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MATTHIAS LOY, PATRIARCH OF OHIO LUTHERANISM, 1828–1915.

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MATTHIAS LOY,
PATRIARCH OF OHIO LUTHERANISM,
1828-1915

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
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******
The Ohio State University
1965

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During the nineteenth century the Lutheran Church in the United States faced many perplexing and difficult problems. One was the preservation of the inherited faith in the midst of a pluralistic and increasingly secular society. Another was "Americanization," and the adaptation of a Church of Continental European origins so that it could be successfully transplanted to the New World environment. Still a third task was that of unification—the creation of a single denomination out of a multitude of independent and often competing synods which were diverse in language, tradition, and nationality. Missionary extension was necessary to reach millions of Lutheran immigrants with the ministrations of the Gospel and to keep pace with a highly migratory domestic population. Educational and welfare institutions had to be established, and the publication of Lutheran religious literature was a crying need.

The central question, however, around which all the others came to revolve, as a rim turns around the hub of a wheel, was theological: What was essential and what was dispensable for the well-being of the Lutheran Church? Which confessional statements, convictions, and customs could be changed to meet new circumstances, and which could not? Once this dilemma was resolved, solutions could be found to place the related issues in proper perspective.
This was an internal search for self-identification, to define the "essence of Lutheranism," and it led to division, not only in the explanation of doctrine, but in the stance taken toward external problems.

Two parties arose. An "American Lutheran" faction, whose adherents were largely native-born citizens of the United States, and whose forefathers had come to this country several generations earlier during the colonial era, suggested one alternative—a thoroughgoing "Americanization" of the Lutheran Church and a reduction or "recension" of the Confessions so that the Church could more easily adjust to the insights of the age and be more receptive to the influences of its Reformed, Wesleyan, and Episcopal neighbors. Combining the Pietism of a Henry Melchior Muhlenberg with the Rationalism of the Enlightenment, the followers of such theologians as Dr. Samuel Simon Schmucker of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and Dr. Benjamin Kurtz of Baltimore, Maryland, considered faith to be primarily a personal, emotional experience of God. The intellectual expression of this experience could and should be adapted to progress in religious understanding and to the practical needs of a new century and a new nation. The Symbols of the sixteenth century were seen as the testimony or witness of one generation and epoch to the meaning of the Gospel. The forms of the past, however, were not binding, and the faith could be manifested in "new wine skins." It was also felt that many of the old issues stemming from the Reformation, which had previously divided Protestants, had lost their vitality. As the Lutheran and Reformed Churches had merged
in Prussia in 1817, it was proposed that the unification of the Lutheran Church in the United States should be part of a grand design to bring all Protestants into an "Evangelical Alliance." Such a comprehensive structure, comparable to the federal system of the United States, would bind together the heirs of the Reformation in fraternal concord, making it easier to minister to the manifold needs of the American people. Cooperative efforts, such as Bible and missionary societies and union congregations, were to be heartily supported by the Lutheran Church. "New Measures," as revivals, should be introduced. As rapidly as possible, the Church should employ the English language, integrate itself into American life, and formulate a position on the social questions of the time, as temperance, abolition, and Sabbath observance.

On the other hand, there was an "Old Lutheran" or "Confessional" school, whose exponents were frequently, though not always, recent European immigrants who had come to the United States for the sake of conscience. They championed a second alternative—the rediscovery of the principles and practices of the Lutheran Church as they had been promulgated in the "balmy days" of the Reformation and had been extended and elaborated in the Era of Orthodoxy. To understand the uniqueness of the Lutheran Church, they felt it was imperative to return to the "pristine purity" of its confession as made in the writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for they were convinced that the Lutheran Church had "fallen away" from its earlier greatness because of the corrosive influences of Rationalism and "unionism" with other
varieties of Protestantism. The "Symbolists," as they were soon labeled, were motivated by a desire to conserve and preserve. In this respect, the conservative party in the Lutheran Church was driven by sentiments akin to those that caused awakenings of denominational consciousness in the Presbyterian and Congregational communions, leading to the disruption of their "Plan of Union" in 1837. A similar spirit was seen in the "Mercersburg Theology" of the German Reformed Church and in the "Oxford Movement" in the Church of England.

Combining the Pietism of Philip Jacob Spener and August Herman Francke with the Lutheran Scholasticism of Andrew Quenstedt and Martin Chemnitz, the "Old Lutheran" leaders, such as C.F.W. Walther, of the Missouri Synod, and Charles Porterfield Krauth, of the General Council, considered faith to be primarily a subjective experience of God based on assent to certain objectively revealed truths of the Gospel. The clearest and purest exposition of the Gospel was believed to be found in the Lutheran Confessions of the sixteenth century. To the conservatives, a reduction or "revision" of the Symbols was unthinkable, and, in the words of a popular German saying, would be as disastrous as "throwing the baby out with the bath water." Such action would not simply destroy the genius of the Lutheran Church, but would undermine the very power of the Gospel itself, which had been recovered in the Reformation. The Symbols of the Reformation Age were not simply the testimony of one generation. They were also the witness and confession of all Lutherans of all ages. By means of the Symbols, one had a "test"
by which to differentiate truth from error, and one had standards
by which to measure the degree to which one was loyal to the
Lutheran faith and the Scriptures. Such truth was eternal, not
temporal or situational, and the questions which had divided the
Lutheran and Reformed Christians of the Reformation Era were issues
involving ultimate realities and verities. The passage of the
centuries had in no wise diminished the amount of disagreement
between these two churches. It was contested that the pluralism
of many "sects" in America had even added to the number of "false"
conceptions of the Gospel, which made it all the more urgent to
insist on the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran faith. Union
was dear, but more precious still was the Truth. To enter into
fraternal concord and cooperative ventures with those with whom
one was at odds over the confession of faith, was dishonest. The
primary task of Lutherans in America was to found a confessional
and orthodox Lutheran Church. Unity, when such was possible, was
to be Lutheran unity on the premise of consent to the Symbols as
normative. Instead of "New Measures" and other innovations and
forms of subjectivism, the Church should hold fast to the objective
proclamation of the Gospel in Word and Sacrament. For this reason
there was a revived interest in the Lutheran liturgies and hymns of
the Reformation Era as fit manifestations of the Gospel. The Church
could best minister to the needs of its American members by using a
variety of languages, as English, German, and Norwegian. Cultural
diversity was seen to be no barrier as long as there was consensus
on matters of "faith and life." As the central commission of the
Church was to administer the means of grace, it had neither the
injunction nor the competence to concern itself with secondary
matters of the passing social scene.

The controversy between "Old" and "American Lutheranism,"
which occupied much of the nineteenth century and which had reper-
cussions and consequences extending until after the First World
War, has attracted the interest and investigations of historians.
Certain aspects of this struggle have been narrated by Carl Mauel-
hagen in his work, American Lutheranism Surrenders to the Forces of
Conservatism\(^1\) and by Vergilius Ferm in The Crisis in American
Lutheran Theology.\(^2\) The impact of American society on the Church
has been studied by Paul Spaude in The Lutheran Church under
American Influence.\(^3\) The various synods which were involved in the
great debate of the nineteenth century have found their chroniclers
and historians, and Walter O. Forster has analyzed the factors
leading to the formation of a Saxon Lutheran Zion on the Missis-
sippi.\(^4\) Biographies have appeared concerning many of the contest-
ants in this conflict—as C.F.W. Walther, Charles Porterfield
Krauth, Samuel Simon Schmucker, and Benjamin Kurtz. One Synod and

\(^1\)Carl Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders to the
Forces of Conservatism (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia,
1936).

\(^2\)Vergilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology:
A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheran-

\(^3\)Paul Spaude, The Lutheran Church under American Influence:
A Historico-philosophical Interpretation of the Church in Its
Relation to Various Modifying Forces in the United States (Burling-
ton, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1943).

\(^4\)Walther O. Forster, Zion on the Mississippi: The Settle-
ment of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, 1839-1841 (St. Louis,
one man, however, have failed to receive the attention that their roles in these issues merit and warrant. No study has been written of the clash between the forces of liberalism and conservatism for the loyalty of the strategically located Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States. No biography has attempted to describe the career of Dr. Matthias Loy, who, more than any other man, did so much to alter the future course of developments not only in the Ohio Synod, but also in Lutheranism in the United States. This Dissertation, "Matthias Loy, Patriarch of Ohio Lutheranism," seeks to fill this gap by presenting, as far as is possible, a detached and impartial survey of the rise of confessionalism in the Ohio Synod, and the central part that Dr. Matthias Loy had in that process. It is, therefore, a study of both a Church and a Churchman, for to separate the life of Dr. Loy from the history of the Ohio Synod would be virtually impossible.

The initial two chapters trace the institutional and confessional evolution of the Ohio Synod from its origin until 1854. As the result of missionary work by Lutherans of the Muhlenberg heritage, it was the first Lutheran Synod founded in the Old Northwest territory. Bilingual from its birth, it steadily moved in the direction of a greater appreciation of historic Lutheranism. It is unique in that it was one of the first Lutheran synods of American ancestry to endorse the confessionalism usually associated with primarily immigrant Lutheran churches. The triumph of orthodoxy in Ohio, however, was to occur in the significant decade
of the 1850's, and was to be due in great measure to the labors of one man, Matthias Loy.

The third chapter introduces this personality who was to become known as the "Patriarch" of Ohio Lutheranism. After a survey of his childhood and adolescence, in which his character and convictions were formed, the fourth and following chapters narrate the manifold ways in which he championed the cause of confessionalism in the Ohio Synod. For sixteen years he worked for its success as a parish pastor, and the fourth chapter describes Loy's activities on the congregational level from 1849 until 1865. Loy also was a leading educator of the Ohio Synod, and the fifth chapter describes his influence as a teacher and President of Capital University in the years from 1865 until 1902. Simultaneously he was a publicist, editor, and author, and the sixth chapter is devoted to his literary activities from 1864 through 1890. Preeminently, however, Dr. Loy guided the Ohio Synod toward confessionalism as a synodical spokesman and administrator. Chapter seven analyzes his period of preparation for the Presidency, lasting from 1849 until 1860, and the succeeding two units present his consequent career in that capacity from 1860 until his retirement in 1894. His role as a proponent and protagonist of "Old Lutheranism" is placed in a national perspective. Dr. Loy was also a strong preacher, and the tenth chapter treats him in that light. As a theologian, he is an excellent case study of the approach to religion advocated by the orthodox Lutherans of his generation, and the following chapter seeks to relate him to the broader context of Protestant
theology in the nineteenth century. The final chapter gives a
glimpse of the man as a husband and father and describes his per­
sonal life. An epilogue follows to offer some conclusions and
evaluations of his contribution to the Lutheran Church in the
United States.

The neglect of Dr. Loy as a subject of biography has pos­
sibly been the result of three factors. First, Loy was essenti­
ally a shy and self-effacing man, who desired neither honor nor
fame, and who did all in his power to obscure himself for fear that
too much self-assertion would detract from and damage the cause he
so heartily championed. He was not concerned that his personal
memory survive so long as his principles prevailed. It was only
upon the repeated urging of his friends that he prepared an auto­
biography, which he wrote with great reluctance. Secondly, the
beliefs and practices which Dr. Loy propounded never attained popu­
ularity outside of certain sections of the Lutheran Church. He was
a distinctly denominational figure, lacking the national interest
of such churchmen as Phillips Brooks and Washington Gladden. As
an advocate of strict conservative views, he lacked the glamour
which sometimes is felt to attach itself to more liberal religious
spokesmen. As a polemicist and controversialist, Loy made many
enemies, and for several decades the time was not ripe for an
attempt at an unbiased study of his career and convictions. Today,
with the renewed appeal of Reformation and confessional themes,
with a reawakening of concern for denominational and local history,
and with a revived curiosity regarding the role of conservative
religious and social ideas in American history, Dr. Loy's work acquires fresh relevance and significance.

Thirdly, however, it perhaps is the difficulty of locating material which has prevented the preparation of a biography of Dr. Loy. There are no remaining diaries, notes, or unprinted manuscripts which pertain to his personal life. With the exception of "a few miscellaneous Loy letters to the Fritschels in the 1890's,"^5 the Archives of The American Lutheran Church at Dubuque, Iowa, have little of Loy's correspondence. Only twelve letters, largely exchanged between Loy and Walther, were located in the files of the Department of Archives and History of the Concordia Historical Institute of St. Louis, Missouri.^6 Inquiries among Lutheran leaders and historians in Columbus, Ohio, and with Dr. Henry Schuh, a descendent of Professor Loy, failed to produce any cache of unprinted matter. The supposition is that the majority of Loy's letters and related unpublished materials have either been purposely destroyed or lost. Other manuscripts from his hand, as sermons and lectures, could not be located. The absence of any quantity of manuscript sources immediately presents a problem for a biographer. Because of the lack of such items, especially those related to Dr. Loy's personal life, I have concentrated on his public career.

Here the story is significantly different. Some compensation for the scarcity of manuscripts is found in the abundance

^5Personal letter from the Reverend Robert C. Wiederaenders, Archivist, The American Lutheran Church, March 5, 1965.
^6Personal letter from the Reverend August R. Suelflow, Director, Department of Archives and History, the Concordia Historical Institute, February 26, 1965.
of other types of historical sources which can be brought to bear on Dr. Loy's life. These are of five categories:

First, Loy was a prolific writer, and much of what he wrote was published. The Lutheran Standard, of which he was editor for over twenty-five years, is an invaluable source of articles, essays, opinions, and translations by Dr. Loy. He also founded and edited The Columbus Theological Magazine, a religious journal which gives generous samplings of his doctrinal views. He also contributed to other Lutheran magazines, as The Evangelical Review, the Lutheran and Missionary, Theologische Zeitblaetter, and the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung. Loy published several books, largely on theological topics, edited liturgical agenda, and wrote and translated nearly forty hymns. His autobiography, Story of My Life,\(^7\) is an indispensable guide. It gives his personal recollections of the men and events in his life, and is usually reliable.

Second, Dr. Loy was a church leader and administrator, and in the minutes of the Ohio Synod, preserved in the library of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, one finds the chronicle of the church from 1818 until 1930. References to and statements by Loy abound in the years from 1849 until 1915. There is also helpful material in the proceedings of the Ohio Synod's various districts.

Third, Dr. Loy was a teacher, and fortunately some of the notes made by his students have survived. I am indebted to the

\(^7\)Matthias Loy, Story of My Life (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1905).
Reverend Robert C. Wiederaenders, Archivist of The American Lutheran Church, for locating existing copies of Loy's unpublished lectures on "Psychology," "The Art of Discourse," and "Encyclopedia and Methodology of the Theological Sciences." I am also grateful to the Reverend C. F. Lauer of State College, Pennsylvania, for the use of his class notes of Loy's lectures on "Psychology" and "The Art of Discourse."

Fourth, Dr. Loy was a pastor who believed in keeping excellent parish records. In the files of the St. Mark Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio, one can find a nearly complete chronicle of Loy's pastorate, which lasted from 1849 until 1865. From these data it is possible to reconstruct his early years in the Ohio Synod. I owe a debt of gratitude to the Reverend K. L. DeWalt of that parish, who though he was busy with a remodeling program for his church, took time to help me locate these writings from Dr. Loy's hand, as well as early German church constitutions from that congregation. Pastor DeWalt's suggestions of points of interest in Delaware relative to the life of Dr. Loy were valuable, as were his recollections of what had been passed down to him concerning the Loy years. I appreciate his generosity in allowing me to borrow many of these materials so that I could translate and transcribe them at my convenience. I would also like to thank the Reverend Paul E. Dobberstein of St. Paul Lutheran Church, Prospect, Ohio, for his written reply to my inquiries concerning Loy sources in his congregation. Unfortunately the Loy records had been almost entirely destroyed by fire, but some of the information had been
preserved in a history of the parish which Pastor Dobberstein
allowed me to use.

Fifth, though it has been fifty years since Dr. Loy died, there are still some who can give personal reminiscences of him. In this regard I am appreciative for the help of Loy's grandson, the Reverend Doctor Henry Schuh, President Emeritus of The American Lutheran Church. Dr. Schuh lived in his grandfather's house for several years at the turn of the present century while attending school in Columbus. His recollections, suggestions, and memories were of great help in enabling me to reconstruct some of the personal life of Dr. Loy. The Reverend C. F. Lauer of State College, Pennsylvania, gave a most kind and informative reply to my questions concerning his knowledge of Professor Loy. His full and enlightening letter allowed me to grasp in some measure what Professor Loy was like as a teacher and preacher. The Reverend H. N. Brobst of Columbus, Ohio, and Dr. J. W. Schillinger of Marysville, Ohio, were very cooperative in assisting me in my searches. The Reverend William Lehmann, the oldest minister of The American Lutheran Church, who now resides in Fremont, Ohio, shared with me some of his memories of his father, Professor W. F. Lehmann, and of his teacher, Dr. Matthias Loy. I am also indebted to others, especially faculty members of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, for further suggestions.

Dr. Viggo Swensen, pastor, Mrs. Helen J. Walton, secretary, and Mr. Robert C. Gohl, all of the Zion Lutheran Church, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, were of assistance by their search for references to
the Loy family in the records of that historic parish. It was there that Loy's parents were married, and in that congregation Loy spent much of his childhood and adolescence. Unfortunately, after a century and a quarter, little remains in the records regarding the Loys, and even the grave of Dr. Loy's mother is now unmarked. For their efforts and labors, I am, nevertheless, very appreciative.

I would also like to thank the Reverend George T. Scott of Upper Montclair, New Jersey, for his concern with my quest for information on the origin of the Loy family. Pastor Scott is a descendant of a French Huguenot family named Loy (Luys, Luis), which, after seeking asylum in Germany, later emigrated to the New World, founding the town of Loysville, Pennsylvania. After correspondence, we discovered that the German Catholic Loy family from Baden, from whom Matthias Loy was descended, was not from this line. I, nevertheless, thank him for his interest and assistance in clarifying this matter.

To Miss Elizabeth L. Balz and the librarians of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, I am grateful for the use of minutes, magazines, rare books, and other items placed in their care.

Finally, I am deeply indebted to the man who not only inspired this study but who also kindly and generously helped in its preparation by his words of counsel and guidance and his suggestions drawn from his knowledge of American religious history. For his labors which have enriched my research and writing, and for his patience with a beginner in the historian's craft, I am grateful to my mentor and adviser, Professor Francis P. Weisenburger.
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CHAPTER I

OHIO LUTHERANISM, 1800-1850

Johann Conrad Weiser, the father-in-law of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was the first Lutheran known to have entered the future state of Ohio, meeting with Indians and traders at Logstown, some eighteen miles below the Forks of the Ohio River, in 1748, in his official capacity as a representative of the colony of Pennsylvania. Twenty-four years later, Moravian missionaries, similar in spirit to the Lutherans, established a Christian community at Schoenbrunn under the leadership of David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder to serve the Delaware Indians on the Tuscarawas in eastern Ohio.

1 Carl Bridenbaugh, "Johann Conrad Weiser," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), XIX, 614-615. Weiser was born a Lutheran, married by a German Reformed minister in 1720, became a chief elder of the German Reformed congregation in Tulpenhocken, Pennsylvania, in 1735; then he joined Conrad Beissel's Ephratha Community in what has been described as a "religious somersault." In 1742 he made a trip to save the life of Moravian leader Count von Zinzendorf. By 1743 he severed his connections with Ephrata, "probably with the advice of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg," and affiliated with the Lutheran Church in 1747. He was a Lutheran at the time of his visit to Ohio in 1748. In his later years he joined the German Reformed Church, and died a member of that body. Cf. Carl Wittke, We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant (Cleveland, Ohio: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1939), pp. 76-77. Muhlenberg had married Anna Mary Weiser in April, 1745. Cf. Abel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), p. 40.


Despite this early interest in the trans-Appalachian west by German-American Protestants, the planting of Lutheranism in Ohio awaited the arrival of permanent white settlers from the East at the close of the eighteenth century.

A host of pioneers began to migrate to Ohio at that time. Encouraged by the defeat of the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 and the negotiation of the Treaty of Fort Greene Ville in 1795, they responded eagerly to the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the promise of cheap land. Among the immigrants were many Lutherans, for the beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio are practically contemporaneous with the earliest permanent white settlements made in the Northwest territory.

Though Lutherans came "from all parts of the civilized world," the majority were from Pennsylvania, with smaller numbers from southern Appalachia and Germany.

Pennsylvania Germans had been moving westward for several decades, and by 1783 a Lutheran congregation had been established.

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7 Quoted from the Diary of John Stauch by C. V. Sheatsley, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States: From the Earliest Beginnings to 1919* (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1919), p. 28.

at Pittsburgh. By 1800 this stream of emigration "reached considerable proportions." Following the Cumberland Highway to the Ohio River at Wheeling, Virginia, it divided into two branches. One route went due west into Stark, Wayne, Richland, Crawford, and Delaware Counties, a second went along Zane's Trace, "the first public highway in Ohio," southwest to Guernsey, Muskingum, Perry, Fairfield, Pickaway, Ross, and Highland Counties. These Pennsylvania Germans, who came in great numbers and who settled at various places in Ohio, were credited by frontier parson, John Stauch, with having founded the first Lutheran community in Ohio in Jefferson County in 1800.

In the Scioto and Miami Valleys Pennsylvania Lutherans encountered co-religionists coming from Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The southern Lutherans located largely on the

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13 Quoted from the Diary of John Stauch by C. V. Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 29. They were emigrants from Washington County, Pennsylvania. Another authority states that it was not until 1803 that there were distinctively Lutheran settlements in Ohio. Arthur H. Smith, "The Synod of Ohio," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, IV (July, 1931), 304-305.
Virginia Military Lands and in the Symmes Purchase. Typical of these pioneers was Christian Binckley, the first Lutheran to live in Perry County, who arrived in Reading Township in April, 1801, from near Hagerstown, Maryland. The extent of Appalachian Lutheran migration is indicated by the fact that in 1816 the Synod of North Carolina had congregations as far west as Fairfield County, Ohio, Washington County, Indiana, Union County, Illinois, and Cape Girardeau County, Missouri.

A few Lutherans also came to Ohio directly from Europe. One of these was Major David Ziegler, a Hessian soldier who had served with General Anthony Wayne and who became the first chief magistrate of Cincinnati on April 3, 1802. Later, bilingual Alsatian Lutherans settled in Perry County, Ohio. "Prior to 1830," however, "the Germans in the West had come mainly from the eastern states."

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15 Ibid., p. 10.
16 Martzolff, *Lutheranism in Perry County*, p. 5.
17 Roy H. Johnson, "The Lutheran Church and the Western Frontier, 1789 to 1830," *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, III (July, 1930), 232.
19 George A. Katzenberger, "Major David Ziegler," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXI (April-July, 1912), 127-174. He was baptized a Lutheran in the Providenz Kirche, Heidelberg, Germany, in 1748. He was buried according to the rites of the Presbyterian Church in 1811.
Among Ohio's earliest Lutherans the Pennsylvania German type predominated. This was due to geographical proximity, superior numbers of emigrants, and the fact that many who migrated from the South were of Pennsylvania-German stock. Their fathers and grandfathers had migrated to these southern states from the colony of Penn, and the younger generation was but seeking the advantages and adventures offered by a 'new' country, the same as their fathers had done before them.

Thus practically all the Lutherans in Ohio during the period under consideration were of one stock, Pennsylvania German.

Descended from colonial immigrants from the Palatinate, Baden, Wuerttemberg, and Switzerland, the Pennsylvania Germans were profoundly religious in a pietistic sense, and Heinrich Maurer wrote that "the essence of the Pennsylvania German personality is German Lutheranism." Not of a mind to forget their forefathers' faith in their travels, they carried the heiligen Buecher with them to the West—Luther's German Bible and House Postil, Arndt's True Christianity with the imprint of "Christopher Sauer, Germantown," and the Hagerstown Almanac. "The German Lutheran settler regarded these things as among the essentials for pioneering . . . ."

22 In 1850 Ohio had a population of 1,980,329. Pennsylvania had furnished over 200,000 people, more than twice as many as any other state. Ibid.

23 In July, 1814, it was reported from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, that one hundred families had passed through that town in one week, and at Zanesville, Ohio, fifty wagons crossed the Muskingum in one day. Sweet, The Story of Religion, p. 207.


25 Quoted by Carl Wittke, We Who Built America, p. 74.

26 Martzolff, Lutheranism in Perry County, p. 6.

27 Ibid.
The preservation of the Lutheran faith on the frontier, however, required more than personal piety. Public assembly for worship and fellowship was desired, and pastors were needed to preach and teach the Scriptures, administer the sacraments and ordinances of the church, and comfort the distressed and admonish the erring. From these spiritual longings a church was slowly born. At first there were informally organized local congregations served by circuit riders from the East. Beginning in 1812 there was a Special Conference of Lutheran pastors in Ohio, and finally, in 1818, an independent Lutheran synod was formed within the state.28

The German proverb, Aller Anfang ist schwer, was well illustrated in the initial stages of Ohio Lutheranism.29 With "intellectual and spiritual destitution" staring them in the face,30 western Germans from six small congregations in Appalachian Maryland and Pennsylvania had appealed to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as early as 1768 for spiritual assistance.31 "The handicaps," however, "to missionary endeavor that faced the Lutheran church in America greatly outweighed those of other denominations."32

28 This three-fold division is suggested by Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 10.
29 "All beginnings are hard."
30 C. V. Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary of the West, 1830-1930 (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1930), p. 7.
32 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 55.
The geographical area to be evangelized was overwhelming and

The fathers ... found themselves in the midst of a home missionary enterprise so vast that no individual among them, nor all of them together, really comprehended the magnitude of the task. They were literally lost in the woods.33

The number of persons involved was constantly increasing, and

... the potential Lutheran population increased three times as rapidly as the population of the United States in the years from 1830 to 1870.34

Transportation and communication problems were compounded by the migratory habits of the Lutherans. While Roman Catholics tended to settle in groups and had members of monastic orders to minister to their needs, and Protestant sectarians such as the Mennonites and Amish moved by community, the Lutheran pioneers,

... presumably in conformity with their spirit of freedom, would strike out just anywhere and proceed to establish themselves ... with the expectation, and sometimes without it, that the circuit riders of their Church would eventually find them.35

There was no control over Lutheran migration to the West,36 no national denominational structure existed to coordinate the labors of individual synods, no central board of home missions was present


34 Maulshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 55.


36 Ibid., p. 8.
to organize efforts to retain the loyalty of moving Lutherans, and in this early period there was little help from Europe. Stemming from various autonomous churches in America and Europe, the Lutherans on the frontier had virtually no experience in working together. An exasperating problem was that of proselytizing by other Protestant groups, especially the Methodists. The two major difficulties, however, were lack of money and shortage of men for the ministry.

Eastern Lutherans "would have done more if their synodical funds had permitted." The power of the western Lutheran pioneers was also limited because to most of them poverty was a pressing burden. More severe was

... a lack of young men who were willing to enter the work or whose education was of the character needed for the times. The older and better educated found ample opportunities for exercising the ministerial office east of the mountains. The Ministerium had in its numbers persons who were educated in Germany and knew what a theological education meant, and who insisted in holding the educational standard so high that few persons cared, in the absence of a suitable school, to enter the ministry. It was not then in the power of the Ministerium to furnish all the men called for from Ohio. Had it been able to do so, the history of the Lutheran Church within the State would be of a different character.

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37 Ibid., p. 9. A General Synod was not established until 1820.
38 In 1849 the Methodist Missionary Society reported 6,350 church members in the German field, one hundred twelve sabbath schools with 1,030 officers and teachers and 3,220 scholars, ninety-eight churches, forty parsonages, eighty-three regular mission circuits, and one hundred eight missionaries. Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 62.
40 Ibid.
41 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 9.
Between 1782 and 1806, therefore, there were never more than one to three Lutheran pastors in the entire area of eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.\(^\text{43}\)

The solution to the ministerial shortage in Ohio was twofold: active lay-leadership and the commissioning of circuit riders by the Pennsylvania Ministerium and the Synod of North Carolina.

The consensus is that the Reverend John Stauch,\(^\text{44}\) a layman who had assumed clerical duties and who was eventually ordained, was the first Lutheran parson to minister in the state of Ohio, arriving in 1800-1801.\(^\text{45}\) "An indefatigable worker," during his lifetime of eighty-three years he traveled more than 100,000 miles by horse and foot,\(^\text{46}\) preached in five different western states on more than 10,000 occasions, confirmed 1,516 persons, baptized twice that number, married 481 couples, and officiated at as many


\(^{46}\) Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 392.
funerals. Under his direction a log meeting-house was built in Unity Township, Columbiana County, which "appears to have been the first Lutheran church building in Ohio."

In 1804 the Pennsylvania Ministerium decided to send out traveling missionaries to minister to its members living in the area called "New Pennsylvania," which stretched from New Madrid in eastern Ohio to Lake Erie. Circuits or districts were to be established. William Forster, pastor at Shenandoah, Virginia, was assigned to make a preaching tour through Ohio in 1805, working largely in Perry County. Two years later Forster brought his family of fifteen children west and settled permanently in the state, residing north of Lancaster where Thornville is presently located. With his headquarters near the geographical center of Ohio and the important Zane's Trace, he ministered to the migrating Pennsylvania Germans until his death in 1815. Forster was one of

47 Diary of John Stauch in Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 35.
50 In the records of the Pennsylvania Ministerium he is called William Forster, but in Ohio he is referred to as George Forster. Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 39. The last name is variously spelled Foerster and Forster. Descendants changed it to Foster. The date of his arrival in Ohio is disputed. Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 6, states he arrived in 1805, as does W. J. Finck, "Paul Henkel, The Lutheran Pioneer," The Lutheran Quarterly, LVI (July, 1926), 321, who also credits Forster with being "The first Lutheran minister to bring the gospel to the Germans of Ohio . . . ." John Stauch said Forster did not come to Ohio until 1807, but he probably had in mind the year in which Forster moved his family west. Cf. Diary of John Stauch in Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 31.
52 Ibid., p. 7.
the best trained among the early Ohio Lutheran pastors, having been educated in the Orphanage at Halle, Germany.\textsuperscript{53} Despite the abundant opportunities for spiritual labor in the area, Forster resented the intrusion by other Lutheran ministers who began to arrive in Ohio, and at a conference meeting he stood up with outstretched arms and exclaimed, "The entire North West Territory is my field!"\textsuperscript{54}

Paul Henkel,\textsuperscript{55} scion of a long line of Lutheran ministers descended from Jacob Henkel of Mehrenberg, Nassau, Germany,\textsuperscript{56} was appointed in 1806 as a traveling missionary by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Both "a born frontiersman"\textsuperscript{57} and a persuasive preacher, Paul Henkel's name was already "a household word among the early Lutheran settlers."\textsuperscript{58} Since 1790 he had been ranging over the hill country of North Carolina and Tennessee from his headquarters at New Market, Virginia. Accompanied by his wife in a two-wheeled cart or "gig,"\textsuperscript{59} Henkel made an extended trip to

\textsuperscript{53}Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., p. 40. See also Ohio Special Conference Minutes May, 1813 (typewritten), pp. 6-7.
\textsuperscript{56}Genzmer, "Paul Henkel," p. 538.
\textsuperscript{57}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58}Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 40.
Point Pleasant on the Ohio River in 1806 and crossed into the territory to the North. For several months he preached in Gallia, Highland, and Montgomery Counties before returning to New Market. Though he became a roving parson who evangelized in what is now Virginia, West Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, he settled at times in Point Pleasant with his family, as between 1811 and 1813 and again in 1816. On one of these missionary journeys he went along the course of the Mad River to the remotest white settlements some twenty miles from the Indian frontier, where he preached in German and English. Henkel, reckoned a founder of Ohio Lutheranism, is also considered a father of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia (1820), the Synod of North Carolina (1803), and the Synod of Tennessee (1820). Of his nine children, he gave five sons to the ministry, two of whom, Andrew and Charles, served in Ohio, and his daughter, Hannah Rosena, married a Joint Synod pastor, John N. Stirewalt, and gave three sons to the clerical office. Paul Henkel also operated a printing press in Virginia that "once enjoyed the distinction of publishing more English Lutheran literature than any other publishing house in the world." By the spoken and written word he

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61 Ibid., p. 318.
62 Ibid.
65 Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 41.
66 Ibid., p. 45.
influenced western Lutheranism in the direction of orthodoxy, and "in his latter years his position was that of a patriarch." 67

Other pioneer pastors from the Pennsylvania Ministerium began to serve in Ohio after 1808, as G. Henry Weygandt, Jacob Leist, the father of Lutheranism in Pickaway County, and John Caspar Dill, who had been educated in Germany and who had his headquarters at Miamisburg. The first native Ohioan to enter the Lutheran ministry was John Reinhard of Jefferson County. 68

The North Carolina Synod had members who migrated to Ohio and early in 1813 it dispatched Jacob Scherer to render what services he could. 69 Reporting that "some of the Germans have united themselves with the Baptists and Methodists," but that "very few heathens have become Christians," 70 he worked alone and there is no record that he came into contact with any of the preachers from Pennsylvania. 71

To initiate some degree of formal organization into the western church, eight pastors and three laymen met on October 18, 1812, at Stecher's Church and the parsonage of G. Henry Weygandt in Washington County, Pennsylvania, to hold the First Special Conference of the Lutheran ministers of Ohio. 72 The clergymen,

68 Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 45. He received his ministerial training from John Stauch.
70 Quoted by Johnson, "The Lutheran Church," p. 237.
72 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812 (typewritten), p. 1.
all members of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, were John Stauch, William Forster, Antony Weyer, Henry Huet, John Reinhard, Jacob Leist, G. Henry Weygandt, and a Candidate Heim. 73

"Such special conferences of smaller groups of pastors were not an unusual thing at the time . . . ." 74 In 1781 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had adopted a Constitution in which provision was made for ministers living in the same locality to meet for purposes of business and for edification. 75 In a new constitution accepted in 1792 this arrangement was encouraged:

Special meetings are to be held by pastors of the Ministerium living contiguous to each other, as often as circumstances may require, and each congregation under the care of such minister may send a delegate to such meeting . . . . The objects of such meetings are to promote the welfare of the respective congregations and of the German schools within the district; to examine, decide, and determine the business and occurrences in their congregations that are brought before them. 76

The first of these conferences had been held at Winchester, Virginia, in Epiphany, 1793, with Paul Henkel serving as one of the founders. 77 In 1801 the Ministerium had resolved to divide itself into seven districts, in each of which a special conference was to be held at least once a year. 78 It was a practical arrangement for

76 Quoted Ibid., p. 319.
77 Ibid.
In view of the vast extent of territory over which the synod extended, and of the difficulties and hardships of travel in those early days, it was a practical impossibility for those pastors of synod who were stationed in the more outlying districts to attend all the annual general conferences; and yet the very life on the frontier made an occasional meeting with the brethren for mutual exchange of experiences, consultation and advice, an absolute necessity.79

The sixth or Western District, including Ohio and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, had not had such a meeting until 1812.80 The assembly of that year was in response to a resolution of the Pennsylvania Ministerium of May that the western pastors investigate charges which had been brought against William Forster of near Lancaster, regarding his serving a congregation which was claimed by a fellow Lutheran pastor.81

To the Mother Synod "It was a matter of real gratification to ... see that our brethren on the frontier show themselves so active in the spread of the kingdom of God."82 Six other meetings, therefore, were held, following the procedures of the First Conference, until the Ohio ministers became an independent Synod in 1818.83 With one exception, the pastors met annually, usually in

79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., p. 13.
82 Quoted Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, pp. 52-53.
83 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812-1817 (typewritten).
the spring or autumn, and the meetings

. . . were frequently held in connection with some special event in the history of a local congregation, such as a church dedication, confirmation, etc., and no doubt the presence and participation of a number of pastors added special authority, solemnity and attractiveness to the occasion.

