker, Hennicke, Fr. Perthes, Enke, and at a later period, Hansen, Glenk, and many others. The agreeable and instructive society of these men I greatly enjoyed. My relations with the teachers in the gymnasium were especially pleasant, and

have always been of the most friendly character. As there was a ninepin alley in my garden, and I had always been in favor of this innocent amusement, on account of the exercise it gives, I invited a part of my friends and acquaintances who had a taste for it, to form with me a ninepin club, which met twice a week, beginning usually in May, and closing about the end of October. Many happy hours has it given me, and every member I trust will love to think back upon it.

[In the autumn of 1833, occurred the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment as superintendent in Annaberg, on which occasion he was made Privy counsellor of the Upper Consistory. In March of that year, his wife, whose health had been failing for several years, died. The year after, he married her younger sister, who for more than twenty years had been a member of his family, had instructed all his children, and was regarded by them as a second mother. In the year 1835, he made a tour to Geneva, "the longest and most interesting of his life." The church in Geneva, in commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the reformation, which occurred in August, had extended an invitation to the Lutheran clergy of Germany to attend by their delegates. The Duke of Saxe-Gotha requested Dr. Bretschneider to attend, and presented him with the sum of two hundred and fifty thaler (\$175) towards defraying the expenses of his journey, which, with an equal sum from his own purse, enabled him to take his wife and two of his children with him. He was treated with great attention in Geneva, but the social intercourse of that city had too many French characteristics to please him. On his return, he saw the small and miserable place in which the celebrated council of Basel passed its energetic decrees against the absolute power of the papacy. In Basel, too, he visited the grave of Erasmus, "who lacked nothing to make him a reformer except firmness of character and moral courage."]

In 1840, my health began to be seriously affected. The prescriptions of the physicians were only partially successful. Conjecturing that a brown substance with which my tongue was constantly covered, might proceed from the coloring matter in the red wine I used, I confined myself from this time to white wine. An affection of the eyes convinced me, before long, that the source of the difficulty lay deeper. My right eye was weak from my childhood, but the left eye was uncommonly strong. As early as 1839 I had noticed that I did not see so clearly at a distance, as formerly, and that there was frequently a kind of cloud before my eyes. The difficulty continued to

increase, but I accounted for it on the ground of the natural decay of sight in a man sixty years old. But in the autumn of 1840 I was frequently annoyed by flying black points before the left eye, *mouches volantes*, so called, which greatly increased in winter, when the sun shone upon the snow; the cloud, also, which surrounded the objects I saw, became thicker. In February, 1841, I noticed, all at once, that it was difficult for me to read plain writing. I now for the first time carefully examined the matter, and found that one half of my left eye nearest the nose was affected, and occasioned the difficulty in reading. I immediately applied to the physician, who declared the eye organically sound, and attributed the dimness of sight to congestion of the bowels, from which, also, the brown coating on the tongue proceeded.

Before I was able to go to Kissingen, the waters of which were prescribed as the only means of relieving me, the obscuration continued to increase till it covered the whole of the left eye, so that I could see nothing with it, but was obliged to depend entirely upon the other, which had always been weak. I felt, also, that I was losing strength, and suffered much from colds and catarrh. For some years I had observed that the general yearly church and school visitations, in which I was obliged to remain several hours in the damp and cold churches, injured me, and brought on attacks of fever and catarrh. Feeling unable any longer to endure the exposure and fatigue connected with these visitations, I petitioned the Duke to release me from the duty for the rest of my life, with which request he graciously complied. I spent four weeks at Kissingen, to which Professors Stark and Haefer had also advised me to go, and the water, of which I drank freely, appeared to afford me relief.

I had been installed as superintendent in Gotha on the 14th of October, 1816, and consequently in the autumn of this year (1841), occurred my five and twentieth anniversary. I had mentioned it to no one, and had avoided calling attention to it in any way whatever, because I am no friend to jubilees. The friendship, however, of my colleague in the Consistory, the upper court-preacher Jacobi, had made it known and provided for its celebration. Everything was done so secretly, that I was wholly unprepared for the honors which crowded upon me. They began, on the evening of the 13th, with a serenade from the teachers' seminary. On the 14th, I was surprised and delighted by numerous tokens of respect and love. The privy counsellor and president of the government, von Stein, appeared, congratulated me in the name of the Duke, and placed in my hands

