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Gettysburg College and the Lutheran Connection: An Open-Ended Story of a Proud Relationship

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Gettysburg College and the Lutheran Connection: An Open-Ended Story of a Proud Relationship

Description

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Gettysburg represents not only a high water mark in the history of this nation, but also a place of landmark developments for Lutheranism in America. The College and the Seminary were center stage for these developments, and they continue to show marks of their Lutheran heritage. In tracing the nature of the Lutheran identity of the College, focus will be on the part played by its founder, its supporting synods, its faculty, its trustees, and its students. [*excerpt*]

Keywords

Gettysburg College, Pennsylvania College, Lutheran, Samuel Simon Schmucker

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**Gettysburg College and the Lutheran Connection:
An Open-Ended Story of a Proud Relationship**

Gettysburg

The Gettysburg Bulletin
December 1975

Gettysburg College History Series

Gettysburg College presents the third volume in this Series, *Gettysburg College and the Lutheran Connection: An Open-Ended Story of a Proud Relationship*, written by Professor Harold A. Dunkelberger, Chairman of the Department of Religion.

The previous volumes in the Series were *Yonder Beautiful and Stately College Edifice: A History of Pennsylvania Hall (Old Dorm)*, written by Charles H. Glatfelter, Professor of History, and *Engineering at Gettysburg College*, written by William C. Darrah, Professor Emeritus of Biology.

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Gettysburg College and the Lutheran Connection: An Open-Ended Story of a Proud Relationship

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Preface

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Assistance which has come from many sources is acknowledged gratefully. Special mention should be made, however, of services and courtesies rendered by the Gettysburg College library staff, as well as the bursar and his staff in making accessible important records. Helpful comment was provided by President C. A. Hanson, Chaplain John Vannorsdall, and Librarian emeritus Mrs. Lillian H. Smoke. I am especially indebted to the college editorial board consisting of Edwin D. Freed, Charles H. Glatfelter, and Willard G. Books for much counsel and guidance throughout this project. Valuable insights have been received from prominent Lutheran churchmen associated at various times with the College. I would note in particular Donald R. Heiges, Abdel R. Wentz, and Wilbur E. Tilberg. The library staff of the Lutheran Theological Seminary was most helpful on numerous occasions. In acknowledging these and others who assisted, the author would also affirm that if there be serious omissions or misstatements here, these are his responsibility.

Harold A. Dunkelberger '36
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
December 19, 1975

Founding by Lutherans and Local Community Leaders

Christianity has permeated the ongoing stream of college history in our land. Most American colleges came into being through the initiative of churchmen; and some were kept in being, for a time at least, through active relationships with church denominations. Almost two centuries of such relationships preceded the founding of Gettysburg College. However, the prevailing trend between the denominations and many of the colleges has been one described as an early marriage followed by increased tensions and ending in divorce. Gettysburg has been, in part, atypical to that development.

Gettysburg College's relationship to the church began as an informal connection between Lutherans and the institution they were instrumental in founding, developed over the years into an association of genuine convenience for both, and culminated very recently in a covenant relationship between each of two strong synods of the Lutheran Church in America and the College. This survey will follow the Gettysburg story through five periods thus far: the founding by Lutherans and local community leaders, the first four decades of seeking church-based support, thirty subsequent years in which how-Lutheran-to-be was a main issue, the first half of the twentieth century which produced a wary relatedness, and the period since midcentury in which a promising new orientation has developed. It is in this most recent period that the atypical aspects of Gettysburg's church relationship really stand out.

From the founding of Harvard in 1636 to the American Revolution, nine institutions of higher learning had come into being, almost all under religious auspices. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists, and Dutch and German Reformed were separately involved in starting and maintaining these colleges. The chief reason for the existence of these institutions was to prepare an educated clergy for leadership in the church and in society. Such a purpose, while brought over by the colonists from England and the continent, was given sharper focus in colonial America with its Puritan concern for clergy as leaders of society. One of the first accounts of Harvard College put it this way:

After God had carried us safe to New England and we had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an

illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust.¹

Additional reasons for establishing colleges beyond the training of clergy leadership appear in the period of the American Revolution and the decades immediately following. In the new republic it was vital that young men prepare themselves for useful service to community, state, and nation. So, to the previous intent that colleges perpetuate certain traditional forms of distinctive religious culture, there was added a new imperative to prepare enlightened citizens capable of preserving the new nation. George Washington, commenting on education in general, in his first annual message to Congress (January 8, 1790) stated:

Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways—by convincing those who are entrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; . . .²

As Dr. Benjamin Rush, a leading citizen of Philadelphia and founder of Dickinson College, expressed it in his essay, "Of the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic" (1798), an enlightened citizenry required a homogenizing process, especially in Pennsylvania:

I conceive the education of our youth in this country to be peculiarly necessary in Pennsylvania, while our citizens are composed of the natives of so many different kingdoms in Europe. Our schools of learning, by producing one general, and uniform system of education, will render the mass of the people more

¹ As quoted by Louis B. Wright, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 116.

² *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897*, 10 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896-1899), I:66.

homogeneous, and thereby fit them more easily for uniform and peaceable government.³

Not only was the purpose to train leadership for the entire society present in the new institutions founded and supported by the states, but also institutions begun in the colonial era were required to change their emphasis. In some colleges like Columbia, Pennsylvania, and Dartmouth control was taken over temporarily by the state, while others like Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary were required to increase public representation on their governing boards. National and state interests were a higher priority concern than was the preservation of denominations, and there was some suspicion expressed about the dangers of excessive "sectarian" education.

The mood of the new nation was well represented by the petitioners requesting a charter for a college which later became Dickinson College. The request stated that while the effort was being instituted by Presbyterians, the college would include on its board and in its faculty members of the German Reformed and the Lutheran churches and that it would take its name from a Quaker, John Dickinson, who was the president of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth. If this effort to attract the German element in Pennsylvania to support Dickinson College had succeeded, there might well have been no Gettysburg College. Thus, colleges were to serve all the ethnic and religious groups of an area, with the highest priority given to preparation for responsible citizenship in a republic that still had to prove itself.⁴

A change from the euphoric nationalism of the immediate post-Revolutionary decades began to develop following the Second Great Awakening in American Christianity at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Historians speak of the period from 1820 to the Civil War as "The Denominational Era in American Higher Education." As sectionalism now challenged the concept of one nation, so sectarianism threatened the idea of harmonious interdenominationalism. There was an emphasis on a particular type of fervid religious life and faith, and the preceding decades were looked upon as times of infidelity and rationalism. From this point of view, the forces of irreligion and deistic thought had to be checked and discredited throughout the land; and, to this end, denominational colleges must provide the leadership to fight the good fight at home, on the frontier, "and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Far more colleges were founded in the decades of the 1830's and 1840's than had been established in the two hundred preceding years of American history. Almost all of these colleges were founded in the interests of a particular church, a few of them by official denominational bodies. It was in this era that Get-

tsburg College began its existence. Why it began as a College particularly for Lutherans, and why it came to be founded when it was, need further elaboration.

The vast majority of Pennsylvania Germans were Lutheran or Reformed, frequently spoken of as "the church people" to distinguish them from the "plain people," such as Mennonites, Dunkers, and Amish. The church people were much interested in a well-educated clergy and looked to their pastors for effective guidance and leadership in understanding the Bible, their guide for faith and morals. For some reason, however, they had not been able to establish higher educational institutions of their own. The patriarch of German Lutheranism in America, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was strongly in favor of some form of denominational higher education. In 1773, as on other occasions, Muhlenberg expressed his opinion firmly for a training school for teachers, catechists, and country preachers. The Revolutionary War aborted this effort.

The leaders of the church people among the Pennsylvania Germans tried again to bring into being their own institution of higher learning with the establishment of Franklin College at Lancaster in 1787. The name itself bore witness to efforts by German-Americans to indicate the solidarity of their membership with the community at large. Benjamin Franklin was, at the time the charter was granted, president of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth. Again it could be claimed that if this effort had fully succeeded, there might never have been a Gettysburg College. However, Franklin College did not develop into anything more than an academy, and it did not function as a degree granting institution until after merger with Marshall College in 1850. So it was not adequate to meet the expectations of the German church people for an educated clergy.

What then were the alternatives in 1800 or 1810 or 1820 if the church Germans could not come up with their own institutions of higher learning? One possibility was cooperation with the reorganized University of Pennsylvania, which for a time had Lutheran and Reformed clergymen-educators on its faculty. Instruction could thus be secured, in part, in the German tongue as well as in classical languages.

A second alternative was to utilize already established Presbyterian colleges such as Princeton, Dickinson, Washington, or Jefferson. The Presbyterians had been in the vanguard in founding and promoting colleges in Pennsylvania, as well as elsewhere in the young republic. But, while this might appear to be a most desirable option, it had two drawbacks for the Lutherans. First, it did not provide for instruction in the German tongue, nor did it give adequate recognition to German culture. Second, it would cultivate a Calvinist viewpoint, and Lutherans had always been suspicious of such a doctrinal point of view.

A third possibility was to train clergy by the apprentice method. A respected parish pastor would associate with himself young aspirants for the ministry in a tutorial relationship. He would be able to impart some knowledge of Greek and Hebrew for the purpose of more adequate Biblical study and to share some theological reflections based

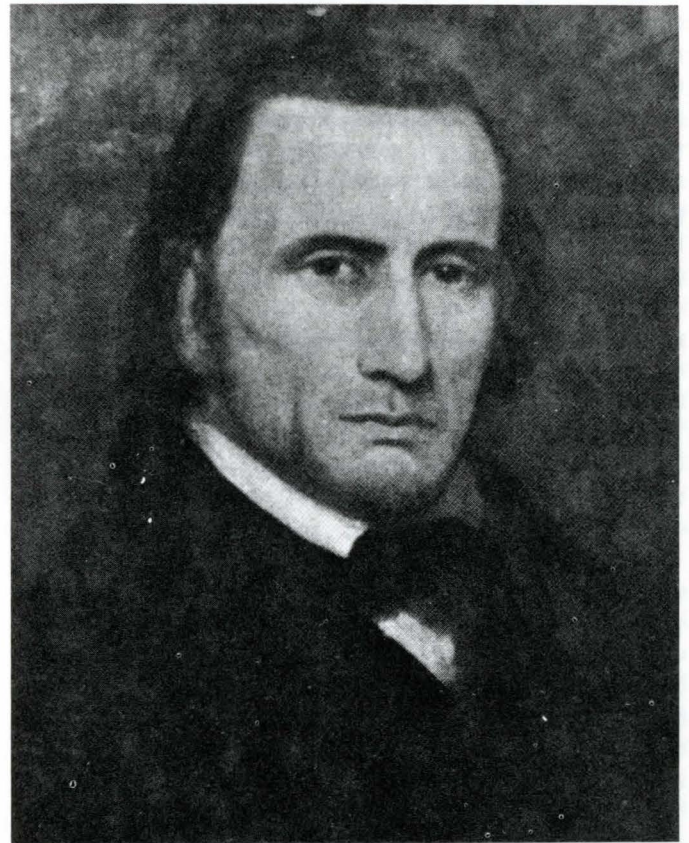
³ *The Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush*, ed. D. D. Runes (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947), p. 88.

⁴ Saul Sack, *History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1963), I:48.

on the confessions of the Lutheran church. John George Schmucker (1771-1854), father of the founder of Gettysburg College, was such a pastor-instructor, as was his illustrious son. While this makeshift arrangement was used to prepare men for the ministry, it was never adequate, nor was it satisfactory to meet Lutheran aspirations for a learned clergy. Further, there was no opportunity at all in this procedure for the formal training of any lay leadership in the church.

As far as the Lutherans were concerned, it took a young pastor who had experienced the existing alternatives to conclude that none was adequate for the needs of the Lutheran church of his day. That man was Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873). He had trained along with other ministerial aspirants under his father in the parish in York, but he found that form of apprenticeship and tutoring inadequate to provide him with the intellectual grounding he wanted and needed. He had received a baccalaureate degree from the University of Pennsylvania; but he found that those from German backgrounds there were not only a minority in numbers but also a minority in status. He had gone to Princeton Theological Seminary for nineteen months; but, while he absorbed much from his Princeton experience, he came away convinced that Lutheranism could not adequately be served and preserved in Presbyterian institutions of higher learning. It is clear from his journal that when he left Princeton in his twentieth year, he had very near to his heart three "earnest desires" for the welfare of the Lutheran church in this land. These were to translate an eminent system of Lutheran dogmatics, to establish a theological seminary, and to found a college. Within thirteen years of the time he wrote down his earnest desires, young man Schmucker was able to realize all these objectives. His translation of Storr and Platt, *Biblical Theology*, was published in 1823; the Theological Seminary was founded in 1826; and the College was chartered in 1832. Thus, the last of these objectives to be accomplished, but by no means the least, was the founding of the College.

Schmucker's religious viewpoint has been described as a remarkable blend of Lutheran pietism and Presbyterian puritanism.⁵ His pietism was absorbed chiefly from his family and the Lutheran parish environment of his upbringing; his puritanism was received mainly from his Princeton experience. His grandfather had emigrated from the Rhineland where pietism was very strong and where Philip Jacob Spener's *Pia Desideria*, or *Earnest Desires* (1675), was widely used as devotional reading and as a guide for living. Along with most pietist emigrants, he certainly brought with him Luther's translation of the Bible and his catechisms, and likely also John Arndt's *True Christianity* and Spener's *Pia Desideria*. Daily family prayers and weekly prayer meetings, all with Bible reading, were an essential part of



Samuel Simon Schmucker

For him, nothing but a college could meet Lutheran needs.

this life pattern. John George Schmucker undoubtedly preserved this pietist pattern as he served parishes in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania during Samuel Simon's boyhood and youth. The impact of Presbyterian puritanism came chiefly from Princeton. There Samuel had felt the influence of rigorous moral theology, of a theory of verbal inspiration of the scriptures, and of revivalism.

It has already been indicated that there were more than denominational reasons for the founding of the College at Gettysburg. It emerged when and where it did because Lutherans, somewhat tardily, were being caught up in the fervor of founding colleges and because they had a talented young leader in Schmucker, who was able to convince enough of his fellow Lutherans that Gettysburg was the proper place for a seminary and college. But its emergence depended also on local support and the ambitions of a community. Forward-looking citizens and politicians, anxious to bring greater prestige to their area, as well as provide

⁵ Abdel Ross Wentz, *Pioneer in Christian Unity: Samuel Simon Schmucker* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), pp. 34-35. Abdel Ross Wentz ('04) was chaplain and professor at the College (1909-1916) and professor and later president at the Seminary (1916-1956). Wentz's study is the most authoritative work on Schmucker now available.

more accessible higher education for their own youth, could be enlisted in the undertaking. Whether or not Schmucker himself felt this community ambition, he certainly did appeal to it.