The average length of the conferences was three days. The place of meeting was often decided by vote or invitation. All, save one, were held in eastern Ohio. The presence of pastors was required, and if absent, a clergyman was to excuse himself in writing. Laymen were welcome, but could vote only on matters pertaining to congregational affairs. Attendance varied from the lowest figure

Two Special Conferences were held in 1813; three times they met in September; three times in October; and once in May. In 1812 they had resolved to meet each year four weeks prior to Synod. Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812 (typewritten), p. 2. At the Second Special Conference, May, 1813, they decided to meet on the last Saturday before the full moon in the month of October. Ohio Special Conference Minutes, May, 1813 (typewritten), p. 8.

Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," pp. 12-13. In 1815, for example, they met at Somerset, Ohio, for the dedication of a church and the confirmation of a number of young people. Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1815 (typewritten), p. 23.

Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812-1817 (typewritten).

In 1813 they convened at Clear Creek, Fairfield County, May 15-18; in 1813 at St. Jacob's Church, Columbiana County, Oct. 2-4; in 1814 at Greensburg, Pennsylvania, Oct. 22-25; in 1815 at Somerset, Ohio, Sept. 16-19; in 1816 at New Lancaster, Ohio, Aug. 31-Sept. 4; in 1817 at New Philadelphia, Ohio, Sept. 21-24. Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812-1817 (typewritten). They usually met in a church, though in 1816 they assembled in the Courthouse at Lancaster, "the courtroom of which, being located on the first floor and equipped with seats in amphitheatre form offered an ideal substitute for a church, and in fact was so used by the local Lutheran congregation for some time." Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," pp. 21-22. See Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1816 (typewritten), p. 29.

A similar procedure prevailed in the Mother Synod.

of four pastors and three delegates at the Third Special Conference in 1813 to the highest total of twenty-one at the seventh assembly in 1817.  

The nature of the program was devotional and practical. "Spiritual exercises" prescribed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania were to fill at least two hours of the deliberations. These included exhortations, testimonies, encouragement from the elder to younger parsons, sermons, and services of worship. Holy Communion, confirmation, church dedication, and similar rites were often conducted. The practical matters were the hearing of reports from ministers, candidates, and catechists, the reading and consideration of letters from congregations and mission fields seeking pastoral services, and the investigation of complaints. In case of dispute over a decision given by the Conference, either party had the privilege of appeal to the Mother Synod. The Special Conference had no power to perform any function belonging to a Ministerium, as the licensing and examining of catechists and candidates, the ordaining of clergymen, or the final settlement of charges made against pastors.

90 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812-1817 (typewritten).  
92 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812-1817 (typewritten); In 1812 it was said Holy Communion should be celebrated. Special Conference Minutes, 1812 (typewritten), p. 2.  
93 These three ministerial orders of catechist, candidate, and pastor were inherited from the mother ministerium.  
94 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1812-1817 (typewritten).  
96 Ibid.
Discipline became a concern of the Conference. At the meeting in May, 1813, Samuel Mau, who had been licensed as a catechist for Kentucky in 1795, was accused of fellowship with the "New Reformed or Independent Brethren" and of having accepted some of their "enthusiastic things." Admonished, he acknowledged his guilt, asked to be reinstated, and the Conference pleaded his case successfully with the Pennsylvania Ministerium.

By 1813 one man was elected to represent all of the western pastors at the annual convocations of the Pennsylvania Ministerium because of the difficulties which prevented the others from attending. The Conference also began to set aside days for special services, commissioned the compilation of a hymnal, and established new congregations. "No great theological questions," however, "were debated at these meetings."

The Conference began to experience a growing "self-awareness" and spirit of independence after 1813. Numerical increase gave a sense of strength. Of the fourteen pastors in the Special Conference in 1814, reports from nine of them indicate that they

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97 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, May, 1813 (typewritten), p. 8.
98 This illustrates that discipline was for the purpose of helping, rather than excommunicating members. See also Willard D. Allbeck, "A Journal of John Samuel Mau, 1794-1795," The Lutheran Quarterly, XIII (May, 1961), 155-164.
99 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, Oct. 1813 (typewritten), pp. 11, 12.
100 Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 52.
101 Nine were located in Ohio, five in western Pennsylvania. Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 18.
had baptized 1,157 persons in 1815 and had confirmed 536, communed 1,991, and were operating twenty-one parish schools. Eight of the pastors were serving sixty-one congregations, thirty-seven of which had their own church buildings. Geographical separation severed ties with the East, and immediate problems, especially those relating to ministerial preparation, ordination, and assignment, seemed to warrant the assumption of synodical powers by the conference. The mood of the day was one of autonomy, and independent synods were being born in the West and South. Doctrinal difficulties, often prominent in the formation of German Lutheran synods, were not present, and the Ohio Synod was a "child of peace."

Beginning in May, 1813, the Ohio pastors assumed the right to fill vacant parishes in the west, a privilege not accorded to them under the rules of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. In the autumn of the same year the Ohioans posed three questions to the mother synod: Could only one of their number represent them at the annual synodical meetings? Could the Conference be empowered to

102 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1815 (typewritten), p. 27.
104 "Had there been a prairie instead of this mountain chain [the Alleghenies] we should probably be writing a chapter in the history of the old Ministerium of Pa." Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 10.
105 North Carolina, 1803; Tennessee, 1820; Synod of Maryland and Virginia, 1820; South Carolina Synod, 1824; West Pennsylvania Synod, 1825; Virginia Synod, 1829. Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, pp. 68-72.
106 Paul H. Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1940), p. 57.
107 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, May, 1813 (typewritten), p. 6.
examine the sermons and diaries of candidates? Could it have the
right to change the location of candidates and make the necessary
changes in their licenses? The first and last of these requests
were granted, but the second was denied, for the power to
examine the credentials of candidates bordered on the power of
ordination, which was restricted to a ministerium.

After 1814 the Special Conference acted with increasing
independence. The sermons and diaries of candidates were read,
but were still forwarded to the Synod for approval. Measures
were introduced to publish a separate hymnal. At the Sixth
Special Conference it was unanimously resolved on Tuesday,
September 4, 1816, to request the Ministerium of Pennsylvania for
the right to form a free ministerium in Ohio. A petition was
immediately drawn up, signed by all the clergymen present, and
sent to the absent members for their consideration and signature.

John Stauch was elected to be the Conference's delegate to the

108 Ibid., Oct. 1813, p. 11.
111 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1814 (typewritten),
p. 14. This was required by the "mother synod" to preserve unity
in the doctrine, practice, and government of the church, and in
view of the fact that few of the western ministers had sufficient
theological education to be able to properly examine a candidate.
112 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1814 (typewritten),
p. 18.
113 Ibid., 1816, p. 34.
114 Ibid.
synodical convocation and to present the plea for independence, for,

The brethren in this 'western district' had by this time come to realize that in order to do their work most successfully it was necessary for them to have full power of independent action.116

When the seventieth convention of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania met at Yorktown from June 3-6, 1817, it refused to grant the petition of the "Western District," but it stated that the Ohio ministers could prepare a plan by which particular difficulties might be alleviated.117 The Synod later resolved that the ordained preachers of the west, or a majority of them, could license catechists and candidates and renew these licenses from year to year, but that each student for the ministry was to continue to send his diary and a sermon to the Ministerium annually.118 An official reply, entitled a "Memorandum for our Brethren in the State of Ohio," contained these two resolutions.119 It apparently arrived too late for discussion at the next convention of the Ohio clergyman, held in 1817.

Since John Stauch had attended the Synodical meeting and was familiar with its decisions, he "undoubtedly reported, at least informally, on the action taken" to the Ohio pastors.120

115 Ibid., p. 35.
117 Ibid., p. 24.
118 Ibid.
119 Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1817 (typewritten), p. 43.
120 Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 25.
Both he and the Ohio Conference interpreted the final two resolutions of the Ministerium as granting their request and countermanding the unfavorable reply given several days previously.\(^{121}\) This was made evident by three actions. Firstly, the next meeting of the Ohio pastors was called the "First General Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Preachers in the State of Ohio."\(^{122}\) Secondly, candidates and catechists were examined and the rite of ordination was administered at this convention.\(^{123}\) Thirdly, John Stauch wrote that "the first meeting of a Lutheran synod west of the mountains convened and formed in New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, in September A.D. 1817."\(^{124}\)

As Professor Buehring has indicated, the resolutions of the Pennsylvania body did not expressly confer the power of ordination, which was the main mark of a ministerium, but

At any rate, there was no rupture of the fraternal relations existing between the eastern and western brethren; and whether or not the organization of the Ohio Synod was officially approved by formal action, the 'de facto' existence of the new body was tacitly recognized by the mother-synod almost immediately.\(^{125}\)

\(^{121}\)Ibid.

\(^{122}\)Ohio Verrichtungen, 1818, p. 1, reads, "Verrichtungen der ersten General Conferenz der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Prediger in Ohio und den angrenzenden Staaten."

\(^{123}\)Ibid., p. 9. Already in 1817 when Weygandt had been ordained a deacon, the whole Ohio assembly of pastors had been invited to confirm this by the laying on of hands. Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1817 (typewritten), p. 42.

\(^{124}\)Diary of John Stauch, quoted in Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," pp. 25-26. Stauch confused the dates 1817 and 1818, which was the time of the first meeting.

The eighteen pastors and laymen who constituted the Ohio Synod in 1818 hoped that it would include all Lutheran congregations in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, northern Kentucky, eastern Indiana, and southern Michigan.\textsuperscript{126}

Obstacles encountered during the first three decades of independence kept this dream from realization. Synodical consciousness had to be cultivated; pastors were scarce and the needs of the West were large; and geographic, linguistic, and confessional tensions came to the forefront.\textsuperscript{127} When the Ohio Synod was unable to cope with these difficulties, rival Lutheran bodies were born, including an East Ohio Synod in 1836, an Alleghany Synod in 1842, a Synod of Miami in 1844, a Pittsburgh Synod in 1845, a Wittenberg Synod in 1847, and a District Synod of Ohio in 1861.\textsuperscript{128} In Kentucky there was a Synod of the West, in Indiana two Indiana Synods (1848, 1855), an Indianapolis Synod, 1846, an Olive Branch Synod, 1868, and a Northern Indiana Synod, 1855.\textsuperscript{129} A short-lived Tuscarawas Synod was organized on July 2, 1848, at Massillon, Ohio, which two years later changed its name to \textit{Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenverein in Ohio} and later became part of \textit{Der Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens}.\textsuperscript{130} Immigrant synods, as that of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, founded in 1847, infringed

\textsuperscript{126}Allbeck, "Lutheran Separation," p. 29.

\textsuperscript{127Ibid., pp. 28-41.}

\textsuperscript{128Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 300.}

\textsuperscript{129Allbeck, "Lutheran Separation," p. 30.}

\textsuperscript{130Ibid., p. 33; Carl E. Schneider, The German Church on the American Frontier: A Study in the Rise of Religion among the Germans of the West (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1939), pp. 391 ff.}
on the territory claimed by the Ohioans. To understand this proliferation of Lutheran synods, it is necessary to examine the challenges confronting the first Synod established in the West.

The growth of "synodical consciousness" was a slow process, and "some of the brethren seem to have continued to feel that in some way they were still connected with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania," either continuing to attend the conventions of that church or else sending letters to excuse their absence. Though the Ohioans called themselves a Synod in 1818, they did not incorporate that word into their name until their eighth meeting in 1825. Only in 1822 did an official exchange of delegates with the Pennsylvania Lutherans begin. The attitudes of the mother denomination continued to influence them, and the Ohioans decided in 1818 that they would be governed by the rules laid down by that conference, adopting its constitution in toto. The Agenda and clerical formulae of the Pennsylvania body were to be employed at the discretion of the individual pastor.

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131 Allbeck, "Lutheran Separation," p. 35. Some Ohio pastors affiliated with that orthodox body.
133 Ibid.
134 Ohio Verrichtungen, 1818, p. 6.
135 Ibid., 1825, p. 1. They called themselves the Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States. The title read, "Verrichtungen der achten Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und den angraenzenden Staaten."
136 Ibid., 1822, p. 2.
137 Ibid., 1818, p. 6.
138 Ibid., p. 7.
It has been estimated by one scholar that in 1830 the Lutheran Church in Ohio might have been twice or thrice as large as it was "if only a sufficient number of pastors had been available adequately to man the field."\(^{139}\) The First General Conference in 1818 resolved that every possible effort should be made to secure "teachers" (pastors) for the Church,\(^{140}\) and that every minister of the Synod receive an offering annually in his congregations for the education of indigent young men aspiring to the ministry.\(^{141}\)

A Ministerial Seal was adopted and all church councils were asked to require all who sought permission to preach in their pulpits to show it and properly attested credentials.\(^{142}\) "Tramp preachers," who were "more interested in the wool than the sheep,"\(^{143}\) were to be avoided. At the conclusion of the convention three men were ordained to the holy office\(^{144}\) in what was "no doubt the first Lutheran ordination service west of the Allegheny Mountains."\(^{145}\)

Two traveling preachers were commissioned in 1820\(^{146}\) and within four years permanent provision had been made for the payment of itinerant evangelists.\(^{147}\) Steps were taken in 1825 to permit

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\(^{140}\) Ohio Verrichtungen, \(1818\), p. 7.

\(^{141}\) Ibid.

\(^{142}\) Ibid. Cf. p. 10 which has an "Erklaerung des Ministerial-Siegels."

\(^{143}\) Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 11.

\(^{144}\) Ohio Verrichtungen, \(1818\), p. 9.

\(^{145}\) Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 32.

\(^{146}\) Ohio Verrichtungen, \(1820\), p. 8.

\(^{147}\) Ibid., \(1823\), p. 6.
pastors of the Ohio Synod a month's vacation annually for the purpose of visiting vacant parishes.\footnote{148} To increase the number of clergymen, three theological libraries were established in 1826 for the benefit of training ministerial candidates,\footnote{149} and within four years a seminary was founded.\footnote{150} Though the Ohio Synod had thirty-one clerical members in 1827, the shortage of preachers remained.\footnote{151}

As the forces of nature had operated to separate the Ohioans from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, they also served to divide the new body. Difficulties of travel inspired a resolution in the initial General Conference that the annual assembly of the Synod should alternate yearly between the eastern and western sides of the Muskingum River.\footnote{152} Despite this concession, attendance at meetings was not what "might have been desired."\footnote{153} In 1822, therefore, the Ohio Synod was tentatively subdivided into three districts: one composed of western Pennsylvania, another of Ohio east of the Muskingum River, and a third to represent the rest of the state.\footnote{154} The pastors of each section were to hold yearly meetings and to designate one minister from their midst to inspect the parishes of the region.\footnote{155} Annual reports were to be submitted

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{148}{Ibid., 1825, p. 10.}
\footnote{149}{Ibid., 1826, pp. 10, 11. One in western Pennsylvania, one in eastern Ohio, one in western Ohio.}
\footnote{150}{Ibid., 1830, pp. 10, 11.}
\footnote{151}{Ibid., 1827, pp. 2, 3.}
\footnote{152}{Ibid., 1818, pp. 7, 8.}
\footnote{153}{Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 28.}
\footnote{154}{Ohio Verrichtungen, 1822, p. 5.}
\footnote{155}{Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," pp. 35 ff.}
\end{footnotes}
to the Synod from each area.\textsuperscript{156} Nine years later another arrangement prevailed with the Synod organized into an Eastern and Western District.

Both . . . had authority to administer their own treasuries, to license ministerial candidates, and to expand missionary work. District meetings were to be held annually except every third year when a 'joint' session of the entire synod was to be held. From this time on the body is known as the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States.\textsuperscript{157}

A language question also complicated the early history of Ohio Lutheranism. Its origins antedated the American Revolution and stemmed from the tension between English- and German-speaking Lutherans. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg had found it necessary in his ministry to speak seven languages and on occasion to preach in three on the same Sunday.\textsuperscript{158} The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw a movement toward the exclusive use of German in several Lutheran Synods. There was a scarcity of suitable theological works in English, and it was felt that Lutheran doctrine could be adequately explained only in German, for

Indifference toward religion, shallowness, and frivolity were associated with the use of English as over against the German, the vehicle of sound piety and religious fervor.\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{158} Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, pp. 275, 278.
\textsuperscript{159} Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, p. 23.
Some had suggested that

'Even in Paradise the Lord spoke to Adam in German, for
do we not read in the third chapter of Genesis: "The Lord
God called unto Adam and said unto him, Wo bist du?"' 160

As the mother tongue of most Lutherans at that time, the German
language provided a bond with the faith of childhood 161 and en­
hanced efforts to minister to the immigrant. A rising German
cultural nationalism convinced many that "Your language next to
your church is the most precious jewel that you have taken with
you into the forest wilderness . . . ." 162 Efforts at union with
the German Reformed would have been hindered by discarding the
common mother tongue. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, therefore,
in 1792, for the first time introduced the word "German" into its
official name. 163

Influenced by these currents, the Ohio Synod attempted to
be bilingual from its beginning. 164 The word "German" was never
incorporated into its title. 165 As time passed, however, it became
apparent that "English was tolerated rather than espoused." 166

160 Quoted in J. L. Neve, History of the Lutheran Church in
America (Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Library Board, 1934), pp. 67–68.
161 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 298.
162 So wrote Wilhelm Lohe to American Lutherans, quoted
Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 64.
163 Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, p. 23.
164 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church,
P. 7.
165 Ibid.
166 Allbeck, "Lutheran Separation--The Ohio Story," p. 31.
As early as 1816 the Ohio Conference made it the duty of every pastor to encourage his congregations to establish German schools and at least once a year to deliver a sermon about the need of supporting and promoting such institutions.\textsuperscript{167} While most of the sermons preached in the parishes and at synodical conventions were in German, there was always at least one address in English at the conference meetings.\textsuperscript{168} In 1825, James Manning, the first pastor of the Ohio Synod who preached exclusively in English, was licensed as a candidate and assigned a charge in Muskingum and Perry Counties.\textsuperscript{169} Subsequent to that year the Minutes of the Synod were printed in both German and English.\textsuperscript{170}

By 1827 there were over sixty-three German religious schools listed as in operation,\textsuperscript{171} but "the younger generation was rapidly turning English, and in fact there were many adult members in a number of congregations who understood no German."\textsuperscript{172} To meet their needs, the English language catechism of the General Synod was endorsed in the 1828 synodical convention,\textsuperscript{173} and the \textit{Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer} of Fredericktown, Maryland, was recommended. Simultaneously a third edition of the German hymnal was authorized.\textsuperscript{174}

\textsuperscript{167}Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1816 (typewritten), p.32.
\textsuperscript{168}Ibid., 1812-1817.
\textsuperscript{169}Ohio Verrichtungen, 1825, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{170}Not until 1926, however, was English made the official language, though some districts of the Ohio Synod had discontinued the use of it before then. Meuser, \textit{The Formation of the American Lutheran Church}, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{171}Ohio Verrichtungen, 1827, pp. 7, 8.
\textsuperscript{172}Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 44.
\textsuperscript{173}Ibid., p. 46.
\textsuperscript{174}Ibid.
Complaints from German constituents convinced the Synod to attempt to publish a church periodical in that language, Die Evangelisch Lutherische Stimme vom Westen.\textsuperscript{175} This, however, failed to materialize. By 1830 efforts were made to balance the interests of both groups, and an English liturgy, containing forms for services and ministerial acts, was completed and the Synod published the Augsburg Confession as an appendix to the English edition of Luther's Catechism.\textsuperscript{176}

Differences, however, were not resolved, and in 1836 the non-German speaking pastors of the Ohio Synod requested and received permission to form a non-geographical English District. The stipulation was made, however, that the "English" hold fast to the Augsburg Confession, not receive clergymen who did not adhere to it, and not enter into any church-union without the concurrence of the German Synod.\textsuperscript{177} This "Third District" of the Joint Synod was formed at Somerset, Ohio, on November 7, 1836, with ten ordained and licensed ministers and 1,173 communicant members.\textsuperscript{178}

Strife, however, increased instead of ceasing. Struggle concerning the language of instruction in the theological seminary at Columbus\textsuperscript{179} and doctrinal divergence between the more liberal

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
    \item \textsuperscript{175}Ohio Minutes, 1829, p. 13.
    \item \textsuperscript{176}Ibid., 1830, p. 9.
    \item \textsuperscript{177}Ibid., 1836, pp. 12-16.
    \item \textsuperscript{178}Sheatsley, History of Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 112.
    \item \textsuperscript{179}Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church, p. 65.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
"English" and the steadily more orthodox Germans came to the point of schism in 1840 when ten members of the "Third District's" ministerium seceded and organized the "English Synod of Ohio," which promptly joined the General Synod. The remnant of the English District was reconstituted in 1841, but was again shattered by withdrawals in 1855, when only four pastors remained loyal to the German body. The English District was reorganized a third time in 1857. In 1869 it declared its independence, becoming the "English District Synod of Ohio." It lasted until 1920. A fourth and final English District was reconstructed which lasted until 1930.

The language question was coupled with the rise of "Old Lutheran" confessionalism in Ohio. To understand Ohio's drift to orthodoxy, it is necessary to trace the doctrinal developments of the first half of the nineteenth century.

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180 Ibid., p. 63.
181 Ibid., p. 66.
182 Ibid., p. 65.
183 Ibíd., p. 66.
182 The persistent importance of German as a religious language in America is indicated by the census of 1906 which reported seventy-seven denominations using that tongue in congregations aggregating up to three and one-half million members. Martha L. Edwards, "Ohio's Religious Organizations and the War," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, XXVIII (April, 1919), 210.
CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF CONFESSIONALISM IN THE OHIO SYNOD,
1812-1854

The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of
transition for Lutheranism in America.\(^1\) In these years,
The post Muhlenberg development of confessional laxity,
open fraternity, and spirit of independent thinking
gradually gave way to strict confessional conformity,
closed communion, and limited and prescribed sphere of
theological inquiry.\(^2\)

This process of change is well illustrated in the story of the
doctrinal development of the Ohio Synod during these decades.

Ohio's earliest Lutherans possessed a "deep seated piety"
which "was not strongly confessional."\(^3\) They were adherents to a
"simple evangelical faith"\(^4\) that

. . . stressed the 'fides qua creditur' rather than
the 'fides quae creditur'; that emphasized personal
conversion from sin rather than personal conviction
of doctrine; that cultivated love of the brethren
rather than fidelity to dogma.\(^5\)

\(^1\) W. J. Mann, *Lutheranism in America: An Essay on the
Present Condition of the Lutheran Church in the United States*
343-344.
\(^3\) Swihart, *Luther and the Lutheran Church*, p. 392.
It was not their intention to have "a spirit different from that of the Lutheran Church of old," but

Evidently they accepted a 'generic Lutheranism' which approved doctrines common to most Protestants but which had no enthusiasm for distinctive doctrines that might be considered sectarian. 7

The Constitution of 1818 reflected this position, having no reference to the historic creeds, and

... were it not for the words 'Evangelical Lutheran' occurring in the title and in the first chapter, the denomination of the body could not be ascertained with any degree of certainty from the document. 8

This religious situation had three causes; the theological temper of the times, the influence of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, and the impact of the frontier.

The Ohio Synod was founded during a period which Professor Henry Eyster Jacobs described as one of doctrinal "deterioration." 9

"A general leveling process followed among the religious leaders of America," 10 and in "the half century following the Declaration of Independence the disintegration of the Lutheran Church seemed

6 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 192.
8 Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio," p. 60.
10 Carl Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, pp. 40-41.
Ignorance of the characteristic traits of Lutheranism became widespread. Lutheran ministerial students, due to the absence of divinity schools of their own denomination, attended Harvard, Yale, and Princeton if they wanted to complete their education. Ties with the Lutheran churches of Europe were broken because of wars between 1774 and 1815. The doctrinal literature and liturgical forms of the faith were still largely in German, a foreign language to the younger generation which displayed "a real desire ... of adapting the church to its new national environment."

The theological indifference of the American Enlightenment was not conducive to confessionalism. The Lutheranism planted in the colonies was of the Pietist variety, "warm-hearted, devout, practical," which stressed "that Christ was a person and not a doctrine ... ." Experiential rather than ideological, it minimized creeds and unknowingly "prepared the way for the rationalists who attacked the confessional statements from the point of view of reason."

Dr. Frederick Henry Quitman, the leading Lutheran exponent of this philosophy while President of the New

11 Ibid., p. 42.
12 Ibid. The first Lutheran seminary in the United States was established at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in 1826.
13 Ibid., p. 38.
16 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 281.
York Ministerium, published an Evangelical Catechism in 1814 which omitted reference to the Trinity, the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Communion, and Baptismal Regeneration.17

The liturgical life of the church suffered with the incorporation of Calvinist practices, and

To the influence of Puritanism must be attributed the absence, in most of our Lutheran churches and worship in this country, of all those forms by which she is in Europe distinguished from the Reformed.18

The departure from distinctive Lutheran teachings and traditions was symbolized by the Constitution of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, written in 1820, which made no mention of the Bible or the Augsburg Confession.19 That body proceeded to receive clergymen of other Protestant churches into its fellowship without re-ordination.20

This spirit of "open fraternity" was strong in the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the "mother synod" of Ohio Lutheranism.21


19 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 79.

20 Vergilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, p. 40.

21 "The pioneer Lutherans who moved to Ohio were primarily from Pennsylvania and had formerly been members of the Pennsylvania Ministerium." Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 392.
From the beginning, denominational lines had not been closely observed, and as early as 1740 a "Congregation of God in the Spirit" had been established, including Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Dunkards, and various types of Mystics, which had 7,000 members. Moravian leader, Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, who arrived in the New World in December, 1741, had subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, been ordained to the Lutheran ministry by the University of Tuebingen, was consecrated by a Reformed bishop, and was in good standing with the Church in Prussia.

The perpetuation of Lutheranism as a separate faith was the contribution of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who began his labors in Philadelphia on November 25, 1742. The Patriarch, while adhering to the Lutheran Confessions, "exhibited a certain liberality of opinion" and "a tendency toward unionism." Close connections were created with the Reformed and the Anglicans. When Michael Schlatter, the Father of the German Reformed Church in America, came to Philadelphia in 1746, the two men conferred to discuss means of cooperation. Records reveal that in 1762 they

22 Abdel Ross Wentz, "Relations between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," The Lutheran Quarterly, VI (July, 1933), 313.
23 Ibid., p. 314.
24 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 39.
25 Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, p. 231.
26 Qualben, The Lutheran Church in Colonial America, p. 216.
held a joint service of worship in a Lutheran church, and on another occasion a Reformed congregation helped one of Muhlenberg's parishes erect a building. A warm regard characterized his relationships with the Church of England. Anglican evangelist George Whitfield occupied one of Muhlenberg's pulpits, and on November 15, 1771, the Lutheran leader described the Episcopalians as "our nearest and best friends" for "their explanations of their articles of faith are as good Evangelical Lutheran as one could wish them to be." His eldest son, Peter Muhlenberg, was ordained by the Anglican Bishop of London in 1772, after having subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and then served a Lutheran parish in Woodstock, Virginia. A third son, Gotthilf Henry Muhlenberg, pastor of Trinity Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was the first president of Franklin College, an institution operated jointly by the Lutherans and Reformed. Muhlenberg's father-in-

28 Ibid., p. 306. After a sermon by Muhlenberg the Reformed left to receive communion from Schlatter in a schoolhouse.
29 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 289.
30 This may have stemmed in part from the fact that Muhlenberg's native province was Hannover, whose Lutheran Elector was King of England; Neve, History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 61.
31 Ibid., p. 60.
32 Quoted by Vergilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, p. 280.
33 Ibid., p. 19. He did this to fulfill the requirements of the laws of the colony of Virginia. Apparently, however, he saw no incompatibility with this relationship to both denominations.
34 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 279.
law was the ecumenically minded Conrad Weiser.\textsuperscript{35} The son-in-law of the Lutheran Patriarch, Dr. G. Emmanuel Schulze, prominent in the Pennsylvania Ministerium, wrote in 1797 that "there is not a great difference in point of doctrine in all the Protestant churches," and felt that "the Thirty-Nine Articles fully agree with the Augustan [sic] Confession, and every Lutheran can subscribe them."\textsuperscript{36}

The Pennsylvania Synod, organized by Muhlenberg in 1748, increasingly espoused fraternalism. In 1781 the Ministerium heard a report on a proposed "Union with the so-called High Church,"\textsuperscript{37} and in 1792 it revised its constitution to omit references to the Lutheran Symbols.\textsuperscript{38} Episcopal, Presbyterian, and English Baptist pastors participated in synodical conventions,\textsuperscript{39} and an \textit{Evangelisches Magazin} was established in 1811, circulating among Reformed and Moravian Christians,\textsuperscript{40} with the purpose of a merger of all the German evangelical churches.\textsuperscript{41} A \textit{Gemeinschaftliches}

\textsuperscript{35}Cf. Chapter I, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{36}Quoted by Vergilius Ferm, \textit{The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology}, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{37}Roy H. Johnson, "The Lutheran Church and the Western Frontier," p. 227.
\textsuperscript{38}Ferm, \textit{The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology}, p. 21. This action was significant quantitatively, for that body was the largest concentration of Lutherans in the New World, having from 75,000 to 120,000 members at the time of the American Revolution. Cf. Wentz, \textit{A Basic History of Lutheranism}, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{39}Roy H. Johnson, "The Lutheran Church and the Western Frontier," p. 227.
\textsuperscript{40}Ferm, \textit{The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology}, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{41}Roy H. Johnson, "The Lutheran Church and the Western Frontier," p. 227.
Gesangbuch was published jointly by the Lutherans and Reformed in 1817 for use in congregations of both denominations.\textsuperscript{42}

Ecumenism on the local level was implemented by the "union church." From 1732 to 1800 over sixty-six Lutheran-Reformed union churches were established, mostly in Pennsylvania, and from 1820 to 1860 another sixty-five were organized.\textsuperscript{43} The origins of this institution, later to become prevalent in Ohio, derived from conditions in the German Palatinate.\textsuperscript{44}

The greatest number of Germans coming to America in the eighteenth century were Palatines.\textsuperscript{45} The ravages of the wars of Louis XIV had forced Lutheran and Reformed Protestants to hold property and worship in common. This arrangement produced Simultankirchen which "were the prototypes of the future union churches in southeastern Pennsylvania."\textsuperscript{46} In the New World the forces of poverty, language, social affinity, and intermarriage perpetuated the custom.\textsuperscript{47} Lay members could see little difference between the two faiths, employing the same minister, practicing

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{42} Jacobs, \textit{A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church}, pp. 323-324.
  \item\textsuperscript{43} Swihart, \textit{Luther and the Lutheran Church}, p. 289.
  \item\textsuperscript{44} It thus antedated the Prussian Union of 1817, and there was "no relation of cause and effect" between that and the American union-churches. Cf. Wentz, "Relations between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches," p. 310.
  \item\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 302.
  \item\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p. 303.
  \item\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 309. Intermarriage between the German Lutherans and Reformed was common. Michael Schlatter's wife was the daughter of Henry Schleydorn, a prominent Lutheran laymen and friend of Muhlenberg. Cf. Ibid., p. 305.
\end{itemize}
open communion, serving as sponsors for one another's children, and equally delighting in revivals.  

If . . . we take into consideration the fact that the Palatines, Badensians, 'Swehians,' like most of the south-German races, have a character in which the emotional side largely predominates, we shall have the key to much of what is peculiar in the type of early Lutheranism in Pennsylvania and Ohio. 

The Ohio Synod, as "a direct descendant of the labors of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg," reflected the traits of the Pennsylvania Ministerium as they were transformed by the frontier. 