the commander's cross, second class, of the Saxon house-order.¹ From the widowed Dutchess of Gotha-Altenburg, my special patroness, I received a beautiful table-clock. The clergy of the country appeared in great numbers to wish me prosperity. The eldest superintendent, the venerable Dr. Jacobi, of Waltershausen, addressed me in a Latin speech, to which I replied in the same language, and presented me with a beautiful silver cup, and a memorial expressly printed for the occasion. The school-teachers honored me with a silver chandelier and a poem. The candidates for the ministry presented me with a poem and a writing apparatus of silver, with appropriate inscriptions upon the inkstand and pen. The two Gymnasia addressed me in a poem. The city council appeared *in corpore*, to wish me prosperity, and invited me and my whole family to a public dinner. A present of two silver candlesticks from the clergy of Coburg, and of two paintings representing portions of Geneva, from the German-Lutheran church in that city, delighted and surprised me. The Engelhard printing-office sent me a beautifully printed and well-arranged votive tablet. The members of the Upper Consistory appeared early in the morning to congratulate me. At the dinner, to which the ministers and school-teachers from abroad were invited, a multitude of toasts, partly witty and partly serious, were offered. The replies to these, on my part, as well as the answers to the numerous addresses I had received, did not fatigue me, and I was still quite fresh when the two Gymnasia, in the evening, honored me with a torch-light procession and music.

These honors, however, contributed nothing to the improvement of my health. It continued to grow worse, but was somewhat restored by a visit to the baths at Ems, so that I was again able to preach. The winter in 1842 I passed quite comfortably, and was able to prepare and publish my work entitled: "Theology, according to Reason and Revelation, for reflecting readers."

XI. *Literary Labors.*

After this sketch of my external life, it is proper for me to give some account of my literary labors in Gotha. As I have already observed, my official duties were light, and therefore I had time to

¹ Eight years before, at the establishment of the order in Gotha, on which occasion he preached the sermon, he had received the knight's cross, which entitled him to wear the decoration on the breast; he now reached the higher dignity of wearing it around the neck. — T.

prosecute theological studies, and to prepare works for publication. My course of life, so long as I enjoyed perfect health, was as follows: from six to twelve o'clock, I spent in uninterrupted study; from twelve to one, I took a walk, when the weather was good; after dinner another walk, and then from three to eight, study again. In summer, I only studied from three to seven, and then took a walk. When I went into company, which I did about three evenings every week, my labors for the day were closed at five o'clock. Since the year 1840, I have been obliged to abstain from study in the evening, on account of my eyes, and have therefore spent much more time in society.

In addition to this, I read a great deal, and for this purpose made use of every unoccupied moment. I had also formed the habit of reading with more than ordinary rapidity, without at the same time losing the sense. Besides theological works, I read, for relaxation, many treatises and essays on historical subjects, natural history, geography and astronomy, and followed with the most lively interest the rapid progress of the natural sciences, with the results of which, at least, I made myself tolerably familiar. The study of nature essentially affected my theological views; and I finally became convinced that all philosophy and theology are ultimately dependent upon the extensive and intensive perfection of our observation of the world and of nature; a principle of the highest importance for theology, and especially for every theory of revelation. For it follows, therefore, by absolute necessity that, in whatever age a Divine revelation be given, it can only communicate its truths in accordance with the views respecting the universe held in that age, and therefore must be progressive;¹ a principle which I first elaborated in a logical form, and applied to Christianity, in one of my latest works, "Theology, according to Reason and Revelation," 1848. My official duties required me to give two hours' religious instruction, each week, to the highest class in the gymnasium. Soon after commencing, I saw that religion must be philosophically established, before faith in a revelation could be rooted in the mind. This led me to a renewed study of philosophy, and to the formation of a fixed system, the principles of which are brought out, however imperfectly, in my "Manual of religion for Gymnasias," published in the year 1824.

¹ This is not the place to discuss the correctness of the principle laid down by Dr. Bretschneider. It may be said, however, that the illustration furnished by him in a treatise published since his death, entitled "The nature of things brought into comparison with the received theology," will not do much to recommend it. — TR.