After the founding of the Seminary at Gettysburg in 1826 by the General Synod of the Lutheran church, Schmucker, as its first president, only professor, and business manager, became aware at once of the inadequate preparation of his students. Only six of the first fifteen ministerial candidates enrolled had any previous college training. No doubt recalling the preparation in the arts and sciences he had received at the University of Pennsylvania, and convinced of its necessity for proper pre-seminary training, Schmucker was motivated to seek something similar for those now aspiring to the Lutheran ministry. Only a college emphasizing the liberal arts could meet this hope. Furthermore, such a college, by its very nature, could prepare candidates more adequately for teaching, law, medicine, and other pursuits, as well as for the ministry. Schmucker undoubtedly felt that he could enlist others concerned with improving higher education in an institution which had these broad objectives. Since the Gettysburg Classical School (later the Gettysburg Gymnasium), first authorized by the board of the Seminary in 1827 to perform the preparatory task, proved inadequate, further steps were now deemed necessary.

Accordingly, Schmucker called together some leading citizens of Gettysburg and sought their support in upgrading the Gettysburg Gymnasium into a college and securing a charter from the state legislature. As he recalled it years later, he told the group assembled that "the college should be unsectarian in its instructions, but be mainly under the control of Lutheran Trustees."⁶ It would obviously take financial help from the community to make his hope a reality. Schmucker had already convinced almost all the shareholders in the Gettysburg Gymnasium, chiefly Lutheran pastors, to allow their shares to remain and thus become patrons of Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg.⁷

Now the strategy was to get further financial support and political backing from the community and county. Six leading citizens of Gettysburg, most of whom were Presbyterian, joined shareholders of the Gymnasium in promoting a charter request, and in contributing what was then deemed a considerable sum (\$25 each) for the cause of the proposed college.

It may well be that Schmucker himself utilized the argument of "unsectarian in its instructions" partly as a strategy for gaining local backing, partly as a strategy for securing legislative support, and partly out of a conviction that the future of Lutheranism in America required entry

into the mainstream of American Protestantism. He was to become the main protagonist for that entry in the following decades with his support of the Evangelical Alliance. An overemphasis on Lutheran distinctiveness might well have appeared to Schmucker as an old world carry-over not to his liking.

In his efforts to secure a charter, Schmucker circulated petitions to influential citizens and legislators. He also claimed to have spoken directly with legislators and to have delivered an address in the Capitol on the German people, illustrating their history and services to the state.

Thus, with the backing of Lutheran clergy and community leaders, Schmucker drafted a charter for Pennsylvania College and engineered its passage through the legislature. Governor George Wolf signed the act of incorporation on April 7, 1832. Three features of the charter deserve some comment. First, the word Lutheran is not mentioned. This was not unusual, since similar documents of institutions founded up to that time in the state make no mention of their denomination. Second, there is the statement that

. . . at elections either for patrons, or trustees, or teachers, or other officers, and in the reception of pupils, no person shall be rejected on account of his conscientious persuasion in matters of religion, provided he shall demean himself in a sober, orderly manner, and conform to the rules and regulations of the college.

Such an unsectarian affirmation was in keeping with the republic and probably was required to entitle an institution to state support. Third, there was specific reference to serving the interests of the education of the Pennsylvania Germans. A German professorship at the institution was to prepare prospective teachers to be bilingual so that they could serve in those primary schools in which it was a practical necessity to be able to instruct in both German and English. The German professorship and the incumbents thereof were to become of central importance in the relationships of the Lutherans and the College in years ahead.

The public exercises of organization were held in the Presbyterian Church, then located on North Washington Street, on July 4, 1832. Clergy participants in the event included Rev. William Paxton, who served the Lower Marsh Creek Presbyterian Church for almost fifty years and was recognized as the senior clergyman of the community, and John George Schmucker, Lutheran pastor of York and father of Samuel Simon. Cooperation of the Lutheran and local community leaders involved in bringing about the College was evidenced in this participation. As the third president of the institution, Milton Valentine, was to put it on the occasion of the College's fiftieth anniversary, the founding under Lutheran auspices was not in a narrow, contracted, or sectarian sense, but rather with the intention that it be an "institution through which the Lutheran Church might bear an honorable part in the great work of American College education."

⁶ *Addresses Delivered at the Laying of the Corner Stone of Stevens Hall*, . . . (Gettysburg: Printed at the Star and Sentinel Office, 1867), p. 32.

⁷ The College was officially named Pennsylvania College of Gettysburg at its chartering in 1832. In 1921 the name was officially changed to what it had long been popularly called—Gettysburg College.

First Four Decades: Seeking Church-Based Support

The College had come into existence not by the action of any organized body of Lutherans, but through the efforts of certain Lutheran churchmen like Schmucker and his friends, and through the interest of some leading citizens of the town. Gettysburg was to continue its existence through its first two perilous decades because of the concern and participation of patrons, trustees, faculty, and students, the great majority of whom were Lutheran. Most influential of the early trustees was, of course, Schmucker himself. As we shall see, he was involved in soliciting financial support from many quarters for the College. Although after 1834 he might have sought to devote full attention to the Seminary, the needs and well-being of the College made repeated claims on his time and efforts. He saw himself as the power behind the administration of the first two presidents, who were undoubtedly hand picked by him for that post.

Second only to Schmucker in interest and influence among the early trustees were Rev. Benjamin Kurtz (1795-1865) and Rev. John G. Morris (1803-1895). Kurtz was the grandson of a close associate of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg in the colonial Lutheran ministry. He was active in the Maryland Synod, which he served as president for four terms, and in the General Synod, where he was always a strong voice to be reckoned with. Perhaps he was even more influential as the editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, the widely read weekly newspaper of the denomination. According to his fellow trustee, John G. Morris, he "exerted a more wide-spread influence over the laity of the church and many of the ministers than any man, . . ."⁸

Kurtz was very articulate about his viewpoint, which was anti-liturgical and pro-revivalist; and he zealously advocated personal piety. He was bitterly critical of "head Christians" and "catechism Christians," whom he accused many of his fellow Lutherans of being. Thus he has been described as "the stormy petrel of American Lutheranism."⁹

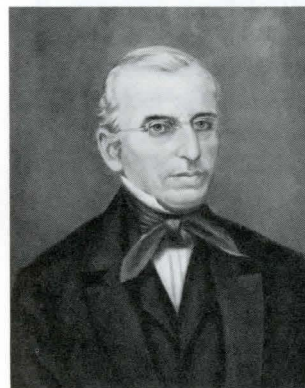
Although Kurtz was not an original patron or trustee of the College, he served on the board from 1835 through the rest of his life and was its chairman for three years (1835-1838). His ideas of piety and religious practice were certainly encouraged at the College in its early decades. The faculty and the synods took note of camp meetings in the

Gettysburg area and of revivals on campus and encouraged both.¹⁰ To promote his evangelical concern even further he founded a missionary institute at Selinsgrove (1858) which later became Susquehanna University.

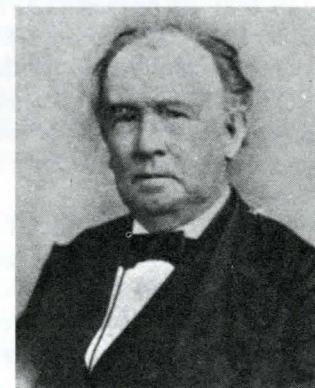
Equally influential over an even longer period was John G. Morris. Throughout his life Morris was an ardent churchman. He served significantly in Baltimore pastorates for many years. He was president of the Maryland Synod for eight terms and of the General Synod twice, with an amazing forty years separating his two terms (1843-1845 and 1883-1885). His prestige as a churchman, writer, editor, and lecturer made him a person of great influence. Because his theology and churchmanship were more conservatively Lutheran than were Kurtz's, he furnished an important balance of viewpoint on the board to that "stormy petrel."

Morris was a faithful and active member of the board for fifty-four years, a record that has never been approached by any other trustee. His broad interests were focused on building up the library and on promoting scientific study. With respect to the latter, he was president of the Linnaean Society and a leader in securing funds for building a science hall. The building, completed and dedicated in 1847, was named Linnaean Hall. Both Morris and Kurtz lectured frequently at the College, but neither would accept a post on the faculty.

Some leading townspeople were involved in the founding of the College. Always, some have served as trustees. It was important that some local persons capable of performing



Courtesy Susquehanna University
Benjamin Kurtz



John G. Morris

These early influential trustees were Maryland Synod pillars.

⁸*Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry* (Baltimore: James Young, 1878), p. 137.

⁹ Abdel Ross Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), p. 139.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Faculty of Pennsylvania College, August 6, 1834, and February 1, 1837; see also Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland, 1839, pp. 11, 12.

essential business and financial functions for the College be easily accessible. A preponderance of Lutherans was not present in this group, from whom the chairman and the secretary of the board were usually chosen. As a matter of fact, for forty years the chairmen of the board, all from the vicinity of Gettysburg, were Presbyterians. Benjamin Kurtz's three years' tenure as chairman was the one exception to the Presbyterian prevalence.

Schmucker, when he withdrew from direct teaching and administrative duty at the College in 1834, convinced the board to elect Charles Philip Krauth (1797-1867; president, 1834-1850) as the first president of the College. In securing board approval, Schmucker had the full support of Morris, who was a close personal friend of Krauth and thought very highly of his ability. The first president was a self-educated man with no formal college or seminary training but with a great capacity for absorbing learning on his own. He had very successful pastorates at Martinsburg and Philadelphia before coming to Gettysburg to teach at the Seminary and then to become administrator and teacher at the College. He continued to teach at the Seminary while performing his college duties, a fact which illustrates the very close relationship of the two institutions in this period. Major decisions for the College were made at this time by the trustees (guided by Schmucker, Kurtz, and Morris) rather than by the president.

The faculty, with whom Krauth worked more as a colleague than as an administrator, consisted entirely of clergymen, all but one of whom were Lutheran. Most of these men were active and vocal in their respective synodical bodies. Most others named to the faculty during these decades, and for many decades thereafter, were Lutheran.

For three quarters of a century the student body was almost entirely Lutheran. The first matriculation book of Pennsylvania College (1832-1874) did not show denominational affiliation. Such a book, in which incoming students by signing committed themselves to observe all college rules and regulations, was a requirement of the time. However, since over 25 percent (120 of 474) of those attending the College in classes from 1836 to 1850 proceeded to the Seminary, and since, in the second matriculation book (1875-1911), denominational affiliation was included and showed over 80 percent of incoming students as Lutheran, it was clear that there was an overwhelmingly Lutheran student body.

Unless they had special permission to attend church elsewhere, students were all required to go to Sunday services at Christ Lutheran Church, known as the "College Church." The required weekday chapel exercises were conducted by Lutheran clergymen of the faculty. The 1839 catalogue of the College, as well as many subsequent issues, carried this announcement about religious exercises:

Prayers are attended in the Chapel every morning and evening, one of the Faculty officiating and all the Students being required to be present. The Students are also required to attend public worship on the Sabbath in a church of which the Institution has the use for the

occasion, unless they bring written requests from their parents or guardians, specifying the particular congregation with which they wish them to worship. They are also required to attend a Biblical recitation conducted by the President and Principal of the Preparatory Department.

From the time the College opened its doors to students in November, 1832, the presence of so many Lutherans among the trustees, faculty, and students did not mean that the College had any base of support. Prospects for survival were dim unless such support could be secured. One of the first orders of business, therefore, for the trustees was to find funds wherever they might be. The two most obvious sources were the state and the Lutheran church.

In its first dozen years Gettysburg received significant support from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. In the fall of 1832, Schmucker had tried to convince the legislature to make a sizeable grant for a college building. His efforts did not succeed until Thaddeus Stevens, prominent local attorney and later national figure, who at this time was both a state legislator and a trustee of the College, joined in guiding authorization for \$18,000 through the legislative process in 1834. Stevens had no declared denominational affiliation but had a keen interest as a citizen in the welfare of the College. In addition to this grant, an act of the legislature in 1837 for the support of many colleges in Pennsylvania netted Gettysburg \$1,000 annually.

With these annual grants, with private solicitation of funds by faculty and concerned friends, and with student fees, Gettysburg was able to maintain itself for its first decade without serious deficit, even with the erection (1836-1838) of what is now Pennsylvania Hall. An unexpected blow to this promising situation occurred, however, in 1845. Faced with possible bankruptcy of the Commonwealth following a prolonged depression, the legislature discontinued the annual grant in that year and never resumed it. This blow, along with decreased student enrollment created by the depression, required a moratorium on planned expansion, a postponing of an anticipated German professorship, and the borrowing of funds to meet current expenses.

In this crisis the College had no other likely place to turn for help than to the Lutherans, especially those in the synods of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Of the Synod of Pennsylvania (the Ministerium of Pennsylvania), organized in 1748, we shall say more later. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland, organized in 1820, was very influential in Gettysburg affairs. Schmucker had come to Gettysburg from a parish in that synod, five of the first seven presidents of the College had previous service in the Maryland Synod, and an influential group of the trustees, including Kurtz and Morris, hailed from that body. Favorable reports had been made to that synod about the College from 1839 on, and a sense of obligation for its financial support was indicated. Action was even taken to appoint a committee of five to attend the

semiannual examinations of the College.¹¹ How appalling a prospect for the students to be questioned in these oral examinations not only by their venerable professors, but also by these austere churchmen! The West Pennsylvania Synod, organized in 1825, was composed of the Lutheran congregations west of the Susquehanna River. It was the territory on which the College was located and from which many of its students were most likely to be drawn. Special concerns for an obligation to "our institutions at Gettysburg" were voiced in the reports of the respective presidents of this body, beginning in 1841.¹² Two additional synods, the Allegheny Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania and the Synod of East Pennsylvania, were formed in 1842 from dissidents of the already existing synods; and these new bodies professed ties with Gettysburg.

So to these synods the College now turned. Had not the presidents of some of them spoken of the College as one of *our* institutions at Gettysburg? Had not faculty and friends been canvassing among the Lutherans in their territory for funds and students? Had not the West Pennsylvania and the Maryland Synods acted favorably upon the suggestion that a major portion of the centenary offering, proposed by the General Synod to mark a century of Lutheranism in the United States, be allocated to the Seminary *and* the College? So despite the fact that there were no formal, legal ties between the synods and the College, there was a sense in which these synods had adopted her as their own, along with the Seminary, which was in fact their own. Illustrative of this entire attitude was the resolution adopted by the Maryland Synod in 1844:

Resolved that we press upon our people with increased earnestness the importance to us as a church, of the Theological Seminary and Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, and as auxiliary to both, the cause of beneficiary education. We recommend these institutions to the cordial patronage of our people, that our young men may become intelligent and pious, and that the educated mind of the church may be sanctified by the grace of God.¹³

There was another development which was bringing the College and the Lutherans into closer relationship. Gettysburg, like many other colleges in the decades before the Civil War, approached affluent people, especially Lutherans, with the "perpetual scholarship" plan. According to this plan, agents were authorized to sell at a set price an

entitlement to one free tuition for one person in perpetuity. Such scholarships were first offered by Gettysburg for \$500, just enough to yield at six percent the equivalent of the then current tuition charges. Income from such perpetual scholarships may have assisted the College in coping with immediate budgetary problems; but if the principal were dipped into, it would be at the expense of mortgaging the future.