The Pietistic heritage was prominent in the thoughts of Ohio's first Lutherans. Pastor George Forster had been educated at the Halle Institute in Germany, and as late as 1830 when the Synod ventured to found a Seminary, it did so by recalling "the wonderful work wrought by Francke in Germany . . . ." In John Stauch, the first Lutheran minister to enter Ohio, an excellent example of frontier Pietism is evident. He said, 

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48 They frequently said the only peculiarities were that the Lutherans prayed Vater unser, the Reformed, Unser Vater in the "Our Father," or else that the Lutherans used a host in Communion, receiving it placed upon the tongue, whereas the Reformed employed leavened bread which was laid in the hands of the communicant. Cf. H. E. Jacobs, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, p. 321; Personal Interview with Dr. Leonhard Ludwig, Professor of Historical Theology, The Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, February 10, 1965.

49 Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio," p. 3.

50 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 392.


52 Ohio Minutes, 1830, p. 10.
My principal books for fifty years have been Starke's Commentary, Spener's Explanation of Luther's Five Principles, my catechism, hymn book, and the Holy Bible. In keeping with the Pietist quest for holiness, his preaching denounced

... dancing at parties of young people, laughing and loud talking in church before and after divine service; formal visits on the Sabbath day and... working in harvest, traveling, hunting and fishing, dram drinking among the elders anddeacons and the whole church at house raisings.

He condemned the use of alcohol by saying,

One thing was evident to me, as long as a drinker could keep up his head, he would not admit he was drunk, and when he could no longer reel to and fro, but was compelled to lie down and sleep in filth like a hog in the sty, he had not sense enough then to know that he was drunk. Hence I preached that the only safe way was to refrain from it entirely.

Pietism's emphasis on personal experience explained why the early Lutherans in America... succumbed in large measure to the temptations of the interdenominational revivalism which raced through the frontier... John Stauchoften appointed meetings in private houses for exhortation, prayer, and religious conference. In these meetings we would speak freely, one to the other, of our hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, desires and good resolutions.

53 Quoted by C. V. Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 36, from the Diary of John Staucho.
54 Quoted, Ibid., p. 29.
55 Quoted, Ibid., p. 30.
56 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 8.
57 Quoted Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 30. Muhlenberg had ended his sermons with a call for repentance, and in the Great Awakening "Lutherans wholeheartedly jointed with other denominations in sponsoring camp meetings." Cf. Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 294.
In October, 1802, Stauch led a revival in his union congregation, St. Jacob's in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, assisted by a German Reformed minister, H. Fremmer. Stauch recalled that men and women in perfect health were involuntarily and often suddenly jerked about like persons afflicted with St. Vitus dance. While others fell down and appeared in a state of syncope.

Protests were presented to the Pennsylvania Ministerium when it met on May 30, 1804, by upset parishioners who stated that Stauch had also communed with the German Reformed and Methodists. The charges were dismissed, and his license was renewed for ten years, but he was forced to resign his church and move to Ohio. There he met "strong opposition" from "falsely so-called Lutherans," but sustained the support of a sufficient number of the clergy to be elected President of the Synod on six occasions.

In his recollections Stauch spoke of the way he was "strengthened and encouraged by brethren in sister churches." The frontier emphasized ecumenical endeavors, and the early Ohio Lutherans enjoyed cordial relations with the German Reformed. This

59 Quoted, Ibid., p. 27.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., p. 28.
62 Ibid., pp. 29-30.
63 Ibid., p. 31.
was true on the congregational level, where the union church was introduced from Pennsylvania, and also in synodical meetings. Of the two bodies, the German Reformed was the smaller, having only forty ministers in the entire East in 1812. Between 1814 and 1816 it was able to send only one missionary to the Ohio field, where it was suffering from inroads made by the United Brethren. Impetus was therefore given to cooperation and possible merger with the Lutherans.

At the first meeting of the Ohio Synod in 1818 "Pastor Laros, a Reformed minister who out of love for our conference was with us, preached the sermon . . . ." He was assigned by the Lutheran body to serve congregations at New Market and Brush Creek, Ohio, jointly with one of its ministers, Jacob Leist. In future meetings Reformed delegates were "always accorded a hearty welcome," were seated as "advisory brethren," and given voice and vote.

In 1819 Pastor Peter Dechant of the Reformed Church was unanimously

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64 Ibid.  
65 Johnson, "The Lutheran Church and the Western Frontier," p. 239.  
66 Ibid.  
69 Ibid.  
71 Cf. Ohio Verrichtungen, 1821, p. 3; 1822, p. 2.
received as an honorary member of the Ohio assembly. He presented a motion that the Lutheran and Reformed bodies convene concurrently the next year in Lancaster, Ohio, to transact their business, provided that the mother synods approved. This was seconded by Paul Henkel who was a personal friend of John Jacob Larose and who was not opposed to fellowship with other churches. Since no reply was received from the Reformed Synod and the Ohio Lutherans would not act on the petition until they had an acknowledgment from that group, the proposal did not materialize.

Cordial contacts continued, however, and a German Reformed minister preached at the laying of the cornerstone of the Lutheran theological seminary at Columbus on August 15, 1832. The Lutherans passed a resolution in 1833, stating,

> . . . whereas the German Reformed Synod of Ohio has as yet no Seminary, this body cordially invite said Synod

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72 Ohio Verrichtungen, 1819, pp. 12, 13, 15.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid., p. 15. Cf. C. V. Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 44, who says, that in his earlier career Henkel was "somewhat vacillating . . . with reference to the Augsburg Confession." See also Martzolff, "Rev. Paul Henkel's Journal," p. 189; he suggests that in his conception of the confessions he moved from a position favoring a Melanchthonian alteration of the Augsburg Confession to a strictly orthodox viewpoint, Ibid., p. 207.
76 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 65.
77 Ibid., p. 92. The Lutheran Synod even handled disputes involving Reformed ministers, Cf. Ohio Verrichtungen, 1824, p. 4. It was apparently the older members of the Lutheran body who favored contacts, Cf. Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 8.
to send their young men who are desirous of studying Theology to our Seminary, as they will not only have free access to it, but may enjoy all the privileges which the alumni of the Evangelical Church there enjoy.  

Some Reformed students were trained for the ministry at that institution, including the Rev. George Long.  

Among the Reformed Christians of Ohio  

There was a lack of unanimity in regard to union with the Lutherans . . . . [But] there was a considerable element favorable to this in the Reformed church of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. 

By 1831 new overtures were made to the Lutherans, and in 1833 the Ohio Synod declared its  

. . . willingness to enter into Union: Provided terms of union can be found which are based on truth and righteousness and secure the principles of the Evangelical Church.  

Nothing came of these efforts because at this time there was "a decided trend toward historic Lutheranism in most synods" and "from 1830 to 1855 the Joint Synod moved steadily in the direction of greater conservatism in doctrine and practice." It began to

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78 Ohio Minutes, 1833, p. 15.  
79 Good, History of the Reformed Church, p. 185.  
80 Ibid., p. 195.  
81 Ohio Minutes, 1833, p. 15.  
82 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 8.  
83 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 393.
reject the liberalism of its youth and to participate in a "rebirth of an inherited European theology in America."  

The rise of conservatism in the Ohio Synod was caused by six factors: the latent orthodoxy of its founding fathers, the spirit of independence in the 1820's, a revival of an historic interest in the Lutheran confessions in the 1830's, German immigration and the establishment of a confessional press in the 1840's, and the bitter inter-Lutheran polemic of the 1850's.

An "embryonic concern" for "distinctive Lutheranism" had been present from the beginning. John Stauch had met opposition because of his fraternal relations with other churches and his revivalism. Paul Henkel had struggled with the Baptists, reconfirmed Reformed Christians into the Lutheran faith, and denounced the "jerks" and emotional religion.  

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84 Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, p. 344. In its early days the Ohio Synod had allowed preachers of other denominations to occupy its pulpits during the annual convention, and "It was also customary to preach in practically every church in the town where the Synod was convening if such invitations were extended." Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 92. As late as 1826 a Methodist preacher had addressed the Synodical convention at New Philadelphia, Ohio. Cf. Ohio Verrichtungen, 1826, p. 12. In 1830 they had recommended to the German Reformed Synod that they buy Sunday School books together. Ohio Minutes, 1830, p. 5.

85 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 8.

86 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, pp. 29-30.

87 Martzolff, "Rev. Paul Henkel's Journal," pp. 174, 198. "... I was always of the opinion that it [the jerks] could be prevented by the people themselves." Ibid., p. 198.
Conference in 1813 reprimanded an erring brother for heretical conduct,\(^{88}\) and in the same year it was resolved that January 1, 1814, be set aside for thanksgiving for God's blessing of the church on the American Continent.\(^{89}\) John Stauch admonished the Ohio ministers in 1816 to "always defend their faith in Jesus Christ."\(^{90}\) The following year the Augsburg Confession was added as an appendix to the Minutes,\(^{91}\) and it was resolved to set aside the first three days of October to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation of the "now sainted Dr. Martin Luther,"\(^{92}\) with pastors being instructed to hold jubilee services preaching on John 8:12, Ephesians 2:8, 10, and Hebrews 13:8.\(^{93}\)

As suggested by Professor Olaf Moe, "proselytizing propaganda" by other denominations, especially the Methodists, aroused defensive Lutheranism.\(^{94}\) The Wesleyans began to make a concerted effort to minister to the Germans under the leadership of Dr. William Nast, who had been born in Stuttgart in 1807 and who converted to Methodism in 1835.\(^{95}\) It has been estimated that he

\(^{88}\) Ohio Special Conference Minutes, Spring, 1813 (typewritten), pp. 7-8.
\(^{89}\) Ibid., Fall, 1813, p. 12.
\(^{90}\) Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1816 (typewritten), p.36.
\(^{91}\) Ohio Special Conference Minutes, 1817 (typewritten), p.41.
\(^{92}\) Ibid., p. 42.
\(^{93}\) Ibid., pp. 41-42.
\(^{94}\) Olaf Moe, "A European Characterization of the Three Main Branches of the Lutheran Church," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, I (July, 1928), 309.
\(^{95}\) I. F. King, "Introduction of Methodism in Ohio," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, X (July, 1901), 204.
caused more than 100,000 people to enter the Methodist fold, of whom seven hundred seventy-seven became clergymen. The sensitivities of the Lutherans were aroused, and one young member of that church in Sandusky, Ohio, stated he would not go to the Methodist meetings "until the trees in the forest had turned upside down; that is, stuck their tops into the ground and reared their roots aloft."  

To counteract these influences, Paul Henkel was assigned the task by the Ohio Synod in 1818 to write a paper on the "differences between our doctrine of baptism and the Lord's Supper and that of the religionists who oppose us." "Written in a most irenic spirit," it still "sets forth clearly the Lutheran viewpoint."  

The independence displayed by the Ohio Lutherans in the 1820's furthered the advance of orthodoxy, for the frontier conditions favored

97 Quoted Johnson, "The Lutheran Church and the Western Frontier," p. 238.
98 Ohio Verrichtungen, 1818, p. 7; the Erinnerungs-Zuschrift is appended, pp. 11-32. That the frontier could produce denominational hostility as well as cooperation is revealed by the following: ". . . a Lutheran missionary, who inquired once of a Methodist brother if there were any German Lutherans in the vicinity [received] the reply . . . that there were none, that all they had was a 'pack of corrupted Baptists!'" Cf. Clement L. Martzolff, "Early Religious Movements in the Muskingum Valley," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, XXV (April, 1916), 185-186.
the free church organization which always tends to strengthen the confessionalism of a church, particularly when that church has its only bond of union in its common doctrine, as is the case with the Lutheran church.\textsuperscript{100}

This development is revealed in the Ohio Synod's relationships with sister Lutheran churches.

In its first decades of life the Ohio Synod maintained "fraternal relations . . . with practically all Lutheran synods,"\textsuperscript{101} delegates were exchanged, "efforts at union were freely made and discussed,"\textsuperscript{102} and "ministers were . . . liberally given and taken."\textsuperscript{103} Matthias Loy recalled that when he entered the Ohio body from a congregation of the Pennsylvania Ministerium "my Lutheran faith and firmness were never called into question."\textsuperscript{104}

As late as 1830 the Ohio Synod considered an offer from Dr. E. T. Hazelius, President of the New York Ministerium, to send their ministerial students to Hartwick Seminary.\textsuperscript{105} The invitation was declined for reasons of expense and distance, and an independent theological school was founded in Columbus.\textsuperscript{106} Dr. Hazelius, then President of Gettysburg Seminary, donated fifty volumes from that school's library and twenty works from his personal collection for the Ohio institution.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{100} Moe, "A European Characterization," p. 309.
\textsuperscript{101} Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 101.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., p. 102.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Loy, Story of My Life, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{105} Ohio Minutes, 1830, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{106} Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., pp. 102-103.
Despite this "era of good feelings," a more selective policy of fellowship began to emerge. This was initially indicated in the Ohio Synod's failure to affiliate with the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States.

The idea for a General Synod for America's Lutherans originated with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1818. President J. George Schmucker of that body sent a "kind and important" letter containing a "Proposed Plan" for union to the Ohio Synod which was read and approved at the convention of 1819 with the "hope that the united body of Lutheran preachers could labor with more influence and success in the kingdom of Jesus." The following autumn representatives from four Lutheran bodies met at Hagerstown, Maryland, and organized the General Synod. Delegates from Ohio and Tennessee did not appear. The Synod of Tennessee feared the hierarchical tendencies and broad doctrinal basis of such a confederation. David Henkel of that ministerium called it "an exotic plant" which was "germinated in hell" and "fostered by the old harlot in the garden of Rome . . . ." The Ohio Synod had meanwhile had second thoughts concerning the union during its convention in September, 1820, feeling "that the new body would

109 Ohio Verrichtungen, 1819, p. 10.
111 Quoted by Vergilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, p. 69.
interfere too much with the 'rights of self-determination' of the constitutional synods . . . ,"\(^{112}\) and that there might be a "possible prevalence of the English language in the new body."\(^{113}\) The Ohioans, therefore, resolved in 1820 to "allow the matter to rest until we see the constitution of the central synod.\(^{114}\)

The national body began its operations in the autumn of 1821\(^{115}\) and the Ohio Synod had second thoughts, resolving in 1822 to send two of its members to the next meeting of the General Synod.\(^{116}\) In 1823 this motion was rescinded as a result of pressure from Pastor John Michael Steck and Paul Henkel, who hoped the Ohioans would "immer der alten Evangelischen Ordnung bleiben."\(^{117}\) The Pennsylvania Ministerium had meanwhile withdrawn from the central body fearing, in part, that it would be predominately English in language, and "it was chiefly the influence of this synod that prevented Ohio from joining the General Synod in 1820 to 1825 . . . .\(^{118}\) Following 1823 there was little further discussion of membership in that organization, and the Ohio Synod,

\(^{112}\) Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio," p. 33.
\(^{113}\) Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 79.
\(^{114}\) "... dass wir die Sache wollen beruhen lassen, bis wir die Constitution der Central-Synode sehen. Gefaellt sie uns, dann werden wir sie genehmigen; und nicht, so finden wir uns nicht geneigt, uns mit derselben einzulassen." Ohio Verrichtungen, 1820, pp. 6, 7.
\(^{115}\) Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 79.
\(^{116}\) Ohio Verrichtungen, 1822, pp. 5-6.
\(^{118}\) Paul Henry Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church (Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1940), p. 67.
jealous of its independence, remained unaffiliated with any larger Lutheran bodies (except for a temporary union with the Synodical Conference) until 1930.¹¹⁹

Severed from fellowship with the more liberal Lutheran churches of the East, the Ohio Synod became more receptive to conservative influences. An early indication of this development was seen in changes in the Henkel family. Paul Henkel in his later years became increasingly orthodox and

The imprint of his high regard for the inherited doctrines of the Lutheran Church . . . became especially stamped upon the Synod of Ohio . . . . ¹²⁰

"Noted for their Orthodoxy," his sons "began the confessional movement which ultimately spread through almost the whole Lutheran church in America."¹²¹ Their activities inspired the Ohio Synod to have close contacts with the Synod of Tennessee, then one of the more conservative Lutheran groups in the United States.¹²² That they linked liberalism with the General Synod is indicated by two questions which Pastor David Henkel of Tennessee posed to the Ohio convention of 1825: firstly, would the assembly answer some theological questions for him, and secondly, was that body affiliated with the General Synod?¹²³ The answer to the latter was

¹²⁰Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology, p. 65.
¹²²Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church, p. 67.
¹²³Ohio Verrichtungen, 1825, p. 11.
easily given: "... we are not under its control nor belong to the same." The doctrinal issue was delayed until 1826 when the "aged heads" of the Ohio Synod resolved that they "cannot answer these questions inasmuch as it is not our purpose at our conventions to investigate theological questions ..." 125

The 1830's witnessed a rediscovery of historic Lutheranism and future meetings attempted to "investigate theological questions." Observing in that year that the Tennessee Synod had taken steps to celebrate June 25 as the three hundredth anniversary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, the Synod of Ohio recommended that its pastors commemorate the day with thanksgiving and a public reading of that document from the pulpit. 126 It was also resolved to found a seminary where

... the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession of Faith might be promulgated literally, purely, and unadulteratedly ... and where the characteristics of Lutheranism, which neither malice nor art can destroy, nor time efface, might be preserved. 127

The constitution of the theological school affirmed that

It is also an object of this Institution to teach the doctrines of our Church in the Theological course, pure and unadulterated, as they are contained in the Augsburg Confession and in our other (standards or) symbolical books ... 128

124 Ibid., p. 9. "... das wir nicht unter derselbigen stehen, noch zu derselbigen gehoeren."
125 "... das die Synode diese Fragen nicht beantworten koenne, indem es bey unseren Versammlungen nicht unsere Absicht ist, theologische Fragen zu untersuchen, sondern vielmehr die allgemeinen Angelegenheiten der Kirche in Betracht zu nehmen." Ohio Verrichtungen, 1826, p. 9.
126 Ohio Minutes, 1830, p. 6.
127 Ibid., p. 9.
128 Ohio Minutes, 1842, p. 37.
The convention of 1830 was a "turning point" and "the official recognition given to the Augsburg Confession at this meeting laid the doctrinal foundation upon which it [the Ohio Synod] was to be built."^{129}

The trend toward the traditional creeds gained strength in the next decade. In 1831 Andrew Henkel, President of the Synod, reported that Luther's Small Catechism with the Augsburg Confession appended had been printed and circulated in the church.^{130}

The next year it was resolved to establish a denominational newspaper because of

> . . . the signs of the times and the prevailing spirit of the religious papers—which either advocated the cause of new measures and fanaticism, or vacillated like Lot's wife, between Sodom and Zoar . . . .^{131}

Four years later when it was asked on the floor of the convention whether the Synod adhered to the Augsburg Confession, an affirmative reply was given and it was stated that it would receive "no one as a teacher [pastor], who does not fully adhere to this Confession."^{132}

"Once Ohio was started on the conservative path, a variety of factors influenced it toward an even stricter confessionalism."^{133}

One of these sources was European immigration and missionary work

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131 Ohio Minutes, 1832, p. 13.
132 Ohio Minutes, 1836, p. 8.
133 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 9.
in the 1840's, "for the roots of the bitter factional rivalries in the Lutheran church in America extend to the subsoil of German history." Three distinct groups of "Old Lutherans" arrived in America—the "Bavarians," the "Saxons," and the "Prussians."

Wilhelm Loehe (1808-1872) led a movement in Southern Germany which formed "an interesting parallel to the Oxford theologians" in England. A man of "contagious spirituality," his labors in Bavaria "raised the obscure village of Neuendettelsau into world prominence." Receiving an appeal for assistance in 1841 from C.F.D. Wynecken, a confessional German Lutheran pastor in America who lamented the "Methodistic" and "Unionistic" traits of the General Synod, Loehe began to train Nothelfer for service in the New World. Four colonies of Bavarian Lutherans were established in Michigan between 1845 and 1849, a new synod was born,

134 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 19.
138 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 71.
139 These were Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust, and Frankenhilf. Cf. Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church, p. 36.
and seminaries were founded at Saginaw and Ft. Wayne, Indiana. By 1853 over eighty of Loehe's students were active in the Missouri Synod and others, as Dr. Wilhelm Sihler, had worked in the Ohio Synod. Following disputes with the Missouri Saxons concerning the nature of the confessions and the church, Loehe's disciples under G. M. Grossmann and John Deindoerfer created the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa at St. Sebald on August 24, 1854. "The Missourians," however, "gave Iowa no rest," and polemic was introduced to the western prairies.

A man of "great personal magnetism," Martin Stephan (1777-1846), the pastor of St. John's Church, Dresden, Saxony, headed a confessional movement which spread through much of central Germany. Objecting to the liberalism of the state church, he led a migration of over six hundred sixty-five persons to America in the autumn of 1838. Settling in St. Louis and on a tract of 4,475 acres in Perry County, Missouri, they planned to found a

140 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 427.
141 Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church, p. 35.
143 Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church, p. 43.
144 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 396. He has been characterized as "... of lowly origin and irregular education" being "a popular, orthodox, erratic, widely influential preacher." Cf. George Harvey Genzmer, "Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), XIX, 402.
"Zion on the Mississippi." Stephan began to "rule like a Pasha," established an episcopal form of government, and incurred debts at the expense of the immigrant Gesellschaft. Following a service on Rogate Sunday, May 5, 1839, two women confessed to Pastor G. H. Loeber that they had committed adultery with Stephan, and upon further investigation a Louise Gunther stated she had been his mistress for seven or eight years. On May 30 Stephan was officially expelled from the colony.

The Saxons were saved from spiritual disaster by the work of Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811-1887), the pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, St. Louis. Furnishing them with a "Zion Re-defined," he fathered the formation of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States in Chicago, on April 26, 1847. Within twenty-five years the new body had grown from seven to four hundred and fifteen pastors, who served over four hundred eighty-five congregations. When Walther died in 1887 the Synod numbered over fifteen hundred parishes and by 1896 had 662,000 communicants. Its rapid growth

146 Ibid.
147 Quoted Mauelshagen, *American Lutheranism Surrenders*, p. 86.
149 Ibid., pp. 418, 427.
150 It is called the "mother church" of the Missouri Synod, having two hundred members when Walther assumed its pastorate.
152 Swihart, *Luther and the Lutheran Church*, p. 420.
153 Ibid., p. 408.
planted in the heart of the mid-west a

... bulwark of orthodox Lutheranism and a church body
second only to the Catholic church in organization and
unity of purpose.154

Pastor John Andreas August Grabau (1804-1879) of
St. Andrew's Church, Erfurt, was the main exponent of "Old Luther-
anism" in eastern Germany.155 In 1817 King Frederick William III
of Prussia (1797-1840) had effected a union of the Lutheran and
Reformed Christians of his country.156 The confederation of the
two denominations was more political than theological.157 A
common liturgy was introduced in 1821, and when the "Old Lutherans"
were refused the privilege of using the rites of their faith, over
one thousand left on five ships for New York in 1839 under Grabau's
guidance.158 The majority settled at Buffalo, the remainder moved
to near Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where fifty-eight persons met to
form "The Synod of the Lutheran Church Emigrated from Prussia" on

154 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 16.
Genzmer, "Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther," p. 403, suggests it
"was organized and directed with an efficiency comparable to that
of the Prussian Army."

155 Cf. Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran
Church, pp. 15 ff.

156 The King was a member of the Reformed Church, his wife,
and most of his subjects, were Lutheran. Cf. Walter A. Baepler,
A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod, 1847-1947
(St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 11.

157 "Die Motive zu den kirchlichen Unionen von 1817 ff.
lagen fraglos auf nichttheologischem Gebiet." Heinz Brunotte,
Die Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland: Geschichte, Organisation
und Gestalt der E.K.D. (Guetersloh, Germany: Guetersloher

158 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 387.
June 25, 1845. A "war of extermination" was waged with the Missouri Synod over the doctrine of the ministry until 1866, when the Buffalo Synod split into three factions. The largest party fused with the Missourians, a second group became autonomous in Wisconsin, and Grabau reconstructed the remnants into a renewed Buffalo Synod that lasted until 1930.

Concurrent with the arrival of the "Old Lutherans" was the appearance of a vigorous conservative press, which poured forth both periodicals and books to further the cause of orthodoxy. The first of these confessional magazines was the Ohio Synod's official organ, the Lutheran Standard, begun in 1842, stating that the Bible is our only rule of faith and practice. The doctrines and order of the Lutheran Church as exhibited in the Augsburg Confession of faith and as believed and practiced by our pious forefathers, we conscientiously believe to be preeminently biblical. To explain and meekly to defend those doctrines and usages in the columns of the Standard will be our business and our pleasure.

The next year Loehe began his monthly journal, Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und ueber Nord Amerika (Church News from and about North America) which soon had 5,500 subscribers. In 1844 Der Lutheran Standard, I (September 21, 1842), p. 1.

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159 Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church, p. 15.
161 In 1930 it merged with the Ohio and Iowa Synods to form the American Lutheran Church. It had forty-four pastors, fifty-one congregations, and 10,341 members. Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 390.
163 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 73.
Lutheraner began to be published by C.F.W. Walther. Within three years it was the official voice of the Missouri Synod. "This journal was welcomed throughout the Middle West by scattered Lutheran clergymen holding similar convictions," and in 1855 Lehre und Wehre, "animated by the same militant orthodoxy," was founded as a theological magazine for pastors. English language efforts in this direction were the Missionary (1848), published by William A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, and The Evangelical Review (1849) under the guidance of two conservatives from Gettysburg Seminary, William M. Reynolds and Charles Porterfield Krauth. Bilingual readers began to import Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg's Evangelische Kirchenzeitung from Germany.

These periodicals had a wide influence in middle America. The Tennessee, Indianapolis, and Eastern Ohio District Synods advised the reading of Walther's fortnightly, and Matthias Loy remembered that as a student in 1847

\[ \ldots \text{in every respect the literature of the 'old Lutherans' circulated among us} \ldots \text{It was an effective agency to counteract the evil tendencies of the time} \ldots \]

164 Ibid., pp. 47-48, 95.
165 Ibid., p. 48.
167 Ibid.
168 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 113.
169 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 9.
170 The fortnightly was Der Lutheraner.
171 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 87.
"Conservative principles spread like a contagion," and in 1845 the Ohio Synod began to import German editions of the symbolical works from Europe. Six years later the Book of Concord appeared for the first time in a major English translation for American readers due to the work of the Rev. Socrates Henkel of New Market, Virginia. A second edition was soon prepared with Professor William F. Lehmann of the Columbus Seminary serving as a consultant. In 1848 the Ohio Synod adopted, without debate, a resolution "that this Ministerium hereby confess the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" and stated that clergymen were to be "obligated to them." The constitution of the Synod was altered in 1854 to require adherence to the historic confessions.

At mid-century the Ohio Synod was considered a member of the "Centre Party" in the American church which occupied "the strictly Symbolical viewpoint."

172 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 135.
173 Ohio Minutes, 1845, p. 7.
175 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 9.
176 Ohio Minutes, 1848, pp. 35, 36.
177 Ibid.
178 Ohio Minutes, 1854, pp. 6-7.
179 W. J. Mann, Lutheranism in America, p. 100.
... standing between the General Synod and the Missouri Synod, ... holding the middle ground between 'pseudo-Lutherans' and 'ultra Lutherans.'

In the bitter intra-Lutheran polemic of the 1850's it found that "to hold an intermediate position was sometimes impossible." The coming of "Old Lutheranism" to America caused controversies. Liberal Lutherans, as Benjamin Kurtz of the Lutheran Observer, labeled the conservatives as "sacramentarians," "Symbolists," "self-righteous Pharisees," and "Puseyites." "Thank God," said traditionalists as Wyneken, "there are still some Lutherans in America." Moderates simply asked, "has belief in the Lutheran doctrines and fidelity to the Confessions of the fathers and the Church become a fault in a Lutheran?"

The situation deteriorated into...

... competition among the several church bodies, and the object of the competition was largely to see which synod or fellowship possessed the greatest purity of Lutheran doctrine.

C.F.W. Walther singled out the Joint Synod of Ohio for attack in Der Lutheraner for "its Reformed tendencies and un-Lutheran practices."

In spite of the constitutional compromise of the Ohio Synod, the Missouri Synod could not refrain from pointing out the bid made for Reformed support by administering the Lord's Supper in a manner acceptable to them. In

180 Allbeck, "Lutheran Separation--The Ohio Story," p. 41.
181 Ibid.
182 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 49.
183 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 121.
184 W. J. Mann, Lutheranism in America, p. 82.
186 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 175.
1850 and 1851 the contents of the hymnal used by the Joint Synod of Ohio was severely criticized, for in it were found hymns of a decided Calvinistic tinge.\(^{187}\)

Too liberal for the "Old Lutherans," the Ohioans were too conservative for "American Lutherans" under the leadership of Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873). America's first Lutheran professor of theology,\(^{188}\) in the 1830's he had been alone when he envisaged "a return to the Augsburg Confession . . . ."\(^{189}\) He favored an altered version of that creed as a step toward a united Protestant Church. In 1838 he issued a "Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches" and six years later he was active in the formation of the "Evangelical Alliance,"\(^{190}\) The rise of strict confessionalism impelled him to anonymously circulate a "Definite Synodical Platform" in September, 1855, asking for the elimination of "errors" in the Augsburg Confession.\(^{191}\) The struggle that ensued tore the General Synod apart, and ruined the career of Schmucker, for

The paradox of his professional life is a curious one: a savior of his church in the third decade of the nineteenth century, he was looked upon as its betrayer in the fifth and afterward; he set out to make his

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\(^{187}\) Ibid. Criticism was made of the Ohio communion formula which prefaced the Verba with the words "Jesus said," and the practice of breaking the bread during the consecration as a concession to the Reformed.

\(^{188}\) Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 138.

\(^{189}\) Neve and Heick, A History of Protestant Theology, p. 300.

\(^{190}\) Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 142. See also Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, p. 6.

\(^{191}\) Neve and Heick, A History of Protestant Theology, p. 300.
church more Lutheran, and that same church later waved him aside because he was not Lutheran enough.\textsuperscript{192}

The decades of war and Reconstruction saw the Lutheran Church enter an "Ordeal of Faith."\textsuperscript{193} The General Synod was fractured and finally disrupted by the forces of sectionalism, slavery, and confessionalism. The Missouri Synod sought to re-organize all of North American Lutheranism in its image. The conservative forces, now triumphant, split among themselves.\textsuperscript{194} In bewilderment the Ohio Synod sought its place in the new alignment of Lutheran power after the war, trying to define its position as a mediating force. It turned to "the influence of newer leaders,"\textsuperscript{195} especially Dr. Matthias Loy. An "exponent of positive confessionalism," he became "the strongest personal influence in the settlement of the doctrinal positions of the Joint Synod . . . ."\textsuperscript{196}

\textsuperscript{193}Weisenburger, \textit{Ordeal of Faith}, p. 232.
\textsuperscript{194}Warfare waged between Buffalo and Missouri over the doctrine of the ministry until 1866. "The cannonade of this controversy went from St. Louis to Buffalo and back again over the heads of the Columbus theologians." Personal Interview, Dr. H. C. Leupold, Professor Emeritus of Old Testament, The Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, February 10, 1965.
\textsuperscript{195}Bergendoff, \textit{The Doctrine of the Church in American Lutheranism}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{196}Neve, \textit{History of the Lutheran Church in America}, p. 264.
CHAPTER III

MATTHIAS LOY: THE EARLY YEARS, 1828-1849

Little is known concerning Matthias Loy's forebearers.¹ His earliest American ancestor was his father, Matthias, a German immigrant of limited means and education, who came to the United States in 1817 from the Grand Duchy of Baden.² His command of the English language had been confined to one phrase which he "repeated on various occasions . . . ."³ Dr. Loy remembered his father as "an honorable man" who "always respected righteousness."⁴ Though he had been baptized as a Roman Catholic,

¹ Few papers pertaining to Matthias Loy, Sr.'s first years in America exist. The parish records of the Zion Lutheran Church, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, make mention of his marriage to Christina Rinehart, Riever, or Reaver (spellings differ, and the writing is very illegible) on October 18, 1821. "The birth dates or ages are not recorded." Little was written about the Loy family in the parish records at Harrisburg, except that a child, Mary Loy, born on April 1, 1822, was baptized on May 18, 1822. Baptismal dates for other children, including Matthias, Jr., are not given, and the date of death and place of burial of Loy's parents are not mentioned. It is reported that Matthias Loy, Sr., married a second time, to Johanna Morsch, on April 14, 1840, and that a son, Christian Loy, was born to this union on January 24, 1841. Other than these casual references, the parish records are silent. Personal letter from Dr. Viggo Swensen, Pastor, Zion Lutheran Church, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, August 13, 1965.


³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴ Ibid., p. 8.
... he never was a communicant in the Roman Church after his arrival in this country, and never attended its services, although he made a profession of the Lutheran faith only a short time before his death.  

Too impoverished to pay his way to the New World, he became a victim of an "unhappy arrangement" by which he was "sold into servitude," for

... as late as 1817, vessels arrived in Philadelphia with hundreds aboard who were 'bound out' to pay for their passage, and the practice of indenture in Pennsylvania did not actually end until 1831.  

While little social stigma was attached to the status of indenture, Loy recalled that his father "suffered much before his passage was paid." At the end of three years of labor he presumably received the customary "freedom dues" and then sought his fortune in 1820 in the new capital of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg, obtaining employment at his recently learned trade of being a cabinet maker.

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5 Ibid., pp. 8, 9.
6 Ibid., p. 7.
7 Wittke, We Who Built America, p. 13.
9 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 7.
10 For a description of the "freedom dues," see Wittke, We Who Built America, p. 12; the customary period of indenture was from three to seven years, Ibid., p. 9.
11 The seat of government was moved to Harrisburg in 1812, see William H. Egle, An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Civil, Political, and Military, From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, Including Historical Descriptions of Each County in the State, Their Towns, and Industrial Resources (Harrisburg: DeWitt C. Goodrich and Company, 1876), p. 238; Loy, Story of My Life, p. 7.
12 Ibid.
There he met and married Christina Reaver, a German Lutheran immigrant from the Kingdom of Wuerttemberg, on October 18, 1821. Like her husband, she understood very little English and had acquired only an elementary education in a parochial school in her native land. She was, however, a woman of "deep Lutheran piety" of the Suabian variety, and Loy was convinced that

... I owe more to her for my Christian character and conscientious devotion to duty than to all the schools which I have attended and to all the books which I have read since she entered into the rest which remains for the people of God.