The settled conviction at which I arrived was, that the difference between subject and object in consciousness, is something original; and still further, that all consciousness is only the distinguishing between myself and something else, and first arises in this process, and consequently that the question respecting its origin is not admissible, and cannot be answered. I satisfied myself, also, that the faculties by which we acquire knowledge, viz. the senses, as well as understanding and reason, have original forms, within which alone they are able to act; that these forms, indeed, are subjective and of themselves give no information respecting the qualities of objects, but that they are also *empty* and their employment is always dependent upon the presentation of the object to their appropriate faculties. Further, these forms of knowledge are ultimate truths, and consequently neither capable of proof, that is, of derivation from some further truth, nor requiring it. All forms of knowledge have equal certainty and truth, and therefore the form of perfection, which is the reason and which furnished ideas, is as certain and true as the forms of sense and of the understanding. Beyond these ultimate truths, which are immediately certain, there is no proper knowledge, but only fancy work; and as fancy and nothing else, must I regard Schelling's God and Hegel's universe-spirit; and when Schelling explains the objective world to be a fragment of the absolute, or Hegel makes it a nonentity, I must consider their speculations as mere dreams. In respect to both these systems, however, it was extremely offensive to me that they clothed their philosophemes in those words and phrases employed by the church-theology to express the trinity, the incarnation, the fall, original sin, and justification, a course which appeared to me to be nothing better than unworthy, nay hypocritical, trickery.

As the composition of my "Manual of Doctrinal Theology," led me to compare every doctrine with the Scriptures, it was necessary for me to prosecute my exegetical studies. The frequent use I was obliged to make of Schleusner's lexicon, and the commentaries upon the New Testament, soon made me sensible how uncertain, and philologically and grammatically inaccurate, the prevalent interpretation, and how much Schleusner's lexicon, the principal work at that time, was characterized by great indefiniteness, not only in general, but especially in the doctrinal articles, by which the student was often more bewildered than aided. I therefore conceived the project of preparing a new manual lexicon of the New Testament, and immediately applied myself to the task. Schleusner formed the groundwork. Scarcely, however, had I finished a few letters, before I

became convinced that I must pursue other studies besides Winer's Grammar of the New Testament, and make myself fully acquainted with the progress which rational grammar and profane philology had made. Still, as the printing of the lexicon had already been commenced (it first appeared in 1824 in two volumes), it was not possible for me to survey the whole ground, and my lexicon, therefore, in its first form, was still too dependent upon Schleusner, and the exegesis of that period. It was only in the second and especially the third editions that the results of the latest philological investigations were fully used. Among my works in learned theology, I attach the most value to my "Manual of Doctrinal Theology," and my "Lexicon of the New Testament."

Besides these, I may mention a few others. In the year 1819, I wrote my "Aphorisms" for the furtherance of the union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches, for which I received from the Prussian ministry the great golden medal of the Reformation-jubilee. Having often pursued critical investigations respecting the genuineness of John's writings, which finally led me to the conclusion that these writings did not proceed from the Apostle John, I prepared a German essay on the subject, with the view of presenting it to one of our periodicals. As it proved to be longer than I had anticipated, I decided to publish it as a separate work, but on account of the laity, in Latin and not in German. Instead of composing it anew in Latin, I was unwise enough to translate the German into Latin, and without taking sufficient time even for this. The consequence was, that the Latin was considerably defective, and, as if this was not bad enough, my Latin hand-writing, which is not very plain, occasioned a considerable number of errata. I was criticised for this, and with justice. I ought to have made the composition better, and could have done, if I had taken the requisite time for it. The work was issued in 1820, under the title: "*Probabilia de Evangelii et Epistolarum Joannis Apostoli indole et origine,*" and produced a great excitement among the theologians. A multitude of essays and reviews appeared in answer to it, many of which were extremely passionate and bitter. I made no reply, but allowed the judgment of the learned world to take its own course.¹ It was in consequence of this work,

¹ In the preface to the second edition of his Doctrinal Theology, Dr. Bretschneider states that the doubts advanced by him in respect to the genuineness of the Gospel of John, were only proposed as questions to draw out a fuller discussion and more thorough demonstration. The defence, conducted by Schott of Jena, Stein, Hensen, Usteri, Lücke, Tholuck and others, was so triumphant,

however, in part, that when, some time after, Tittmann died in Dresden, and the city council proposed to invite me to succeed him, the Minister, v. Einsiedel, by whom I had been denounced as "*the John-slanderer*," was utterly opposed to my election.