Appeals for financial support were directed to the Lutheran constituency through the pages of the *Lutheran Observer*. For example, Dr. David Gilbert, then secretary of the board, expressed the hope that Lutheran friends would accept the responsibility for relieving its "present embarrassments." He pointed out that by good management up to that time the budget had been balanced. But with state aid discontinued and with tuition fees inadequate because of reduced enrollment, he asked: "Will not the Evangelical Lutheran church especially, come forward, and do for her single-only, College, now, that which other denominations in our country, in most instances have done for their literary institutions at the time of their establishment?"¹⁴ As the situation continued to worsen, the faculty authorized its secretary, Henry L. Baugher, to send out a special printed letter addressed to Lutheran pastors. The appeal in Baugher's letter, dated April 23, 1849, was based on the observations that the College could "with truth be said to belong to" the Lutheran church, and that it possessed no endowment but was sustained chiefly by tuition fees of students from the Lutheran church.

In this emergency, we prefer rather to throw ourselves upon the Church, and ask of her what she can give, without injury to herself, and what she already gives to other Institutions. Many of the Young Men of Lutheran Parents are educated in Schools belonging to sister denominations, who need not their support, and whose instruction is not more thorough or extended than ours. We are prepared to express our honest conviction that Young Men placed under our care will be as well educated and will have as much attention bestowed upon their moral and religious education as in any College in the land. Nor will we be transcending the bounds of propriety, when we say that, in these particulars, we possess advantages over many other Institutions.

What we ask of you, then, is, to send us, as far as you can, the Young Men of your Pastoral Charge, and all others under your influence, who desire an Education, either partial or extended, and to feel that in doing so you are not only obliging us, but also conferring a favor on the Church at large.

Despite all such appeals, the response was disappointing. The hoped-for centenary offering failed to materialize. The

¹¹ Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland, 1839, pp. 11, 12; 1841, p. 18; 1844, p. 10; 1846, p. 9; 1847, p. 21.

¹² Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania, 1841, pp. 7, 23; 1843, p. 8.

¹³ Minutes, 1844, p. 10. "Beneficiary education" was a program established by the synods or by societies set up by the synods to provide financial aid for young men in college and seminary preparing for the Lutheran ministry.

¹⁴ *Lutheran Observer*, May 3, 1844.

plea in the *Observer* fell, to a large degree, on deaf ears. Baugher's letter brought a very limited response in improved enrollment.

A number of reasons may be offered for this failure by Lutherans and their synods to respond to the plea. First, economic conditions were bad, the depression plaguing the land was still taking its toll. Second, revivalism was at a high water mark in the land and, with its emotional emphasis, placed a low priority on an educated clergy and laity. Third, Lutherans were just beginning to be caught up in the benevolent spirit that had strongly influenced the more dominant denominations in America in recent years. Foreign missions, home missions, and beneficiary education were now appealing causes, and adjunct societies were being formed by the synods to support them. Lutherans had a long way to go until they could match other denominations. Fourth, and most important, the synods themselves were neither well organized nor adequately administered and so could not respond effectively to the college plea. Their executives had full-time parish duties and could give only part-time attention to synodical business. The presidents could scarcely do more than encourage congregations from time to time to respond to synodical appeals. Furthermore, since officers usually served for terms of only one or two years, there was little follow-up to appeals they might make.

As the second half of the century began, two important changes took place which altered the relationship between College and denomination. A new chief executive, Henry L. Baugher (1804-1868; president, 1850-1868), took over direction of the institution when Krauth returned to full-time teaching at the Seminary. Baugher, a grandson of a contemporary of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was from the local area and had been educated at the Gettysburg Academy, Dickinson College, Princeton Seminary, and the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. He was described by Morris as stern, abrupt, and puritanic, a man whose Presbyterian training influenced his theology. Baugher was thoroughly imbued with the theological and moral views of Schmucker. Nevertheless, though he was hand picked for his post by his mentor, he turned out to be his own man. His balky personality was, on occasion, not at all pleasing to Schmucker. In a letter to his son (January 21, 1851), Schmucker commented on an article in which it appeared to him that the new president was urging support for the College at the possible expense of the Seminary. Baugher, he wrote, "said nothing to me about it, nor will I condescend to say anything to him: but after I obtained his election by relinquishing about \$100 of my salary annually until the funds increase, I regard this as poor evidence of his gratitude."¹⁵

A second major change in the relationship of the College and the church occurring in 1850 was the transfer to Gettysburg of the Lutheran interests in Franklin College, Lancaster. In the previous year the trustees of Franklin

College had appointed a committee to correspond with the faculties and the trustees of both Marshall College in Mercersburg and Gettysburg College to ascertain whether there was interest in merger and in moving to Lancaster.¹⁶ The Gettysburg trustees were not interested in this move; and at the urging of Schmucker and others, the Lutheran trustees of Franklin College were persuaded to negotiate a settlement by which one-third of the appraised value of the property of Franklin College was to be handed over to the Lutheran trustees, and brought by them to Gettysburg.¹⁷ The arrangement further specified that the fifteen Lutheran trustees of Franklin College become members of the board of Gettysburg. Funds thus received totalled \$17,169.61 and were placed in the endowment of the College. Interest from this endowment was to support a Franklin professorship as specified in the amendment to the charter in April, 1850.

The first Franklin Professor was to be a teacher of ancient languages and was to be "elected" by the Lutherans of the Franklin board. After that the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania was to nominate the Franklin Professor, and the trustees at Gettysburg presumably would subsequently elect him. Thus, through this transfer of Lutheran interests from Lancaster to Gettysburg, the most prestigious synod of the Lutheran church became the first official body to be formally and legally related to the College. By the power of this synod to nominate the Franklin Professor, by the Franklin trustees now serving on the board of Gettysburg, and by a proposed commitment to establish and maintain a German professorship jointly at the College and the Seminary, a significant branch of formal synodical involvement was grafted on to the Gettysburg tree.

Actually, this German professorship at the College meant different things at different times to different groups interested in the institution. Originally, at the chartering of the College and in the solicitation of funds from the legislature, it had a civic purpose. This professorship would help to prepare bilingual teachers for public school service. Later it developed as a badge for preserving, in one way or another, the Pennsylvania German heritage and association of the College. By the 1850's, however, when the Synod of Pennsylvania became directly related to the College, some conservative Lutherans, both within and without that synod, deemed German instruction necessary to promote the "pure teachings" of Lutheranism preserved in their original language, as over against the doctrinal contaminations of the churches that were entirely English speaking.

The person who in a real sense embodied this new branch at Gettysburg joined the faculty in 1850. He was Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg (1818-1901), who served for seventeen years as the Franklin Professor. Great grandson of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and grandson of the first

¹⁶ From the minutes of the trustees of Franklin College, as reported in Saul Sack, *op. cit.*, I:118-119.

¹⁷ Schmucker recounts these developments in "The Early History of Pennsylvania College," reprinted in the *College Mercury* 3 (Mar., 1895), p. 5.

¹⁵ Letter in the Gettysburgiana collection, Gettysburg College.

president of Franklin College, F. A. Muhlenberg brought to Gettysburg a great family name in the Lutheran tradition. He had studied for a time at the College but was graduated from Jefferson College in 1836. He spent a year at Princeton Theological Seminary and then a decade teaching at Franklin College before coming to Gettysburg. It was at his instigation that the trustees of Franklin College had pursued the plans for merger which developed into the



Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg

He represented the first formal College-Synod relation.

withdrawal of the Lutheran interests from Lancaster.

Muhlenberg brought to Gettysburg not only a traditional name, but also an active zeal as a teacher, librarian, faculty spokesman, and developer of a closer relationship between the institution and the Pennsylvania Synod. Annually from 1851 to 1854 and occasionally thereafter, he was excused from teaching and other campus duties in order to collect pledges throughout the congregations of his synod for the endowment of the College-Seminary German professorship. By virtue of his being one of the Lutheran trustees of Franklin College, he became a member of the board at Gettysburg and served thereon for over a decade. Almost all of the Franklin trustees were dropped from the board after three years because of failure to attend any meetings. Muhlenberg was one of only two to be continued. Obviously, the graft was not flourishing.

Muhlenberg's loyalty to the Pennsylvania Synod's stand on Lutheran confessionalism eventually brought him into severe tension with the Gettysburg leadership. S. S. Schmucker's *Definite Synodical Platform*, which first appeared anonymously in 1855, and which attempted to revise the Augsburg Confession to bring it more into the mainstream of American Protestantism, had split Lutheranism in the country into the modernist "American Lutherans" and the traditionalist "Confessionals." Schmucker's position was dominant at Gettysburg, but Muhlenberg's loyalty was finally to his synod's confessional stand.

Along with H. L. Baugher and F. A. Muhlenberg, note should be taken of two other faculty members, Martin Luther Stoever (1820-1870) and Michael William Jacobs (1808-1871), who proved very influential in the College-church relationship between 1850 and 1870. Stoever, who was also a descendant of a contemporary of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was the first alumnus to teach at the College. The fields in which he taught were Latin language and literature, history, and political economy. In the significant year of 1850 he began duties as secretary of the faculty and continued in that position for twenty years. As a layman he was very active in Lutheran affairs, serving as secretary of the General Synod for a number of years and as an editor of the *Evangelical Quarterly Review*, a journal promoting American Lutheranism, from 1857 until his death. Affectionately regarded as teacher, colleague, and friend, Stoever was a quiet but strong influence for the College throughout the church. He was the prototype of a considerable number of lay Lutheran leaders at the College who have brought much good will and support to the institution over the years.

Michael Jacobs, on the other hand, was a clergyman who taught science. He had not attended the Seminary but was licensed by the West Pennsylvania Synod in 1832, when he joined the college faculty. His three terms as president of the West Pennsylvania Synod and three terms as its treasurer, plus his strong influence for a third of a century on pupils later to become Lutheran clergymen, made Jacobs a power in the church at large. His point of view in theological matters was much closer to the confessional position of F. A. Muhlenberg than to the American Lutheranism of Baugher,

Stoever, and Schmucker. The memoir by his son, Henry Eyster Jacobs ('62), describes him as a whole-hearted conservative in doctrine whose only outburst of indignation in religious matters occurred when he first read Schmucker's *Definite Synodical Platform*.

So, four faculty members, each in his own way, were most instrumental in developing the relationship between the College and the Lutheran church that existed in the decades of the fifties and the sixties. Baugher and Stoever set lasting patterns of informal but important association between the church and the College. This was an association built upon the efforts of individuals to develop support in the congregations themselves, an increasing number of whose pastors were Gettysburg men. Michael Jacobs in a quiet, informal way suggested to his many former students the need for greater conservatism in the Lutheranism emanating from Gettysburg, while Muhlenberg urged a closer tie than already existed between the increasingly conservative Synod of Pennsylvania and the College. It was just at this time that the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia was assuming virtual control of Lafayette College, a development of which Muhlenberg must have been aware.¹⁸ Perhaps he anticipated something similar in synodical relations at Gettysburg, but it was not to be.

As it happened, the interests of the Synod of Pennsylvania (after 1864, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania) could not be maintained at Gettysburg. This was occasioned, in the first place, by the failure of all but two of the Franklin trustees to participate in or to influence effectively the board of trustees. Ministerium interests were not maintained, in the second place, because of the controversy in Lutheranism in which that synod was at odds with the American Lutheranism of Gettysburg. A rival, "confessional," seminary had been founded at Philadelphia in 1864. In the third place, when Muhlenberg left the faculty at Gettysburg in 1867 to become first president of a new rival college at Allentown, subsequently named Muhlenberg after the illustrious family, he took most of the interest of the Ministerium with him. He pointed out in his inaugural address at Allentown both the extent of the previous association between the Ministerium and Gettysburg and the finality of the separation:

This schism which has developed within the two factions and which has developed within the Church and the factions cannot conform in one institution in spite of seventeen years' effort. We have, directly or indirectly, contributed upwards of forty-thousand dollars to its support; have been sending our representatives and students there; and we have made use of every effort to unite our entire Church in Pennsylvania in its

support, but we are compelled, more in sorrow than anger, to lament that all our efforts to conciliate, consolidate, and assimilate have most singularly failed, and that we have met with bitter disappointment.¹⁹

In the fourth place, the German professorship at the College had not worked out as intended. By the 1860's confessional Lutherans in America strongly believed that the Lutheran tradition could not adequately be preserved in any language but German. Understandably, then, the German professorship became a symbol for the preservation of the "pure teaching." From its point of view, the Ministerium, remembering that it had raised and held the funds that endowed the chair, felt that its nominees, who were academically able but confessionally oriented men, should have been elected by the College board without question. From the standpoint of the College, however, the very procedure appeared as an intrusion on the authority of its board. Added to this was the suspicion of the confessionalists by most of the board members. Consequently, wrangles over the election of the Ministerium's nominee and over that body's administration of the endowment for the professorship added to the estrangement, especially after the departure of Muhlenberg from Gettysburg.

So after a withering away of Ministerium interest in the College for a decade and a half, the trustees voted in 1878 to confer with the officers of that synod to seek a formal agreement of separation. This was accomplished in the next two years. An amendment to the charter of the College in 1880 vested full control of the German and the Franklin professorships in the board. Funds for the German professorship raised and held by the synod were by agreement transferred to the College. Thereafter there would be no obligation of either to the other. Thus the first legal relationship between a Lutheran synod and the College proved to be a graft that failed. But it established a memory as well as a precedent. Later times would witness efforts to reactivate the relation in different ways.

In addition to the ecclesiastical strife, which lost the College considerable support, there was also the Civil War in the 1860's. The latter cost the College heavily in student enrollments, and the battle of Gettysburg in the first days of July, 1863, resulted in gravely damaged facilities. Severe harm to the buildings both at the College and at the Seminary, due chiefly to their use for hospital purposes, brought a joint effort to secure repair funds from the synods. In the month following the battle, the college trustees voted to cooperate with counterparts from the Seminary in appealing to Lutherans for contributions to meet losses sustained in the recent invasion. By 1864 the College had received \$1,864.51 from this appeal. As was to be expected, the response came from interested individual congregations.

¹⁸ David B. Skillman, *The Biography of a College, Being the History of the First Century of the Life of Lafayette College*, 2 vols. (Easton: Lafayette College, 1932), I:199 f.; II:309-310. The amendment to the charter of Lafayette College in 1854 showed that the Synod assumed control in naming trustees, administrators, and faculty, in dismissing powers, and in receiving all data about the finances of that institution.

¹⁹ Quoted in James E. Swaim, *A History of Muhlenberg College, 1848-1967* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 10.

To capitalize on this favorable climate for support a convention was called by the College in Harrisburg in October, 1864. There it was agreed that the trustees, with the blessing from synods in central Pennsylvania and Maryland, should engage in a special "subscription book" effort among Lutheran congregations and interested individuals toward securing funds for a building for the preparatory department. Equipped with subscription books properly authorized by the trustees, agents, most of whom were Lutheran ministers, ranged throughout the area soliciting signed commitments for specific amounts. At least four of these subscription books are preserved in the archives of Gettysburg College. In addition to certifying the agent as properly commissioned, an introductory statement in each subscription book indicated that those who signed promised to pay sums set opposite their names for use by the trustees in the erection of a building for the preparatory department and for such other purposes as they might deem most conducive to the welfare of the institution. Two of these subscription books each show entries from over forty congregations.