The Loys' sojourn in Harrisburg "was not of long duration," and by 1827 they had settled as tenants on a lovely but lonely farmstead in the Blue Mountains of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in the hope of improving their income. It was a scenic location, for

From elevated points on the Blue mountain one has a commanding or imposing prospect of a most charming and beautiful broad valley, extending south and east, between the two natural boundaries. A wide and diversified landscape of woodland, highly improved farms, and numerous villages and towns, spread before the view like an immense picture, stretching away in the distance until fading in the dim horizon, and the eye wanders in delighted admiration of the beautiful, varied, and extended scene.

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13 Ibid., pp. 7, 8.
14 Ibid., pp. 14, 19.
15 Ibid., p. 9.
16 Ibid., p. 15.
17 Ibid., p. 10.
18 Ibid., p. 16.
19 Egle, An Illustrated History, pp. 613-614; it was also near the site of the "Whiskey Rebellion" of 1794, see Ibid., p. 620.
The home was isolated, however, and Harrisburg was "fourteen miles away by the wagon road, although little more than half that distance as the crow flies."\(^{20}\) On a clear day the house was visible from the capitol building.\(^{21}\) The nearest neighbor was a mile removed, and in later life Dr. Loy found the place to be "practically inaccessible."\(^{22}\) It was there that he had been born on March 17, 1828, the fourth of seven children of Matthias and Christina Loy in a period of fifteen years.\(^{23}\)

Loy began a "bleak, poverty-pinched boyhood"\(^{24}\) and was destined to grow "to man's estate through many privations, and in the face of multiplied difficulties."\(^{25}\) He remembered "hardships endured on the stony fields in summer and among snow drifts in winter."\(^{26}\) Though the father was a conscientious craftsman, he was too timid to seek reimbursement from his debtors for his labors and so he was frequently unable to supply the needs of his growing family. It became "a daily question of daily bread, although enough was due for his work to secure it."\(^{27}\)

\(^{20}\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 12.
\(^{21}\)Ibid., p. 11.
\(^{22}\)Ibid., p. 12.
\(^{23}\)Ibid., pp. 9-11. See also Ohio Minutes (English District), 1915, p. 65.
\(^{25}\)Ohio Minutes (English District), 1915, p. 65.
\(^{26}\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 12.
\(^{27}\)Ibid., p. 10.
Since the Loy family was "pretty well secluded from the outside world," loneliness was another characteristic of his childhood, impressing itself on his personality in the form of life-long shyness. Occasionally

... there was the novelty and delight of a visit to neighbors, especially to the family living at the foot of the mountains. This always made for us a grand holiday, on the remembrance of which we feasted for many a month.

Once or twice annually father Loy made a trip to Harrisburg, and

This, too, was a notable event in our lives because of the wonders which he had to tell of the town and its busy life, and because of the toys which he would bring and the sight of which filled us with amusement.

Seven decades later Professor Loy still recalled that one time his father

... brought a toy that even astonished my mother for its beauty and ingenuity, and which had cost the sum of ten cents. I remember how I sought a hiding place when my father pulled the string and a cock leaped from the box. It was amazing.

Loy's playmates were his brothers and sisters, and their imagination transformed the drabness of the forest home into a fairyland of adventure:

There was ample opportunity to build play-houses of the stones and branches which lay around in profusion, and to exercise our childish skill in the manufacture of utensils and ornaments out of the clay that was always ready to be had in the summer time and to pile the snow in varied

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28 Ibid., p. 11.
31 Ibid., pp. 12, 13.
32 Ibid., p. 13.
shapes to gratify our artistic cravings. There was an abundance of whortleberries and chestnuts to lure the children down the mountain sides, and slips and foot-bruises and snake frights enough to furnish excitement. It was a place

... where we bestrode our stick, and chinked the fragments of china ware in our pockets, and rode away to gather our haws, happier than real horses and dollars ever rendered man. "

Though Loy could write that "I never saw a church until my sixth year," religious instruction was not neglected in the household, for "my mother taught us children the way of righteousness" and "we were impressed with our accountability to our Maker for all our words and ways ... ." Christina Loy did not possess many books, not even having a copy of Luther's Small Catechism, but her son confessed that "my mother had not failed to instill into my soul a horror of sin and a desire to escape its condemnations." All of the Loy children were baptized into the Lutheran faith in infancy, except for an older brother, 

... whom the minister requested to administer the sacrament declined to baptize because he had become an Anabaptist and was planning to establish a new Baptist sect.39

33 Ibid., p. 12.
37 Ibid., p. 22.
39 Ibid., p. 9. He was later baptized when he was confirmed.
To this informal but intense religious training Loy attributed his ability to withstand, as he said, "the virulent assaults of Deists and Atheists to which I was subjected in later times."\textsuperscript{40}

In 1834, when Loy was six years old, the family moved to Hogestown, "a post-village" on the turnpike nine miles west of Harrisburg and on the main line of traffic between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.\textsuperscript{41} As late as 1876 it possessed only forty houses,\textsuperscript{42} and

It was a desolate hamlet, but my father thought that he could make a living there. The stagecoach... passed through it with its passengers, and large six-horse teams hauling merchandise passed through every day. It was thus on a small scale a busy place.\textsuperscript{43}

With one hundred dollars saved from the years of work on the farm, father Loy purchased a "tumble-down" log residence, which was "the first and only homestead that he ever owned."\textsuperscript{44}

There was, however, the advantage of receiving some formal education in a one-room country school two miles outside of the village.\textsuperscript{45} The lonely child found that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{40}Ibid., p. 15.
  \item \textsuperscript{41}Egle, An Illustrated History, p. 633.
  \item \textsuperscript{42}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 16.
  \item \textsuperscript{43}Egle, An Illustrated History, p. 633.
  \item \textsuperscript{44}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 17.
  \item \textsuperscript{45}Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{46}Ibid., p. 18.
\end{itemize}
• the daily trip [to school] was an enjoyment. There were other children who went there from the village and our journeys were full of fun and sometimes presented incidents which rendered them full of adventure. Many a time we had the pleasure which comes of heroic achievement when we killed a snake, and especially when we came off conquerors over a swarm of bumble-bees, whose honey we were determined to have at every cost. Our victory was as sweet as the honey which was our immediate reward, and the numerous stings inflicted by the insects in the defence of their nests and their hoards counted for nothing in our exultation.47

At first Loy had difficulty in school because the only language he knew was German, and "so I had to learn not only the letters and how to combine them into syllables and words, but had the task also of finding out what the words meant."48 Within a few months he mastered the fundamentals of English49 and became a bright pupil, for

... I always had a good record in all my classes at school, and was usually graded above my years. That according to my teachers' reports I always excelled in mathematics, for which I have never in my consciousness discovered any special aptitude and certainly no particular taste, may reflect some discredit upon the judgment of my teachers; but the fact that I stood high in the class which studied the intricacies of 'Mensuration,' as sciences now known by other names were then called, is evidence that I displayed some talent in a field which I never had the inducement further to cultivate.50

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47 Ibid., pp. 18-19.
48 Ibid., p. 19.
49 It was at this time that the parents learned English from their children, and that language rapidly replaced German in the home. Ibid.
50 Ibid., pp. 38-39.
Though there was no church in Hogestown, "several active Presbyterians" conducted an interdenominational Sunday School, and Loy

... profited by what it furnished. Encouragement was given to the memorizing of Scripture passages and church hymns, and I committed many to memory and have retained a goodly number to this day.

Among the rhymes he learned was a stanza of Alexander Pope's "Universal Prayer," which includes the lines:

Father of all! in every age,
In every clime ador'd,
By saint, by savage, or by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.

In childlike innocence he asked his father for permission to add this to the "I lay me down to sleep" and the prayers he had been taught by his mother, without "even a suspicion" of its "heathenism."

Loy was such a pious and serious church school scholar that his classmates nicknamed him "the preacher."

Because of the recurrent illness of Christina Loy, the family returned to Harrisburg. She died there in 1835, when Loy was nine years old. As his mother lay dying, Loy was sent to the parsonage of Zion Lutheran Church to summon the pastor,

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51 Ibid., p. 21; The Loy family occasionally attended the Lutheran Church at Kingston, three miles from Hogestown, where an older sister was confirmed at the age of fourteen. 
52 Ibid., p. 22.
53 Alexander Pope, "Universal Prayer."
54 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 22.
55 Ibid., p. 49.
56 Ibid., p. 25.
Dr. Samuel Sprecher. He recalled:

I was but a stranger in the town and merely a child, but somehow I found the residence of the Lutheran pastor. Our family were strangers in the city, but somehow he found the house in which my mother was dying. It all seems to me the more inexplicable because I remember that it was with sobs that I tried to make my errand known to the lady who answered the knock at the door . . .

Pastor Sprecher officiated at the funeral of Mrs. Loy and she was buried in the Zion Lutheran cemetery at Harrisburg.

Samuel Sprecher was the first Lutheran minister to make a deep impression on Matthias Loy. A decade later when Loy was on his way to Ohio, he stopped overnight at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and had the opportunity to hear again this man who was . . . a persuasive and convincing preacher, though somewhat handicapped by his stature and voice. His message was conservatively evangelical; his methods were often sanely evangelistic. In spite of his aggressive intellectual urge, he was a mystic pietist, representing . . . the conservative movement of the American Lutheran Church, which a later generation came to consider too liberal.

A recent graduate of Gettysburg Seminary, where he had been profoundly influenced by Samuel Simon Schmucker, Zion Church, Harrisburg, was his first parish. He was representative of the type

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57 Ibid., p. 24.
58 Ibid., p. 25.
59 Samuel G. Hefelbower, "Samuel Sprecher," Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), XVII, 477; See Loy, Story of My Life, p. 66, where he states: "His address was edifying, and I did not regret that my journey was delayed, as it gave me a delightful opportunity to hear him preach."
60 He served there from 1836 to 1840, Hefelbower, "Samuel Sprecher," p. 477. For information on the Zion Lutheran Church, see D. M. Gilbert, editor, Services Commemorative of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, November 10-11, 1895, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1896.
of Lutheranism which was championed by Dr. Benjamin Kurtz and S. S. Schmucker. There was little in Loy's initial contacts with the Lutheran Church to indicate his future endorsement of orthodoxy.

Following the funeral of his wife, the elder Loy was left a widower with four children to support. The impoverishment caused the family by the burial expenses prompted an older brother, age eleven, to leave home and seek his own livelihood. A fifteen-year old sister remained to keep house until her father remarried. Matthias, then nine, became a "kind of partner," apprentice, "financial secretary," and bill collector in his father's butcher shop in Harrisburg. Since sufficient money was not earned, he was soon "hired out" to assist in the manufacture and transportation of bricks, but

... as driving a cart was not a part of my education at the time, it was no wonder that, with a horse, incapable of doing the work, as I was myself, an accident

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61 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 291, considers Sprecher, Schmucker, and Kurtz to be the three main leaders of "American Lutheranism."

62 Sprecher in 1849 became the second President of Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio, and remained associated with that institution until his death in 1906; See The Ohio State Journal (Columbus), January 12, 1906, p. 1, and W. H. Wynn, "Dr. Samuel Sprecher, Philosopher, College President, and Man of God," The Lutheran Quarterly, XXXVI (April, 1906), 281-293.

63 An older sister and a younger brother died at the mountain home, and the youngest child had died at Hogestown. See Loy, Story of My Life, p. 25.

64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
67 Ibid., p. 27.
on a steep approach to the canal to be crossed to reach the city from the brickyard, crippled the horse by a fall down the embankment and drove me home and to bed in despair, without looking after the animal that had tumbled down or reporting the calamity at home.68

On April 14, 1840, Matthias Loy Senior remarried, choosing as his spouse a German Lutheran woman of Harrisburg, Johanna Morsch.69 Within a year a son was born to this union.70 The senior Loy, with additional domestic responsibilities, sought to increase his income by managing a German hotel and tavern in the southern part of Harrisburg, entrusting his wife and two remaining adolescent children with its operation during the day while he was at work.71 Twelve-year old Matthias was given the tasks of waiter and bar tender, though "among the boarders and roomers there were persons who were not suitable associates."72

Neither the inn nor the meat market proved profitable, and father Loy soon returned to Hogestown, where he still owned the property he had purchased earlier. He formed a partnership with a German wanderer with some money, but no home, in the operation of a butcher shop.73 Loy wrote:

I remember very little about him except that I was sent to the store nearly every day to get a quart of rum, and that his face had a purple hue which seemed to me unnatural.74

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68 Ibid., pp. 29-30.
69 Personal letter from Dr. Viggo Swensen, Pastor, Zion Lutheran Church, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, August 13, 1965.
70 Ibid. This was Christian Loy, born on January 24, 1841.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid., p. 33.
74 Ibid.
These unwholesome circumstances occasioned Loy's departure from home in his fourteenth year. He recalled:

One evening during my father's absence there were visitors at our house whose conduct constrained me to utter a protest. Perhaps I was in the wrong, for with a tender conscience there was strong passion associated in my soul. My mother struck me for what seemed to her an impudent interference. It was the only time that she ever inflicted corporal punishment upon me. It was the last time she had an opportunity. Upon my father's return it was decided that the peace of the family required my removal.75

In the autumn of 1841, therefore, his father apprenticed him to the printing establishment of Baab and Hummel in Harrisburg.76 The farewell to his family was final, and "as I remember the parting," Loy recorded, "it was rather an occurrence in the ordinary course of nature, about which no ado was to be made."77

"My father's choice of a profession for me," Loy felt, "was not unwise."78 Loy was physically weak, but intellectually alert with a hunger for learning, which "initiation into 'the art preservative of all arts'" might satisfy.79 Since the materials published by the firm were largely in German, he quickly gained the ability to read and write that language.80 He mastered a trade

75 Ibid., p. 34.
76 Ibid., pp. 34, 38.
77 Ibid., p. 35. "From the time that I was brought to Harrisburg as a printer's apprentice, they [his parents] were never able to give me a dollar to support or comfort me .... My parting from the family at Hogestown was for this world final." Ibid., p. 36.
78 Ibid., p. 38.
79 Ibid., p. 39.
80 It was his mother tongue, but he had not spoken it since the age of seven, and had never been taught to read or write it. Ibid., pp. 39, 40, 41.
with which to support himself,\textsuperscript{81} and still had sufficient time in
the evenings for reading and relaxation.

During the first months of his employment he became homesick, and "perhaps if my mother had been living yet I would have
run away to my humble home . . . ."\textsuperscript{82} Mr. Baab, with whom he was
living, was "a good natured gentleman,"\textsuperscript{83} however, and possessed
a large library which the lad was allowed to use. Until after
midnight he spent his leisure time in wide reading, especially
in history, biography, travelogues, and mathematics.\textsuperscript{84} Among the
books studied was Thomas Paine's \textit{Age of Reason}, which "had no
perceptible influence on my thinking or conduct."\textsuperscript{85}

In 1844 his residence was changed to that of Mr. Hummel,
who was also the superintendent of the Zion Lutheran Church
Sunday School.\textsuperscript{86} He spent his evenings strolling through the city
until he

\begin{quote}
... knew every street and alley of the city so well;
    every house and almost every face was familiar to us;
    every shady nook and green retreat around it was a dear
    old friend, long loved and oft enjoyed . . . .\textsuperscript{87}
\end{quote}

At other moments he found himself "on the banks of the Susquehanna,
where many a happy hour was spent in our boyhood's days" and where

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{81}He used this skill to pay his way through Seminary, and
    it was important to him in later life as an editor. Interview,
\textsuperscript{82}Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., p. 41.
\textsuperscript{84}Ibid., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{85}Ibid., pp. 44-45.
\textsuperscript{86}Ibid., p. 46.
\textsuperscript{87}Lutheran Standard, XXIV (August 15, 1864), p. 4.
\end{footnotes}
he "looked upon the noble river, and felt as its waters swept by on their way to the sea, that we and all things around us had been floating down the stream of time ... ." During one winter when a theatrical company established itself for the season in Harrisburg, Loy and a companion secured the contract for printing the daily programs in return for free admission to the performances. Dramatic pieces of quality, including Shakespearean plays, were presented, and one authority believed that "unquestionably the clear vigorous dramatic style of Dr. Loy owes much to this sort of early training." Loy, however, was told by his landlord that he was "entering upon the road to ruin" and he became convinced that such conduct was perilous, and it has served to settle my judgment adverse to the theater for all time. Not only the vicious environment of the playhouse and the temptations to which the play-goer is exposed; not only the immoral suggestions of many a sentence and scene; but much more . . . . When strong feelings which naturally act upon the will are aroused without affording the opportunity to exert volitional power in corresponding activity in real life, the effect is always bad; and when the exposure to such fictitious excitement becomes habitual, it results in an unnatural sundering of the will from the motive powers, and the feelings exhaust themselves without appropriate action in the life. No doubt many a poor soul has thus become a flabby sentimentalist with an abundance of feeling, but altogether devoid of fruit in the realities of life.  

It was in the church, Loy soon discovered, that "all my inclinations were to seek the peace which my wanderings in the

88 Ibid.
89 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 46.
domain of literature had not brought me." At the age of sixteen he became concerned with religious questions, but found that he "had wandered away so far that God did not seem near and help did not appear within my reach." Though baptized a Lutheran, "I had no denominational preferences," and "where the preaching commended itself to my literary tastes, I was most inclined to go." Under the influence of Mr. Hummel and a married sister who was a member of the Zion Lutheran Church, Loy began to attend the services of that congregation and became "an admirer of the pastor's eloquence and the choir's music." It was not long before he was converted in a "New Measure" revival.

Beginning in 1843 and 1844 "a wave of wild excitement about the coming of Christ swept over the land and great revivals were instituted in the churches." It had begun with William Miller, a New England farmer of Baptist background, who on a study of passages from the books of Daniel and the Revelation predicted the Second Advent of Jesus Christ for March 21, 1843. Adherents variously estimated from 50,000 to 1,000,000 persons were gained by Miller and

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92 Ibid., p. 50.
93 Ibid., p. 43.
94 Ibid., p. 50.
95 Ibid.
96 On the influence of revivalism in the Lutheran Church, see Frank H. Seilhamer, "The New Measure Movement Among Lutherans," The Lutheran Quarterly, XII (May, 1960), 121-143.
97 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 50.
Excitement grew as the time approached for the supposed end of the world. Great meetings were held in churches, tents, public buildings, and in the fields and groves, and finally when the year \(1843\) dawned the emotions of the believers were of white heat.\(^99\)

Alternate dates for the cosmic cataclysm were set—March 21, 1844, and October 22, 1844.\(^{100}\)

The pressure also affected the Lutherans of Harrisburg, and the Rev. C. W. Schaeffer "introduced the new measure and set a revival in motion."\(^{101}\) Pastor Schaeffer was not entirely adverse to these proceedings, for he was

A forcible and impressive preacher, [and] he brought into especial prominence the consolations of the gospel from a heart filled with joy over its promises. As a pastor, he was most attentive wherever there was sorrow to be relieved, and had rare powers of adapting himself to all classes of people . . . .\(^{102}\)

A biographer described him as

. . . a man of fine intelligence and gracious spirit, prompt, cheerful, and capable in the discharge of every duty, and utterly free from any taint of affectation or self-seeking. In him the rigors of theological orthodoxy were softened and humanized by the devotional spirit.\(^{103}\)

In 1844 he was a young man of thirty-one, a graduate of Gettysburg Seminary, where he had been influenced by Samuel-Simon Schmucker,

\(^{99}\)Ibid., p. 278.


\(^{101}\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 50.


and was serving his second charge. To him Loy went for counsel.

When the revival began, Loy felt "it professed to offer ... what I wanted, and with many others I presented myself at the 'anxious bench.'" During the meetings

The revival 'workers' whispered into my ears, as I knelt in silence before the altar, some things which were meant for my encouragement, but which only left me unmoved because of their failure to reach my conscience."

"Without relief from a burden" of sin, Loy went to Pastor Schaeffer and told him, "I expected at least good sense instead of the nonsense to which I was treated by the officious workers." Thereupon a confirmation class for adults was formed, lectures were given, and the students were assigned texts from the Bible to be memorized. Though Luther's Small Catechism was not employed, the catechumens were thoroughly trained and soon joined the church and were admitted to Holy Communion. At this time Loy did not feel, as he did in later years, that he was affiliating with a


105 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 50.
106 Ibid., p. 51.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid., pp. 52-53.
109 Ibid., p. 52.
congregation where Lutheranism "is lost under the Reformism of the Methodist type and only the name is retained." 110

Loy remembered Schaeffer as the "pastor to whom I owe so much . . . ," 111 one who "always manifested a lively interest in me, gave me advice, and furnished me with books to promote my growth in knowledge and in grace." 112 Without avail, Schaeffer admonished Loy to give up membership in "a secret organization . . . ." 113 Encouragement was given to Loy to enter the ministry, and Schaeffer even arranged for Loy's attendance and entertainment at a commencement at Gettysburg. 114

To prepare himself for college, Loy began to attend the Harrisburg Academy. 115 He studied the classical languages with the principal of the school, "a kindly man that took a fatherly interest in me. " 116 The arrangement was that Lessons were assigned me which I was to prepare after working hours at night and recite before working hours in the morning. He was always ready in the winter even before the day dawned, to hear my recitations, and I was punctual in presenting myself in due time, so that I could return for breakfast at the usual hour and be ready for duty with the rest of the workmen. 117

110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid., p. 53.
113 Ibid., pp. 53-55.
114 Ibid., p. 55.
115 Columbus, Ohio State Journal, January 27, 1915, p. 1; the Academy had been founded in 1790 and incorporated in 1809, see Egle, An Illustrated History, p. 648.
116 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 56.
117 Ibid. Later he was allowed by his employers to attend the day sessions.
Making good progress, Loy was ready to enter Gettysburg by the fall of 1847, "when another event under the Providence of God changed the current . . . ."

He became ill, and "it seems that malarial Harrisburg ruined the young man's health." A third attack of "inflammatory rheumatism" began in that year, he incurred high fevers that "shook my brains," and the "physicians were baffled in their effort to master it." He was advised to abandon the work in the printer's shop and seek a better climate. His apprenticeship had ended, and his employers suggested that he accept a position connected with printing a semimonthly German paper for the United Brethren Publishing House in Circleville, Ohio. The responsibilities would be light, the wages were to be six dollars a week, and the move might improve his health. After three days of deliberation he decided to go and made "hasty preparation for a journey that was then thought very long . . . ." He quickly "started off with a cheerful heart, not dreaming that it was my final adieu to my native state."

For a boy who had never travelled more than thirty miles from home, the trip west by railway, river boat, and stage coach

118 Ibid., p. 60.
119 Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 191.
120 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 60-61.
122 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 63.
123 Ibid., p. 65.
124 Ibid.
was full of excitement. From Harrisburg he took the recently completed Cumberland Valley Railroad to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. This was a gateway to the west, and from there he had to go by stage coach to Pittsburgh. The facilities were so crowded that he had to wait a day and then had to be satisfied with an "outside passage." In the mountains it began to rain and sleet, but the shivering lad thought.

... it was a little consolation to know that I had a better seat beside the driver than some others who had to content themselves with a less tolerable place on the top of the coach.

Arriving at "the smoky city of which I had heard so much in my boyhood," he found that

Pittsburgh is a hilly old town;
The roads and streets go up and down.

The town pleased him, and in later years he explained:

But if it is not like our home it is home-like still, and inclined to be homely, too. Pittsburgh is one of our favorite burgs. Not that it is pretty exactly; it is too big to be pretty, for one thing; and too

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125 Ibid.
126 It was opened to traffic in July, 1837; see Egle, An Illustrated History, p. 648; See also D. W. Thompson, editor, Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: The Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1951), pp. 151-163; Chambersburg, located fifty miles southwest of Harrisburg, had been an outpost of civilization in the French and Indian wars, and became an item of news when it was burned by the forces of McCausland and Johnston on July 30, 1864; See Egle, An Illustrated History, pp. 756-757, and 753-756.
127 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 66.
128 Ibid. He later was allowed to ride inside.
129 Ibid., p. 68.
130 Wallace, Pennsylvania, p. 293.
sooty, for another; and too hunch-backed for a third, and too--well it is not pretty; but it is pleasant. The people have business and mind their business, and are not busy-bodies about other men's matters.\textsuperscript{131}

Then followed a peaceful cruise by steamboat down the Ohio and up the Muskingum River to Zanesville. The only disturbing facet of this part of the trip occurred when Loy asked the ship's pilot how he managed to cross the sandbars in their path, and the latter replied "that the only rational way was to put on more steam and shut his eyes."\textsuperscript{132}

Loy found Ohio "still in a primitive condition" though it had been in the Union for forty-three years.\textsuperscript{133} Because of the almost impassable state of secondary highways, he discovered that the ride from Zanesville to Circleville "was adventuresome..."\textsuperscript{134} He learned that...

... travel by coach meant paying the price and walking all the way, with special good fortune if one was not required to carry a rail to help the coach in swampy places.\textsuperscript{135}

In Circleville he presented a letter of introduction to Joseph Geiger, a local lawyer, who promptly took him to meet the Reverend J. A. Roof, minister of the Lutheran Church.\textsuperscript{136} Pastor Roof, who had been the first married student in the Ohio Synod's

\begin{footnotes}
\item[131] Lutheran Standard, XXIV (August 15, 1864), p. 4. \\
\item[132] Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 68-69. \\
\item[133] Ibid., p. 69. \\
\item[134] Ibid. \\
\item[135] Ibid. \\
\item[136] Ibid., p. 70.
\end{footnotes}
Seminary, was now a member of its Board of Regents. When he learned of Loy's intention to enter the ministry, he proposed that Loy "should at once go to Columbus and enter the Theological Seminary of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Ohio." Loy was surprised, for he later stated, "I had never heard of such a Seminary and of such a Synod, but that presented no difficulty to my mind." It was arranged that he should print two numbers of the United Brethren periodical, receive $24.00 for a full month's labor, and then be released from his contract. Loy completed the work in two weeks, and set out for Columbus.

The spring rains had begun, however, and the stage route was officially closed to traffic. Impatient to commence his theological studies, he joined his insistence to that of several Circleville attorneys who had important business in the capital, and the transit company found a driver willing to make the trip provided that

It was expressly agreed that if at any point on the way the pilot should decide that the coach can go no further, the passengers must themselves provide a way to go on or to get back.

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138 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 18.
139 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 70.
140 Ibid.
141 Ibid., pp. 71, 72.
142 Ibid., p. 72.
143 Ibid., p. 74.
Flooded rivers were forded, detours were made through fields and over fences, and at one juncture the passengers were required to construct a temporary bridge. By evening, however, they had come safely to Columbus.

The school located on South High Street in which Loy enrolled was the oldest Lutheran and the second oldest Christian Seminary of any denomination west of the Appalachian Mountains. Because "the Ohio Synod felt the need of a better supply of candidates for the Christian ministry," and because of its desire to have such "an institution . . . within her own borders," in 1830, the year of the three hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, steps had been taken to establish such a training institute. Poverty required that a teacher be found who "must have extraordinary ability and must neither need nor want any remuneration for his services." This man was the twenty-seven year old Pastor Wilhelm Schmidt of Canton, Ohio, who volunteered to teach for two years without pay. A native of Wuerttemberg, Germany, he had received a liberal education at Halle, graduating

144 Ibid., pp. 74-75.
145 The Episcopalians had established a Seminary at Worthington, Ohio, in 1824, which was later moved to Gambier; see Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, pp. 8, 10.
147 Ohio Minutes, 1830, p. 9.
148 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 15.
in 1826 with highest honors.150 Within a year he was serving a
six-point parish of the Ohio Synod at Canton.151 As a Seminary
Professor he established a "rather pretentious"152 three-year
course of study which included the classical languages, German,
Hebrew, Church History, Psychology, Bible, Archaeology, Dogmatics,
Homiletics, Catechetics, Pastoral Theology, and Liturgics.153
"The beginning," nevertheless, "was exceedingly modest,"154 with
only two students registered by October 1, 1830.155

In the summer of the next year Schmidt was called to serve
four congregations in central Ohio,156 and the Seminary moved with
him to Columbus to meet in the "little, low frame church" of their
teacher on Third Street.157

Two years later the Seminary was furnished with the
facilities it had when Loy was a student, being moved to South
High Street,158 just outside the corporation limits of Columbus.

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150Ibid., p. 350.
151Ibid.; see also Christian Spielmann, Abriss der
Geschichte der ev. luth. Synode von Ohio u.a. Staaten (Columbus,
152David B. Owens, These Hundred Years: The Centennial
History of Capital University (Columbus, Ohio: Capital University,
153Ohio Minutes, 1830, p. 14; "We have no way of knowing
to what extent the curriculum was actually carried out," Owens,
These Hundred Years, p. 13.
154Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions,
156He served one six miles southeast of Columbus, one
thirty miles north in Delaware, one ten miles northwest, and one
in Columbus. Ibid.
157Ibid.
158Near the site of the present Lutheran Hospice, 685 S.
High St.
then a town of three thousand inhabitants. A two-story brick Seminary building, fifty by twenty-eight feet, was occupied in January, 1833. The site, near the canal, was malarial, and on November 3, 1839, Professor Schmidt died.

After this, "language difficulties and financial embarrassments . . . just about wrecked the institution." In June, 1847, the Reverend W. F. Lehmann, a twenty-six year old pastor from Somerset, Ohio, and a former student of Schmidt's, took charge. To him Loy applied in the autumn. He discovered that Lehmann was called the "Walking Encyclopedia" by the students, and that he was busy pastoring a German and an English congregation in Columbus, and doing . . . also the seminary work, forming a preparatory school after the manner of an academy, and a school for the study of theology after the manner of a seminary, of both of which he was teacher. It was a herculean task . . . .

The student body consisted of five men besides Loy—two Americans, two Germans, and one Swiss. The curriculum encompassed the classical languages, Hebrew, Bible, Livy, Homer, and the Lutheran Confessions. It was the latter which

160 Ibid.
161 Ibid., p. 354.
162 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 36.
163 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 128.
164 Quoted Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 37.
165 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 81.
166 Ibid., p. 87.
167 Ibid., p. 82.
fascinated Loy, and "my main strength was devoted to theology, of which I knew but little." 168 He discovered that "a system different from that in vogue at Gettysburg, where I had intended to go . . . was taught here," but that "did not at all trouble me. I was too ignorant of doctrinal differences to make any account of this . . . ." 169 The confessional stance of the Seminary was basically conservative. This was not due primarily to pressures from the pastors of the Synod, but to the personal convictions of Professor Lehmann, the Rev. Christian Spielmann, the school's housefather, and to the circulation of Missouri Synod literature among the students.

Lehmann was a quiet and reserved man 170 who "never fully sympathized with the exclusiveness of the Lutheranism recently imported from Germany," but he "impressed on our minds the preciousness of the doctrines which he taught." 171 He was, however, more orthodox than Wilhelm Schmidt, who had been

. . . a Lutheran of the milder, unionistic type, as represented by the University of Halle during his student days and by the Ohio Synod when he was its theological leader. 172

Of greater consequence for Loy's future career was his contact with Christian Spielmann, then a Columbus pastor, editor of the Lutheran Standard, and Seminary headmaster, who "contribution
as much as the instruction of Prof. Lehmann."\textsuperscript{173} He was strong in his religious feelings and

... loved the Church of the Reformation with a love so intense that it would find expression always and everywhere, if the least opportunity was offered.\textsuperscript{174}

Loy later wrote Spielmann "was the leading spirit among us boys."\textsuperscript{175}

He elaborated:

To his influence I am indebted for much of the good which afterwards inspired me in the work of the Church, and for many years I had the pleasure of counting him one of my closest friends and of working with him ... .\textsuperscript{176}

Born in Scherzhesin, Baden, on April 15, 1810, he had come to America at the age of twenty-one.\textsuperscript{177} A year later Spielmann entered the Columbus Seminary, studied divinity with Professor Schmidt, and in 1835 began his ministerial work.\textsuperscript{178} In 1839 he was appointed a financial agent of the Synod to raise money to support its institutions, and eight years later he moved to the capital city to edit the Lutheran Standard and assist Lehmann at the theological school.\textsuperscript{179} The writings of Grabau and Walther soon made Spielmann and his colleague "more pronounced in their Lutheranism than was usual in the Ohio Synod ... ."\textsuperscript{180}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{173} Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 85.
\bibitem{174} Ibid.
\bibitem{175} Ibid.
\bibitem{176} Ibid., p. 77.
\bibitem{177} Owens, \textit{These Hundred Years}, p. 66.
\bibitem{178} Ibid. See also Sheatsley, \textit{History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod}, p. 126.
\bibitem{179} Ibid.
\bibitem{180} Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 85.
\end{thebibliography}
It was Spielmann who introduced Loy to the habit of reading *Der Lutheraner*, and

I read it eagerly, and rejoiced in the testimony which it gave to the truth which the Reformation had restored to the Church and in the zeal which it displayed in the defence of that truth. It was a good work which the Missourians took in hand, and it did not require much Lutheran life to subject a person to the stimulating power of their fervent zeal and stirring appeals.\(^{181}\)

Though the materials of the "Old Lutherans" circulated among all the students of the Seminary, Loy believed, "I was more powerfully influenced than the others . . . ."\(^{182}\)

Enrolled as a "beneficiary student,"\(^{183}\) Loy could count on the Synod to "provide for my board and furnish me a room, while for the rest I must look to my own resources."\(^{184}\) This meant that he had to earn money "while my fellow students played or slept."\(^{185}\) This he did by helping Pastor Spielmann print the *Lutheran Standard* and by working for the *Ohio State Journal*.\(^{186}\)

Little time was left for social life, which was "almost exclusively" related "to those connected with the Seminary."\(^{187}\) He sang in the church choir, played duets on the flute with Professor Lehmann,

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\(^{181}\) Ibid., p. 86.