[Dr. Bretschneider next laments that about this time the period of quiet theological investigation came to an end. A reaction to the old orthodoxy, which has not yet ceased, commenced. He complains bitterly of the "*Evangelical Church Journal*," established as the organ of the orthodox movement. Its attacks upon Wegscheider and Gesenius, professors in Halle, led him to compose his "*Epistle to a Statesman*," which contributed essentially, he thinks, to prevent the accused from being prosecuted by the government. This drew upon him the attention of the evangelical party; himself and his works were frequently assailed in this Journal, and everything he published was eagerly and unmercifully criticised. Of Professor Hahn, who addressed him a public letter, accusing him of heresy, he speaks in bitter terms. He replied in a work "*On the fundamental principles of the Evangelical church*," which appeared in 1832. He became still more obnoxious to this party, on succeeding Zimmermann in 1832, as chief editor of the "*General Church Journal*," in which capacity he continued to oppose the reaction towards orthodoxy. With the same end in view, he also published the work entitled: "*The foundation of Evangelical Pietism, or the doctrines of Adam's fall, original sin, and the sacrifice of Christ*," Leipsic, 1838. 8vo. The appearance of his small work upon the "*Unallowableness of compulsion in respect to the Creed*," in the spring of 1841, called forth another attack from the *Evangelical Church Journal*, which he calls "*slandorous and shameful*," and which he answered in his own *Journal*.]

A literary work, of great extent (15 vols. 4to.), published by me was the *Corpus Reformatorum*, commencing with Melancthon's works, especially his letters and opinions. The labor of editing such a work can only be understood by those who have experienced it. Had I earlier appreciated the infinite difficulties it involved, I should never have undertaken it, and without the perseverance I possess, I should never have accomplished it.

In addition to my works designed for professed theologians, I have written several for intelligent laymen, which have been received with considerable favor. They were called forth by the state of the

that the question is generally considered as settled. Even Credner is obliged to admit the genuineness as established. — Tr.

times. The wretched proselytism urged forward in Germany, and more especially in Saxony, by disciples of the Jesuits, in 1822 and the following years, gave occasion for the work: "Henry and Antonio, or the Proselytes of the Romish and Evangelical Church," which first appeared in 1826, and in a fifth edition in 1843, designed to confirm Protestants in their faith and arm them against proselytism. It has been translated into English in the United States,¹ and into French at Geneva. In another work, "Theology and the Revelation," I refuted the calumny that the theological illumination was the source of the political revolutions and an enemy to the monarchical principle. The disturbances on account of the Archbishop of Cologne, Droste v. Vischering, led me to write "The Baron von Saudau, or the mixed marriage," in which I aimed not only to show the danger of mixed marriages for both parties, but also to meet the ultramontane principle respecting them, and to lead the Catholics to a milder and more correct judgment. It was published in 1839, and in that year went through four editions. The more it was read the more bitterly it was opposed, and of course did not escape the attacks of the Evangelical Church Journal. In the autumn of 1841 appeared my work against the pietism of our age, under the name "Clementine," which aroused anew the hostility of that party. It is in a measure the profession of my faith for intelligent laymen, and the theory of immortality which I have there put into the mouth of a physician is mine.

XII. *My judgment of myself.*

I take the liberty to add a few words in respect to my character and abilities, that my own judgment of myself may be known.

The predominant trait of my mind, is the logical faculty. The occupations which require intelligence and judgment were always the most pleasant to me, and nothing gave me greater satisfaction than to unravel confused and complicated matters. It is in consequence of this trait that I have devoted myself more to scientific than to practical theology. Still, as a pulpit orator, I have never been deficient in liveliness of emotion, or fire, although steadily keeping my feelings, however strong, under the direction and control of the understanding. I was, therefore, born to be a rationalistic, and not a mystic theologian. Nothing has ever been so unpleasant to me as obscure

¹ With additional notes, by John G. Morris, Minister of the Lutheran Church, Baltimore, 1834.

and unintelligible mystic talk; and books containing obscurity, confusion and unconsecutiveness of thought, I quickly laid aside. What I did not understand, what did not admit of being clearly stated, I could never receive; and hence the writings and philosophemes of Schelling and Hegel, on account of their dialectic indefiniteness and confusion, I never could reliah.

My memory was good for things, but not for words, numbers, or unconnected events. Of these I always forgot a great deal, notwithstanding any effort I could make, to fasten them in my mind. Hence, in philology, I have never accomplished much. On the other hand, I had no difficulty in committing to memory a well-arranged sermon, and never required more than three hours to become familiar with my own discourses. My imagination is moderate, as the poems I have written show. My will has had sufficient force, and I have always found in myself the moral courage to adept and resolutely prosecute hazardous measures, on being once satisfied of their necessity. Hence I have never abandoned anything which I have once undertaken, whatever difficulties might lie in the way. The only learned work I have ever given up, has been the preparation of a Dogmatic History, not, however, on account of its difficulty, but because the publication of the *Corpus Reformatorum* intervened. The latter I may regard as undoubted evidence of my perseverance, since of the many who have undertaken to make a collection of Melancthon's letters and opinions, not one, before myself, has accomplished the work. Naturally, I am good-natured, cheerful, disposed to forgive, and free from envy. Truth I have always loved; falsehood and hypocrisy I have ever despised and hated. Hence, hypocrites under the guise of piety have been as odious to me as the dogmas of the Schellingites and Hegelians, which pretend, indeed, to be consistent with piety and friendly to the church, but are in reality hostile to the church-creed, and even to genuine Christianity.