A touching incident is included in the subscription book of agent Lloyd Knight with reference to the entries from St. John's Church, Lancaster. Apparently at the urging of their pastor, Rev. Washington Van Buren Gotwald ('60), members of that congregation made a commitment to raise five thousand dollars to match a two hundred dollar pledge by the pastor. The members of the congregation, it appears, in most cases did not pay their pledge. Pastor Gotwald declared that he would not only pay his \$200, but also if the College wanted to hold him responsible for the total congregational commitment, he would work as long as necessary to accumulate sufficient funds of his own to pay the entire amount. There is no indication that he was held to his declaration.

So, in retrospect, the first four decades of the College witnessed repeated efforts to secure increased financial support from Lutheran sources. These efforts were not particularly successful among the synods. The promise of such a supportive relationship in the case of the Synod of Pennsylvania proved abortive and left scars of suspicion: the College with concern that the church might, where possible, seek to dominate and direct its affairs; and the church with a growing feeling that the College did not seek to be genuinely Lutheran. Although funding directly from the synods was minimal, the College achieved solid and increasing support from the congregations of the territory. At the grass roots level, the prospects appeared to be increasingly bright as more and more Gettysburg men became the pastors and lay leaders of the Lutheran parishes throughout the area.

Thirty Years in Which

"How-Lutheran-to-Be" was a Main Issue

Major changes in all areas of life occurred in America following the Civil War, and higher education experienced such changes most emphatically. The university concept, including separate schools with different academic programs which prepared students for different professions, took ascendancy over the one-track preparation of the pre-war American colleges. The German ideal of the university with its academic freedom encouraged the historical-critical and experimental methods and challenged the unexamined acceptance of past authority. The rigidly prescribed curriculum began to give way to elective systems in which students had some choice as to what they would study. The strictly regulated schedule, whereby most of the day's activity was prescribed by the college as a stern paternal disciplinarian, and which included large doses of religious exercises, gradually gave way to increased autonomy for the student in deciding how to spend his time. This made up part of the "cleavage . . . in the hitherto granite of the past" in American higher education which Ralph Waldo Emerson noted in his journal in 1867.

The dominance of the denominational colleges was ending. In the pacesetting universities and colleges, the primary concern was not defense of the traditions of the past but progress on the frontiers of knowledge. Robert G. Ingersoll lectured throughout the land and attacked accepted interpretations of the Bible and religious beliefs. His controversial views received widespread attention on campuses and generally. Partly as a result of the popularity of views like those of Ingersoll, the church colleges found their place shifted from center stage in American academia to a wing where they came to be regarded by many as "defiant outposts of denominationalism."

It took Gettysburg about thirty years of painful wrestling to decide whether to pursue the image of the traditional denominational college or that of the new liberal institution of higher learning. Although pressures to increase formal Lutheran influence in the College, and even to secure control during this period, were to prove formidable, and although the need to have a curriculum to prepare students for the Seminary continued to carry a very high priority, a certain keeping-in-step with the advances in higher education and a breadth of vision were to prevail. Those who upheld Schmucker's liberal educational ideals could associate them with the new trends developing in academia and thus beat off a determined effort by the denominationalists to take over. However, the issue was not clearly decided before the twentieth century. The major actors and actions in this sometimes dramatic development furnish the next part of

our story about Gettysburg's Lutheran connection.

The first generation leadership of the College passed out of the picture in the eight years following the Civil War. Benjamin Kurtz died in 1865, Henry L. Baugher in 1868, Martin Luther Stoeber in 1870, and Samuel Simon Schmucker in 1873. Michael Jacobs retired in 1866, and F. A. Muhlenberg left the institution in 1867. Milton Valentine (1825-1906; president, 1868-1884) became the first alumnus of both the College ('50) and the Seminary ('53) to serve as president. Like President Krauth, Valentine came to his college duties from the Seminary and after sixteen years as president returned to teaching at the Seminary. However, while president of the College, he was keenly concerned with advancing both the physical and the intellectual quality of the institution. He planned a major classroom building and a chapel; they were completed early in the administration of his successor. He was instrumental in adding four new professorships, two of them in the sciences, so that midway through his tenure he could say with some justification:

The institution has thus been able to keep pace with the demand arising from the growing prominence of scientific inquiry, and with the widened scope of studies in which College education has been advancing; and the grade has been kept level with that of the best institutions of the country.²⁰

A change in the leadership of the Gettysburg-oriented synods was also apparent after midcentury. Graduates of the College were elected as synodical presidents, secretaries, and treasurers. In the case of the Maryland Synod, already in the 1840's and 1850's Ezra Keller ('36) served a term of one year as president. (He founded Wittenberg College in 1845.) In the West Pennsylvania Synod, Edward Breidenbaugh ('42) was the first graduate to serve as president, beginning his two-year term in 1862. From 1865 on a large majority of the officers of these synods were Gettysburg men, both College and Seminary. These men may well have developed greater interest in and loyalty to Gettysburg, but they may also have raised within their synods the expectation of greater Lutheran emphasis in the College.

There were a number of reasons why how-Lutheran-to-be took on increased importance during President Valentine's administration. First, there were these increased expectations on the part of the synods. Second, there was the suspicion which followed the termination of the relationship between the College and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Since that body regarded itself as the preserver of genuine Lutheran orthodoxy, the separation of the College from any formal relation with that synod brought doubts to the minds of some churchmen about the genuine Lutheran quality of

Gettysburg. That suspicion was further brought into focus by developments throughout Lutheranism in the land. The rapid rise to prominence of general bodies like the General Council and the Missouri Synod showed that conservatism and confessionalism were in the ascendancy for many Lutherans in America. Third, and most important, the College was seeking to align itself with the progressive developments in higher education. This would be in quite another direction from a defiant denominational stance.

To promote this new alignment, while seeking to preserve full support from the Lutheran constituency, required a delicate and diplomatic approach. Consequently, the trustees authorized a committee to draw up a statement to be directed to the denomination. While the names of that committee do not appear in the statement, it is probable that President Valentine had a major hand in the work. Published in pamphlet form in 1879 as *Pennsylvania College and the Lutheran Church*, it was widely circulated.²¹

The primary purpose of the pamphlet was to secure increased financial support from Lutherans. After a survey of the role of higher education in the history of the church up to and including that time, the focus was turned on "the value of Pennsylvania College to the Lutheran Church." Claim was made that it was founded under Lutheran auspices and that it produced, in forty-seven years, 466 ministers for the denomination, 75 presidents or professors in colleges and seminaries, and hundreds of teachers in public and private schools. In addition, there was the influence of "so many educated men who have gone from the Institution into the legal and medical professions—of so many who have served with honor in the halls of legislation, on the bench, or as editors, or who have been intelligent farmers, merchants, or mechanics, almost all influential in their communities, and enlarging the power of the Church; . . ." The challenge of the time was to increase greatly the endowment, following the example of such pacesetting institutions as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Trinity, Lehigh, the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins, Lafayette, Brown, Amherst, Williams, Hamilton, Washington and Jefferson, and Columbian. Keeping pace with the "sudden and great advance by the institutions of other churches" called for immediate, united, and liberal effort by Lutherans:

The students will crowd where a Church's money is creating educational advantages, and calling by their attractions. This is a most effective power for large patronage and great usefulness. No denomination can afford to let the College, doing its central work, fall behind the general educational progress. The Lutheran Church, it is felt sure will not permit this. It would thus lose the educating of many of its own sons. Its ministry would not be properly supplied. The prosperity of the

²⁰ Milton Valentine, "History of Pennsylvania College," in the *Pennsylvania College Monthly* 2 (April, 1878), p. 84. The *Monthly* was published from 1877 to 1893 as a college journal, with an editor elected by the faculty, an associate editor by each of two literary societies, and an associate editor by the alumni association.

²¹ *Pennsylvania College and the Lutheran Church* (Gettysburg: Printed at the Star and Sentinel Office, 1879).

PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE

AND THE

LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Published by authority of the Board
of Trustees.

GETTYSBURG:
PRINTED AT THE STAR AND SENTINEL OFFICE.
1879.

Pennsylvania College and the Lutheran Church

This tract was designed to attract Lutheran financial support.

Church would be retarded. Its honor would be lowered.²²

This appeal for endowment touched a nerve of great sensitivity among Lutherans at that time. The growing impact of confessionalism made church people ask whether a college could be considered Lutheran that was not controlled by some synodical body and did not advocate Lutheran doctrines and positions in its required curriculum.

Were not other colleges, such as Lafayette and Muhlenberg, directly responsible to their synods? Did not a synod name a majority of the trustees in these and other church colleges, and was there not some form of required instruction in the denomination's traditions? If financial support were to be given to Gettysburg by the synods, or by Lutherans within these synods, prominent voices urged that its Lutheran quality would need to be evidenced in a formal and legal way.

Such was the situation when Harvey W. McKnight (1843-1914; president, 1884-1904) took over as the fourth chief executive of the College. As a graduate of both the College ('65) and the Seminary, he had already established himself by the mideighties as a dynamic clergyman with a special interest in higher education. A later president of the institution characterized him as a person who had "achieved greatness as a soldier and leader, as a preacher and orator, as a scholar and college executive."²³ McKnight was considered one of the strongest young men in the General Synod and was elected its president in 1884 when he was only forty-one. He had, however, little taste for conservative Lutheranism and preferred to stress efforts "to secure the highest mental culture" and "to develop true Christian character."²⁴

He titled his inaugural address "Old Things That We Should Conserve, and New Things That We Should Adopt." It suggested that he would seek to steer a middle course between the traditional disciplinary concept of education and the new university ideas of academic freedom and unlimited election of courses. It implied that he would also seek to follow a mediating position between confessional Lutheranism and American Lutheranism.

In a few years McKnight proceeded with the most ambitious building program thus far in the College's history. Glatfelter and McKnight Halls were constructed, as was Brua Memorial Chapel (now the Music Building). Pennsylvania Hall and other buildings were renovated. It should be noted that funds for this ambitious building program were secured from trustees and other benefactors and not from the Lutheran synods or organizations closely related to the Lutheran church.

Because they had not taken part in financing the bold building ventures which had made possible considerable enlargement in the student body and faculty, Lutheran churchmen might well have felt uneasy about whether their influence in college affairs was dwindling. From the beginning of his presidency, however, McKnight undertook a number of steps intended to promote the good will and support of Lutherans interested in the College. He asked the faculty to consider increasing the course work in what was then called "intellectual and moral science." Capitalizing on

²³ William A. Granville, *In Memoriam Harvey W. McKnight*, compiled by Rev. Marion J. Kline (Altoona, 1915), last page.

²⁴ These comments appear in his revised statement on religious exercises in the 1886-1887 catalogue of the College.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

the idea of Civil War soldiers' reunions, then so popular at Gettysburg, he instituted a "Lutheran Reunion" in 1889. He also developed a new strategy for gaining financial support from the churches by promoting the practice that the offering taken in many congregations on the annual day of prayer for colleges be designated for the Lutheran college of the region. Within a decade over twenty-five Lutheran congregations were supporting Gettysburg in this way, and other colleges associated with the General Synod were also securing significant annual donations in this manner.

These and other efforts of President McKnight were not sufficient to quiet the criticisms raised about Gettysburg's fidelity to Lutheranism. Sentiment was growing among synods interested in the College to have formal ties with the institution. These ties would take the forms of trustee selection and a strong voice in prescribing the curriculum and extracurricular life. For example, the Alleghany Synod passed a resolution in 1892 affirming that

. . . it is the judgment of this Synod that the instruction imparted in Pennsylvania College should be in harmony with the doctrine of the Lutheran Church as held by the General Synod, and we believe that the teaching of God's Word, from a Lutheran standpoint, in said College will be conducive to the promotion of our educational interests in general.²⁵

The resolution went on to call for "proportionate representation" on the board of trustees from each of the synods associated with the College. The procedure for such representation was to be that the synods would nominate candidates for election by the board. This request was related, undoubtedly, to the successful campaign just completed (1885) by the alumni of the College to secure precisely this privilege of nomination.

By 1892 the West Pennsylvania Synod, the Maryland Synod, and even the New York and New Jersey Synod had taken formal actions calling on the College to further evidence its Lutheran stance. While the wording of their resolutions generally commended the College for improving the quality of its education, it was clear that strengthening Lutheran ties was the major concern.

One of the most ardent advocates of strengthened ties was an influential member of the faculty, H. Louis Baugher (1840-1899), son of the second president. Baugher began teaching at the College in 1869, served as secretary of the faculty for seven years, and was named Franklin Professor in 1883. Like McKnight, he was a clergyman and an alumnus ('57). He was a few years older than the president and had been at the College a decade longer. Louis Baugher was an extremely effective classroom teacher, as acknowledged by his students, and an excellent editor, as evidenced in his editorship of the *Augsburg Sunday School*



Harvey W. McKnight



H. Louis Baugher

These were the main figures in the how-Lutheran-to-be controversy.

Teacher and Lesson Books (1874-1894).²⁶ Backed by the prestige of his father's name, and with considerable self-confidence in his own viewpoint, Louis Baugher spoke out in church circles about a lack of Lutheran emphasis at the College and about a laxity of discipline on campus. He represented the conservative position in Lutheranism in America shared by Charles Porterfield Krauth ('39) and Henry Eyster Jacobs ('62), two distinguished sons of earlier prominent Gettysburgians. Baugher may have aspired to the presidency of the institution when McKnight was elected. In any case, severe tension developed between the two men; and what McKnight tried to promote in terms of Lutheran good will for the College was criticized and thwarted by Baugher as not in the best interests of a genuinely Lutheran institution.

Articles in the *Pennsylvania College Monthly* in 1892 and 1893 appear to reflect the Baugher point of view. They urged greater sensitivity on the part of the College to the wishes of the Lutheran synods and, in token thereof, direct synodical representation on the board. They criticized having non-Lutheran trustees on the board as follows:

College Boards—and Boards of other corporations—frequently suffer from the presence of those whose affiliations, ecclesiastical and otherwise, are very much lacking in sympathy with the college or corporation, its history, its policy, and the result is detriment to the institution in more ways than one.²⁷

²⁶ See *Memorial of the Rev. H. Louis Baugher, D.D.* . . . (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1899), pp. 29, 32, 34, 39, 48-52.

²⁷ *Pennsylvania College Monthly* 17 (Oct., 1893), p. 216; also *ibid.*, 16 (Nov., 1892), pp. 272-275.

²⁵ Minutes of the Alleghany Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania, 1892, pp. 46, 47.

President McKnight, with the trustees solidly on his side in what had developed into a major power struggle, countered the criticisms. A promised endowment of \$25,000 from James Strong of Messiah Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, in memory of his first wife, for a professorship of English Bible and chaplaincy, appeared as an opportunity to clarify the Lutheran status of the institution. At a special meeting of the trustees on April 20, 1892, actions were taken concerning the Amanda Rupert Strong Chair of English Bible and the chaplaincy. The two posts were to be served by the same individual. English Bible was to be required study for the first time as a separate and distinct course. Biblical study in the original languages, Hebrew and Septuagint and New Testament Greek, continued to be available as electives for upperclassmen. The opening announcement in the 1893 catalogue of the College pointed out that "this generous endowment made it possible for the Board to add the Word of God to the list of regular text books used in the institution." Such a comment might be misleading if it were assumed that the Bible had not previously been used in courses in Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Moral Science, Hebrew, and Greek, all long-standing parts of the curriculum. In announcing such courses the instructor often included the name of the author of the textbook to be used, but did not include the Bible, which may well have been used in most instances.