\(^{182}\) Ibid., p. 87.

\(^{183}\) Genzmer, "Matthias Loy," p. 478; This was a creation of the "Ohio Educational Society of the Ev. Lutheran Church" with the purpose "to educate pious, indigent young men for the gospel." See Sheatsley, *History of the First Lutheran Seminary*, p. 22.

\(^{184}\) Loy, *Story of My Life*, p. 79.

\(^{185}\) Ibid., p. 89.

\(^{186}\) Ibid., p. 90; Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, Jan. 25, 1965.

and occasionally visited with Lutheran families in the town and surrounding country. 188

Recurrent illness, combined with poverty and shyness, curtailed his activities. The "inflammatory rheumatism" which had begun at Harrisburg gave way to a more serious impediment. He recalled:

One morning upon arising, without knowing the cause, I found it difficult to speak, and when later I attempted to play the flute, I failed to produce a sound. Closer investigation showed that my left eye would not close, that my face was drawn awry, and that the muscles of the whole left side of the face refused to perform their functions. After several days of worry over what I thought was an unusually severe cold, I consulted a physician. He pronounced it facial paralysis and informed me that a cure, if possible at all, would be a slow process. 189

This condition caused him severe mental anguish, but Professor Lehmann only

... told me that if I did not recover it was manifestly the Lord's will that I should serve Him in some other way than by preaching the gospel ... 190

Loy felt "the comfort seemed ... cold," and continued to consult Columbus physicians until one began to cure him by means of "the strychnine treatment." 191 Within two months he was overcoming his affliction and could prepare to accept a parish. 192

188 Ibid.
189 Ibid., p. 91.
190 Ibid., p. 92.
191 Ibid.
192 Ibid., p. 93.
His course of study was brief, consisting of but two years, and in 1849 his name was placed upon the Synod's list of men to be examined for the ministry. He learned that he was being considered for the Somerset charge, "which was one of the most important vacancies in the Synod . . ." For reasons, however, which he did not believe to be just, his name was not presented to that parish, and he was forced to complete his work uncertain of his future assignment.

193 Ibid. This was because there was a scarcity of pastors, and it was felt that Loy was qualified to begin his calling.
194 Ibid. This charge had been served by Charles Henkel, Christian Spielmann, and W. F. Lehmann.
195 Ibid. The exact cause is unknown, and Loy simply states he was innocently-accused of misconduct on a certain occasion.
"On a rather rough day" in March, 1849,¹ "an emaciated, pale faced youth" who had just turned twenty-one years of age boarded the stage coach in Columbus for the twenty-four mile journey to Delaware, Ohio.² If this former printer's apprentice carried a newspaper with him, he could have read reports of gold discoveries in California, suppressed revolutions in Germany and Hungary, the arrival of immigrants in the Republic from famine-stricken Ireland, or the promises and problems of the recent Mexican cession.³ Matthias Loy's thoughts, however, were excited by other prospects.⁴ He was leaving the Lutheran Theological Seminary in response to a call to commence his labors as a minister. Years later he commented: "probably if I had known beforehand all that this meant, I would not have gone in a mood so cheerful."⁵ This was to be Loy's only extended parish experience. For the next sixteen years he served the Lutheran congregation in

¹Loy, Story of My Life, p. 94.
²Ibid., p. 95.
³Columbus, Ohio State Journal, March, 1849; Delaware, Ohio Democratic Standard, March, 1849.
⁴Loy, Story of My Life, p. 94.
⁵Ibid.
Delaware while simultaneously pastoring St. Paul Church at Prospect from 1849 to 1857 and a mission at Norton from 1850 to 1859.⁶

Founded during the first decade of the nineteenth century, Delaware had been active in the War of 1812 as a cross-road of armies.⁷ By 1850 it had a population of 2,075, and within the next ten years this increased to 3,889.⁸ An exuberant local editor stated how he felt strangers reacted to the town:

People from a distance upon arriving here are struck dumb with astonishment at the sights they behold . . . . They imagine themselves in London rather than in Delaware. Marion, Kenton, Mt. Gilead, Upper Sandusky and the city of Tiffin sink into utter insignificance by the side of Delaware.

Delaware is destined to take a prominent stand among the great cities of the earth.⁹

A more temperate appraisal by a reporter of the Cincinnati Commercial described the village on July 27, 1860, as follows:

The town of Delaware, the county seat of the county bearing the same name, though it has been settled for nearly fifty-years, has none of that seedy appearance which some of our old Ohio towns exhibit. It has quite a fresh and lively appearance, both in the business quarters and those devoted to private residences.

The buildings of the citizens present numerous evidences of the prevalence of good taste. A large majority of them are new.

. . . The buildings of the Ohio Wesleyan University overlook the village from an eminence, and half a dozen

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⁶Paul E. Dobberstein, "St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church, Prospect, Ohio: Highlights of Her History" (mimeographed, St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church, Prospect, Ohio, 1960), p. 4.


⁹Delaware, Ohio Democratic Standard, May 15, 1851, p. 3.
churches afford choice of worship to the leading religious denominations.

Returning to the American House after an hour's varied ramble, the unique impression we gather of the town is one of agreeable surprise that so much elegance of improvement combined with such natural beauty, exists in a village which has made so little noise in the world as Delaware.¹⁰

The religious situation in Delaware made it "a point of radiation for Methodist influence"¹¹ and "people talked about changing its name to Wesleyville."¹² The pride of the community was the Ohio Wesleyan University, established in 1842,¹³ and an editor boasted that "this Institution is in a flourishing condition and bids fair to outstrip even old Yale."¹⁴ By 1859 the city had a North and South Methodist Charge, a University Methodist Chapel, and African, German,¹⁵ and Wesleyan Methodist congregations.¹⁶ Though some "were bold to prophesy that not many years hence the only churches of the town would be Methodist,"¹⁷ there were three Presbyterian societies, a parish each of the Episcopal, Lutheran,

¹⁴Delaware, Ohio Democratic Standard, April 10, 1851, p.3.
German Reformed, Baptist, and Roman Catholic denominations, and a Universalist assembly.\textsuperscript{19}

"The condition of the [Lutheran] charge which I accepted," Loy discovered, "was not inspiring . . . ." Indifference prevailed among the Lutherans because my predecessors . . . at Delaware were not impressed with the necessity of maintaining the principles of the Ev. Lutheran Church with . . . strictness . . . .\textsuperscript{21}

Lutheranism had been introduced in Delaware by Pennsylvania Germans from Northumberland, Berks, and other counties of the Keystone state in 1810 and 1811.\textsuperscript{22} The Reverend Charles or Carl Henkel, a son of the Virginia Patriarch, Paul Henkel, visited the Lutheran settlements along the Olentangy River north of Columbus in 1820 and 1821, and under his guidance "services were held in the log cabin of the settler."\textsuperscript{23} Poverty prevented the construction of a church, for "the people usually found it difficult even to pay their taxes."\textsuperscript{24} The congregation, therefore,

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18}Williams' Delaware Directory, I, 12.
\item \textsuperscript{19}Delaware, Ohio Democratic Standard, Dec. 14, 1848, p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{20}Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 95-96.
\item \textsuperscript{21}Ibid., p. 96.
\item \textsuperscript{22}A. A. Ahn, The Centennial Anniversary of the St. Mark's Evangelical Church, 1821-1921 (Delaware, Ohio: St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1921), p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{23}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{24}Perrin, History of Delaware County, p. 399.
\end{itemize}
\end{flushleft}
met in Shoub's Hall, a part of the local tavern, which stood on the site of the present Delaware City Building, and it was probably in this place that the first permanent organization of the Delaware Lutheran congregation under the name of Zion's church was effected.

A constitution was ratified and signed on January 28, 1821, by Pastor Charles Henkel and fifty-five laymen which stated

... that we desire to be obedient to the Ordinance of the Christian Church, and ... remain loyal to the pure teaching of the Church until our death ...

While it made no reference to the Augsburg Confession, its intent and general tenor reflected the Lutheranism of its author, Charles Henkel.

Living in Columbus where he had another charge, Henkel came to Delaware every fourth week for seven years to preach and minister in German and English. Attendance increased and the meetings were moved to the Old Court Room, for "great success

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27 "... das wir wollen der Ordnung der Christlichen Kirche gehorsam seyn, und ... der reinen Lehre der Kirche treu bleiben biss an unsren Tod ..." See "Die Kirchen-Ordnung der Zions Kirche in Delaware, Ohio von 28ten Jenner im Jahre unsere Herrn 1821" in the parish records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.
attended his labors, and he was held in high regard by his hearers. In 1828 Henkel accepted a call to Perry County, where he died in 1841.

The parish was then "served by several successive pastors, none of whom it appears left a profound impression upon the people." It "made considerable progress in external growth; but the internal growth seems to have been meagre." The spirit of the times militated against confessionalism and the congregation "had almost lost sight of the old landmarks of Lutheranism." When the Episcopalians built a church, the Lutherans assisted in the financing and erection of the structure, using it for worship for some time. Closer connections, however, were forged with the German Reformed people of the community.

Georg Weisz and Henry Willard had been the earliest preachers of that persuasion in Delaware County, the former arriving in 1821. Fewer in number than the Lutherans, to whom they were related by language and blood, the Reformed welcomed the idea of a "union church" arrangement, as had been the practice in

29 Perrin, History of Delaware County, p. 399.
30 Ibid.
32 Perrin, History of Delaware County, p. 399.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., p. 400; Ahn, The Centennial Anniversary, p. 7.
On February 5, 1833, a lot in excess of one acre was procured at the southeast corner of William and Henry Streets for this purpose at a cost of seventy-five dollars. Money and labor were donated by members of both bodies and a stone church, thirty by forty-five feet in size, was completed on September 18, 1835, at an expenditure of one thousand three hundred dollars. By act of the Ohio General Assembly on January 23, 1837, Frederick Weiser, Samuel Rheem, Benjamin Ely, Jacob Miller, Michael Kline, and associates secured the incorporation of the "Zion Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed Church of Delaware." In the autumn of 1835 a committee of four men, two each from the Lutheran and Reformed "sides," had prepared a constitution for the society which was promptly ratified. It was largely concerned with non-religious matters pertaining to the maintenance and governance of the parish, the only denominational reference being made in connection with the election of a pastor:

It shall be left to the vote of the congregation (so long as the congregation does not feel itself wealthy enough to afford a second Teacher) to elect one

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36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
40 Lytle, Twentieth Century History, p. 249.
41 "Die Kirchen-Ordnung der Zions Kirche von Delaware, Ohio vom 18. September 1835" in the parish records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.
Teacher by a majority vote, he being in respect to faith either Lutheran or Reformed.41

Since the church was served by Lutheran pastors, the Reformed began to be assimilated and "few, besides themselves, knew that they were Reformed and they were commonly regarded as members of the Lutheran Church."42 In 1837 the Reformed group called its own minister, the Reverend Charles Allardt,43 who organized a Reformed congregation composed of eighteen members which affiliated with the Reformed Church of the United States.44 On November 2 of that year the constitution was amended to make provision for this development, and it was decided that each body should pay half the debts of the corporation, have use of the building on alternate Sundays, and that this arrangement should continue for ten years.45

In 1841 the death of Charles Henkel caused the Lutherans of the Zion Church to rethink their confessional position,46 and they readopted their original constitution of 1821 on February 21.47

41 "Es soll den Stimmen der Gemeinde frey gelassen seyn so lange sich die Gemeinde nich vermoegent fuehlet um 2. Lehrer hier zu erhalten einen Lehrer durch die Mehrheit von Stimmen zu erwaehlen, er sey in Glaubenshinsicht Luthaerisch oder Reformirt." Ibid.

42 Perrin, History of Delaware County, p. 401.


44 Perrin, History of Delaware County, p. 401.

45 See appendix to "Die Kirchen-Ordnung der Zions Kirche von Delaware, Ohio vom 18. September 1835" which was added on November 2, 1837; in parish records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.

46 Ahn, The Centennial Anniversary, p. 11.

47 Parish Records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.
This, however, did not disturb their relationship with the Reformed.

The union was declared to be eternal in a new church order adopted on November 26, 1847. Both the Reformed and Lutheran parties were to be free to elect their own pastor and vestry, but for business matters they were to meet jointly. Each side was to continue to have the use of the building for one week alternately, beginning on Thursday, except

We declare that cases of death shall have preference over the services of worship, namely, that if a Reformed corpse should come on a Sunday when the Lutherans hold service, then the Lutheran service shall be postponed to a later time because of the corpse, and in similar fashion the other way around.

Mutual respect was to be accorded one another:

Decided and declared, that in the future no preacher or member of the Lutheran or Reformed side shall dare make reproaches against the other party in private or publicly concerning its teaching and customs, or shall defame the other party; and should such happen, then the church council of both sides shall call such person or persons before it for an accounting and shall punish [them] according to the nature of the matter. Should such member, however, after a hearing by the vestry backslide into the old fault, then he shall no longer

48"Neue Kirchen-Ordnung der Zions Kirche in Deleware, Ohio vom November 1847" in Parish Records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.
49Ibid.
50"Setzen wir fest, dass Leichenvorfälle den Vorzug haben sollen vor den Gottesdienstlichen Versammlungen, nehmlich so, dass wenn eine reformierte Leiche auf den Sontag kommen sollte, wo die lutherischen Gottesdienst halten, so soll der lutherische Gottesdienst auf eine fernere Zeit wegen der Leiche verschoben werden, und so auch in aehnlicher Beziehung auf der andern Seite." Ibid.
be recognized and considered a member of either of these two congregations.51

Loy later stated that when he arrived in 1849, "it would even have been impossible for me to accept the call pledging me to treat the Reformed as if they were Lutherans."52 Believing that "I was simply called to be pastor of the Lutheran congregation which worshiped in the same building"53 as the Reformed, he did not adhere to this agreement but signed only the constitution which had been prepared by Charles Henkel in 1821 and restored in 1841.54

Technically this was correct. It had been the male members among the eighty Lutheran communicants of the Zion Church55 who had elected him as their minister after hearing a trial sermon in the winter of 1849.56 The call stipulated that Loy should receive a salary of two hundred fifty dollars, the Lutherans of Delaware

51 "Beschlossen und festgesetzt, dass fuer die Zukunft kein Prediger oder Gemeinsglied auf luterischer oder reformirter Seite sich erkuehnen soil der andern Parthin im Privat oder oeffentlich Vorwuerfe hinsichtlich ihrer Lehre und Gebraeuchen zu machen, oder die andere Parthin zu verlaeumden; und sollte sich solches ereignen, so soll der Kirchenrath beiderseits solche Person oder Personen zur Verantwortung vor sich rufen und der Natur der Sache gemaaess bestrafen. Sollte aber solches Glied nachher, nachdem es vom Kirchenrath verhoert war, wieder in den alten Fehler verfallen, so soll es nicht mehr als ein Glied einer dieser zwei Gemeinden angesehen und anerkannt werden." Ibid.
52 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 97.
53 Ibid.
54 Parish Records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.
55 Communion Register of the Zion Church, Delaware, Ohio, 1849 (in parish records of the St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio).
56 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 118.
to raise one hundred seventy dollars, the balance to be paid by subscription by the St. Paul parish of Prospect.\textsuperscript{57} Though Loy stated that "the question of money had never much engaged my thoughts,"\textsuperscript{58} on at least one occasion, after he was married and had children to support, this caused some difficulty. On Sunday, November 9, 1862, there was a special meeting of the Church Council and

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... the pastor being of the opinion that the congregation did not appreciate his labors as a minister from the small amount subscribed for his support, placed a document in the hands of the secretary and retired, which upon examination proved to be his resignation. The Council consulted over the matter for some time ...\textsuperscript{59}
\end{quote}

The conclusion was "that the pastor be requested to withdraw his resignation for the present, the deacons in the meantime to try to remove the difficulty."\textsuperscript{60} No provision was made concerning housing, Loy living at first with a member of the parish at Stratford.\textsuperscript{61} His expenses to synodical meetings, however, were paid by the congregation.\textsuperscript{62}

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\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., p. 97. \\
\textsuperscript{58}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{59}Minutes of the Church Council meeting, November 9, 1862, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records of the congregation). \\
\textsuperscript{60}Ibid., November 22, 1862. \\
\textsuperscript{61}Interview with K. L. DeWalt, Pastor of St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio, February 8, 1965. \\
\textsuperscript{62}Minutes of the Church Council meeting, June 29, 1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records of the congregation). 
\end{center}
"From the very start," under Loy's guidance, "the work began to take on new life."\(^63\) Convinced, in the words of the Augsburg Confession, that the church is

... the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and the sacraments are administered according to the Gospel,\(^64\)

Loy felt his first task was to bring about the complete separation of the Lutherans and the Reformed. "Unionism" was an evil, and "we must rather stand alone than be partakers of other men's sins."\(^65\) Historic Lutheranism was emphasized and the confessional position came to be occupied more and more during the period of Mr. Loy's ministry.\(^66\)

In sermons and

In my pastoral visits also the condition of the congregation and the superior claims of the Lutheran as the mother Church of Protestantism was a favorite topic of conversation.\(^67\)

Within three years Loy had persuaded his parishioners of the correctness of his position, and the Lutheran members of the Zion Church organized themselves as an independent body under the name of the "St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of the

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\(^{64}\) Tappert, The Book of Concord, p. 32.
\(^{66}\) Perrin, History of Delaware County, p. 400.
\(^{67}\) Loy, Story of My Life, p. 98.
Unaltered Augsburg Confession" on August 31, 1852. Their constitution pledged them to all of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church and to membership in the Joint Synod of Ohio as long as that denomination held fast to these creeds.

This position precluded any possibility of a continuation of the union church situation. Physically the structure of the Zion Church had proved unsuited for the form of Lutheran service introduced by Loy, for it was

... a house of worship which was a reproduction on a small scale of the barn-like structures called churches in Pennsylvania. It had no gallery; it was probably thought sufficiently capacious for the congregation without that. But its pulpit was just as lofty as if the gallery had been there, so that when, in the winter preceding my call I ascended the pulpit for the first time, I became dizzy and my nose bled ... .

Practical difficulties, however, occasioned the final division of the Zion Church. Both sides were unhappy that they only had the use of the building for worship on alternate Sundays, and each felt that the other group was not paying its sufficient share for the upkeep of the property. The breaking point came over a dilapidated fence around the church lot. At a Lutheran congre-
gational meeting Loy suggested that seventy-five dollars be raised to repair it, 73 but a wealthy member of the parish, "also one of the stingiest," 74 declared that they should take no action until the Reformed cooperated, and that "if we undertook such a weighty enterprise [alone] we were in danger of destroying our work in Delaware." 75 Loy then proposed that since it was impossible under the circumstances to raise seventy-five dollars to mend the fence, the Lutherans should build their own church "and be free from the dictation and annoyance and injustice of others." 76 The "spark kindled, 77 and after two efforts to have the Reformed corporation purchase the Lutheran interests in the Zion Church, the matter was taken to court. 78 The Lutherans bought a plot of land at 28 East Williams Street, next to the Lamb house, the oldest residence in Delaware, 79 and began to erect a limestone Gothic structure. The Reformed party, seeing that the Lutherans were in earnest, paid them four hundred dollars for their rights in the Zion Church, and the court proceedings were terminated. 80 By April, 1852, the last ties between the two sides were severed, and on December 25, 1853, the Lutherans met for the first time in their new house of

73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., p. 124.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid., p. 125.
78 Ibid.
79 It was built in 1808-1809, and stood until 1964. Interview with K. L. DeWalt, Pastor of St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio, February 8, 1965.
80 Perrin, History of Delaware County, p. 401; Loy, Story of My Life, p. 125.
worship. 

The church was dedicated, Christmas celebrated, a baptism performed, the Holy Communion observed, and Pastor Loy was married. 

The structure was sixty by forty feet in dimension, having a divided chancel and balcony, and could seat in excess of one hundred people. This building remained largely unchanged until 1964 when it was remodeled.

The organization of the parish was representative of Ohio Synod Lutheran Churches. Male members in good standing and over the age of eighteen were permitted to participate in the two annual congregational meetings. An elective Church Council was composed of two elders, two deacons, two trustees, a secretary,

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82 Ahn, The Centennial Anniversary, p. 15; In 1854 Worley became a Professor of Mathematics at Capital University; see Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p.127.
83 Ahn, The Centennial Anniversary, p. 15; Loy, Story of My Life, p. 126; See also parish records of St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.
84 Interview with K. L. DeWalt, Pastor of St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio, February 8, 1965.
85 Ibid.
86 See the form for the inauguration of ruling elders in Liturgy, or Formulary for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches: Compiled by a Committee, appointed by the Synod of Ohio, and ordered to be printed (Lancaster, Ohio: John Herman, 1850), pp. 87-92.
87 "Kirchen-Ordnung fuer die Evangelisch Lutherische St. Marcus Gemeinde," August 31, 1852 (in parish records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio).
and a treasurer. Except for one of the trustees, they all served a two-year term. The pastor was the president of this body which usually met on the last Saturday of each month. The work of the vestry was to assist the minister in spiritual duties, including the exercise of congregational discipline and the visiting of the sick and delinquent, and to attend to the physical needs of the parish.

One of the major problems faced by the Church Council was stewardship. It had been a common practice in the community for churches to raise money through the sale of goods and services, and entries in the local newspaper often praised these functions as follows:

We trust that a generous public will patronize the laudable exertions that these ladies are making to promote the interests of the church. Let all, who have the means, come forth with full purses and open hands, to cheer them and reward their industry.

Loy was infuriated at such procedures and informed his members that "there is no legitimate way of securing money for church work but that of exercising Christian faith and love in giving it." In language similar to that of Washington Gladden in the "tainted

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88 Ibid. See also Minutes of Congregational Meeting, May 20, 1851, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
89 One of the trustees served for three years. Ibid.
90 See Minutes of the Church Council meeting, January 13, 1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records of congregation).
91 Ibid., 1861-1865.
92 Delaware, Ohio Democratic Standard, Dec. 21, 1848, p. 2.
93 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 357.
money" question, Loy said that cash secured in any fashion other
than a donation was "the money of the devil and the world and the
flesh." 94 He included these as being among false methods for
raising funds:

Some set up regular stores, some have occasional fairs
or bazaars or sales for the disposal of goods. Some beg
and some buy the goods, some make and some hire the making
of the articles offered for sale. Some sell fancy
articles . . . some sell ice-cream and strawberries and
oysters, some sell pretzels and cheese and beer. 95

One heard of

. . . chances and prizes, of beer and balls, of theatrical
shows and ladies' kisses . . . . Churches have sunk to a
grade that is pitifully low when they can no longer see
any harm in such wiles of the devil. 96

The support of the congregation, therefore, was guaranteed
by annual subscriptions authorized by the Church Council. 97

Pledges were made by the members for the payment of the minister,
the liquidation of the church debt, and other causes. The vestry
appointed agents, usually the deacons, who visited the communi-
cants either quarterly or semi-annually to collect the gifts. 98

The administration of the means of grace through sermon
and sacrament in worship was the heart of congregational life.

94 Ibid., p. 362.
95 Ibid., pp. 358-359; See also Francis P. Weisenburger,
Triumph of Faith: Contributions of the Church to American Life,
166-167.
96 Loy, The Christian Church, pp. 360-361.
97 See Minutes of the Church Council meeting, February 23,
1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in
parish records of congregation).
98 Ibid.
Loy later recalled that from the beginning at Delaware "our situation was such that at least two services with preaching were necessary." This meant that Loy was "preaching twice on the Sundays devoted to the home congregation [St. Mark] and often three times . . . ." When Loy began his work in Delaware there had been no regular preaching in the English language, the sermons being predominately German; however, the congregation had . . . become convinced that more account must be made of English ministrations, and it was stipulated in my call that I must regularly preach English in addition to the main German service in the morning.

Finding a suitable time for the English worship presented a problem. At first it was scheduled after the German service in the morning, which procedure proved satisfactory to the Germans who were free to return home, but did not suit those who were bilingual and who wished to hear both addresses, but complained of weariness after so long a session. The English meetings were then moved to the evening, but members who lived in the country and who preferred an English sermon complained that this subjected them to an unnecessary disadvantage. The final compromise had been reached by 1859 with the greater-attended German worship at

100 Ibid., p. 154.
101 Ibid., p. 155.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid., p. 156.
104 Ibid.
105 Ibid.
10:30 A.M. and the English service in the afternoon at 3:00 P.M. There were also Bible study meetings on Wednesday and Friday evenings.

Loy also preached "in English and German on alternate Sundays" at St. Paul congregation, Prospect, from 1849 until 1857, and from 1850 to 1859 he preached every second Sunday at Norton. From 1853 to 1857, therefore, he was preaching from four to six times a Sunday.

With the erection of a Lutheran Church in 1853

. . . the opportunity was embraced to arrange our services more in accordance with the spirit and usage of the Lutheran Church. The clerical gown was thenceforth worn, the liturgy was used more fully, and our whole worship was rendered more solemn and more beautiful.

The Lord's Supper served also as a means of grace. Loy increased the frequency of communion from once or twice a year, usually at plowing and harvesting season, to eight times annually by 1860, when there were four observances in both the English and German languages. Eucharistic services were usually held on

106 Williams' Delaware Directory, I, 12. German services continued to be held until after 1897; see Delaware City and County Directory, 1897 (Meadville, Pennsylvania: W. H. Armitage, 1897), p. 13.
107 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 156.
110 A discussion of Loy as a preacher will follow in a later chapter.
112 Communion Records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1849 to 1865, in parish records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.
the main festivals of the Christian calendar, as Epiphany, Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Reformation Day, the first Sunday in Advent, and Christmas. Loy communed every time the sacrament was offered, and his wife received it four times each year, alternating equally between the German and English services.

Admission to our public services must be open to all, whether they were of our faith or another faith or no faith at all; [but] the pastor's personal application of the Word in absolution and ministration of grace in the sacraments must be limited to those who fulfill the conditions of membership in his congregation.

"Promiscuous communion" was replaced by closed communion, which had not been a widespread practice in Ohio Lutheranism, especially in congregations composed of Reformed and Lutheran members, and Our people were unionists by habit, and unionism is generally not overcome without a struggle.

"The severest trial" came, however,

... when one of the most prominent and most generally esteemed members of the faculty of Wesleyan University presented himself for communion at our altar, and I declined to administer it to him. The matter is sometimes talked about even to this day.

113 This varied from year to year. Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 111.
116 Ibid., p. 96.
117 Ibid., p. 137.
118 Ibid., p. 126.
The situation was difficult because it was not a deliberate test, for:

He was too good a man to engage in any such unworthy trickery, and I still think that any such opinions of the man do him a great wrong. His error was that into which any unionist may fall without the least impeachment of his sincerity. He no doubt desired simply to manifest his sympathy with us in our Christian work, and I appreciated that. But I knew him to be a Methodist by profession, and had no reason to think that the sermon which he had heard was sufficient to convince him of his Methodist errors, or that his desire to commune with us was sufficient evidence of his conversion.\(^{119}\)

To discover the motivation of the man, Loy

... simply asked him if he was prepared to accept the words with which I administered the body of Christ to the communicants as the very truth of God, and he declared that he was not. That was the very least that I, as the minister of the Lord could ask, and upon his refusal to accept the very words of the Master, there was nothing left for me, but to pass him by.\(^{120}\)

Though "the sad affair was much talked about throughout the town and vicinity," Loy noticed that "no disturbance appeared in our congregational life ... ."\(^{121}\)

In this procedure Loy anticipated the future stand of conservative Lutheranism revealed in the Akron Declaration of 1872:

1) The rule is, Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only.
2) The exceptions to the rule belong to the sphere of privilege and not of right.
3) The determination of the exceptions is to be made in consonance with these principles by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as the cases arise.\(^{122}\)

\(^{119}\)Ibid., p. 127.
\(^{120}\)Ibid., pp. 127-128.
\(^{121}\)Ibid., p. 128.
\(^{122}\)Quoted by Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, pp. 145-146.
An entry in the Church Council minutes in 1861 indicated that the secretary was "instructed to procure grape juice for Communion purposes."\textsuperscript{123} A recent pastor of the parish wrote: "That I can hardly believe. The Lutheran Church has always used grape wine."\textsuperscript{124} Since Loy had no objections to the moderate use of wine,\textsuperscript{125} the reference might have been a mistake. If grape juice was used at St. Mark, it may have been introduced to silence criticisms made of Lutheran communion customs by the temperance-minded Methodists of the community,\textsuperscript{126} or to counteract the prevalence of "tippling" among some of the Pennsylvania Germans.\textsuperscript{127}

Perpetuation of the congregation was accomplished through the initiation and instruction of members.\textsuperscript{128} The major services

\textsuperscript{123} Minutes of the Church Council meeting, April 26, 1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records of congregation).

\textsuperscript{124} DeWalt, "History of St. Mark's Congregation," p. 1.

\textsuperscript{125} Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.

\textsuperscript{126} See Delaware, Ohio Democratic Standard, April 27, 1851, p. 3, for reference to temperance rallies; see also Loy, Story of My Life, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{127} Interview with K. L. DeWalt, Pastor of St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio, February 8, 1965; Some Lutheran Churches introduced grape juice, see Chapter IX of Spaude, The Lutheran Church under American Influence, 1943).

\textsuperscript{128} Loy believed the work of a parish included proclamation of the Word, administration of the Sacraments, confession of faith, and perpetuation and extension of membership; see Loy, The Christian Church, pp. 184-185. Cf. also the service of the Church in different emphases of worship, as a molder of morality, and as a means of fellowship and benevolence, in Weisenburger, Triumph of Faith.
of induction were baptism and confirmation. At Delaware Loy performed four hundred twenty-nine baptisms in sixteen years, and forty-three at Prospect. The majority were children, but some were adult converts, including one from Judaism. The high loss of members through the death of children is indicated in the record which shows that of fifty-three funerals held between 1862 and 1865, twenty-seven were for children under seven years of age.

Catechetical instruction was designed to teach children the significance of their baptism. Between 1850 and 1865 Loy officiated at two hundred thirty-five confirmations at St. Mark Church, including that of his future wife, Mary Willey, who was in his first class.

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129 C.H.L. Schuette, Before the Altar, or A Series of Annotated Propositions on Liturgics, to which is added a Selection of Standard Forms (Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1894), pp. 30-41 discuss "Acts of Initiation."

130 Baptismal Records, 1849-1865, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.


132 Baptismal Record, April 23, 1852, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.

133 Funeral Records, 1862-1865, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.


135 Confirmation Records, 1850-1865, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.

136 Ibid., March 28, 1850.
The Ohio Synod Formulary of 1830 specified that children to be confirmed should be at least fourteen years old, be able to read and write, and be required to memorize as much as possible.\textsuperscript{137} The teacher, ought

\ldots however, to be careful not only to expound to his pupils the sacred truths of religion; but also to impress their hearts and minds with a due sense of piety and godliness.\textsuperscript{138}

Following a period of intensive instruction in Luther's \textit{Small Catechism}, they were tested before the congregation, and it was held that "the examination ought to continue at least an hour."\textsuperscript{139} Loy adhered to these practices, receiving the catechumens into membership toward the end of Lent, usually on Palm Sunday or Maundy Thursday.\textsuperscript{140}

Converts were made from other denominations, though Loy claimed that "Proselyting was no part of my purpose. It is a sin of which I was never guilty."\textsuperscript{141} "When people came to me seeking light," however, "it was a different matter."\textsuperscript{142} The morning worship was open to people of all religions\textsuperscript{143} and "there was usually a goodly number [present] who were members of other

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\textsuperscript{137} Liturgy, or Formulary for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., p. 54.

\textsuperscript{140} Confirmation Records, 1850-1865, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.

\textsuperscript{141} Loy, Story of My Life, p. 106.

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., p. 107.

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., p. 111.
Loy's study and home were open to these inquirers, and through personal counseling he introduced them to Lutheran doctrine. Some were enrolled in a regular adult confirmation class, others were received upon affirmation of faith and the renunciation of their former beliefs, and a few were inducted through baptism. The majority came from the Reformed, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches.

The training of children was entrusted to a Sunday School which was organized on March 18, 1857. It had its own constitution and a staff of seven German and eleven English teachers.

A weekday parochial school was also "deemed necessary for the right fulfillment of our mission . . . ." Problems attended this endeavor from its inception, for while "getting the children and getting the money did not trouble me much . . . getting the teacher did." Loy declined to teach the school himself because of a lack of time, administrative ability, and the skill for working with children. To secure a teacher from within the Ohio Synod simply meant to rob another parish of its

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144 Ibid., p. 106.
145 Ibid., p. 107.
146 Ibid., pp. 113-114.
147 Ibid., p. 108.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid., p. 115. There is no record of any Sunday School work before then.
150 Ibid.
151 Ibid., p. 187.
152 Ibid., p. 189.
153 Ibid., pp. 188-189.
instructor,\textsuperscript{153} and to hire an itinerant one was dangerous because I read and heard of teachers seeking employment, but I was not willing after all my toil to build up a good Lutheran congregation, to assume any risks with that class of people.\textsuperscript{154}

This meant "my only hope was to get a teacher from the Missourians with whom I was on good terms,"\textsuperscript{155} but they informed him that they had their own schools to fill and that the Ohio congregation must wait until they had supplied their own pressing needs.\textsuperscript{156}

Twelve years passed before a school was established in the basement of St. Mark Church.\textsuperscript{157} In 1862 John H. Spielmann, a son of the Reverend Christian Spielmann of Capital University, became available as a teacher.\textsuperscript{158} The institution was open to the general public, with a charge of sixty cents tuition per child.\textsuperscript{159} Instruction was offered in English in reading, writing, the German language, religion, and music.\textsuperscript{160} Attendance increased to eighty pupils.\textsuperscript{161} Mr. Spielmann, "who had never intended to devote his life to teaching a parochial school,"\textsuperscript{162} left after a time, but

\textsuperscript{153}Ibid., p. 189.
\textsuperscript{154}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{155}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{157}Ibid., p. 187; See also Minutes of the Church Council meeting, April 26, 1862, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
\textsuperscript{158}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{159}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{160}Ibid., May 3, 1862.
\textsuperscript{161}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 190.
\textsuperscript{162}Ibid.
in 1865.