Among the defects in my character was first, a great irritability and tendency to passionateness. This fault I have fortunately overcome; not so the second, viz. a want of system and order. The early training necessary to form these habits, I did not receive. When I came to feel my need of habits of greater order, I made frequent attempts to obtain them, but they were soon abandoned. For instance, I have never kept a strict account of my expenses, or found it easy to answer letters in season, or been able to keep my study-table from being overloaded with papers and books. An excellent local memory, however, has always made it easy for me to

find what I sought for, notwithstanding this apparent confusion. This accumulation of books and papers, which often swelled to a small mountain, was frequently occasioned by my practice of steadily working on the subject I had in hand until it was completed.

I must also acknowledge myself faulty in not having been sufficiently economical in my expenses, especially in respect to unnecessary gratuities. I have also been always a rather negligent and dilatory correspondent, and hence have failed to reply to many letters, which I ought to have answered. My answers, when I did reply, were sure to be short and strictly confined to the subject; for writing, merely for the sake of displaying wit, always appeared to me a waste of time. Among my faults must also be reckoned impatience. Accustomed myself to act with promptness and decision, I easily lost patience with others, who were slow and undecided. In spite of all my efforts to restrain myself, I could never avoid showing uneasiness whenever any one wearied me. This habit of prompt decision has frequently led me into undue precipitancy, and from not being sufficiently cautious I have often done things which I afterwards found occasion to regret.

The preponderance of the simply intellectual in my mental constitution, shows that nature never specially intended me to be an orator. In the early part of my ministry, and even when I first came to Gotha, my sermons too much resembled essays; and it was not till after some years that I learned to avoid this error, and to speak with greater warmth and earnestness. Still, it has never ceased to be indispensable to my own satisfaction, that the thoughts in my discourses should be true and closely connected. All my sermons, from the first, I have fully written out and committed to memory, because in no other way can one train himself to be an able preacher, or avoid falling into the habit of speaking loosely and at random. I early acquired a readiness, also, in extemporaneous speaking, and my addresses at visitations, presentations and investitures, were not for the most part written out, but composed upon the spur of the occasion. They generally proved to be better, if I was in a good state, than those which were written, but not always. In the process of committing my sermons to memory, in which I only endeavored to grasp the whole connection of the train of thought, I made whatever corrections I deemed necessary. I often changed much, transposed the parts, or gave another form to the discourse in order to render it more fit for delivery, without, however, correcting the manuscript, which I seldom did. It is, therefore, my wish, that after

my decease, my sermons may not be published. Most of them I regard as too imperfect. Should I live, and my sight permit, I may perhaps make a selection from them.

[The remainder of this autobiography is of minor interest, and may be summed up in a few words. In consequence of the serious fracture of a limb, the sight and hearing of Bretschneider were sensibly impaired. In the summer of 1846, he withdrew entirely from the editorship of the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, on which occasion he received two public addresses and numerous private letters, in acknowledgment of his labors. He was also appointed permanent President of the Upper Consistory, a position which for a number of years he had provisionally occupied. With the year 1846, the autobiography closes. It was now more and more evident that his strength was failing. Close thinking fatigued him. Reading became increasingly difficult. It was almost impossible for him to read or write in the evening. Still, he preached regularly, with few exceptions, every fortnight, or at least every three weeks, and had the rare fortune to draw large audiences to the last. On the first Sabbath of the new year (1848), he preached his last sermon, to a crowded congregation. With the energy and eloquence of his earlier years, he spoke in reference both to the political storm at hand, and his own near departure from the world, on the question: "On what power, next to God, must we place our hopes, amid the perilous agitations in human society?" and enumerated truth, virtue and right, as the true ground of dependence. A few days after, he began to be somewhat unwell. Without being properly sick, he felt too weak to walk or ride out. Still, he was cheerful, and the evening before his death, repeated with vivacity, to his family, several of Bürger's poems. On Saturday, the 22nd of January, shortly after noon, he was attacked with a stroke of apoplexy, fell from his chair, and instantly expired, having nearly completed his seventy-second year.

In accordance with his request, he was buried beside his first wife, and over his grave stands a simple cross, bearing on one side his full name, and on the other, the words: "The memory of the just is blessed."]