Board action further specified that teaching in any required courses in the college curriculum, while positively Christian according to accepted standards of evangelical Christianity, was to be in no sense denominational. But such a requirement was not to interfere with voluntary study in which students might engage without course credit under the chaplain. He was expected to be Lutheran and responsible for instruction in Lutheranism. Also, under the direction of the president, the chaplain was to conduct chapel exercises and have supervision over the moral and spiritual interests of the students. Named to the newly created post of professor of English Bible and chaplain was Eli Huber ('55), pastor of Messiah Church, Philadelphia.

Two things about this action by the board particularly irked the confessionalists; and their indignation was fanned, no doubt, by Professor Baugher. First, there was the ban on denominational teaching in required courses and second, the limitation placed on the autonomy of the chaplain who might presumably be an ardent Lutheran traditionalist. Regarding the latter matter, they charged that placing the chaplain under the direction of the president was an action "absurdly interfering with the independence of the chaplaincy."

To cope with the rising tide of criticism, the trustees authorized prompt publication of a carefully prepared statement on the Lutheran status of the College. It was drafted by three men: John E. Graeff ('43), chairman of the board, President McKnight, and former President Milton Valentine. The statement was published in Lutheran periodicals and made available in separate pamphlet form. Furthermore, visitors to the synods from the College were to report the action of the trustees regarding the post of

professor of English Bible and chaplain and were to reiterate the substance of the statement. A special committee of the board was appointed to respond to any memorials from synods on this matter.

The Lutheran Status of Pennsylvania College first appeared in September, 1892. While it proposed to deal with the issue of what constituted the most effective and desirable Lutheran connection for Gettysburg at that time and in that situation, it actually stated issues and formulated a position that has much continuing relevance. Therefore, it is well to look in some detail at the five points contained in the document.

First, it was affirmed that the College had a distinct Lutheran status because it was established and maintained chiefly by Lutherans:

The Lutherans have never wavered in maintaining their charter-given majority—always a sure and immense majority [in the Board of Trustees] . . . and nothing short of a total, immoral, and incredible breach of trust can be conceived of as ever changing this well-established relation.²⁸

Further, in regard to the situation then current:

Never in the history of the college could a suggestion of danger to the Lutheran possession and interest have come with less reason or more absurdity than just now, when of the thirty-six Trustees all are Lutherans except four, and these four are all alumni of the institution, with hearty approval of its historic relation to the church that established it, and when under this Board the educational work is carried on by a Faculty every member of which is a Lutheran and all the rest of the teachers, save a lecturer on Jurisprudence, are Lutherans

Borrowing from an erstwhile visitor to Gettysburg, the document declared of the College: "It is of the church, by the church and for the church."²⁹

Second, it was argued that the regulation about non-denominational teaching in required courses maintained harmony with the College's Lutheran status. The exclusion of sectarian teaching from all work leading toward a degree, while retaining the positively Christian emphasis in such required work, was an appropriate Lutheran contribution to church-inaugurated higher education in America. Such exclusion of sectarianism in the required curriculum harmonized not only with the ideal of S. S. Schmucker, but also with "the best for the prosperity of the College in its work of Christian education and for its service of the Lutheran church in whose special interest it exists." The statement goes on:

²⁸ *The Lutheran Status of Pennsylvania College* (Gettysburg, 1892), pp. 4, 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

The Board resists the change sought by some, not merely because it would violate the original plan and past history, but especially because it would be a great mistake and dwarf the institution into inferior power and usefulness—crippling most of all its service for the Lutheran church itself. . . . An institution necessarily surrenders its best chance of strength and prominence as an educational center by cutting itself off, by sectarian teaching, from the patronage of the

THE LUTHERAN STATUS

OF

PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE.

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED
BY ORDER OF THE
BOARD OF TRUSTEES.
1892.

The Lutheran Status of Pennsylvania College

This significant defense of the College's relation to the church has continuing relevance.

great general public, and drawing only from a particular denomination or a section of its territory. The number of students is less; its income or revenue is less; the Faculty remains smaller; the grade of prominence among educational centers is diminished; the whole work is reduced to a small scale and contracted influence. The value of its diploma is impaired.³⁰

The wisdom of such a rule was evidenced by its adoption by the other colleges of the General Synod. The drafters of this document went further. Having corresponded deliberately with prestigious colleges of other denominations, they reported securing statements from Dickinson, Bucknell, Lebanon Valley, Franklin and Marshall, Lafayette, Haverford, Allegheny, and even Princeton supporting the rule of nonsectarian teaching in required courses.

Third, it was claimed that, along with the regulation for undenominational instruction, proper and full provision was made for Lutheran instruction to children of the church and any others who might desire it. Annual lectures on Luther's *Small Catechism* were available, and attendance at the Lutheran service on Sunday mornings in the College Church continued to be required. In addition to voluntary denominational instruction, there was encouraged association with the chaplain who was, of course, Lutheran.

Fourth, it was stated that the relationship between the Chair of English Bible and chaplaincy to the president of the College was properly one of supervision and direction by the latter. This actually was required by the proper unity and order of the institution. Such supervision was not "absurdly interfering with the independence" of the required work or of the voluntary denominational work, as some synodical critics claimed. Good order in college administration required that the chaplain could not be autonomous, for in that event he might, in fact, be subject to outside control.

Fifth, it was asserted that restriction with respect to denominational teaching on the part of all teachers at the College was also a necessity for proper unity and institutional order. Despite a "thoroughly Christian" orientation expected in the teaching of all departments, there was to be no classroom evangelism for distinctive doctrines that would encourage prejudiced partisanship. This was pointed particularly at Professor Louis Baugher.

Throughout most of the document, the authors maintained their logical and forceful argument without emotional appeal. At points, however, their intense concern appears:

With clearly made provision for distinctive Lutheran teaching in its true and proper place, with a required general attendance on the services of the Lutheran Church, with nine-tenths of the trustees Lutherans, holding complete possession of the institution, with all

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

the Faculty and tutors Lutherans, inevitably affecting the whole type of thought and saturating the entire atmosphere with the Lutheran spirit, is it not transparently clear that the impression which has lately been sought to be made, that the College is being alienated from the Lutheran Church, and becoming unworthy of its confidence, patronage or money, and unsafe for the faith of her children placed in its training, is a grotesque absurdity and an intolerable misrepresentation? Never has an outcry more ignorantly or wildly missed its mark, or been more cruelly unjust to a great and faithful institution of the Church.³¹

The College's reply to its critics was thus well launched. However, the conflict was by no means resolved. Representation on the board continued to be an issue for heated debate. Against the argument for direct synodical representation, those supporting the McKnight administration maintained that the move would give too much power to the clergy who already tended to dominate affairs in educational institutions.³² To the argument against non-Lutherans being named trustees, McKnight responded in vigorous defense of the cooperative spirit and service rendered by the few non-Lutherans then on the board.³³ When the West Pennsylvania Synod expressed regret that the College had "passed to so large a degree out of the control of the Lutheran Church and her ministry," called for modification of the prohibition on teaching Lutheran doctrine, and asked for synodical representatives on the board, the trustees, as we shall see, replied by taking action which led eventually to another amendment to the charter.³⁴

The interest of the West Pennsylvania Synod in the internal affairs of the College is expressed in its statement in 1893 about the recent inauguration of intercollegiate athletics:

We are sorry to learn that the authorities of the College permit the students to engage in athletic contests with the students of other institutions, traveling about the country expending time and money. We fear that these contests are not only serious interruptions of study, but also the occasions of great moral evils, and will in the end injure the students and the efficiency and good name of the College. We rejoice in the position unanimously taken in this matter by the Faculty of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg.³⁵

A change in the College's literary journals which occurred

at this time appeared to exhibit another aspect of the conflict. The last number of the *Pennsylvania College Monthly* was published in November, 1893. The first issue of the *College Mercury* appeared in January, 1893. The new publication, in contrast to the old, supported warmly administration and trustee policies with regard to church relations. Neither journal offered reasons in detail for the changeover, but the conflict possibly had something to do with it.

Meanwhile his critics had goaded President McKnight into dramatic action. At a special meeting of the trustees on December 28, 1893, McKnight tendered his resignation, charging irreconcilable differences with Baugher on questions of policy and management. The president claimed that Baugher, through appeals to the church, had awakened unnecessary and unjustifiable opposition to the College and ill will toward McKnight personally. The board refused to accept the resignation and reaffirmed the actions it had taken with regard to the Lutheran status of the College. It frowned on all agitation to unsettle its position and urged action by those associated with the institution to overcome the existing opposition and to restore confidence in the administration of the College.

To the urgent request for direct synodical representation on the board, the trustees responded somewhat obliquely. As the minutes express it:

. . . that while we cannot see our way clear to grant the request of the Synods referred to, in the precise form in which it is made, we direct, in order to allay all uneasiness in regard to the Lutheran control of the Institution and to give assurance thereof, the officers of the Board to apply to the court of Adams County [for a charter amendment.]³⁶

The amendment of May, 1894, stated simply that "not less than three fourths" of the trustees "shall always be members of the Lutheran Church." Obviously, this was not what the synods were seeking, but it was a legal commitment to a predominant Lutheran influence in Gettysburg. The College thereby retained the stand asserted by Schmucker that it would be prevailingly under Lutheran influence and control.

Despite board action, the bitter struggle between McKnight and Baugher continued. Uncompromising about his convictions, Baugher would not conform to the principle established that Lutheran positions were not to be advocated in the teaching of the required curriculum. He also persisted in conducting a catechetical class without the approval of President McKnight. In circles throughout the General Synod where he was very influential (he was its president in 1895-1896), Baugher continued to foment opposition to the College as not being properly Lutheran. He directly criticized McKnight as being "unLutheran," inef-

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³² See the *Lutheran Observer*, Jan. 6, 1893, in which John A. Himes of the college faculty affirms the point.

³³ *Gettysburg College Monthly* 17 (Nov., 1893), pp. 249, 250.

³⁴ Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania, 1892, pp. 37, 37; 1893, pp. 19, 20.

³⁵ Minutes, 1893, p. 20.

³⁶ Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Pennsylvania College, Dec. 28, 1893.

fective as an administrator, and lax as a disciplinarian. The president again submitted his resignation to the board in 1896 and insisted that definitive action now be taken. The trustees, at last convinced that Baugher would not abide by their regulations, summarily dismissed him. They again refused the resignation of the president and also commended him for his stand and leadership. Since none of the other faculty members stood by Baugher or left because of his dismissal, it is assumed that they favored McKnight in this controversy.

Within three years of his dismissal, Baugher was dead. A memorial article in the *Gettysburg Mercury* called attention to the fact that

the strong personality of Dr. Baugher was felt in every relation in which he was placed, . . . his views always commanded attention and respect. . . . As a churchman he was interested in all Christian work—but specially in all things Lutheran—in her institutions, her missions, her theology. He was an advocate of central, responsible government in the church and a leader in the recent movement for a more uniform and more extended liturgical service.³⁷

Henry Eyster Jacobs, the lifelong intimate friend of Baugher, stated in the *Lutheran* that he was worn out “by the conflicts occasioned by his unswerving testimony to what he held to be the truth.”³⁸

There is no doubt that serious damage was caused to good church-College relations as a result of Baugher’s criticisms and because of the feud existing between him and McKnight. Suspicions thus created may well have set up an ongoing wariness on the part of the College and of the synods. Such suspicions were to persist for many years. Somewhat scarred from the controversy, but with great confidence in the future, the College emerged into a new century which required new adjustments, including those with respect to its Lutheran connection.

³⁷ Vol. 8 (March, 1899), pp. 9, 10.

³⁸ *Memorial of the Rev. H. Louis Baugher*, p. 19.

First Half of the Twentieth Century

Progressivism, historians affirm, was the predominant attitude in the land and in American academe for the first two decades of the twentieth century. It has been described as the conscience of the middle class seeking to cope with conditions that derived from urbanization and industrialization of what had previously been essentially an agrarian republic.

Among the churches, progressivism was manifested at this time in the turn to liberal theology, which concentrated on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the inauguration of the Federal Council of Churches (1908) with its stress on social action, and in the flowering of the Student Volunteer Movement with its vision of “evangelizing the world in this generation.” In lieu of the emphasis on doctrine, now thought of as obsolete, a considerable number of American preachers, in the east at least, and on many college campuses, proclaimed the need for “Christian character.” It is true, of course, that progressivism made only isolated inroads on “Bible Belt Fundamentalism” and the confessionalism dominant in other parts of the country. Most Lutheran synods and congregations were comparatively unsympathetic to this progressivist emphasis and only grudgingly adapted to it.

Campus chapters of the Y.M.C.A. were in many ways the college expression of Christianity in the progressive idiom. Christian service in one sense or another was the central watchword. Bruce Barton, while president of the Amherst Y.M.C.A., declared in 1907, “Any man who believes that God is always on the side of right, that Amherst is the greatest college in the world, and who is trying to do the square thing by his fellows is welcomed into membership.”

At Gettysburg the beginning of a new century brought a change in the attitude toward church relatedness. What had been an issue occupying center stage in the previous decade now tended to be ignored. In reaction to the overheated arguments and name-calling of the controversialists in the 1890’s, there was a turning away from the matter. Nor is there any indication that this turning away was a studied policy promoted by administrators. As the College entered a new century, many became indifferent to previous controversy, others looked to different areas for finding religious significance, while administrators maintained a wary association between College and church.

Evidence of the change in the way the College and the church viewed each other is apparent in the journals of both. The numerous articles and editorial comments of the 1890’s ceased. In the decade from 1902 until the *College Mercury* discontinued publication in 1912, there is not a reference to

the church-relatedness of the College. But there are frequent references to significant service rendered by the College Y.M.C.A. (originally organized on campus in 1867) and to the need for building Christian character on campus. In church journals there are no longer demands for representation on the board and for other evidence of Lutheranism.

The first two decades of the twentieth century cover, approximately, the administrations of the fifth and sixth presidents of the College, Samuel G. Hefelbower (1871-1950; president, 1904-1910) and William A. Granville (1863-1943; president, 1910-1923). Hefelbower, a graduate of the College ('91) and Seminary, was professor of German at Gettysburg when he was persuaded to accept the presidency. William A. Granville was a Lutheran layman—the first lay president in the College's history—and a highly reputed mathematics scholar from Yale. Academic upgrading by means of curriculum improvement, higher entrance standards, and increased qualifications for the faculty were now the central concerns. However, these gains had to be secured at a price in terms of Lutheran interest and support, since professorships were less and less awarded to Lutheran ministers, in part at least, as rewards for successful parish ministries. Appointments to the faculty were made on the basis of university graduate training rather than standing in the denomination.³⁹ Realistic efforts were also made to conform to the norms set by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, to secure accreditation by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States (achieved in 1921), and to acquire a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa (acquired in 1923). Here were appearing for the first time outside secular forces which would vie with the church in measuring the quality of the College.