... we had two teachers, one of whom lacked intellectual ability to cope with the requirements, the other of whom, a convert from the Romish Church, had not the moral equipment for the place. 163

The school became "debilitated" and was closed shortly after Loy's departure "for lack of a good teacher." 164

The retention of members through pastoral care and discipline was deemed essential. Loy defined it as "caring for individual souls" 165 and described the duties of a pastor in this manner:

There are sick to visit, there are troubled souls to comfort, there are careless members to admonish, there are dissensions to be healed, there are family troubles to be settled, there are individual doubts and difficulties to be solved .... 166

Calling usually occupied the afternoons 167 and was confined to members of the congregation. 168 A visit of the minister was not a social occasion. 169 When Loy made such a call, the family was summoned together—the father from labor in the field, the mother from her housework, and the children from their play and chores. Assembling in the parlor, the pastor, dressed in a dark suit, began the meeting with prayer, selected readings from

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163 Ibid.
164 Ibid.
165 Ibid., p. 163.
166 Ibid., pp. 162-163.
167 Ibid., p. 162.
168 Ibid., p. 111.
169 The following description of a pastoral visit is based on an interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, a grandson of Matthias Loy, held on January 25, 1965.
the Scriptures, and led the singing of a hymn. A discussion of the sermon of the previous Sunday then followed. In a manner similar to that of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Loy began to catechize his parishioners on its content. They were to identify the text, name the principal parts of the address, and explain its application to their lives. Loy would then ask if they had any questions concerning the homily, either as to its subject or vocabulary. If they had not understood the sermon, he took pains to explain it to them. Loy then inquired as to the spiritual condition of the household. The "Our Father" was prayed, a benediction was spoken, refreshments were served, and the pastor left for his next appointment.

Those negligent in their spiritual duties were promptly called to account, for

. . . I did not find it difficult to notice the absence at worship of such members as were ordinarily regular attendants, or of the continued absence of such as were irregular. Such absence was always made the subject of inquiry, partly because if the absentees were sick or otherwise disabled they might be regarded as brethren who needed the consolations of the Gospel, partly because if they were not sick or disabled they needed the pastor's attention on the ground of negligence.

In addition to indifference, pastoral visits were sometimes necessary "to counteract the insidious schemes of sectarian

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170 Muhlenberg had "adopted the procedure of preaching on Sundays for three-quarters of an hour, and then 'catechizing' the whole congregation upon his sermon." Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 277.

171 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 185.
prowlers"\textsuperscript{172} and "hedge-priests"\textsuperscript{173} who tried "to steal sheep from my flock . . . ."\textsuperscript{174} During revivals held at the German Reformed Church\textsuperscript{175} and in Methodist camp-meetings, Lutheran members would feel themselves enticed by the strong appeal made to the emotions.\textsuperscript{176} Loy on occasion held public debates with Methodist and Baptist evangelists,\textsuperscript{177} but

> The answer which I generally received, when I endeavored by appealing to the Scriptures to reach the consciences of these so-called 'good men' engaged in bad work, was that their 'field is the world.' I was given to understand that my little parish was included in their big field, and that therefore my remonstrance was groundless.\textsuperscript{178}

He worked to educate his parishioners to appreciate the more sober and rational approach of Lutheran worship, but "feeling is often stronger than faith, and I had about as much difficulty with my people in this respect as I had with our adversaries."\textsuperscript{179}

The ill also had to be comforted, but "my visitations of the sick and suffering were always a source of anxiety."\textsuperscript{180} Loy asked to be left alone with the severely ill,\textsuperscript{181} and then inquired

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\item \textsuperscript{172}Ibid., p. 107.
\item \textsuperscript{173}Ibid., p. 111.
\item \textsuperscript{174}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{175}See Delaware, Ohio Democratic Standard, February 8, 1849, p. 2 for a description of a series of German revival services at the Reformed Church.
\item \textsuperscript{176}Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 106-107.
\item \textsuperscript{177}Ibid., pp. 103-104, 116, 142-147.
\item \textsuperscript{178}Ibid., p. 107.
\item \textsuperscript{179}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{180}Ibid., p. 163.
\item \textsuperscript{181}Ibid., p. 167.
\end{itemize}
of them if they were prepared to die in the faith. In questionable cases the "proper treatment" was the use of the Law.

As an example I will mention the case of an old lady, who assured me that she was weary of the world and ready to die. Upon asking her if she was conscious of being a poor sinner, who could be saved only by grace... she replied that that was what she had been taught from her youth, and so she had always believed. But she had not been exemplary in her duties as a member of the congregation, although I knew nothing against her moral life, and this led me to some further questioning. I ran through the [Ten] Commandments, inquiring if she had obeyed each of them. She became offended at what must have seemed to her an inquisitional process, and when I finally asked her whether she had obeyed all these Commandments, she became angry, and declared that until now no one had ever dared to charge her with the transgression of the Law of the Lord. Of course I persisted, and I hope that the lady died in the faith ...

Since "private confession and absolution seemed to me the wisest provision for enabling the pastor to exercise his office in the care of souls," these customs were restored at St. Mark congregation. Private confession had been retained in some of the Lutheran Church Orders of the sixteenth century and had lasted in Germany for more than one hundred years after the Reformation.

In the nineteenth century Wilhelm Loehe revived it in Bavaria, and his followers, as well as the "Old Lutherans" from Prussia, introduced it to America. Opposed by "American Lutherans," including

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182 Ibid., p. 166.
183 Ibid.
184 Ibid., pp. 166-167.
185 Ibid., pp. 168-169.
186 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 518.
187 Ibid., p. 519.
private confession was practiced by Missouri Synod leaders such as Martin Stephan and C.F.W. Walther. It was probably through their influence that Loy became acquainted with the custom.

Parishioners were urged to make their confessions to Pastor Loy during the week preceding a celebration of the Lord's Supper, when about one-half of his congregation came to see him in his home. The rest met with him in the church sacristry individually on Saturday during the hour before the preparatory service for Holy Communion. The procedure employed was similar to that prescribed in Lutheran formularies of the Reformation Era when Absolution was received privately, by each one individually kneeling . . . the confessor imposing his hands at that time. Private confession was given . . . in the church, in which the confessional was so located near the pulpit that no other person could be near or hear what was said by the penitent.

In this respect Loy was a pioneer of a usage which became widespread in the Ohio Synod by 1909 when provision for its administration was included in service books published by the Church.

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188 Samuel Simon Schmucker, American Lutheranism Vindicated (Baltimore: Kurtz, 1856), p. 98.
189 Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 519.
190 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 170.
191 Ibid.
192 Quoted Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 518.
193 See Agende fuer Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden Ungeaenderter Augsburgerischer Konfession, Herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1900), pp. 48-56.
Similar in "thought and feeling" was the desire "to institute a better discipline in the congregation." This was necessary because "sin must be put away from us, that we may be holy people." Discipl ine was exercised in conjunction with the Church Council. The guiding principle was that when people "profess to be believers we are to treat them as such until they themselves prove that they are not." The New Testament outlined the procedure he followed:

If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.

The vestry and the minister heard and initiated charges against those suspected of an ungodly life. The accused was invited to appear before the Church Council to give answer. If he did not come, the pastor paid him a visit. When this met with no success, Loy and the elders went to see him. If the offending brother was still impenitent, his name was announced to the congregation and he was given a set time in which to make amends, usually fourteen days. At the end of this period, if nothing had

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194 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 171.
195 Ibid., pp. 171-172.
196 See Minutes of Church Council meetings, 1861-1865, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
197 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 120.
198 Matthew 18:15-17.
199 See Minutes of Church Council meeting, January 13, 1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
been done by the man to clear his reputation, he was pronounced excommunicated following the Sunday morning service. 200

The congregation was protected "against the canker of many an error" by the expulsion of those who taught false doctrine. 201 Those guilty of heresy were treated in the following manner:

Complaints were made against John Tafel . . . namely, that he denied the eternity of future punishments contrary to the Holy Scriptures, Matthew 25:41-46, and the Augsburg Confession, Article XVII, and he having confessed his error, and notwithstanding repeated admonitions refused to relinquish it, it was unanimously
Resolved, that John Tafel be and is herewith expelled from the congregation. 202

Improper behavior was a cause for discipline, and those who

... went to theatrical performances and circus shows, to card-parties and club-frolics, to saloons and races, and to similar questionable resorts ... 203

were called to account. Parishioners who attended a "public ball" were promptly dismissed, 204 and Loy recalled that...

... I am not ashamed now, as I was not then, that a member of my congregation was reported to have said that he could not go to a certain ball because, if he did, the pastor would be at his house next day and he could not be prepared to look him in the face. 205

200 Ibid.
201 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 172.
202 Minutes of Church Council meeting, February 23, 1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
204 Minutes of Church Council meeting, January 25, 1862, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
"Tippling" or drunkenness was a major problem. While the treatment of "saloonists" was not "such as fanatical prohibitionists would commend," it was severe for a German Lutheran church. All persons found guilty of intoxication, either in private or in public, were admonished. Tavern keepers were not allowed to hold membership in the congregation. In one case an exception was made, the rule being changed to read that those convicted

... of knowingly selling intoxicating liquors to habitual drunkards or of giving quantities to produce intoxication or of causing suffering in families by taking for liquor what is needful for bread ... be dealt with as other offenders.

The man in question did not fulfill this obligation of the vestry, and

... though we were a year and six months in admitting him, we were only about four weeks in getting rid of him again.

A similar case involving a Lutheran who sold beer in his bakery shop convinced Loy that "congregations get along better without saloon-keepers as members than with them ...."

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206 Interview with K. L. DeWalt, Pastor of St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio, February 8, 1965.
208 See Minutes of Church Council meeting, January 13, 1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
209 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 182.
210 Minutes of Church Council meeting, April 27, 1861, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
211 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 182.
212 Ibid., pp. 176, 182.
Infraction of the Sixth Commandment meant excommunication. Restoration of adulterers was possible if they confessed their sin to the Church Council, received pastoral absolution, and then appeared before the congregation on the following Sunday to ask for forgiveness.

Membership in secret fraternal societies was prohibited and Loy

... preached against the natural religion of the lodges that our people might see the relation in which Masonry, Odd Fellowship, and kindred associations stand to revelation in Christ...

This position was never popular and eventually in 1890 the congregation split over the "lodge question," some parishioners withdrawing to establish a St. John Lutheran Church.

At the end of 1864 when Loy prepared his last annual parochial report at Delaware, he could evaluate his work at St. Mark. The number of communicant Lutherans had increased over four-fold in fifteen years to three hundred fifty-nine. The average Sunday attendance was up from seventy in 1849 to three hundred thirty in 1864. The parish was weathering the trials

"Thou shalt not commit adultery."

Minutes of Church Council meeting, May 29, 1864, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).

Ibid., November 30, 1862.

Loy, Story of My Life, p. 183.

Lytle, Twentieth Century History, p. 248.

Communion Records, 1849-1865, Parochial Reports, 1855-1864, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).

See Parochial Report, 1863, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
of the Civil War with a minimum of difficulty, though eleven of its men were in the army.\textsuperscript{220} A system of benevolence had been developed to care for the needy in the congregation, and funds were being raised to help found Lutheran missions.\textsuperscript{221} The local debt had been liquidated. The Lutherans at Prospect and Norton had erected their own places of worship and by 1859 were served by their own minister.\textsuperscript{222}

In his pastoral duties, including the solemnizing of weddings, he had seen a new generation come of age.\textsuperscript{223} He was now thirty-six years old, himself married and the father of four children.\textsuperscript{224}

The community of Delaware had gradually given him its respect. Though he did not participate in the local ministerial alliance or in union prayer meetings, he did hold membership on the library board and gave some addresses to the general public on literary subjects.\textsuperscript{225}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{220}\textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{221}See Minutes of Church Council meetings, 1861-1865, St. Mark Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
\item \textsuperscript{222}Dobberstein, \textit{St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church}, pp. 4, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{223}From 1856 to 1865 he performed eighty-eight marriages at St. Mark; see Marriage Records, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
\item \textsuperscript{224}One of these died in 1864; a later chapter will discuss Loy's family life.
\item \textsuperscript{225}Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, pp. 128-132; see Matthias Loy, "Dreams and Dreamers: A lecture delivered before the Delaware Library Association, January 31, 1856," Archives of The American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa.
\end{itemize}
In 1856 the Ohio Synod had met at Delaware, and Loy's name was beginning to be recognized among his fellow Lutherans. His contributions to The Evangelical Review and the Lutheran Standard commanded respect. In 1864 he had been elected editor of the latter periodical. Since 1860 he had been the President of the Ohio Synod.

His talents as an educator were acknowledged. In 1853 he was awarded a Master of Arts degree at Capital University and he had taught on a part-time basis at that institution several days each week. "Unexpectedly" he was called "to a chair in theology, as well as in the academic department" at the Columbus school. He said farewell to his congregation and moved to the capital city in 1865.

The Lutherans at Delaware did not forget Matthias Loy. He later arbitrated difficulties between the St. Mark Church and its minister, on December 11, 1892, he helped dedicate a new sanctuary at Prospect, and in 1921 Mrs. Loy was an honored guest at the centennial anniversary of her husband's first parish.

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226 Sheatsley, History of The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 302.
228 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 227.
229 Ibid., p. 190.
230 Ibid., p. 191.
231 Undated letter from Matthias Loy to the St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
232 Dobberstein, St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church, p. 5.
CHAPTER V

MATTHIAS LOY: EDUCATOR, 1865-1902

As the decade and a half between 1850 and 1865 was a decisive and divisive period for the American nation, so the same years witnessed "confessional reaction" and "internal controversies" within the Lutheran churches of the United States.\(^1\) The Ohio Synod, occupying the geographical and theological middle ground between the more liberal General Synod and the more orthodox Missouri Synod,\(^2\) was inevitably torn between the forces of "Old" and "American" Lutheranism. The outcome of this tension was the triumph of conservatism within that body. The victory was not easily won, and the war was waged on the congregational, denominational, editorial, confessional, and institutional levels of church life.

Beginning his ministry in 1849, Matthias Loy, in the words of the Reverend R. E. Golladay,

\[\ldots\] came on the scene of action at a time in the history of the development of the American Lutheran

\(^1\)Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism*, p. 106. "In this respect the history of the Lutheran church runs significantly parallel to that of other denominations and to that of American society in general. The era of disruption in the church corresponds to the era of sectionalization in the history of our country." *Ibid.*

\(^2\)See Mann, *Lutheranism in America*, p. 100.

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Church when men of his stamp, of his conservatism, his intense convictions . . . were badly needed.\(^3\)

The previous chapter has described his contribution to the conservative cause within his Delaware parish during these years.\(^4\) He was, however, simultaneously active in the broader aspects of the confessional movement within the Church.\(^5\) His earliest and longest labors in its behalf were in the realm of higher education.\(^6\) This is illustrated in his association with Capital University almost from its inception in 1850 until his death in 1915. First he was one of its patrons and supporters, and after 1865 he was one of its Professors, serving as its President from 1881 until 1890.

A year after Loy left theological school, Capital University came "into the world with banners and trumpet."\(^7\) The immediate reason for its founding was the conviction of the Joint Synod that ministerial candidates "must have a better academic preparation,"\(^8\) and one historian suggested that the college was "the child of the 'German Evangelical Lutheran Theological

\(^3\)Ohio Minutes (English District), 1915, p. 66.

\(^4\)See Chapter IV.

\(^5\)On the denominational level he was active from 1860-1878, and from 1880-1894 as President of the Synod. See Chapters VIII and IX. As a contributor to conservative journals in the 1850's and as an author and editor, especially of the Lutheran Standard from 1864 until 1891, he was extremely influential. See Chapter VI. As a life-long theologian, he virtually came to occupy a position as the official spokesman of the Ohio Synod. See Chapter XI.

\(^6\)He already championed orthodoxy in his seminary days. See Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 86-88.

\(^7\)Ibid., p. 213.

\(^8\)Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1914-15, p. 9.
The Church was also encouraged by the rapid increase of educational institutions in Ohio, a total of forty-five being founded by 1850. Steps were taken, therefore, to accomplish "a general rearrangement out of which Capital University came forth with the seminary as the 'theological department.'" A Charter, granted on March 2, 1850, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, incorporated it for the "promotion of religion, morality, and learning . . . ." The Board of Trustees of the university was ecumenical, consisting of ten members of the Seminary Board, four representatives chosen from each of the districts of the Ohio Synod, and of ten citizens of Columbus who shall be in good repute for morality, intelligence and honesty, and who shall be chosen without reference to the religious denomination to which they may be attached . . . .

Among the latter were Samuel Galloway, then Ohio Secretary of

9"Das College in Columbus ist das Kind des 'deutschen ev. luth. theologischen Seminars' . . . ." Lutherische Kirchenzeitung XXXII (November 7, 1891), p. 358. On the seminary, see George H. Schodde, Historical Sketch of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States, written in commemoration of Its Seventy-Fifth Anniversary at the Request of the Board (Pamphlet; no imprint, 1905).


12Minutes of the Board of Directors, 1850, p. 1, Capital University (in archives of the university); This was not the Synod's first charter for a college. On January 11, 1843, the state had incorporated "Germania College." See Miller, "History of Educational Legislation," pp. 185-186.

State, Henry Stanbery, Ohio Attorney General, Dr. Lincoln Goodale, Dr. Samuel M. Smith, Dean of the Starling Medical School, and George M. Parsons.  

The Trustees entertained great expectations for the school, and the second article of the Charter declared that "the Faculties . . . shall be those of Letters, Law, Medicine, and Theology." The Seminary, already in existence south of Columbus, owned property on East Town Street adjacent to "a fashionable girls' school," the Esther Institute. Both of these were to be joined with the Starling Medical College, located at Sixth and State Streets, as "the proposed university was mapped out on a broad scale. The ambitious plans were beyond anything undertaken until that time in the great West." The Synod expressed this aspiration as follows:

"The universities in connection with our church in Germany possess a world renown reputation, may we not hope that our new institution will gradually arise under the fostering care of the church, and the smiles of its great head, until it shall ultimately compare in some remote degree at least, with those venerable institutions?"

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14 A complete list of the original incorporators and trustees is given in William Alexander Taylor, Centennial History of Columbus and Franklin County (Columbus, Ohio: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1909), I, 230.
15 Minutes of the Board of Directors, 1850, p. 1, Capital University (in archives of the university).
16 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 43; the Esther Institute (1852-1862) was first located on Rich Street, and later on East Broad Street near Fourth Street; a picture and description is given in the Lutheran Standard, XI (December 14, 1853), p. 3.
17 It later became the medical school of The Ohio State University; see Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 43.
19 Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 24.
Local civic leaders shared the dream, and the Church praised "the liberal contributions of the citizens of Columbus (among whom Dr. Goodale deserves honorable and grateful mention) . . . ."\textsuperscript{20} Conservatives, including Loy, however, suspected that "the conception was too big for the conditions . . . ."\textsuperscript{21} Professor Lehmann also "doubted, but was moved on by the stream."\textsuperscript{22}

A President was sought, but

There was no one in the West of sufficient culture, who was in harmony with us, to think of finding the right man there. By necessity . . . attention was turned to the East, and there all eyes were directed to Dr. Reynolds of Gettysburg.\textsuperscript{23}

The Reverend William M. Reynolds, Professor in the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, the major university of the General Synod, had

. . . years of experience in the work of teaching. He had attained some eminence as a writer, and had a wide reputation for learning.\textsuperscript{24}

Of a good family, his father, George Reynolds, had served with distinction as a Captain in the Continental Army during the

\textsuperscript{20}Ohio Minutes, 1853, pp. 15-16. \textsuperscript{21}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 213. \textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 214. The university was widely publicized in the church, and its full Constitution was published in the Lutheran Standard, VIII (June 5, 1850), p. 2. \textsuperscript{23}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 215. \textsuperscript{24}Ibid.
American Revolution. A former student, Eric Norelius, described Reynolds as "tall and slim, a little bent, with a small, roundish head, and was, I believe, of Scotch-Irish descent. He seemed to be a well-educated man ..." His affiliation with a more liberal Synod "was no obstacle" at first, even to Loy. Reynolds had made his confessional views known as early as 1842, when he led ten pastors out of the Pennsylvania Ministerium to establish the more strict East Pennsylvania Synod. Seven years later he founded The Evangelical Review to "counteract the influence of Dr. Kurtz in the Lutheran Observer." The Evangelical Review was widely read in the Ohio Synod, and Reynolds "seemed to be the man for the place which we desired to fill. He was called, and he came."

He had certain "unionistic" tendencies, however, which were revealed at his inauguration as the first President of Capital University on May 21, 1850, in a service held in the First

25George Reynolds, an ensign and first lieutenant in the second New Jersey Continental line, later attained the rank of Captain; see "George Delachaumette Reynolds," The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White and Co., 1897), VII, 445. Dr. Reynolds' son, George D. Reynolds, was a prominent St. Louis attorney. Ibid.
26Quoted Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 64.
28Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 146.
29Ibid., p. 133.
31Ibid.
Presbyterian Church of Columbus. The Invocation was given by the Reverend H. L. Hitchcock of the city's Second Presbyterian Church, an anthem was sung by the massed choirs of the town, and non-Lutherans such as Henry Stanbery, Lincoln Goodale, and Samuel Galloway, had prominent parts in the program.

The following morning the Preparatory School was opened on East Town Street with fifty students, and on September 12, 1850, the university classes began with a four-man faculty which included Dr. Reynolds' brother-in-law, Professor A. Essick.

Two years later the campus was moved to a four-acre lot donated by Dr. Goodale on North High Street. On September 14, 1853, a new facility in the "Italian style" was dedicated. It was extolled by the Ohio Synod as "undoubtedly one of the handsomest of the various public buildings that adorn the city of Columbus . . . ." An advertisement in the Lutheran Standard a decade later declared that:

The University edifice is fitted up in a style that makes it one of the most commodious buildings of the kind in the country. The rooms for students are of good dimensions, and handsomely finished. Large Halls for the two Literary Societies give ample accommodations for these interesting auxiliaries of College education.

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33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., These Hundred Years, pp. 47-48; A full advertisement describing the school appeared in the Lutheran Standard, VIII (May 8, 1850), p. 2.
35 Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (Nov. 28, 1891), p. 381.
36 Ibid.
37 Ohio Minutes, 1853, p. 28.
Chemical Laboratory is fitted up in a manner that will give every facility for chemical analysis, as well as experiments before class, and the Institution is supplied with the best Apparatus for study of Natural Philosophy. 38

The structure displeased Loy, and he recalled that "not a little of the useful had been sacrificed to architectural display . . ." 39

More disconcerting to the conservatives was the service of consecration. A General Synod minister, The Reverend C.F.E. Stohlmann, of St. Matthew's Church, New York City, "delivered an address to engage the Germans in our cause." 40 An English speech was given by "one of the most eminent men of the country," 41 W. H. Seward, then United States Senator from New York, and later to be Lincoln's Secretary of State, who, however, as an Episcopalian, 42 "was far from being a Lutheran and probably had never

39 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 218. The building was one hundred fifty-four feet long in front, with a depth of fifty-five feet. It had eight recitation and lecture rooms. The center of the structure was flanked by two towers, the one four, the other five stories high. See Owens, These Hundred Years, pp. 58-59. By 1909 the building had become the Northern or Park Hotel, see Taylor, Centennial History, I, 229. Its original cost was $40,000. See Jacob H. Studer, Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources, and Progress (Columbus, Ohio: no publisher, 1872), p. 265.
40 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 216; Pastor Stohlmann was the first of four men to be honored with the degree of Doctor of Theology from Capital University in the forty-one years between 1850 and 1891. The others were G. Seyfarth, a "beruehmter Altertumsforscher;" C.F.W. Walther of the Missouri Synod; and Professor F. A. Schmidt of the Norwegian Lutheran Theological Seminary at Northfield, Minnesota. See Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (November 21, 1891), p. 373.
41 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 216.
heard of such a thing as Lutheranism in our land . . . . " Loy characterized his comments as having "little to do with our purpose," and was convinced that

The whole business was a failure, especially as I was discouraged by the President's lack of skill in managing the public functions. But so far as I remember I said nothing.

Though Reynolds and the non-Lutheran Columbus citizens affiliated with Capital University had been lauded for their work by the Ohio Synod, difficulties began to appear concerning language, the alleged secularization of the school, church polity, doctrine, and finances. In each of these areas young Loy was increasingly active in pressing conservative views.

The language question, long a live issue in Ohio Lutheran-ism, had been latent at the time of Dr. Reynolds' appointment. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, "the background of the Church and its families was still strongly German," and even

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43 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 216.
44 Ibid. His theme was "The Philosophy of Humanity," see Lutheran Standard, XI (September 21, 1853), p. 2 for a condensation of it and a description of the festivities.
45 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 216.
46 See Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 24.
47 See Owens, These Hundred Years, pp. 61-63; Loy lists the same five, Story of My Life, pp. 216 ff. Sheatsley saw four causes of trouble--doctrine, language, secularization, and finances in History of the First Lutheran Seminary, pp. 42-43. Professor E. Schmid believed there were four--doctrine, language, church polity, and finances. See Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (December 5, 1891), p. 389.
48 On earlier history of the language question, see Chapter I.
49 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 61.
as late as 1891 an official periodical of the Synod, the 

Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, could state:

Ich lobe mir die deutsche Sprache,
Sie ist so reich an Geist und Bild,
Wie eine Jungfrau rein und zuechtig,
Wie eine Mutter sanft und mild;

Der Luege und des Stolzes Geissel,
Ist sie den Engeln selbst bekannt:
Hat Michael nicht deutsch gesprochen,
Als er dem Satan widerstand?50

The President of the denomination affirmed in 1853 that

... it must be obvious to every one who is acquainted
with the peculiar condition of our church, in this country,
that in order to labor successfully as a pastor, almost
anywhere, it is indispensably necessary to be able to
preach in the German as well as in the English language.51

The faculty of Capital University, however, "with the exception
of Professor Lehmann," could not

... converse readily in the German language, [and
this] led the President and Prof. Essick to move almost
exclusively among English speaking people, especially
as their families were English and could otherwise have
little enjoyment of social life.52

Reynolds aroused suspicion by moving "more and more in English
speaking circles, and in that day it meant, to a degree, away from
Lutheran circles."53 It was also felt that the pupils at Capital
were not receiving sufficient training in German, and an indirect

50"I speak in praise of the German language, It is so rich
in spirit and image, It is as pure and proper as a virgin, As soft
and mild as a mother ... The scourge of falsehood and pride,
Is it not known even to angels: Did not Michael speak German, When
he withstood Satan?" Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (January
17, 1891), p. 20.

51Ohio Minutes, 1853, p. 7.

52Loy, Story of My Life, p. 217.

53Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 62.
censure of Dr. Reynolds was involved in the report of a committee of the Joint Synod convention of 1853, on which Loy served, which stated:

That all the students in the College who are preparing for the ministerial office, be earnestly advised to learn the German language, not only theoretically, but practically . . . .54

It was resolved also that all beneficiary scholars be required to learn German.55

While "Reynolds was, without a doubt, ambitious for Capital,"56 he steadily sought support for the university from people of non-Lutheran background. Loy and other conservatives were convinced that

Too much stress was laid on winning the favor of citizens who cared nothing for the Lutheran Church, but who were interested in general education, and whose influence it was desired to utilize in behalf of the school.57

Reynolds' program proved itself

. . . too ambitious for the rank and file of the Ohio Synod which was to stand back of the venture. The German country folk that constituted a large part of the Ohio Synod were not in sympathy with the ambitious plan.58

54Ohio Minutes, 1853, p. 18.
55Ibid.; As late as 1909 a Columbus historian said of Capital: "Chiefly for practical reasons special attention is paid to the German, as the great majority of the congregations of the Synod of Ohio, for whom the institution aims to prepare thoroughly equipped pastors, are either entirely or partly German." Taylor, Centennial History, I, 229.
56Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 62.
58Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 40.
It was feared that the Church would lose control of its college, and Loy recalled that

The portion of our Synod that, like myself, regarded the interests of the Church as paramount, used all fair means to protect these interests against any encroachments, even if these came from sources professedly operative in the honored cause of education, on the life and work of the Lutheran organization. Our leader was Prof. Lehmann... 59

There was another cause of concern, for Reynolds and Essick

... both from inclination and policy ... were desirous of bringing the Ohio Synod into the General Synod, and as at that time there was a strong movement elsewhere in that direction and influences were brought to bear upon us by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, with which we had correspondence on the subject of a Liturgy, they had good opportunity to make known their desire. 60

The university President was able to have influence in the congregations of the Ohio Synod, because in 1851 he had been granted permission to preach and collect money in the churches. 61 That he was inclined to favor union with other Lutheran synods had been obvious from the beginning, and in the summer of 1850 he and W. A. Passavant of Pittsburgh had made a "missionary journey" among the Norwegian and Swedish settlements of "the West." 62 In 1853, Dr. Reynolds' hope of Ohio membership in the General Synod was debated thoroughly at the denomination's convention, with the conclusion that:

... we cannot but regret that that body [the General Synod] does not distinctly and unreservedly acknowledge

60 Ibid., p. 217.
61 Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 25.
62 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 129.
at least the unaltered Augsburg Confession . . .

That we, therefore, regret that, under these circumstances, we cannot yet take any steps towards a union with that body. 63

It was felt that

To enter into a mere outward Union with the General Synod, in the hope of giving it the desired character afterwards . . . would be very unfair and unchristian. 64

The whole affair served merely to remind the Ohioans of earlier struggles over the same issue. 65

In spite of other factors, "basically the problem was one of doctrine . . ." 66 Loy later wrote that "ostensibly it was the language question, really it was the Lutheran question that brought it about." 67

Dr. Reynolds was by no means a "liberal" or a member of the "American Lutheran" party, for he held to the historic Lutheran Confessions, and together with Professor Lehmann he introduced to the students of Capital University a new English translation of the Book of Concord published by the conservative Henkel Press in 1851. 68 He was not, however, an "Old Lutheran" or in sympathy with the "Missourians," for

Dr. Reynolds had grown up in a different atmosphere and with other surroundings. He was a Lutheran of the kind still found among the more conservative men of the General Synod, but he had a different spirit from that which

63 Ohio Minutes, 1853, p. 32.
64 Ibid., p. 13.
65 See Chapter II.
66 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 61.
68 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 134.
pervaded our people. This prevented complete cordiality from the start. . . .

The President soon "was not at home in the Joint Synod where a strong tendency toward confessional Lutheranism was growing."70

Doctrinal discord was quickly complicated with financial difficulties. It was in this connection that Matthias Loy became somewhat influential on the conservative side. Though he was still only a candidate for ordination and had "no responsible connection" with "the inception of the University movement,"71 in 1851 he was appointed by the Ohio Synod as one of six "General Agents" to collect subscriptions for the college.72 On November 15 of that year, Loy requested and received permission to be absent from his congregation to act in this capacity.73 Through 1853 he continued "to secure money for the endowment of the Presidency and the German professorship,"74 and in that year he left his Delaware charge in the care of a vicar, the Reverend P. Eirich, while he spent six months traveling in the Ohio Synod.75 The Church President was overjoyed that he had found "so suitable an

70Owens, These Hundred Years, pp. 62-63.
71Loy, Story of My Life, p. 219. He was ordained June 8, 1852. See facsimile of "Ordinations-Schein," opposite ibid., p. 204.
72Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 25.
73Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1852, p. 7.
74Loy, Story of My Life, p. 219.
75Ibid., p. 220. See also Parish Records, 1853, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish archives).
agent as Bro. Loy,76 but by his own admission, Loy used the commission as an occasion to circulate "Old Lutheran" ideas:

I desired to do some good among the people as well as to secure some money for our general work, and I therefore always preached the Word and only afterwards solicited subscriptions. My work also gave me large opportunities in conversation with our pastors to suggest the thoughts and feelings which actuated me and which might be helpful to them.77

Loy apparently was popular among the country parsons, who were disgruntled with the administration of the university,78 and his mission was both a financial and theological success, for "my half-year's intercourse with our people helped a little to support the claims of our Lutheran Church upon their loyalty and beneficence . . . ."79 The trip also established Loy's reputation within the denomination, and the following year he was elected Vice President of the Ohio Educational Society and made one of its Directors.80 He was also chosen as one of the six Directors of the theological Seminary in Columbus for a six-year term.81

Discontent expressed itself in the spring of 1854 when the small English District of the Ohio Synod issued a four-fold "protest." It felt:

No disposition is manifested to admit into a prominent position in our Church Institutions any person or persons, as representative of the views and opinions of

76 Ohio Minutes, 1853, p. 8.
77 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 220.
78 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 40.
79 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 221.
80 Ohio Minutes, 1854, p. 20.
81 Ibid., p. 15.
English District Synod, as they were expressed in the views and opinions of Rev. Dr. Reynolds and Rev. E. Greenwald. 82

The English District also lamented the condition that the Joint Synod's German members accused them of "not being soundly orthodox." 83 The condemnation, "indiscriminately," of lodges, was a third point. 84 Finally, the English were not assured that only "the most suitable persons" were employed as professors and teachers at Capital University. 85 This action, prompted by the slow decline in the power of President Reynolds, was described by Loy as being primarily a doctrinal grievance:

Those who were intent upon maintaining our confessional position and had no sympathy with any movement looking to a union with the General Synod, or anything tending that way . . . were generally regarded as opponents of the Reynolds management; the more liberal element that was inclined to unionism, was the party supporting him. As the latter party was mainly in the English District, and as the work of Dr. Reynolds and his friends was usually done through the medium of the English language and his labors were mainly directed to gain favor among the English people and solicit the interest of English Synods, while in the institution itself his influence was principally directed toward the advancement of English interests, it naturally came to pass that the opposing parties were called the German and the English. 86

The English District, a "hopeless minority" 87 in both the confessional and educational questions, was further incensed when

82 Ohio Minutes (November, 1854), p. 11; Greenwald was the first editor of the Lutheran Standard, see Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 122.
83 Ohio Minutes (November, 1854), p. 11.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 222-223.
87 Ibid., p. 223.
Dr. Reynolds resigned as President of Capital University on September 26, 1854. Reynolds had hoped that this step would ease the tension, but Loy remembered that the English party only became "more determined in their hostility to the action of Joint Synod." When the latter body met in November, 1854, it stated that Capital University was not under the control of the "Germans," for there had been only four men on the faculty, and since both Reynolds and Essick had been pro-English, the English, in proportion to their size in the Church, had had "twice or three times their ratio of representation" at that institution. The convention asked rhetorically whether Reynolds and Essick "were driven off through the machinations of the Joint Synod?" It also answered accusations against Professor Lehmann:

Resolved, That we have full confidence in Professor Lehmann, and that we are fully convinced that he labors with blessing for our Institutions at Columbus, and that the insinuations made against him can not in any wise shake either our confidence in him or our expressed convictions . . . .

An olive branch, however, was extended to the English:

Resolved, That we herewith assure the English District of our continued fraternal feeling towards them, and entreat them, prayerfully to consider, whether their best interests and those of the Church do not require them to leave the tie, which hitherto bound us together, unbroken.

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88 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 64.
89 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 224.
90 Ohio Minutes (November, 1854), p. 12.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid., p. 9; this was passed unanimously.
93 Ibid., p. 8.
To attempt a reconciliation, Professor Lehmann and Pastor Loy were appointed as a committee to meet with the English District at its next convention at Wooster, Ohio.  

Loy recalled:

My old teacher had come to be a standing member of all committees entrusted with difficult and disagreeable work, and I was fast becoming a standing second.

Possibly the choice of these two men was not for the best interests of the Church, but Loy felt

. . . there was no reason why I should be a person to whom the English District would object. I was born in America, spoke English even in preference to German, and was confirmed in a church belonging to the General Synod.  

Their mission, however, proved a failure because "we could not even get a hearing. We accomplished nothing because we were not even allowed to speak." The majority of the District seceded and joined the General Synod. Loy and Lehmann left in disgust, and

The impression I received has always seemed to me well summarized in my colleague's remark, when I referred to

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94 Ibid., p. 4.
95 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 225.
96 Ibid., pp. 225-226; Compare, however, the opinion of H. P. Dannecker, "Dr. Loy was not a German. He was an American by birth . . . . And nevertheless he was a consistent, orthodox Lutheran . . . ." "D. Loy war kein Deutscher. Er war ein Amerikaner von Geburt . . . . Und doch war er ein konsequenter, orthodoxer Lutheraner . . . ." Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (March 6, 1915), p. 146.
his well-worn school trousers as hardly respectable for such an occasion, that he had brought with him a better pair, but thought these good enough for such a crowd. 99

The Synod was ruptured, but the university was under conservative control. The future conduct of Dr. Reynolds seemed to justify the fears of the "Old Lutheran" party under Loy and Lehmann. In 1854 Reynolds and his family settled in Springfield, Illinois, 100 and nine years later he was confirmed and ordained by an Episcopal bishop, serving for a time as the rector of a parish in Warsaw, Illinois. 101 Lehmann wrote in the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung of September 4, 1863, that

In this case we again have a sad evidence of the ease, and—alas!--of the superficiality with which the most sacred things are handled in this country. Faith and confession, church and denomination, are changed with the same ease as a coat . . . 102

In the decade after 1854 "our college, crippled by these unhappy occurrences, was in a precarious condition." 103 The School suffered in the eyes of the Columbus public, for

Reynolds had been very popular in the city, and this, plus the fact that many prominent citizens were eliminated from the Board when it was re-organized in 1857, reduced attendance by Columbus students to a minimum. 104

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101 Owens, These Hundred Years, pp. 64-65.
102 Quoted Ibid., p. 65. Reynolds died in Oak Park, Illinois, on September 5, 1876, Ibid.
104 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 69; the Board was reconstituted beginning January 27, 1857, to exclude non-Lutheran members. See Ibid., p. 76.
In July, 1859, only ten pupils were enrolled in the college and only twenty attended the grammar school. The difficulty, Loy remembered from his experience as a Board member, was:

Not only had enemies endeavored to excite prejudice against us in the city as narrow-minded foreigners and bigoted Lutherans, but our finances were in an almost inextricable confusion.

Salaries could not be met and

Our income was not sufficient to warrant the calling of other men to fill the vacancies at a sufficient salary to insure a livelihood and arrangements had to be made to tide over the period of distress.

Though pastoring his parish in Delaware, Loy taught part-time at the university in 1856 "to assist for a while," offering "rhetoric and other English branches . . . ." Until 1857 Christian Spielmann "reluctantly consented" to be President pro tempore of Capital, and then W. F. Lehmann

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105 Ibid., p. 77.
106 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 228.
107 Ibid., p. 227.
108 Ibid. At the Ohio convention of 1856 he was referred to as Professor Loy. See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1856, p. 3.
assumed the responsibility on a "temporary" basis, holding the office until his death twenty-three years later.\textsuperscript{110}

The outbreak of the Civil War added to the university's difficulties, and one of the faculty members, the Reverend E. Schmid, Professor of Ancient Languages, was drafted, but later was deferred due to poor health.\textsuperscript{111} Editor Loy suggested in the \textit{Lutheran Standard} that

\begin{quote}
It is no honor to our land that ministers of Christ are not by law exempted from the necessity of bearing arms, which is so inconsistent with their vocation and work.\textsuperscript{112}
\end{quote}

In those turbulent times Loy encouraged the Synod to support the school, for

\begin{quote}
The war has affected us, as it has other Institutions, sadly. While national troubles are upon us we should
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{110}Wilhelm Friedrich Lehmann had been born on October 16, 1820, in Markkroenigen, Wuerttemberg, coming to the United States with his parents when he was four years old, being the third son in a family of eleven children. The family settled in Philadelphia, where he began his education in the parish school connected with St. Michael's Lutheran Church. At the age of fifteen he decided to study for the ministry, and came west to enter the Seminary at Columbus in 1835, doing his work under Professor Schmidt. In 1839 he was licensed a candidate, and went to take further academic training at Gettysburg. Finding that institution not to his liking, he read theology under Dr. C. R. Demme and Pastor G. A. Reichert in Philadelphia. He was authorized by the Ohio Synod to collect funds for the Seminary in the East. Later Lehmann served congregations of the Ohio Synod in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and in June, 1847, he assumed the responsibility of teaching in the Columbus Seminary. When the university was founded in 1850, he was made Professor of German Language and Literature. See Owens, \textit{These Hundred Years}, pp. 73-75; Christian Spielmann, \textit{Memorial of Rev. Prof. W. F. Lehmann, late President of Capital University, who died Weds. morning, December 1, 1880} (Columbus, Ohio: Synodical Publishing House, 1881); Interview, The Reverend William Lehmann, June 10, 1965.

\textsuperscript{111}\textit{Lutheran Standard}, XXV (February 15, 1865), p. 29.

\textsuperscript{112}Ibid.
not suffer ourselves to forget the wants of the Church, or
grow weak or weary in our endeavors to supply them; and
educated men of piety are a want always.113

In 1864 Loy could report to his readers that

Notwithstanding the trying times the present condition
and future prospects of our Institutions are highly en­
couraging.114

There were twenty Seminary students enrolled for the fall term of
1865,115 and in 1866 three men were graduated from the college and
eight from the theological department.116 Loy could boast that

The course of studies pursued in our College . . . is
full, and the training of students, as those can testify
who have been present at a commencement season, is
thorough. Few Institutions offer superior advantages
to those who would learn how to study and how to apply
what has been learned.117

Possibly the major accomplishment of Lehmann's adminis­
tration was the moving of the university from its North High
Street site, which it had occupied for nearly twenty-three years,
to a ten-acre campus on East Main Street in Bexley.118 By 1870
Columbus "had practically enveloped the institution, though, but

113Lutheran Standard, XXIV (October 15, 1864), p. 5.
114Lutheran Standard, XXIV (July 15, 1864), p. 5.
115Ibid. It was reported to the Synod in 1864 that "the
number of pupils in the Seminary is now larger than at any other
time in former years." "Die Zahl der Zoeglinge im Seminar ist
jetzt grosser als zu irgendeiner Zeit in frueheren Jahren." Ohio
Verhandlungen, 1864, p. 19.
116Lutheran Standard, XXVI (July 1, 1866), p. 100.
117Lutheran Standard, XXIV (October 15, 1864), p. 5.
118Studer, Columbus, Ohio, p. 266.
An uncouth folk was settling that part of the city, and the increasing noise, dust, etc., and the wear and tear which had rendered the building quite unserviceable, again impressed upon Synod the necessity of looking for a new location.

One of the students' "favorite pastimes," furthermore,

"... was getting into fights with the 'Flytown' crowd, a small settlement located just west of the school. The settlement boys did not approve wholeheartedly of the 'dudes' who were attending the only university in Columbus at that time."

Therefore

In 1874, due to increasing noise and dust, plans were made to erect a dormitory and dining hall on the National Pike east of Alum Creek, the present location of the school.

An historian of the period reported that the plot was

"... one of the most beautiful and healthful adjoining the city, and can not but materially help the advancement of the East end, which has been growing very fast for the past two years. The new university is to cost about $80,000."

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119 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 136; in 1860, North Public Avenue (Naghten Street) had been the limit of the city's northern expansion. See Francis P. Weisenburger, Columbus During the Civil War (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, for Ohio Historical Society, 1963), p. 3.

120 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 136.


122 The Centennial Capitalian, 1930, p. 104.

123 Studer, Columbus, Ohio, pp. 266-267. In 1889 it was said of Capital University that "it forms, in fact, already a pleasant little suburb of the city, presenting, however, all the advantages of a quiet rural life." Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890 (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1890), p. 10.
On May 3, 1876, the students and faculty made the "trek" of four and one-half miles to Bexley, and the university facilities were formally dedicated on June 20.\textsuperscript{124}

The work had been too much for Professor Lehmann, who

\ldots plodded on, now teaching, now collecting money, now admonishing and encouraging the weak-kneed brethren; surely this lone Seminary professor occupied a hard and unenviable position.\textsuperscript{125}

In 1864, therefore, Matthias Loy had been called to be a Professor at Capital, and on Wednesday, June 28, 1865, he was installed in this office in an "earnest and solemn" service.\textsuperscript{126} The Reverend F. Groth of Dayton, President of the Seminary Board, delivered the charge, Loy gave an inaugural address, and words of welcome were spoken by Lehmann.\textsuperscript{127}

"No doubt," Loy suggested after forty years of teaching, "it must to many have seemed a rash act of my part to accept an office so high and so responsible as that of a theological professorship,"\textsuperscript{128} and if one used

\ldots our Church in Europe as the standard of measurement, my abilities were manifestly inadequate, and if I had fancied myself in possession of the necessary qualifications for it, I could only have made myself ridiculous.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{124}Owens, These Hundred Years, pp. 99-100; see Alfred E. Lee, History of the City of Columbus (2 vols; New York: Munsel and Company, 1892), II, 701-704.
\textsuperscript{125}Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{126}Lutheran Standard, XXV (July 1, 1865), p. 100.
\textsuperscript{127}Ibid. The speeches of Groth, Loy, and Lehmann, and an outline of the service are found in a sixteen-page insert in Ohio Verhandlungen, 1864-1866.
\textsuperscript{128}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 320.
\textsuperscript{129}Ibid.
The Seminary Board, of which Loy was a member, had "more than once thought of calling some man of eminence from a German University," and had considered such theologians as Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, but had "always agreed that the plan was not feasible." The application of European standards "under existing conditions was out of the question. We had neither a great University, nor great men . . . ." At the meeting of the Joint Synod in 1864, therefore, Loy was unanimously elected to the position. This came as a surprise to him, and though my name was probably mentioned more than once when I was not present . . . so far as I can recollect I received no intimation of it until I was nominated and elected at Synod.

Loy saw that Lehmann was "overburdened with work" and accepted the call, beginning his teaching in March, 1865.

An historian of the Lutheran Seminary believed that a new period in the history of the institution began when Loy entered upon his professorial duties. Not that the doctrinal trend of the school was changed or its curriculum revolutionized, but the power and position of the institution was greatly increased and fortified. M. Loy was a power in any position. He also brought with him the editorship of the Lutheran Standard, so that with

130 Ibid., p. 321.
131 Hengstenberg's Evangelische Kirchenzeitung was popular among Ohio Synod conservatives. See Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 9.
133 Ibid., p. 320.
134 Ibid., p. 321. During the convention, Loy had previously reported on the unsuccessful efforts to secure a second Seminary Professor. See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1864, p. 7.
136 Ibid., p. 322.
voice and pen the great central doctrines of the Lutheran Church were both enunciated and defended. Loy was the champion of conservative Lutheranism in whatever capacity he labored. Since 1850 he had also been President of the Joint Synod of Ohio. And this office he also brought with him to the school. We see again how in the Joint Synod the doctrinal, and administrative leadership was centered in the Seminary.\(^{137}\)

During his fifty years at the university he served as "Professor of Mental and Moral Science,"\(^{138}\) and held several administrative positions, as housefather to the students,\(^{139}\) President of the Seminary, Dean of the Faculty, membership on both the Board of Directors of the college and of the Seminary, and most important, from 1880 to 1890 he was President of the school.\(^{140}\)

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\(^{137}\) Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 44. Deans of the Seminary were presidents of the Joint Synod for forty years, and Seminary Professors served as Presidents of Capital University for forty-four years. For twenty-five years the editor-in-chief of the Lutheran Standard was a Seminary Professor, and men from the Seminary were on the staff of that paper for about eighty years. The Lutherische Kirchenzeitung was edited by Seminary professors for fifty years, The Columbus Theological Magazine, founded by Loy in 1881, was edited by Seminary teachers for forty years, and the Theologische Zeitsblaetter was established and operated by Seminary faculty members. Ibid., p. 71. On Loy and the Columbus Theological Magazine, see Chapter VI, and Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (February 6, 1915), p. 81.

\(^{138}\) Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States 1901-1902 (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1902), p. 6.

\(^{139}\) Loy, Story of My Life, p. 324; it was a position he disliked and he was relieved of it by 1880. Ibid., pp. 269-270. Yet a former student, E. A. Boehme, remembered Loy's kindness to him as a housefather, see Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (March 6, 1915), p. 146.

\(^{140}\) As late as 1902 he was serving as Seminary President. See Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902, p. 30. For a while he was simultaneously on both the college and university boards. See Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890, pp. 2, 19.
When Loy was called to Capital University he had been promised "heavy labor and modest remuneration for it," and he often had a teaching load in excess of nineteen hours a week. A representative schedule was that which he had in the year of his retirement, 1901-1902:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches Taught</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastoral Theology</td>
<td>1:45-2:30 (Monday through Thursday)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dogmatics</td>
<td>2:30-3:15 (Monday through Thursday)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>1:00-1:45 (Monday through Thursday)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>3:15-4:10 (Monday through Thursday)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>1:30-2:45 (Friday)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homiletical Exercises</td>
<td>2:45-4:00 (Friday)</td>
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This separation between graduate and undergraduate courses met the terms of his call, which had stated that

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141 *Lutheran Standard*, XXV (February 15, 1865), p. 29. In 1881 his salary was $300 as President, and $1,200 as Professor. See Owens, *These Hundred Years*, p. 119. A recently retired Seminary Professor commented, "We nearly worked the fathers of our school to death." Interview, Dr. Leonard Ludwig, Feb. 10, 1965.

142 See *Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902*, p. 35.

143 *Ibid*. Loy did not complain of the heavy load, believing a man "may work twelve or fifteen hours" a day. "Why not, if in the depth of his soul he sees the need of it to promote a cause that is dear to him . . .?" Loy, *Story of My Life*, pp. 389-390.
Prof. Loy will devote the greater part of his time and strength to the Seminary, but will also take charge of several branches in the college.\textsuperscript{144}

Psychology and Logic were considered the two divisions of the Department of Philosophy, of which Dr. Loy was Chairman.\textsuperscript{145}

Loy defined the task of Philosophy as follows:

With a view to completeness in our educational work attention is given not only to the external world of matter and the physical sciences to which the study of its phenomena has led, but also to the internal world of mind with its data and laws and processes, as they underlie these sciences and furnish their necessary ground and explanation.\textsuperscript{146}

Loy's watchword was "beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men,"\textsuperscript{147} and he strove to protect his students "against all the Materialism, and Rationalism and Mysticism and Liberalism of the age,"\textsuperscript{148} for . . . it is the teacher's effort always to set our thinking and the object of our thought in the right relation to each other, and both in the right relation to the Creator and Redeemer of the world. As ours is a Christian institution, it is a matter of course that students are taught to revere the revelation given in Holy Scripture and to treat it as an important factor in the solution of philosophical problems.\textsuperscript{149}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{144} Lutheran Standard, XXV (February 15, 1865), p. 29. He did not teach courses in the grammar school. Letter from the Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965.
  \item \textsuperscript{145} Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902, p. 20.
  \item \textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{147} Colossians 2:8.
  \item \textsuperscript{148} Matthias Loy, The Augsburg Confession: An Introduction to Its Study and an Exposition of Its Contents (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1908), p. 207.
  \item \textsuperscript{149} Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902, p. 20.
\end{itemize}
"Mental Philosophy" or Psychology was the introductory course, and was designed for Juniors. The Professor promised that

The whole field of Psychology, in its three departments of intellect, sensibility and will, are thus gone over. With this are combined the principal points in the history of Philosophy as related to the topics under discussion, and the moral bearings of the facts and factors brought to view.

This was followed by a Senior level Logic class with the purpose

... to make clear the laws, which, according to the design of God in our creation and original endowment, regulate our thinking.

Dr. Loy offered a Senior English section on the "Art of Discourse," whose object was

... to help the students in the communication of their thoughts and sentiments through the medium of speech, and this with special reference to public address.

It was essentially a Speech course, attempting

... to explain more fully the logical, esthetic, and ethical principles which govern the aim of discourse, the choice of material, the arrangement of the matter, the methods of convincing the understanding, moving the feelings, and directing the will to the work proposed.

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150 Ibid. See also Matthias Loy, "Psychology, Copied by Harry Loy, June 14, 1881, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio," (in Archives of The American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa), p. 4.
151 Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902, p. 20.
152 Ibid. Atwater's Logic was the text used.
153 See Matthias Loy, "The Art of Discourse, as Dictated by Prof. M. Loy, Senior Year (copied by) Harry Loy, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, September 13, 1882," (unpublished manuscript in The Archives of The American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa).
154 Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902, p. 18.
155 Ibid.
In the Seminary Loy taught introductory Dogmatics, Poimenics or Pastoral Theology, and a Homiletics laboratory. Prior to the death of Professor Lehmann, he was expected to offer Isagogics. Loy stated of it:

... the first branch that I was required to teach in the Seminary was one about which I knew little, and for which I never had a liking.

Loy was deeply impressed with the responsibilities he had as an educator, and he determined to make this calling "my chief vocation .... He also realized that the courses he taught were considered by the Seminary and the Synod as "among the most important" in the university. As the years passed, there were

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156 See Matthias Loy, "Encyclopedia and Methodology of the Theological Sciences, as Dictated by Prof. M. Loy During the term beginning September 3, 1884 (copied by) Harry Loy, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio," (unpublished manuscript in The Archives of The American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa). It was a course for Juniors in the Seminary to give them a "telescopic" survey of theology; it was also recommended for Seniors as a summary of what they had learned in the past three years.

157 This was a course in ministerial care and conduct, using a textbook by C.F.W. Walther. See Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902, p. 34.

158 This dealt with the preparation and presentation of sermons, and the students wrote and delivered addresses in the presence of Dr. Loy and received his criticisms. See Ibid.; Letter from the Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965.

159 He called this the "distasteful branch" of his work; it consisted of an introduction to the various books of the Bible; see Loy, Story of My Life, p. 326.

160 Ibid. At other times he taught additional subjects, such as German Catechism and Sacred History. See Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890, p. 23.

161 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 325.

162 Ohio Minutes, 1902, p. 23.
"hundreds of Lutheran ministers . . . who owe their training for their work to him." He was to be more than a teacher, for he had to be a "Doctor of the Church" instilling the faith and defending its doctrines for future generations. This task filled him with a feeling of inadequacy, for he discovered himself "rusty in all branches" of learning that he had studied, and he was also called upon to teach areas in which he had no formal training. He had had but two years of higher education, and though Capital University awarded him a Master of Arts in 1853, and Muhlenberg College gave him a Doctorate in Divinity in 1885, and though he "felt encouraged by the honorary degree," he always believed his teaching "fell far short of my ideal and aim, and was subject to severe criticism by my own judgment.

His accusing conscience compelled him to seek to make adequate preparation for his classes, and he explained:

... [I] strove so to arrange my work that all would be done in due order at the proper time, so that clashing interferences would not be necessary . . . .

"The time set apart for preparation," however, was "sometimes greatly infringed upon," and

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163 Columbus, Ohio Evening Dispatch, January 27, 1915, p.11.
164 The Synod so regarded him, and he was called "our venerable Doctor," in Ohio Minutes, 1902, p. 22.
165 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 325.
168 Ibid., p. 327.
169 Ibid., p. 325.
I could not do full justice to the preparatory work in my study, which might not much embarrass an experienced teacher, but which could not fail to cause anxiety in a beginner.170

The best time for study proved to be the forenoon between seven and eleven thirty.171

After lunch he left his home at 566 East Rich Street for school. For many years he walked out East Main Street to the college, and a former student recalled that

Unless the weather was too stormy, he made those several miles in a measured tread, body erect, never swaying from left to right. He might have been a retired army officer. When we met him coming or going—no one told us young chaps to raise our hats or caps. We saluted a great man . . . [and] he always accepted our gesture with a smile and greeting.172

170 Ibid. "Doctor Loy's life was too busy to be spent merely in the study. As in the case with so many of our professors and pastors, he often did the work, which for the good of the worker and the work, should have been borne by two or more. But in spite of the amount of work, Doctor Loy did splendid work." Ohio Minutes (English District), 1915, p. 65.

171 The class notes were composed carefully in detailed outline and logical progression, and were written out for purposes of dictation. Proportion was a major consideration, and they were broken into sub-points suitable for presentation within an hour's time. He was careful to keep to his class schedule, and planned his lectures according to the calendar. Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965, and personal examination of existing copies of Dr. Loy's notes. It was said that in his work "there were two characteristics which stood forth prominently--his keen intellect and his strong will." Lutheran Standard, LXXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 89.

In the spring rains sometimes flooded Alum Creek, and he had to cross it by barge or wagon. In later life he rode to the campus on the Main Street car line.

Regardless of the means of transportation, he arrived at Capital promptly at 1:00 P.M. and the pupils remarked that they could set their watches by his appearance. When Loy first came to "Old Cap" he found "the order and discipline of the school ... far from satisfactory" because "there had been a lack of punctuality all around." He commented that "this troubled me." Professor Lehmann was preoccupied with outside activities and was "not only unable to perform this function of his office, but unable to be punctual himself in the classroom." Lehmann began his lectures "an hour or more late," and "his hours were when he rang his bell; that is about all that was certain." Loy put a stop to this practice, and with greater punctuality achieved, "I carried my burdens with better cheer."

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173 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
174 Ibid. The street car line was extended to near Capital University by the fall of 1891. See Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (September 12, 1891), p. 293. By 1909 there were two lines east to Bexley, see Taylor, Centennial History, I, 229.
175 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
177 Ibid.
178 Ibid., p. 329.
179 Ibid.
180 Ibid.
After 1891 Loy's lectures were held in what was then the newest building at the university, Recitation Hall. When Dr. Loy came into the class room in the Seminary it was not necessary to explain to a visitor that this was now a class in theology. The countenance, the manner, the language of the teacher all told of the sacred, serious purpose of his presence. You could hear a pin drop when Loy began to speak.

Seated behind his desk, he lectured in a slow, deliberate manner. He was "not sprightly, or active, but instead, quiet and still," and he "did not pace the floor, raise his voice, or use the blackboard." A pupil recalled that "he never seemed to get excited." This meant that On occasion sleep would sometimes overcome a drowsy student. In an even temper and voice the Doctor, before putting a question, would request a neighbor to please waken So-and-So. Usually upon the calm request there followed a rude awakening. And with the student involved, it never happened again.

In most of his classes Loy did not use a text book, but the matter essential to the topic of each lecture is dictated and on this with the explanations.

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182 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 51.
184 Ibid.
185 Ibid.
186 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 51.
187 His lectures formed the basis of Discourse, Psychology, and Dogmatics. No text was needed for Homiletics. In Pastoral Theology he used a book by C.F.W. Walther; in Logic, Atwater's text, and in Catechism the version of Luther's work by Dietrich; see Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890, pp. 13-14, and Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1901-1902, pp. 20, 34.
given the students are every day examined. They are thus enabled to study the lesson as given by dictation, consult books on its contents, and after hearing the teacher's exposition ask questions, if any difficulties should yet remain.\footnote{188}

Some courses had assigned readings, and the scholar was expected to prepare himself diligently for each recitation, but

\begin{quote}
... this alone is never deemed sufficient to attain our end, however faithful may be the student and however satisfactory may be his work. The teacher has something important to do even when the student has done his best. ... The recitations therefore virtually assume the form of lectures on the topic assigned for study, combined with the regular examination of the class on their acquirements and the privilege to ask questions and obtain further elucidations.\footnote{189}
\end{quote}

Loy's favorite pedagogical device was daily "oral quizzing" or the "recitation method," which took the place of formal written examinations.\footnote{190} Since the classes were small, often numbering only seven students,\footnote{191} every pupil was certain to be called upon, and

\begin{quote}
It was next to impossible to slip through his classes with a smattering of knowledge. His questions were so direct and clear that only the same kind of answer would suffice ... He was an ideal teacher for the student who wanted to learn and a terror for the fellow who had no such desire. The boy who was just drifting along and shirking his work was sure to be found out and exposed.\footnote{192}
\end{quote}

\footnote{188}Ibid., p. 20.
\footnote{189}Ibid.
\footnote{190}His former students did not recall such examinations. Interview, The Reverend H. N. Brobst, February 18, 1965; Letter from The Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965; Letter from Dr. J. W. Schillinger, February 25, 1965.
\footnote{191}Examination of alumni records, 1854-1913, in Annual Catalogue of the Educational Institutions, 1914-1915, pp. 66-77.
\footnote{192}Dr. H. J. Schuh, quoted in Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 122.
This was also a way by which "he always maintained excellent discipline in his class," though "he was not a stern or harsh man . . . ."\textsuperscript{193} The auditors, in return, also had an opportunity to ask questions of Dr. Loy, but this was rarely done, for

They felt themselves so far beneath him, they never asked Dr. Loy questions, and they were in such awe of him, they did not often go to see him.\textsuperscript{194}

As Loy often alternately taught in German and English, he was careful in his choice of words since many of his students did not understand much German. The Reverend C. F. Lauer recalled in this connection that:

At one time in our class C. D. Fischer, who was not of German parentage . . . was asked to make a German translation about fellow Christians not necessarily Lutheran. Fischer said: 'unsere ungläubigen Glaubensgenossen,' [that is] 'Our unbelieving brothers in the faith.' Dr. Loy's face broke into a wide grin as he said, 'So that's the new breed.'\textsuperscript{195}

While usually believed to be completely devoid of a sense of humor, Dr. Loy had his lighter side.\textsuperscript{196} On one occasion a student came to class late and Professor Loy looked up, and frowning, noted that the boy was wearing a new suit. He suggested, "That suit is too short," to which the pupil retorted, "It will be

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\textsuperscript{193} Ibid.; "Everyone was too afraid to be naughty," Interview, The Reverend H. N. Brobst, February 18, 1965.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{195} Letter from The Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965.
\textsuperscript{196} He was generally considered to be "matter of fact," Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
long enough until I get another." 197 This incident struck Loy's fancy, and he repeated it and other funny stories, his bald head getting red, and before he could finish he would break out laughing. 198

He also had his idiosyncrasies which fascinated the students. One later recalled:

We always suspected that he chewed tobacco. We could never catch him taking a chew or getting rid of it, until one day we barged in on his first class after lunch. He was at the east window, with his back to us. We saw him, by a quick maneuver, get rid of his chew, by way of the window. One of the boys substantiated this by inspecting that particular spot of the campus. In later years when we told some of the 'theologs,' seminarians, of our discovery, they laughed: 'We have known that all the time.' 199

"As a teacher," however, "he was greatly revered by his students ...." 200 The impression he made on his auditors was that "he had full command of the subject of which he spoke, that he had gone to the very bottom of it, and understood it from every

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197 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965. Another incident occurred "At a faculty meeting, Dr. Schodde ... had the floor. His wife had given birth that morning to a baby girl. Everybody was surprised. Dr. Schodde insisted that no one knew that his wife was expecting; he said she even had the doctor fooled. At this, Dr. Loy, in his dry way, interposed: 'You haven't quite convinced me that you didn't know anything about that pregnancy or that you didn't have anything to do with it.' This real story made the rounds." Letter from The Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965.

198 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.

199 Letter from the Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965. When Dr. Loy relieved himself of a chew at the window, the boys snickered and commented, "There goes the flood." Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.

200 Ohio Minutes (English District), 1915, p. 65.
A Columbus historian reported in 1901:

Dr. Loy is a model teacher, respected and beloved alike by his colleagues and his pupils; a man of extensive learning, a profound and clear thinker, and a good disciplinarian.

Pastor H. P. Dannecker recalled in 1915:

As a student of Dr. Loy I could also speak of his eminent gift of teaching. He was a teacher of God's grace. His lectures were not only interesting, but actually fascinating. He had the gift so to analyze the most difficult questions, that [even] the dullest could follow him.

He remembered that Loy "compelled respect through the remarkable calmness and the deep conviction with which he spoke," and that Loy had the gift [of teaching] and the ability to impart to others which he knew, in a much greater measure than many others [teachers].

Professor Wilhelm Schmidt of Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, felt that

As a teacher, Dr. Loy is unforgettable to me. His favorite study was Metaphysics, and although my inclination embraced much more the Historical, I nevertheless still think back with pleasure to his instruction in...

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201 Quoted Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 122.
204 "Er erzwang sich Achtung durch die merkwuerdige Ruhe und die tiefe Ueberzeugung, mit welcher er redete," and "Loy hatte die Lehrgabe, die Faehigkeit, das, was er wusste, anderen beizubringen, in weit groesserem Masse als viele andere." Ibid.
Psychology and Logic, [for] he understood how to discuss these abstract disciplines [very] clearly and interestingly. 205

Dr. H. J. Schuh said that he was "by all odds our best teacher both in college and Seminary." 206

As the years passed, among the faculty, he was the most well-known and important figure. Not only his position and age guaranteed him that honor, but also the fact that increasingly many of his colleagues on the staff were his former students. 207

The Reverend C.H.L. Schuette, Loy's successor at Delaware, 208 taught mathematics to the undergraduates after 1872 and later offered the "practical branches" in the theological department. 209

In March, 1881, the Reverend F. W. Stellhorn came to Capital from Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Indiana, of the Missouri Synod, to teach exegesis. 210 A historian characterized these teachers as

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206 Quoted in Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 122. In 1880 Loy was designated "first Professor." See Ibid., p. 119.

207 Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (March 6, 1915), p. 147.

208 Parish Records, 1865, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish archives).

209 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 186; he had been awarded an honorary M.A. at Capital in 1866, see Lutheran Standard, XXVI (July 15, 1866), p. 108.

210 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 47.
"the serious Loy, the scholarly Stellhorn, the keen Schuette . . ."