Plans for major improvement in curriculum, extracurricular life, and facilities were top priority when the Granville administration commenced in 1910. In the discussion of areas of advance for "Granville and Greater Gettysburg" in the *Mercury*, however, there is no mention of relations with the synods or the church.⁴⁰ Interestingly, the only actions by the board of trustees in the first two decades of the century which relate to ecclesiastical matters were an admonition to the faculty to attend daily chapel exercises and a reaffirmation of the charter amendment of 1894 which required that three-fourths of the trustees be Lutheran.

At this time many church-related colleges were becoming convinced that foundations were a more promising source of support than were their denominations and were acting accordingly. Some minimized church relationships as far as was necessary to gain foundation funding. While some foundations made nonsectarianism a prerequisite for support,

most of them made other criteria than religious affiliation and emphasis central in evaluating worthiness.

Dickinson may be taken as a good example of a college that stated its church relationship positively, while, at the same time, stressing its independence of church control and its nonsectarianism. When applying for aid from the Carnegie Foundation, the trustees of Dickinson authorized the president to forward statements of the college's position, including the following, to that foundation: "Dickinson College is under the friendly auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but has never been owned or controlled by any church body"; no religious organization as such "has or can have" representation on the board; and in accordance with its charter, no denominational test can be imposed or denominational doctrines taught. Finally, the trustees resolved that "in order to avoid misunderstanding on the part of the public the President of the College is herewith directed in the future to report the College as non-sectarian."⁴¹

Although Gettysburg was neither quick to appeal to foundations nor particularly skillful in the effort, President Granville had the connections and the knowledge of procedures to secure in 1911 a conditional pledge from the General Education Board, a foundation established by the Rockefellers in 1902. This board promised the College \$50,000 for endowment on the condition that the latter obtain firm pledges of \$180,000 by July, 1913. The goal was reached and the funds secured. Again in 1921, that board pledged \$150,000 for endowment particularly to improve faculty salaries providing the College would match it with \$300,000 in subscriptions by January, 1923. That objective was also achieved.

In comparison to such funding, allocations from the denomination were meager, indeed. In 1909 the General Synod began giving annual grants to its colleges. Throughout the administration of President Granville annual receipts from this source ranged between a maximum of \$5400 and a minimum of \$3000. After the General Synod merged into the United Lutheran Church in America (1918), an even lesser amount was received from the Board of Education of the new U.L.C.A. This was a disappointment because a larger grant had been anticipated.

But it was from the congregations of the synods associated with Gettysburg and from individual Lutherans whose enthusiasm could be aroused, rather than from the general bodies, that major support came.

A good example of appeal directly to congregations was the "Second Mile" effort of 1921-22. When an endowment and expansion campaign for \$1,000,000 conducted by Ward's Systems Company of Chicago, a major fund raising firm, floundered with scarcely one half of the goal pledged and only one quarter of the goal collected, Rev. Joseph B. Baker ('01), then pastor of St. James Lutheran Church, Gettysburg, offered his services and was given temporary

³⁹ Joseph E. Rowe ('04), "The Administration of Dr. Hefelbower," in Samuel G. Hefelbower, *The History of Gettysburg College 1832-1932*, (Gettysburg: Gettysburg College, 1932), p. 285.

⁴⁰ The *Mercury* 18 (Oct., 1910), pp. 26-30.

⁴¹ Charles E. Sellers, *Dickinson College, a History* (Middletown: Conn.: Wesleyan Press, 1973), p. 313.



Joseph B. Baker

This Lutheran pastor was the dynamo of the College's Second-Mile campaign in 1921-22. He was the father-in-law of F. Stanley Hoffman '29, Gettysburg College Business Manager.

leave from parish duties to salvage the situation. Calling this the "Second Mile," with constant visits to congregations and with the publication of an interest-and-support journal, the *Gettysburg Challenger*, Baker was able to secure an additional \$387,000 in pledges from individuals and congregations, along with \$101,000 promised by certain conferences of the synods, and \$75,000 pledged by the Woman's General League. Despite the fact that some of the pledges were never paid, it is evident that there was a very significant reservoir of good will and support for the College within the Lutheran congregations of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

A closer look at this campaign for funds, organized and administered by Baker, reveals a number of characteristics in the relations of College and church in the 1920's. First, the College continued to build on and exploit the loyalty to the two Gettysburg institutions together. Dr. Herbert C. Alleman ('87), a prominent Lutheran pastor in Philadelphia, is quoted in the *Gettysburg Challenger* of March 24, 1921, as saying: "let the College go to ruins and the Seminary is for sale."

Second, special effort was made to cultivate interest in an evangelistic way by organizing what were called "College Prayer Meetings." Guidelines were provided, and topics for talks were suggested, such as "The Mother and Her Children" and "The Importance of Christian Education." The chairman of the church campaign, Rev. Henry Anstadt ('90) of Chambersburg, advised that in as many congregations as possible from Easter to college commencement time, the college prayer meetings were to be used to "re-chisel into our people a new appreciation of the church college and its vital function in the Kingdom of God."

Third, through involving the Woman's General League (of which more later), the women of the Gettysburg-oriented congregations in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Washington, D.C. were made to feel directly needed by the College. The *Gettysburg Challenger* of March 24, 1921, carried "A Message from the Woman's League" by the president, Mrs. Henry W. A. Hanson, who was soon after to come to Gettysburg as the wife of its seventh president. She

exhorted:

As surely as historical Gettysburg represents the forces that broke down the evils of slavery, so does the College at Gettysburg represent the forces that are to go out in the future to battle with the powers of evil in the world. We call every Lutheran woman in our territory to uphold our College now, whose life is so vital to the future of our Church, our country and the work of our God.

Fourth, the appeal was on the congregational not the synodical level. Standard procedure in the second mile campaign was for a forceful speaker to present the cause in a congregation or Sunday school. Immediately after the presentation a vote was taken in which the body concerned obligated itself to raise a specific amount. With pastors, usually Gettysburg men for whom the parishioners had a high regard, promoting the cause, and with the emotional appeal at its maximum intensity, some congregations pledged as much as \$10,000. There was heavy shrinkage in the payment of such pledges, not because of a lack of loyalty and interest, but because such procedures did not create a firm sense of ongoing obligation when other pressing demands arose.

Over and above the efforts of many interested helpers were those of the real dynamo in this appeal, Dr. Baker himself. His pietistic earnestness and vivid story-telling ability reached to the rank and file members of Lutheran congregations whose backgrounds were largely Pennsylvania German and pietist. His energy and dedication to the task seemed indefatigable. In one short period of two weeks in 1921, he visited nineteen congregations and presented the cause to the pastors, church councils, and other interested parties. He assembled the material for and edited the *Gettysburg Challenger*, which appeared every week during the height of the campaign. He also wrote forcefully, as in the April 28, 1921, issue:

The oldest Lutheran College in this country is calling for help that it may go forward. The decision rests with the Church as to whether she will advance by promoting her colleges or stand still; for the fate of her colleges is very largely the fate of the Church.

In a final report of the campaign in June, 1922, Dr. Baker stated that slightly more than the goal of one million dollars had been pledged through the support of central Pennsylvania and Maryland Lutherans. The "first mile" effort of the professionals raised \$475,000 in pledges; the "second mile" effort, conducted by Dr. Baker and assisting church people, netted pledges of \$461,735 plus the Woman's League pledge of \$75,000. Thus the overall total was \$1,011,735. Unfortunately, collecting of pledges was arduous and not entirely successful. However, since Dr. Granville suddenly resigned, effective March 1, 1923, such collecting became the task of a new president.

Reference has already been made to the Woman's League

of the College, another striking example of keen interest and major financial support given by groups of Lutheran individuals. In 1908 Mary G. Stuckenberg, widow of a prominent Lutheran clergyman and educator, developed the idea of organizing Lutheran women in the interests of the College as they had been organized in the promotion of foreign missions. Having support from the administration and trustees at Gettysburg, Mrs. Stuckenberg was authorized to develop interest and raise funds among the women of Lutheran congregations of the territory. Article II of the provisional constitution of the new league stated: "The aim and object of this General League shall be to aid the Board of Trustees of Pennsylvania College in furnishing funds for the support of said College, encouraging increased student enrollment, and all other interests of said College."

Separate groups meeting in Lutheran churches were organized in Pittsburgh, York, and Harrisburg in 1908 and 1910. Soon after, similar groups were established in Gettysburg, Chambersburg, Shippensburg, and Philadelphia. These groups joined together in 1911 to form the Woman's General League of Pennsylvania College. Thereafter, each individual group was designated a "subleague." By 1961, when the General League celebrated its golden anniversary, there were twenty subleagues with over 6,000 members. Except in the Gettysburg area, the overwhelming number of league members have been Lutheran.

The support contributed by this organization, a kind of living endowment for the College, illustrated how a portion of the Lutheran constituency could greatly aid the cause of Gettysburg. By 1974 the league in its sixty-three years had contributed slightly over \$600,000 to the College. Among outstanding projects which league members have accomplished in whole or in part are the support of a resident Y.M.C.A. secretary (1911-1915), funds for the building of Weidensall Hall (1916-1928), an endowment fund for the Student Christian Association (1929-1935), women's dormitory renovations and furnishings (1935, 1948), Christ Chapel organ and window (1945, 1952), establishment of the Music Department (1951), remodeling Brua Hall for a music building (1957), furnishing the College Union Building (1960), furnishing the renovated Schmucker Library (1962), and the restoration of Pennsylvania Hall (1969). In addition there have been ongoing contributions to various scholarships and grants for the religious program of the institution. For some time the league was a unique phenomenon among American colleges.

The long administration of Henry W. A. Hanson (1882-1962; president, 1923-1952) was probably the most influential period of the College's development in the first half of the twentieth century. The institution still shows many marks and characteristics of that "Hanson era." For most of his administration, his charisma was the dominant force in creating the public image of the College.

Hanson, originally from North Carolina, was a graduate of Roanoke College and Gettysburg Seminary. He had been a very successful Lutheran pastor in Pittsburgh and Harrisburg before accepting the presidency of Gettysburg College. He was a gifted preacher with an imaginative and



Mary G. Stuckenberg

The founder of the Woman's League, an example of unofficial College-church relation.



Weidensall Hall Cornerstone Laying

This was an early project of the Gettysburg Woman's League.

oratorical style. His ability to deal with people, to make them feel inspired and elated, and to get them to submit willingly to his wishes were part of his charismatic gift. His challenges to "reach for the stars" touched and frequently inspired many students, alumni, church people, woman's leaguers, and people of the community in general. Though he was not an alumnus of the College, he showed a deep affection for it, and committed himself to it, as did his gifted wife. Some regarded him as paternalistic both in his administration of the College and in his dealings with the faculty, whom he rarely took into his confidence concerning many college matters. While he conferred frequently—even on the golf course, at times—with some senior faculty members, certain trustees, and his faithful dean, Wilbur E. Tilberg, he insisted on being the decision maker. Because of his charm many, including most alumni and church people, were not disturbed by his sometimes autocratic procedure.

The Hanson style clearly shaped the college emphasis in religious matters during this period. Hanson was not particularly interested in strong Lutheran identification but rather in an evangelical commitment. He had a taste for evangelical theology, an optimistic world view, and a preference for nonliturgical practice. Some of this attitude was developed, no doubt, by his "American Lutheran" background and by his graduate theological study in Germany at a time when liberal theology was at its zenith there. In his inaugural address in 1923, he stated: "In this age only he is fitted to serve who appreciates the fundamental importance of Christian ideals." Throughout his administration he focused his gifted oratorical abilities on the theme of Gettysburg men building up their Christian character.

Along this line of character building, Henry Hanson encouraged and supported fully the annual "Week of Prayer" program of the College Y.M.C.A. This developed into the Religion-in-Life Week of the Student Christian Association

(S.C.A.), heir to the Y.M.C.A., soon after women students were readmitted to the College in 1935. This annual emphasis on religion in general, with some special Christian topic in particular, was part of the practice then prevailing on college campuses. Topics were usually those appealing to the progressivist and character-building interests of the current American Christianity. Theological themes and interests of the denomination were played down.

Also in keeping with his evangelical emphasis, Henry Hanson retained a required weekday chapel program throughout his administration, although some church-related institutions were dropping such a requirement. This regulation had come down to him from the past, and Hanson made much of the Gettysburg tradition. The title of chaplain had disappeared at Gettysburg in 1916, and in its place Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. (later the S.C.A.) was used. This title of secretary had been adopted partly so that laymen as well as clergy could serve in the post. Hanson reinstated the college chaplaincy in 1942 as being a more appropriate office for the person who worked with the many military trainees on campus during World War II. After the war it was retained. The occupant of this post also taught, part time, in the Bible Department or Philosophy Department and served as executive for the Student Christian Association. Acting in the capacity of chaplain after 1942 were a number of alumni who later became prominent Lutheran churchmen, including Donald R. Heiges ('31), the first to be named "chaplain," now president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, and Howard J. McCarney ('42), current president of the Central Pennsylvania Synod. Parker B. Wagnild, later named chairman of the Music Department, Edward K. Stipe ('43), and Edwerth E. Korte ('32) also served in this position during the Hanson administration.

Two courses in the required curriculum were in accord with Hanson's own religious persuasion. One was the course in the Bible; and to give it stature he established a separate Department of English Bible in 1931 and appointed as its professor, W. C. Waltemyer ('08), a Lutheran pastor with his Ph.D. Thus Biblical studies were given further recognition as a serious discipline, and the department was identified as separate from the chaplaincy. The serious academic study rather than evangelical presentation of Biblical literature and religion became a hallmark of the department. The other required course was entitled "Orientation" and was instructed by members of the Philosophy Department. One of its purposes was to get students to think seriously about a philosophy of life with a broadly Christian core. After World War II this requirement gave way to one in General Education.

So, with a chaplain and certain ordained members of the faculty to assist him, Hanson sought to exemplify a program "positively Christian according to the accepted standards of Evangelical Christendom but in no sense denominational." That was what the trustees had enunciated for the College back in 1892, it was in line with the Schmucker emphasis, and it fit the Hanson taste. Despite some student pranks and some opposition to the chapel



Henry W. A. Hanson



Wilbur E. Tilberg

These were the architects of Gettysburg College in the second quarter of this century.

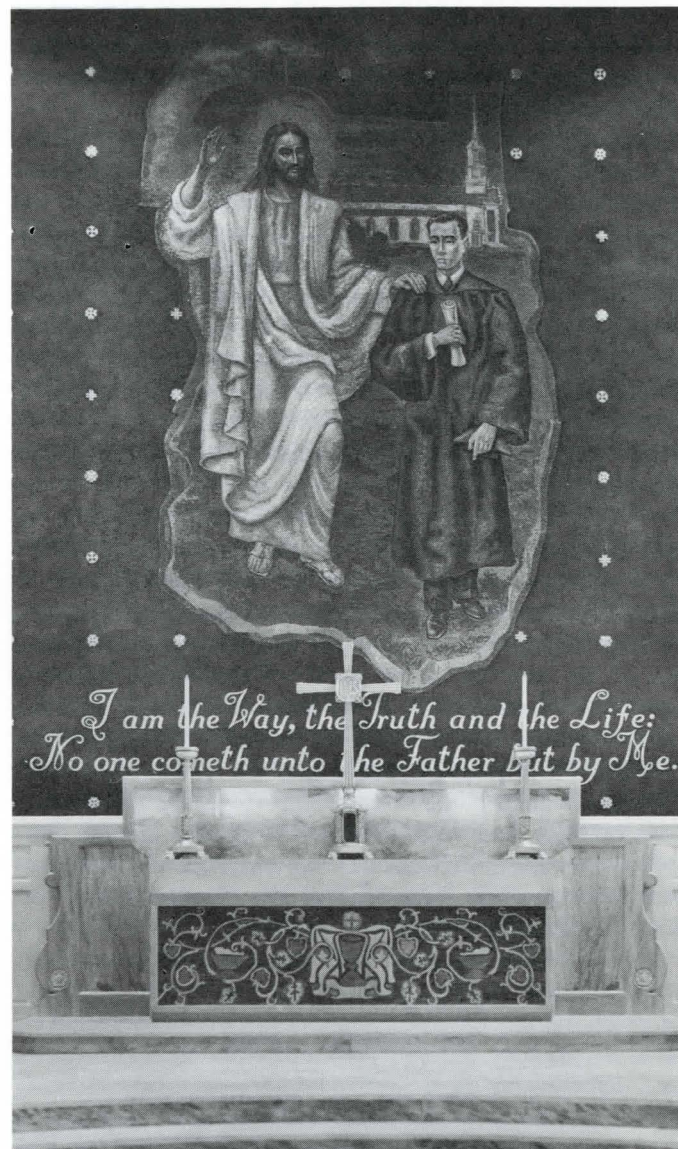
regulations, the president in his many talks consistently made a point of associating church-relatedness with required chapel attendance.

President Hanson was suspicious of any outside influences upon the College. He shared the opinion of many educators of the time that there was real danger that government funding would give the state a dominant role in college policy. He was concerned lest funding from foundations might require a compromise in the college's Christian character. Even possible financial aid from the United Lutheran Church in America needed careful investigation, in the president's thinking, lest it carry with it strings of direction. Whether such suspicion was the result of earlier tensions in the College's past or the result of his own personal convictions, it was evidenced in Hanson's wariness about seeking funds for the College from sources outside its immediate constituencies.

From what has already been indicated it is clear that Henry Hanson had a remarkable personality and a unique style. These were clearly evidenced in his dealings with his fellow Lutherans. Before synods, congregations, and other Lutheran groups he was an oratorical spellbinder. He presented his message with moving and long remembered illustrations. He preferred to look on the bright side of things and reported with confident optimism about the institution. He rarely dealt with specific matters of financing, campus housekeeping, faculty and student problems, and the like, concentrating instead on macroideas and ideals of Christian higher education. His magnetism was particularly effective with laymen—persons of distinction in the business world, in the political arena, and in the military—whether they were Lutherans or not. In a general revision of the charter in 1935, the first since the original, the number of trustees required to be members of U.L.C.A. congregations was reduced from three-fourths to two-thirds.

While the charisma of Henry W. A. Hanson was effective in enlisting much support for the institution, it was not always effective with the synods. His optimistic reporting that the college's financial affairs were always "in the black" and his flowery speeches irritated some churchmen. The response of the synods associated with Gettysburg to the Christian Higher Education Year (C.H.E.Y.) appeal in 1949 was disappointing in comparison with the support given other U.L.C.A. colleges by their synods. Only 55 per cent of the apportioned goal of \$625,000 was contributed.

A cherished Hanson dream was an inspiring chapel to stand "in the center of the campus as Christ stands at the center of the College." For many years he hoped that the construction of this chapel would be the consummation of his administration at Gettysburg. With funds promised from the C.H.E.Y. appeal, work was begun in 1951. The temporary disappearance of the corner stone of the chapel shortly before it was to be placed represented a prank, to be sure, but some felt it represented also a protest against such a large investment in a place that would have only limited and occasional use at a time when there were other more pressing housing and equipment needs at the College. Hanson defended the chapel as a "pearl of great price," the



Christ and the Student

The mosaic in Christ Chapel was representative of President Henry W. A. Hanson's ideals.

construction of which should outweigh any other consideration. Unfortunately for him, problems in funding and building held up completion of the chapel until the year after his mandatory retirement.

Nevertheless, Christ Chapel was certainly Henry W. A. Hanson's distinctive legacy to Gettysburg College. Completed and dedicated in 1953, the chapel represented his planning, his promoting, and, quite clearly, his views on religion. The architectural style was Georgian, reminiscent of the beautifully polished phrases of a Hanson address. Such a style did not stress the mystery of the supernatural as the Gothic would have, but rather concentrated attention on the humanistic, well-proportioned, classical models, and on a Christ as our personal contemporary. This progressivist emphasis was communicated particularly in the windows and the mosaic in the sanctuary.

A definitely favorable happening for the College in its association with the church was the establishment of the choir and its subsequent success. In 1935, approximately at the halfway mark of the Hanson administration, the Gettysburg College Choir began and was soon to develop into one of the most important good will and public relations agents for the institution. It was begun and, to this day, has been continued and directed by Parker B. Wagnild, who brought to Gettysburg something of the renowned St. Olaf College Choir in which he had sung. He added his own distinctive style and interpretation. Wagnild, then a Gettysburg Seminary student, was recommended to Hanson by John Aberly ('88), president of the Seminary and the writer's grandfather.

By the 1940's the choir had achieved recognition both popularly and among music critics, and it was rendering concerts at many Lutheran churches both in the area and on tours throughout the east. While the organization was to gain its greatest fame in the decades after the H.W.A. Hanson administration, when it appeared at the conventions of the Lutheran World Federation at Minneapolis and Helsinki and made a round-the-world concert tour, it had already established its standard of excellence in its first fifteen years.

The choir helped the College to put its best foot forward with its denominational constituency. Lutherans have been especially appreciative of their musical heritage. The choir sang only sacred music and promoted a view that Gettysburg was properly in the great Lutheran tradition. Singing in the choir were many who later became prominent Lutheran churchmen and pastors. Their loyalty to Gettysburg was focused particularly in their attachment to this musical organization and its director. One of the many of these choir alumni to achieve prominence in the church was George Harkins ('37), who became secretary of the Lutheran Church in America and, later, secretary of the Lutheran Council, U.S.A.

When the century-old requirement that students attend Sunday services was abandoned in 1931, the College continued its special association with Christ Lutheran Church. It was assumed that Lutheran faculty and students would attend the "College Church." An annual allocation

from college funds was made toward the congregational budget. Pastors were chosen with special consideration given to their appeal to the academic community. Two outstanding examples of pastors during this period who were able to enlist much support and interest from faculty and student body were Dwight F. Putman ('20), who became second president of the Central Pennsylvania Synod, and Wallace E. Fisher ('40), who previously taught in the History Department of the College. After an outstandingly successful ministry to students at Christ Church, Fisher went on to denominational and general prominence as pastor, lecturer, and writer. Many students were also associated with the congregation by singing in its choir, directed in the postwar decade by none other than Parker B. Wagnild.

In retrospect, the Henry Hanson era at Gettysburg may be seen as composed of two discrete parts: the period up to and including World War II and the period of seven postwar years. Most of what has been presented so far has dealt with the first of these periods, because it really set the pattern for the administration and because it witnessed most of its achievements. The second period posed such radical changes in American life and in higher education in particular that it was very hard for President Hanson to modify previously held principles in order to cope with changing times. The size of the student body doubled between 1945 and 1946. This was partly because the president encouraged veterans, especially those who had begun their courses before entering the military, to return. The financial aid of the G.I. Bill also promoted this wave of increased enrollment. Such a wave simply necessitated more faculty and more facilities and, with inflationary pressures of the postwar years, greatly increased the operational costs of the College.

When most of the veterans had completed their education, questions about the long-term future of the College as to size, facilities, and finances had to be faced. President Hanson, with his conservative approach, sought to hold the line on tuition and other costs and to do no deficit spending. This, coupled with his wariness of support from outside sources, worked against coping adequately with the changed world of higher education at a time when neighboring colleges were beginning to secure federal and foundation support. Much essential building was postponed, although the chapel, which some regarded as nonessential, was commenced. Faculty salaries lagged behind the norms of the day. Even the desired rapport with the synods appeared to be wavering, as indicated by the response of the C.H.E.Y. appeal. Significant reorientation on many fronts was urgent if Gettysburg was not to drop behind in the race for pursuit of academic excellence.

The Period Since Mid-Twentieth Century

It is easier to report upon, but harder to assess, the Lutheran connection of the College in the last twenty-five years than in its earlier days. It is easier to report because there is much evidence from documents and from living persons. It is harder to assess because trends and countertrends are in process, and it does not now appear which will prevail. In some ways, such as financial support by the synods and synodical representation on the board, the Lutheran connection has never been as strong as it came to be during this time. In other ways, such as the proportion of Lutherans in the faculty, administration, and student body, the connection has not been nearly so strong as in the past.

The ambiguity of trends was related to changing characteristics of the supporting synods and of the College itself. Such changing characteristics were occasioned in large measure by the new culture and the new centralization of power in the atomic and space age in America. In this age there was a revival of religious interest which peaked in the late fifties and early sixties. It was deemed very significant by some and very superficial by others. The revival was evidenced by the great amount of attention given by the American public to such figures as Rev. Billy Graham and Msgr. Fulton Sheen. It was also the heyday of prayer breakfasts for politicians and of religious emphasis weeks for collegians. Closely related to the revival was an ecumenical thrust pointed up in greater dialogue among denominations through the World Council of Churches and Vatican II Ecumenical Council. Associated with the ecumenical interest was pressure toward church unions. For example, the Lutheran Church in America, formed from an amalgamation of four separate Lutheran bodies, resulted in the largest organization of Lutherans in America. It is to this L.C.A. that the College has been church-related since 1962.

The increased power of the central organization was evidenced not only in the denomination but also in its constituent synods. The Central Pennsylvania Synod (into which the former West Pennsylvania, East Pennsylvania, Allegheny, and Susquehanna synods united in 1938) and the Maryland Synod both developed characteristics of significant centralization. Full time, powerful presidents, secretaries, and staff workers promoted the process. The synods assumed many benevolent responsibilities previously carried out in separate congregations, and synodical budgets reflected this greatly enlarged sphere. For example, the Central Pennsylvania Synod in the year after its organization in 1938 had two full-time executives and benevolence receipts of \$529,486. Thirty-five years later there were ten

full-time executives, including seven staff assistants, with benevolence receipts of \$4,521,772. In the Maryland Synod in 1939 there were no full-time executives and benevolence receipts of \$187,845; while in 1974 there were four, plus two additional shared staff members, and benevolence receipts of \$1,812,489. What had previously been somewhat random support for the College coming chiefly from congregations was transformed into regularized support through synodical allocations. In the case of the Central Pennsylvania Synod, all of its presidents and all but one of its secretaries have been graduates of Gettysburg. Some of the Maryland Synod presidents and secretaries during this period have also been alumni of the College.

The change in the synods was no greater than that on campus after World War II. The numerical size of student body, faculty, and administration tripled since the prewar days. Facilities simply had to be vastly increased to meet the need, and the administration of Henry W. A. Hanson just began to deal with that problem. Loans from the government and concentrated financial campaigns became inescapable and necessitated a departure from the strictly



Alumni service to Central Pennsylvania Synod spans 37 years.

Since its founding in 1938, the Central Pennsylvania Synod has had but three presidents, all graduates of Gettysburg College. Pictured, left to right, are Dwight F. Putman '20 (1948-1966); College President C. Arnold Hanson; Mervin R. Hamsher '04 (1938-1948); and Howard J. McCarney '42 (1966-).

independent stance which the College had sought to maintain. Radically increased tuition and fees made for a considerably changed student body drawn more from the urban areas and less from predominantly Lutheran rural and small town territories of central Pennsylvania and Maryland. Not only was there a smaller percentage of Lutherans in the student body, but also there was less willingness to conform to traditional mores. The large proportion of veterans changed both the denominational makeup of the student body and the attitude to paternalistic regulations, which many of the former G.I.'s attributed, rightly or wrongly, to church influence. By the fifties the majority of students and faculty were no longer Lutheran, although Lutherans outnumbered any other denomination. By the midseventies Lutherans no longer made up the largest single denominational group in the student body.

Since 1952, the College has had three chief executives: Walter C. Langsam (1906- ; president, 1952-1955); Willard S. Paul (1894-1966; president, 1956-1961), and C. Arnold Hanson, (1913- ; president, 1961-). All three presidents have been laymen, and Paul (a Presbyterian) was the first and only non-Lutheran to serve in that capacity. All three men advocated closer relations to the supporting synods than had Henry W. A. Hanson. Of major significance in this period is the fact that a formal relationship sought by the synods interested in the College was finally consummated after sixty years.

In 1952, at the beginning of his administration, President Langsam pointed out a need for improved synodical relations in the light of the poor response to the C.H.E.Y. appeal. Accordingly, the board authorized a special committee "to study the advisability of according representation among the membership to supporting Synods." Chester Simonton ('16), then pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, York, chaired the special committee which soon afterward was made a permanent committee on synodical relations. This group worked for four years with "careful and prolonged consideration" to draft its recommendation.

By the time President Paul began his administration in 1956, the Synodical Relations Committee of the board was finally ready with its recommendation. After some discussion the board accepted the proposal, and in 1958 a change in the charter was secured which made it possible for the synods to elect six of the thirty-six members of the board: three from the Central Pennsylvania Synod, two from the Maryland Synod, and one from the West Virginia Synod. Six years later the number of synodical trustees was changed from six to eight when the presidents of the Central Pennsylvania and the Maryland synods were made ex officio members. In 1964, after the formation of the Lutheran Church in America and its realignment of synods for the support of educational institutions, the charter was again changed to transfer the member hitherto elected by the West Virginia Synod to the Central Pennsylvania Synod.

That this representation was finally achieved during the administration of a Presbyterian, President Paul, may appear odd. It must be remembered, however, that the charter change was the result of six years of planning and negotia-

tion carried on chiefly by Lutheran trustees. Furthermore, both the president and the trustees were anxious to indicate that the naming of a Presbyterian had not been a move away from the Lutheran church. Paul frequently reminded the synods that they should emulate the support given to the colleges related to his denomination, and insisted that "with representation goes obligation."

Trustees named by the synods came to exert a greater influence in the board than their proportion therein would indicate. On a number of recent occasions synodical trustees wielded the balance of power in crucial decisions. Some have come to the conclusion that, by the 1970's, the influence of "the church bloc" has become too great for the best interests of the College, not because of its conservatism or confessionalism, but because of its liberalism and advocacy of what might be called permissiveness.

Paul utilized Lutherans on the staff and faculty to promote favorable synodical relations and to launch a major financial appeal in 1958-1960. In the years following the C.H.E.Y. effort, President Langsam and the board had authorized and promoted an effort to raise a million dollars. They secured the services of a Lutheran layman, alumnus, and retired educational administrator, Clarence Raby ('09), to direct the effort among the community, alumni, Lutheran congregations of the supporting synods, and other concerned constituencies. Focusing on the letters G.I.V.E. (Gifts Insure Vital Education), Raby tried to salvage, as far as the churches were concerned, what C.H.E.Y. had not produced. This effort continued into the Paul administration, but returns again fell far short of objectives. So by 1957 President Paul and the board decided that more extensive measures had to be taken to secure funds for essential new buildings and for other purposes. The fund raising firm of Marts and Lundy was engaged to guide the major fund campaign. The writer, a faculty member and Lutheran, was asked to take a leave from teaching Biblical literature and religion to serve as college development officer and campaign executive. The illness of President Paul throughout most of the effort placed the responsibility for the College meeting the \$1,625,000 goal in large degree on the chairman of the board, John S. Rice, ('21), the coordinator, and many volunteer trustees, alumni, friends, and church people. Despite an advance prediction that the constituencies of the College, including the church, might not be entirely favorable to the effort, the response of the supporting synods was the most impressive and surprising factor in attaining the goal. The sum of \$950,000 was pledged by the Central Pennsylvania and Maryland synods. The total amount pledged by the Central Pennsylvania Synod (\$700,000) had been received by the College by 1964. Two annual pledges of the Maryland Synod were met in full, and a third was paid in large part, for a total of \$210,743. That this proved to be the largest and most successful fund raising venture in the history of the College to this point is owed in large part to church support. The pleas that often went unheeded by the Lutheran constituency in the past were, at last, transformed into a most-impressive response.

Furthermore, where the dollars went, greater interest by the synods followed. To cultivate that interest, special days for considering the role of the church in higher education generally, and in Gettysburg in particular, were introduced. Church people, both pastors and lay, both Gettysburgians and non-Gettysburgians, were encouraged to come to campus, share in some of its excitement, and participate in curricular and extracurricular activities of interest to them. This practice has become particularly prominent in the administration of President C. A. Hanson.

Before the second Hanson administration, however, there was a period of flux and uncertainty regarding the religious program on campus. When the college chaplain, Edwerth Korte, was eased out of his post, some church people held President Paul responsible for what they considered to be uncharitable and unreasonable action. Moreover, when attendance at weekday chapel services was made voluntary, some conservatives in the denomination regarded this as a loosening of religious ties. Actually, this abandonment of a practice begun in 1832 removed a long-standing source of student irritation and antagonism from both Lutheran and non-Lutheran students.

When C. Arnold Hanson became president in 1961, he skillfully parried some of the criticisms of the College coming from the denomination by developing a religious program at Gettysburg which was voluntary, yet comprehensive, and directed toward worship, social service, and an enlarged view of the institution's association with the Lutheran church. To assist in accomplishing this endeavor he brought to campus in 1962 a most able chaplain, John W. Vannorsdall, whom he had known as Lutheran campus

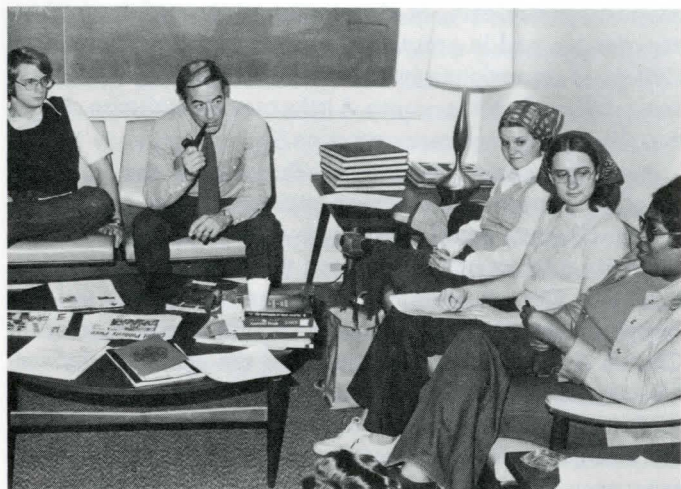
pastor at Cornell. Vannorsdall has been able not only to implement the president's goals, but also to provide new dimensions of campus religious activity. Because of his unusual ability in working with the college community, in counseling students, in developing meaningful worship experiences, and in presenting the religious program of the College to its various constituencies, Chaplain Vannorsdall has achieved what some Lutheran churchmen have described as "a showcase operation."

Among the most noteworthy elements of the religious program since 1962 have been regular Sunday services in Christ Chapel, greatly enlarged counseling, the Chapel Council, a series of lectures, and the Community of Risk (C.O.R.). The introduction of regular Sunday services on campus altered the long association with Christ Lutheran Church in Gettysburg and separated the campus religious life somewhat more from that of the community. The services on campus, while retaining something of the Lutheran form, offered the opportunity for meeting the more experimental tastes of the campus community. The Chapel Council took the place of the former Student Christian Association cabinet, but it has functioned with greater responsibilities and powers for program and activities than had the S.C.A. It was decided that it would be more effective to have an extended group of lectures throughout the year rather than to continue Religious Emphasis Week in which, at considerable expense, some highly reputed figure was brought to campus to make presentations on just three days. To replace the living area discussion groups, which were a part of the emphasis of the special week, C.O.R. groups functioning throughout a semester have been



Central Pennsylvania Synod in Session on Campus

This was one illustration of closer ties between College and Synods.



Campus worship today is a "showcase operation."

Chaplain John W. Vannorsdall and members of the Chapel Council envision ways for greater Christian service.

inaugurated. In addition to helping individuals develop a viable philosophy of life, facilitate in-depth relationships, overcome barriers of prejudice, learn processes for building community, C.O.R. proposed "to provide an occasion for sharing with others basic value and religious commitments, thereby nurturing faith."

These new elements of the campus religious program, as well as others, required additional personnel. Consequently, the post of assistant chaplain was authorized, as well as that of chapel intern. First to serve as assistant chaplain (1971-1974) was H. Gerard Knoche, Jr., a pastor from the Maryland Synod. Chapel interns who serve for an academic year have come almost always from one of the seminaries of the Lutheran Church in America. While such a religious program, worked out by the president and the chaplains, was meeting with approval and commendation from the church and the supporting synods, it was not being as favorably received by some alumni and people of the community.

Of special significance has been President Hanson's ability to transform the financial support of the related synods into an annual budgetary commitment. Thus, beginning in 1962 and continuing to the present, the College has received annual grants from both the Central Pennsylvania and the Maryland Synods for the operating budget of the institution. In the past dozen years the amounts thus received considerably exceeded even what these synods had contributed to the capital funds campaign (1959-1962). For the years 1965 to 1970 inclusive, it would have required an endowment of \$5,000,000 at 5 percent interest to net the College what these synods contributed annually.

Throughout the administration of the second President Hanson there has been a close working relationship between

the College and those responsible for the promotion of higher education in the L.C.A. From the responsible church agency the College has secured significant grants. These have ranged through a wide spectrum, including those for individual faculty study, those related to a consortium of L.C.A. colleges in a seminar on the Far East, and those related to the chapel program, including a faculty seminar on religious values, a chaplaincy grant, and a college-project grant. Opportunities in this way have been made available to Lutherans and non-Lutherans alike. The high regard held for the College and its president certainly contributed to the generosity of these awards.

Characteristic of C. Arnold Hanson's administrative procedure has been the entrusting of responsibility to faculty and students. The faculty accepted the challenging opportunity to help develop long-range plans for the College, to modify the curriculum and calendar, and to work out an equitable career process for the faculty member from hiring to retirement. In the major curriculum revision effective in 1969, which introduced the 4-1-4 system, Gettysburg retained a one course religion requirement with an option of partially fulfilling another distribution requirement with a second religion course. The retention of this requirement in religion at Gettysburg, while many neighboring colleges were dropping such a requirement, was due, in part, to faculty concern for a curriculum with a religious element and for a viable association with the supporting Lutheran synods. The members of the Religion Department (abbreviated from Department of Biblical Literature and Religion in 1969), all alumni and all but one

Receipts from the Central Pennsylvania and the Maryland Synods, 1963-1974 inclusive.

YEAR	CENTRAL PA. SYNOD	MARYLAND SYNOD	TOTAL
1963	\$ 125,000	\$ 10,137	\$ 135,137
1964	174,996	32,423	207,419
1965	200,006	46,200	246,206
1966	199,996	54,000	253,996
1967	200,004	62,000	262,004
1968	200,002	61,450	261,452
1969	195,000	59,300	254,300
1970	185,000	64,900	249,900
1971	172,500	49,000	221,500
1972	158,556	37,600	196,156
1973	152,035	39,100	191,135
1974	145,840	30,000	175,840
	<u>\$2,108,935</u>	<u>\$546,110</u>	<u>\$2,655,045</u>

Source: college records

with theological training at the Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary, have sought both to preserve the integrity of their academic discipline and to maintain a close relation to Lutheran bodies.

Of some concern to the College has been a decline in the amount of the financial support from the synods in the seventies. This decline has not been as sharp for Gettysburg as for some other colleges related to the L.C.A. Synods have been reassessing their priorities for funding, and colleges have not fared as well as they did in the sixties.

Partly to protect its colleges from further erosion of support, and partly to build a broader base of mutual service, the L.C.A. at its 1970 convention approved the development of "covenants" between the colleges and their supporting synods. The president and trustees of Gettysburg entered wholeheartedly into the process of investigation and delineation which the covenant relationship demanded, and, again, members of the staff and the faculty were involved before the final draft was prepared and ratified. The covenants, as worked out between the College and the Central Pennsylvania and the Maryland Synods, are phrased in broad language which focuses on the possible contributions of each to the other. Special stress is placed on service that can be rendered over and beyond financial support. These covenants are subject to review every four years.

The covenant documents are a far cry from the Lutheran status document of 1892. The defensiveness of the College in regard to its Lutheranism has disappeared. Affirmation by the College of the responsibility for preparing people for church vocations and lay leadership in congregations replaced special stress on preparing clergy. Asserting that it intended to find ways for even more effective relationships with the synods, Gettysburg proposed to exhibit a community in which worship and witness are "unabashedly available," and in which "the traffic in ideas" would be especially open to church people.

Explorations in mutual service rather than wariness caused by mutual distrust have become the order of the day. In this regard covenants are not to be viewed as fixed and final. Rev. Franklin D. Fry, chairman of the L.C.A. church college study committee, stated at the church's 1974 convention that covenants established between synods and colleges should be regarded as giving the opportunity for ongoing forums searching for a rightful and necessary relationship. This relationship should not lead to a divorce but to a more constructive association. However, there may be some question as to what extent the whole concern with covenant is a defensive maneuver on the part of some educators and churchmen to keep the L.C.A. and related colleges associated. It is likely that pressure will continue to mount for reducing the financial commitments by the synods to the colleges, not because of antagonism, but because, with shrinking resources, higher priorities are placed elsewhere.

As has been indicated, the synodical trustees certainly have assisted President C. A. Hanson in his progressive program at the College. The hand of the church in college affairs is often assumed to be ultraconservative with regard to regulations and codes of conduct. The opposite has been

the case at Gettysburg in the past decade. Sensitivity to concerns of students, breadth of perspective as to college priorities, and recognition of needs for change in policy to meet changing societal pressures have characterized the stance of the synodical trustees. Their influence has helped Gettysburg maintain remarkable balance through the troubled campus days of the late sixties and early seventies. Even the deletion from the charter in 1974 of the requirement that two-thirds of the trustees be members of the Lutheran Church in America—a deletion proposed by a synod trustee—has not weakened this Lutheran influence. Actually, what the synods really sought for a century, board representation and influence, had been accomplished; and the two-thirds requirement became superfluous.

Is the present momentum of productive relationship between College and church capable of carrying over into the future? Many in the Lutheran church and in Gettysburg College constituencies sincerely hope so. Perhaps the clue to such a positive relationship is to be found in the activities of Samuel Simon Schmucker when he was bringing the College into existence. In addition to strong backing sought from Lutherans, he was not reticent about seeking support from the state, nor was he backward about soliciting community and area help. In return he indicated that the College was willing and able to serve these areas in distinctive and effective ways. He undoubtedly felt that denominational relationship and support were vital, but he was prepared, on occasion, to soft-pedal the Lutheran emphasis to gain the fullest possible cooperation from others. Possibly he also recognized from his own experience that interdenominational encounter and the meeting of diverse viewpoints were productive and might even be necessary for quality education. Certainly for him "unsectarian" did not mean secular, nor would he tolerate any disregard of Christian principles and values in the new institution. In using the word "unsectarian" he recognized the ecumenical possibilities through which he foresaw people of good will and sincere faith working together for causes beyond the specifically denominational. Such might well be the future promise of the Lutheran connection of Gettysburg College.

Bibliographic Notes

Primary sources for considering the Lutheran connections of Gettysburg College are official records of college trustees and faculty and of the Lutheran synods associated with the institution. Minutes of the trustees of the College from July 4, 1832 on, and of the faculty from October 29, 1832 on, along with the catalogue from 1837 on, present the ongoing relationship from Gettysburg's viewpoint. So do certain occasional documents such as a printed circular letter to clergy by Henry L. Baugher (1849), a tract entitled *Pennsylvania College and The Lutheran Church* (Gettysburg, 1879), and a tract titled *The Lutheran Status of Pennsylvania College* (Gettysburg, 1892).

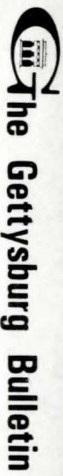
Without official status but nevertheless important is material contained in publications such as the *Pennsylvania College Monthly* (1877-1893), the *Mercury* (1893-1912), the *Gettysburgian* (1897-), the *Spectrum* (1891-), and the *Gettysburg Challenger* (1921-1922). Along with these are the two published histories of the College: E. S. Breidenbaugh, ed., *The Pennsylvania College Book, 1832-1882* (Philadelphia, 1882), and Samuel Gring Hefelbower, *The History of Gettysburg College, 1832-1932* (Gettysburg, 1932). These histories are significant not only for what they include but also for what they intentionally omit regarding the association of College and church.

All the records cited are in the Gettysburgiana collection in the Gettysburg College Library or in the Gettysburg College Archives. Some manuscript materials such as letters of S. S. Schmucker and subscription books of solicitors for the College are also in these collections. The introduction to the charter development written by Charles H. Glatfelter and Basil L. Crapster, *Gettysburg College: Charter and By-Laws* (Gettysburg, 1974) updates the legal aspects of the relationship.

Minutes of the synods associated at various times with the College present the viewpoint of the concerned Lutheran churchmen on the relationship. Among these records are the following: Alleghany (or Allegheny) Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania (1842-1938); Central Pennsylvania Synod of the United Lutheran Church in America (1938-1962), and its successor Central Pennsylvania Synod of the Lutheran Church in America (1962-); Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Central Pennsylvania (1855-1923); Evangelical Lutheran Synod of West Pennsylvania (1825-1938); Evangelical Lutheran Synod of East Pennsylvania (1842-1938); Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland (1820-1962), and its successor, Maryland Synod of the Lutheran Church in America (1962-); Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States (1748-1962); General Synod of the Lutheran Church of the United

States (1820-1918); United Lutheran Church in America (1918-1962); and Lutheran Church in America (1962-). Almost all of these records are available in the library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg.

The covenants between the supporting synods and the College reflect the current stage of the official association: Covenant, the Maryland Synod, Lutheran Church in America and Gettysburg College adopted by the Board of Trustees, Gettysburg College and the Maryland Synod, October 1971; and Covenant, The Central Pennsylvania Synod, Lutheran Church in America and Gettysburg College approved by the Board of Trustees, Gettysburg College, June 1972, and adopted by the Central Pennsylvania Synod, June 1973.



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