They were considered "a theological trinity with few superiors," though

They were not brilliant nor strikingly progressive, but they helped their students to lay hold of the fundamentals of Christian life and practice.212

Professor George H. Schodde, who had taught in the college since 1881, came to the Seminary in 1894,213 and the Reverend A. Pflueger started teaching in 1885.214

Because of Loy's preeminence in the university, he was chosen to be its President on January 13, 1881, after the death of W. F. Lehmann.215 Since "the president's job had come to include just about everything except stoking the furnaces,"216 Loy was not delighted with his election. Later, he recalled:

I declined to accept it, believing that more was resting upon me already than a man is ordinarily expected to

211 Ibid., p. 48.
212 Ibid., A student recalled that Loy's "argument was: If a pastor does his duty in presenting Bible truths, as they are written in 'the Book,' then there is no need of simplifying, which only too often is a watering down. The word 'compromise' was not in his vocabulary." Letter from The Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965.
213 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 49.
214 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 186. The students, of course, had nicknames for these men. They called Lehmann "Billy," and "they always referred to Stellhorn as 'Pete,' Mees Sr. as 'Rabbi,' Schmidt as 'Bossy,' Pflueger as 'Cardinal,' and Dr. Loy as 'Mat.' We undergraduates resented this familiarity . . . ." Letter from the Reverend C. F. Lauer, March 1, 1965.
215 Lehmann died on December 1, 1880, of cancer of the mouth, at an age of sixty years, one month, and fourteen days. See Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 46; Interview with the Reverend William Lehmann, June 10, 1965.
216 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 129.
carry. The Board insisted and adjourned. Manifestly the duties of the presidency must be performed, and I continued to perform them as well as I could. Time passed on, and the Board was apparently satisfied with the performance, as well without my acceptance of the call as it would have been if I had accepted it. It would appoint nobody else, and I had to serve. Finally I thought it best, for the sake of order and appearance, to accept the name as well as the work, and thus for about ten years I added the presidency of Capital University to my other labors and honors.217

"The principle that guided Dr. Loy as president," suggested a recent historian,

... was that first of all the purpose of the university was the preparation of young men for the Seminary. It was a policy in which he was sincere but which eventually worked to the disadvantage of the university, for in time the school became known as a 'preacher factory.'218

In accordance with this desire to produce clergymen, the curriculum of the institution was centered in the classical languages and theology,219 and as late as 1915 it was stressed that:

The main course of our school is the CLASSICAL. The background of this course is the study of languages and arranged around them are mathematics, history, philosophy and science. It is recognized that the study of language gives the best mental drill and discipline.220

218 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 123. In 1909 it was written of Capital that the "chief purpose has been and still is to serve as a feeder for the theological seminary ... ." Taylor, Centennial History, I, 229.
219 See for example, Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890, pp. 13-14.
During the Loy decade no one could deny that "Capital University is a denominational school." Loy believed that the human wisdom which has gained ascendancy in her [the Lutheran Church's] universities in Germany, as it has in most of the universities that are not Lutheran in America, is not in harmony with the Scriptures. He lamented that in Germany institutions manned and managed by Protestants are allowed to teach pretty much as professors, who clamor for liberty under the plea of maintaining the rights of science and scholarship, think right and expedient, regardless of what the Bible and the Confessions say. He determined that his school would "abide by our Bible and our Augsburg Confession, pursuing the even tenor of our way in humble faith . . ." The new theories of evolution, higher criticism, geology, and liberal theology were not to be tolerated. To Loy's way of thinking there was "no more Christian logic to favor sin in 'free thought' than in 'free love.'" As teachers, "subject to this revelation written in Holy Scripture, we are perfectly free. What larger liberty could the children of God desire?" If a professor or pastor could not agree with this conception of academic freedom, then

If he has not the good sense to go out, there is no reasonable recourse but that he should be put out. His

222 Loy, The Augsburg Confession, p. 182.
223 Ibid., p. 183.
224 Ibid., p. 204.
225 See Ibid., pp. 138-234.
226 Ibid., p. 227.
227 Ibid., p. 224.
piteous cry for freedom can have no effect on loyal hearts that recognize no liberty in the Church to deny allegiance to the Lord and seek to dethrone the King. If they want to rebel against His authority, they should at least have the good sense not to expect aid and comfort among His people.  

Under these circumstances, the student body had become largely Lutheran by the time of Lehmann’s Presidency. With a few exceptions, pupils were recruited mainly from Ohio and the midwest. Enrollment during the Loy years was static, though in 1885 there were forty-two students in the Seminary, the highest number up to that time. In the 1889-1890 school year there were thirty-one seminarians, seventy-one undergraduates, and

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228 Ibid., p. 227.

229 An historian reported that "to the joy of many, most of the students were Lutheran." Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 77. As of October 1, 1964, only 67.45 per cent of the students belonged to one of the Lutheran denominations. See Capital Letters, XLIX (May, 1965), p. 1.

230 Of 1,102 students graduating from the Seminary between 1850 and 1930, 382 were from Ohio, sixty-eight from Pennsylvania, fifty-six from Michigan, forty-three from Indiana, twenty-one from Illinois, nineteen from Wisconsin, fourteen from Maryland, nine each from New York and Minnesota, seven from Nebraska, five from West Virginia, four each from Texas and Washington state, two each from Iowa and North Carolina, and one each from South Dakota, North Dakota, Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, Alabama, California, Oregon, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. There were forty-seven from Germany, two each from Norway, Denmark, India, and Canada, and one each from Russia and Iran. See Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 69. In 1964, seventy-six per cent of the college enrollment came from Ohio. See Capital Letters, XLIX (May, 1965), p. 1.

231 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 50.
fifty-two boys in the Grammar School, for a total of one hundred fifty-four. Coeducation was prohibited.

The social life of the students was representative of the Gilded Age, for Capital had been

... born in a different world ... A young woman was on the throne of England and her name was to become the name of an entire way of life and of thought for most of the western world. A way which today to us ... is incredibly remote, conservative, romantic, optimistic, proud—the Victorian Age.

At Christmas and on other holidays scholars got "cakes, pies, and other things" from the ladies societies of various Columbus Lutheran churches. Opportunities for physical education and recreation were limited, but "it was the Housefather's responsibility to see that some exercise was indulged in by all students."

Religion was important and the rules in 1889-1890 specified that

House worship will be held daily from October till March, at 7 a.m. and at 7½ p.m., and from March till October at 6½ a.m. and at 8 p.m. All students are required to attend this service.

Study hours

... extend from 8 a.m. until 12 noon, from 2 until 5 p.m., and from 7½ (8 in summer) until 10 p.m. During

232 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890, pp. 4-8.
233 Loy felt "the co-education of older pupils is always a menace to morals." Loy, Story of My Life, p. 20. Co-eds were admitted in 1918. See Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 176
235 See Lutheran Standard, XXV (February 1, 1865), p. 21.
237 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890, p. 27.
these hours, as also between the hours of 10 p.m. and the time for rising, students must be in their rooms, unless engaged in recitation, or excused by special permission.238

Costs were modest throughout the period, for in 1864 tuition was thirty dollars annually for the college, twenty-dollars for the Grammar School, and no charges for the Seminary.239 Board was $1.75 per week, paid in advance each month, which was "as low as it can be afforded."240 Advertisements also stated that

Room rent will be $6.00 a year, students being requested to furnish beds and bedding, tables, chairs, etc., for their own rooms . . . [and] coal can be had at about 15 cents per bushel . . . . washing $1.00 per month.241

The high point of academic life came in the graduation exercises. These were in both English and German, and were held after the students had been thoroughly examined. Important were the orations of the seniors, which were delivered before a critical but appreciative audience of friends, relatives, professors, and pastors.242

As 1890 was a turning point in American intellectual history,243 so it marked a watershed in Loy's career as an

238 Ibid.
240 Ibid.
241 Ibid.
242 Ibid.
243 See Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (July 4, 1891), p. 213.
educator. In that year Loy offered his resignation as President, the position being then occupied by Professor C.H.L. Schuette. Honored on his twenty-fifth anniversary as a teacher, Loy continued to be affiliated with the university for twenty-five more years, though after 1902 he was officially in retirement. By the decade between 1910 and 1920, changes had come in the personnel and policies of the university. The "old guard" of Loy, Schodde, and Stellhorn all died within four years of one another. Dr. Waldemar O. Doescher, who joined the faculty in 1923, recalled these alterations:

Another significant change was the general character of the prevailing religious point of view. The rigidity of what was then called 'orthodoxy' was beginning to crack. It could not for long resist the pressure of new truth. We of the Mees-team . . . were a new generation which found it distasteful and disingenuous in the name of faith to fight geologists, biologists, evolutionists, and the historical critics, to claim dogmatic infallibility, or to hate Methodists, Episcopalians, and especially those . . . enemies at Wittenberg over in Springfield, (that 'unionist' sink of corruption)!

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244 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 123; from 1901 to 1912, Loy's son-in-law, Dr. L. H. Schuh was President. Ibid., p. 128.
245 See Ohio Minutes, 1890, p. 111.
In the last quarter of a century of his life, Loy concentrated his attention on his writing, for as an editor and author he used the "power of the pen" for conservative ideals for nearly fifty years. 249

249 In 1905 a gymnasium erected on the campus was named in his honor, and upon his death the Seminary faculty resolved: "That we hereby record our profound gratitude to God that He has permitted the departed to labor faithfully and successfully for so many decades . . . and that we hereby record our deep sorrow that we shall no longer have the benefit of his wise counsel and his assistance in the work . . . ." Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 13, 1915), p. 102. The students of the seminary passed a similar resolution, see Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 20, 1915), p. 118.
CHAPTER VI

MATTHIAS LOY: EDITOR AND AUTHOR, 1864-1890

The rise of confessionalism and controversy within the Lutheran synods of the United States in the nineteenth century produced "an enormous amount of literature . . . in the defense of the views advocated."\(^1\) Among the most prolific and significant writers were Samuel Simon Schmucker, Samuel Sprecher, Charles Porterfield Krauth, C.F.W. Walther, and G. J. Fritschel.\(^2\) To their number should be added Matthias Loy, who for over fifty years was the leading author and editor of Ohio Lutheranism. Loy recalled that "during my whole career as a minister . . . I have been a frequent contributor to the periodical press,"\(^3\) and an historian of the Joint Synod suggested that Loy "managed to find time to do considerable writing" and "that among the fathers we have much more from the pen of Dr. Loy than from any other."\(^4\) Loy did "not rush into authorship blindly,"\(^5\) but, moved by strong convictions, "with voice and pen, with heart and hand, I strove

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\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 281.
\(^4\)Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 263.
\(^5\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 392.

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to be diligent in the good Master's business . . . ." As a man of letters he edited religious journals, authored articles and books, wrote and translated hymns and theological treatises from German and Latin, and compiled liturgical agendas. Through these media he "did much to establish the reading clergy and laity of the Joint Synod in a conservative Lutheran Church life." For twenty-six years, from 1864 until 1890, Loy was the editor of the Ohio Synod's official English news organ, the Lutheran Standard. When he assumed that position, the Standard had already "had a precarious existence" which was illustrative of the problems of Lutheran religious journalism in America. While in 1810 there had been three hundred sixty-six newspapers in the Republic, twenty-seven of them dailies, when the Ohio Synod was born in 1818, "there was not a single Lutheran church paper in the United States." An unsuccessful effort had been made at the suggestion of Dr. J. G. Schmucker of York, Pennsylvania, to publish an Evangelisches Magazin. Sponsored by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and edited by Dr. J. H. C. Helmuth of Philadelphia, it began in the last quarter of 1811. Reflecting the "pietistic background" of its founders, "the magazine

6 Ibid., p. 406.
7 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 35.
8 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 281-282.
9 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 90.
10 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 119.
11 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 91.
12 Ibid.
was directed to the people in the pews,"\textsuperscript{13} and

\ldots carried much devotional material, synodical reports, letters from itinerant missionaries visiting the Western frontier, long accounts of foreign missions by the Lutheran churches of Europe, emotional appeals, tearful narratives, religious poetry, and urgent appeals for the preservation of the German language.\textsuperscript{14}

Though it may have been read by up to six thousand people,\textsuperscript{15} it was discontinued in 1817.\textsuperscript{16}

Nine years later a second attempt was made, and the \textit{Evangelical Lutheran Intelligencer}, America's first English-language Lutheran journal, was issued monthly under the authorization of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia.\textsuperscript{17} Edited by one of Dr. Hel-  
muth's former students, Dr. David F. Schaeffer of Frederick, Maryland, it had some "pietistic tendencies" but assumed "more theological interest and a broader intellectual range" in its readers.\textsuperscript{18} The \textit{Intelligencer} had "a renewed loyalty to Martin Luther" and displayed a mild confessionalism.\textsuperscript{19} When the Ohio Synod met in 1828 it discussed church papers and recommended the \textit{Intelligencer} to its membership.\textsuperscript{20} The paper, however,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{13}Ibid. It had contained about two hundred fifty pages of material each year.
  \item \textsuperscript{14}Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{15}Ibid. It had a subscription list of 1,500.
  \item \textsuperscript{16}Ibid. In its last three years it had appeared only annually.
  \item \textsuperscript{17}Ibid. The first issue was in March, 1826.
  \item \textsuperscript{18}Ibid. It averaged twenty-five pages per issue.
  \item \textsuperscript{19}Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{20}See Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 46.
\end{itemize}
... was not popular in the West especially since it came from the other side of the mountains and would have but little of local interest for the western brethren.\(^{21}\)

Within five years the *Intelligencer* had gone out of existence.\(^ {22}\)

The late 1820's, however, saw other short-lived attempts at establishing Lutheran periodicals. The *Lutheran Magazine* of the Western Conference of New York was founded in 1827, and *Das Evangelische Magazin* of the West Pennsylvania Synod in 1829.\(^ {23}\)

In that year the Ohio Synod appointed a committee to plan the publication of a German church paper.\(^ {24}\) The pattern of *Das Evangelische Magazin* was to be followed, with suitable changes to meet Ohio tastes and needs.\(^ {25}\) It was decided that a monthly, called *Die Evangelische Lutherische Stimme vom Westen* ("The Evangelical Lutheran Voice from the West"), should be produced in a large octavo size on "nice white paper" with twenty-four pages and at the price of one dollar.\(^ {26}\) While "that was a fine project from title to price," as "so often happens with fine paper projects, the plan was never carried out."\(^ {27}\)

\(^{21}\) Sheatsley, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod*, pp. 120-121.

\(^{22}\) Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism*, p. 91.

\(^{23}\) Ibid., p. 112. Neither of these lasted longer than six years.

\(^{24}\) *Ohio Verrichtungen, 1829*, p. 13.


\(^{26}\) *Ohio Verrichtungen, 1829*, p. 13; see Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," pp. 49, 50.

\(^{27}\) Sheatsley, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod*, p. 121.
The American Church wanted its own press, and "English-speaking Lutherans seemed to be in need of warnings against the threats of Unitarianism and Deism." The result was renewed efforts, and

... such was the ecclesiastical zeal during the period now under review, that at least five journals beginning at this time have been able to maintain themselves to the present day, or until merged in larger undertakings.

The first of these was the Lutheran Observer, begun in 1831 by Dr. J. G. Morris, which became the voice of liberal elements in the General Synod under Dr. Benjamin Kurtz and Professor S. S. Schmucker. The more conservative Dr. William A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, unable to purchase the Observer in 1848, founded the Missionary "to foster appreciation of historical Lutheranism." The Philadelphia Lutheran, established in 1856, was merged with the Missionary in 1861, and the resultant publication "was the popular spokesman for conservative Lutheran thought and practice" under the scholarly Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth. The Evangelical Review, the child of Dr. William M. Reynolds of Gettysburg in 1849, was to remain "the oldest theological magazine of the

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28 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 92.
29 Ibid., p. 112.
30 Ibid. The Ohio Synod said of "the so-called Lutheran Observer" that it "is certainly not infallible, nor is it the organ, nor the oracle of the Lutheran Church." Ohio Minutes, 1842, p. 13.
31 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 113.
32 Ibid.
Lutheran church in this country." The second oldest continuous Lutheran periodical, after the Lutheran Observer, was the Ohio Synod's Lutheran Standard, first appearing in 1842 and still surviving as the official paper of The American Lutheran Church.

Following the failure of Die Evangelische Luthersche Stimme vom Westen, the Ohioans had discussed the problem of creating a church paper through the 1830's, but "there was always a lion in the way." In 1838 Pastor A. Henkel tried to issue a small paper privately, but it was not "a very impressive sheet, and because it did not meet the wants of the people it soon ceased to be." Two years later Professor E. Schmidt of Pittsburgh, a minister of the Pennsylvania Synod, published a Luthersche Kirchenzeitung which was cordially endorsed by the Ohio Synod at its conventions, but "mismanagement . . . drove the paper to the wall" in 1845.

On May 25, 1842, at its Canton convention the Ohio Synod resolved to

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33 Ibid.; after 1872 it was called the Lutheran Quarterly and in 1928 it merged with the Lutheran Church Review to become the Lutheran Church Quarterly which joined with the Augustana Quarterly in 1949 under the new name of Lutheran Quarterly; for a long time the Evangelical Review was "the chief source of Lutheran theology of the English-speaking part of the church." Ibid.

34 Ibid., p. 112.

35 For example, see Ohio Minutes, 1832, p. 13.

36 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 121.

37 Ibid., p. 122.

38 Ibid. It had been recommended by the Ohio Synod to its congregations. See Ohio Minutes, 1842, p. 11.
... publish a weekly religious paper in the English language, to be entitled the Lutheran Standard, which shall be the property of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary at Columbus. 39

It was stated:

... the principal objects of ... [the paper] are, to explain and defend the doctrines of our Church; to promote virtue and piety, and to awaken an increased interest in the prosperity of our Zion. 40

Dr. Emmanuel Greenwald, pastor of an eight-point parish at New Philadelphia, was appointed editor at a salary of three hundred dollars a year to be paid out of the proceeds of the paper. 41 A prospectus was mailed to the Lutheran ministers of America, and the Standard's first issue appeared on September 21, 1842. 42 The subscription price was two dollars a year "in advance," 43 and the paper had four pages. The Standard was committed by its editor to defend the doctrines of the Lutheran Church as expressed in the Augsburg Confession. 44

Within two years Greenwald resigned and was replaced by the Reverend S. A. Mealy of Zanesville. 45 The theological position of the paper was unchanged, but

40 Ibid., pp. 18-19.
41 Ibid., p. 24.
42 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 124.
44 Ibid.
45 His first issue of the Lutheran Standard appeared December 11, 1844.
On account of some misunderstanding relative to the management of the Standard he resigned his editorial position before completing his first year, refusing indeed for some reason to edit the last six numbers. This action created a bad state of affairs.

The Synod was left with a printing press, a list of seven hundred subscribers, and a debt of $1,800.

The following two decades were full of uncertainty as to the future of the Standard. In 1845 the Ohio Synod, since it was not incorporated, entrusted the Seminary Board with the care of the journal. Pastor Christian Spielmann of Columbus was chosen as editor and the Reverend W. F. Lehmann of Somerset was to take charge of the printing. When Lehmann came to the capital city in 1847 as a Professor, he brought the press with him and set it up in a frame building behind the Seminary on South High Street. At this time Loy was a theological student and his first connection with the Standard was to assist Spielmann in its publication. By 1848 Spielmann resigned his post, and an editorial committee was appointed to issue the paper. This meant that for three years the Standard had two editors, Dr. Greenwald at New Philadelphia

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47 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 126.
48 Ohio Minutes, 1845, p. 18.
49 The Synod was incorporated by the State of Ohio on March 23, 1849. See Ohio Minutes, 1902, p. 15.
50 Ohio Minutes, 1845, p. 19.
51 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 77, 82. See also Paul H. Buehring, "William Frederick Lehmann," Lutheran Quarterly, IV (May, 1952), 51-60.
52 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 90.
53 Ohio Minutes, 1848, p. 28. The committee included Christian Spielmann, Emmanuel Greenwald, L. Heyl, J. Roof, Amos Leist, John Conly, and John Wagenhals.
and L. Heyl of Columbus. Greenwald was called as pastor of the English Lutheran Church of Columbus in 1851, and he was then elected as the Standard's sole editor. Due to the doctrinal controversies connected with Capital University, Greenwald left his post in October, 1854, and settled in Pennsylvania. A new editor was found in Daniel Worley, one of Loy's friends from Pennsylvania, who was a Professor of Mathematics at Capital University. Worley held the position for a decade until he was replaced by Dr. Loy.

During the fourteen years prior to his appointment as editor of the Lutheran Standard in 1864, Loy had been interested in religious journalism. Because of his familiarity with the printing trade, candidate Loy was named to participate in an Ohio Synod committee on church papers on May 22, 1851. Three years later he declined a similar honor. He became a frequent contributor of articles to the Standard during his Delaware pastorate, but during Worley's administration he felt that "neither the

54 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 126.
55 Ibid., p. 127.
57 Worley had helped Loy learn Greek. Loy, Story of My Life, p. 58.
58 Lutheran Standard, XXIV (March 15, 1864), p. 4.
59 Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 7.
60 Ohio Minutes, 1854, p. 15; he was appointed to a "consulting and editing committee" for the Standard together with Greenwald, Lehmann, Worley, and Spielmann, but he resigned.
61 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 281.
editorial nor the mechanical work on it was satisfactory."\textsuperscript{62} A doctrinal disagreement arose because "Professor Worley's notions about church government were opposed to what he called the Missourianism which I advocated,"\textsuperscript{63} and Loy felt "impelled" to "send to other papers such articles as I thought most needful."\textsuperscript{64} He became a contributor to three other conservative Lutheran journals, especially the \textit{Evangelical Review}.\textsuperscript{65} He did this not only on theological grounds, but also

\ldots because it was plain to me that my advocacy of consistent Lutheranism in doctrine and practice would be more effective in periodicals more widely read and of larger influence than our deteriorated \textit{Standard}.\textsuperscript{66}

Entrusted with the writing and publication of the \textit{Lutheran Standard} by the Ohio Synod in 1864, Loy described his manifold duties in his initial issue of April 15:

\ldots it is not only the editorship that we are called upon to assume; our reluctance would have not been so great if this had been all. There is the whole management of the business, with the drudgery of folding, mailing, etc., thrown in.\textsuperscript{67}

This meant that Loy had mechanical, financial, and editorial responsibilities.

Until 1864 the \textit{Standard}, "like everything in the West in those days, had been pioneering. It had been wandering for twelve

\begin{align*}
\textsuperscript{62} & \text{Ibid., p. 284.} \\
\textsuperscript{63} & \text{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{64} & \text{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{65} & \text{Ibid., p. 281.} \\
\textsuperscript{66} & \text{Ibid., p. 284.} \\
\textsuperscript{67} & \text{Lutheran Standard, XXIV (April 15, 1864), p. 4.} 
\end{align*}
years and was about ready to settle down." The paper had been produced wherever its editor lived, and it had moved from New Philadelphia to Zanesville, and then from Somerset to Columbus, and "during Professor Worley's incumbency the paper was printed for several years at Marysville, Ohio." An historian of the Ohio Synod suggested humorously that "it would almost seem that the Standard should have had a press mounted on wheels." With Loy, however, "a new day began for the Standard," and under his guidance it finally found a permanent home. During the first year of his editorship it was printed at Delaware, but after April 1, 1865, it was manufactured in Columbus, moving to the capital city with its editor who had been called there as a professor. For nearly a century after 1865 the Standard was published in Columbus.

Dr. Loy worked to give the Standard an improved format. In 1866 it appeared in quarto form, containing eight pages which were each thirteen and six-eighths inches long and nine and seven-eighths inches wide, each page having four columns of print.

68 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 127.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid. Sheatsley commented that this was the "hitherto enforced circulation policy of the paper."
71 Ibid.
73 See Lutheran Standard, XXV (April 1, 1865), p. 49.
74 After a church merger in 1960 it was moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota.
75 See Lutheran Standard, XXVI (Dec. 15, 1866), p. 188.
76 The Standard's present size is 10 6/8 inches long and 7 6/8 inches wide, with 32 pages on the average per issue.
Beginning on February 1, 1868, the appearance of the journal was altered by the use of larger type and the arranging of three columns of print per page instead of four.\footnote{Lutheran Standard, XXVI (February 1, 1868).}

Loy wrote:

We would like very much to have our little messenger visit our friends with a clean face and a decent dress, not that we think that the message delivered would become any better for this, but because we know that people sometimes transfer to a person's utterances their dislike for looks.\footnote{Ibid., p. 207.}

The frequency of the paper was increased. After the difficulties of 1844 when editor Mealy suddenly resigned, the \textit{Standard} had been issued only every second week.\footnote{See Loy, Story of My Life, p. 282.} For the first nine years of his editorship, from 1864 until 1873, Loy had the \textit{Standard} published on the first and fifteenth of each month.\footnote{Ibid., p. 306.} In 1872 "friends began to agitate the project of issuing it weekly instead of semi-monthly. To this I was not disinclined."\footnote{Ibid., p. 307.} That year the English District "unanimously resolved to push this enterprise with all its power and to work strenuously for its accomplishment."\footnote{See Lutheran Standard, XXVI (January 15, 1868), p. 12.}

The incentive for this action was not only the \textit{Standard}'s enhanced appearance, the increased number of subscribers, and vigorous doctrinal emphasis, but also "because our work was
agonized by the party which left our Synod and became a District of the [General] Council. . . .83 After a trial edition on January 1, 1873, 84 which was "in a form about one-third larger . . . and in an improved dress,"85 the Standard became a weekly. 86 The additional space allowed Loy to give more attention to practical matters, family reading, the wants of children and polemical articles.87

Printing the Standard proved to be Loy's main mechanical problem. The press had been sold and the work had been done under contract for several years. For the initial twelve months Loy made arrangements which he thought "quite fair and favorable" with the proprietors of a paper mill at Stratford, Ohio, three miles south of Delaware, to produce the journal. 88 They provided him with prompt and correct copy on excellent paper. 89 When Loy moved to Columbus a new contract had to be made, but the metropolitan printers charged higher prices and

The proof furnished was bad, sometimes intolerably bad, and after all our proof reading and trouble the typographical errors which remained in the printed copies were many and often inexcusable in any reputable printing

83 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 307. The English District, reconstituted in 1857, had seceded in 1869 to join the newly formed General Council.
84 Lutheran Standard, XXX (December 15, 1872), p. 188.
85 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 309.
86 It remained a weekly until after a church merger in 1960, when it again appeared twice a month.
87 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 309.
88 Ibid., p. 285.
89 Personal examination of Lutheran Standard from April 15, 1864, to April 1, 1865. See Loy, Story of My Life, p. 285.
house. This did worry me. My time was so fully occupied that I could not go to the printing office every day to look after the foreman's business. The office was a mile away and my hours were precious; and yet if I did not constantly look after the printers every issue gave me new annoyance. It was a great trial to my patience, and this trial I had to endure for months before I, an old printer, succeeded in getting something like order into the business of the proprietor, who evidently knew nothing about printing.

Loy was on the verge of charging the Columbus printer for his services as a "consultant" to the firm, "but neither of us lost his temper, and after a while things went better." Printing difficulties were finally resolved when in 1878, at the suggestion of President Loy, the Wheeling convention of the Ohio Synod decided to establish a church owned publication house. This business, known as the Lutheran Book Concern, was in operation by 1880 and within twelve years it moved to its present location at 57 East Main Street, Columbus, Ohio. The Book Concern handled all of the printing needs of the Synod, including the manufacture of the Lutheran Standard.

After the copies of the Standard had been printed, they were delivered to Dr. Loy's residence for mailing. This meant

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90 Ibid., p. 293.
91 Ibid., p. 294.
92 Ibid.
93 This was one of the final acts of Dr. Loy's first period as President of the Synod. In 1878 Lehmann was elected to that office. Ohio Minutes, 1878, pp. 1-3.
94 The early history of the Book Concern is given in Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, pp. 266-270. See also "75 Suggests 57," Lutheran Standard, CXV (June 1, 1957), 8-9. Since 1960 the firm has been known as the Augsburg Press.
that Dr. Loy had to

\[\ldots\] prepare the wrappers, fold the papers, write the addresses, and get the paste ready, put it on only where it belongs, and whatsoever pertains to the mystery of mailing without machinery. My whole family bravely attacked the printed pile \ldots.\]

The Loy children took a fancy to this task and "sometimes brought in playmates to help them," and the Capital University students helped, some of the "boys" coming the day before to cut the wrappers and address them because "it gave them the first chance to be of the party on packing night." The affair "was usually a pleasant house party, which became to my wife and children a matter of desire rather than of dread." By midnight the work was completed, and the stacked \textit{Standards} were ready for the drayman who carried them to the post office the following morning.

Financial problems plagued the \textit{Standard} during the first years of Loy's editorship, and he could write that "journalizing, especially religious journalizing, is now emphatically a labor of love." When he took charge, Loy found "it was a large contract that I had assumed. The \textit{Standard} to all appearance was for a second time nearing its end." He discovered that

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Ibid., p. 290.}
\footnote{Ibid., p. 294.}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Ibid., p. 285.}
\footnote{\textit{Lutheran Standard}, XXIV (December 15, 1864), p. 4.}
\footnote{Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, pp. 283-284.}
\end{footnotes}
what was expected of me was to take the entire property and make out of it what I could. The property consisted of a mailing list and an account book.\textsuperscript{103}

In his inaugural editorial he spoke frankly to his subscribers of the financial plight of the paper:

Dear readers, we would let you into a secret here, were it not that the cat has been let out of the bag before now. There is positively no money on hand to hire anybody else with! But why not rather reduce the Editor's salary in order to relieve him of work so tedious, and tasteless? Dear unsophisticated reader, the Editor has no salary.\textsuperscript{104}

Advertisements were received in order to raise funds, and in 1873 the subscription price was increased again from one to two dollars a year.\textsuperscript{105} The number of readers was to be increased, and "all regular ministers of the Lutheran Church," stated the Standard, "are authorized to act as agents for the paper."\textsuperscript{106} The early issues pleaded with the subscribers to pay their overdue accounts,\textsuperscript{107} saying, "only feed the starving child and it will live."\textsuperscript{108} Lutherans were admonished to give the Standard to friends, and during the Civil War editor Loy recommended:

Some of our readers no doubt are able to give something towards sending a pack to our soldiers occasionally, and would be glad to have it done.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{103}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 283. \\
\textsuperscript{104}\textit{Lutheran Standard}, XXIV (April 15, 1864), p. 4. \\
\textsuperscript{105}Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 309. \\
\textsuperscript{106}\textit{Lutheran Standard}, XXIV (April 15, 1864), p. 1. \\
\textsuperscript{107}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 4. \\
\textsuperscript{108}\textit{Ibid.} \\
\textsuperscript{109}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 5.
Gradually the debts were paid, and by 1902 the paper had a circulation of 3,322, a marked improvement over the seven hundred of 1844.

From 1864 until 1882 Loy had the assistance of the Reverend Joseph Beck as the business manager of the Standard. Pastor Beck was President of the English District of the Ohio Synod for three terms, a member of the Board of Trustees of Capital University, and the founder of the First English Lutheran Church of Columbus. When he began his career as the business manager of the Standard, he was a recent graduate of the Seminary, having been ordained on August 28, 1864. For several years Loy also had the help of the Reverend J. A. Schulze of Columbus concerning the mechanical aspects of producing the Standard.

As an editor in an age of personal journalism, Loy had an obligation to his readers to enunciate the principles which would guide his newspaper policy. In his initial editorial Loy indicated that the Standard would be a conservative and confessional organ:

In regard to its doctrinal position, the Standard will remain, as hitherto, Evangelical Lutheran, set for the defense of biblical truth in its purity, preaching faith in the Lord Jesus unto salvation, and good works unto the praise of Him who saves us. We shall endeavor to be faithful to our motto: 'Speaking the Truth in love.' This truth we find in the Holy Scriptures, which are our only

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110 Ohio Minutes, 1902, p. 65.
111 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 126.
113 Ibid., pp. 758, 759.
114 Ibid., p. 758.
rule of faith and practice; and the truth of the Holy Scriptures we find confessed, without admixture of error, in the symbols of our Church. Fidelity to the Bible implies, as we see it, fidelity to our Confessions; men do not speak the truth when their speech is contrary to either, because both contain the same truth. We know of no Lutheranism properly so called, but the Evangelical Lutheranism of the Augsburg Confession, and we shall always strive to prove our title to the Lutheran name by maintaining the Scriptural truth of that august symbol. — The truth, we shall endeavor to speak in love, which of course does not mean that we shall not speak it at all. We shall endeavor to speak it always, whether men will hear or forbear; but we shall strive to speak it kindly, with a purpose to benefit others, even though it should be necessary to give pain in order to effect this purpose.  

Another early decision an editor had to make was to describe the purpose of his organ. Loy made it clear that a church newspaper had a three-fold justification. First, it informed, for "it promotes intelligence in spiritual things." Second, it indoctrinated, for "it promotes Church feeling and fidelity to the distinctive character of life of our Church." Third, it inspired, for "it promotes activity and liberality in carrying on the Church's work."  

These goals suggested the type of articles that the Standard would carry. The journal continued to report news of the Christian world in a column called "Religious Intelligence," and to describe events of the Ohio Synod, including ordinations, pastoral

116. Lutheran Standard, XXIV (April 15, 1864), p. 4. Loy felt: "In my own introductory editorial I deemed it well to speak with that frankness which it was my purpose to observe throughout my editorial career." Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 286-287.  
118. Ibid.  
119. Ibid.  
120. See for example, Lutheran Standard, XXVI (April 1, 1866), p. 61.
calls, funerals, Capital University graduations, as well as to reprint the minutes of district and denominational conventions. Loy felt, however, that

... if the paper was properly to fulfill its mission it must do something more than to furnish church news, or even to supply its readers with brief items of light religious reading, with which an idle hour might be whiled away and which might in a certain sense be called edifying. Even my idea of edification would not permit me to adopt such an editorial management.123

Items of general interest continued to be reproduced from secular sources, such as Godey's Lady's Book, but at a decreasing rate. Loy was convinced that "light reading will not make grave readers." Religious extracts of "a sort of sentimental piety" were gradually discontinued for fear of engendering "an excited zeal without knowledge." In their place were substituted theological essays and "my desire was to have at least one so-called heavy article in each issue, and my editorials were frequently of this class."127

This policy meant that

121 See for example, Lutheran Standard XXIV (October 15, 1864), pp. 1-3, and Lutheran Standard XXV (April 1, 1865), pp. 49-52.
122 Notice was made, for example, of the assassination of President Lincoln and the appointment of a day of mourning by Johnson. Lutheran Standard, XXV (May 1, 1865), p. 68, and (June 1, 1865), p. 84.
123 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 295.
124 Lutheran Standard, XXIV (June 1, 1864), p. 3.
125 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 296.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid., p. 297.
the popular taste was against me, that the people generally did not like long articles, and that especially articles designed to instruct in doctrine and that are called heavy because they require attention and reflection to be profitable, were disliked.\footnote{Ibid., p. 296; Loy believed: "My opinion was and is now that a journal which caters only to such tastes may make money, but will not build character." Ibid.}

The tension was partly relieved by establishing a separate bimonthly in 1881 called \textit{The Columbus Theological Magazine}, and by endeavoring in each issue of the \textit{Standard} "to furnish sufficient variety to meet all reasonable expectations."\footnote{Ibid., p. 297.}

A similar problem was the small number of Lutheran writers contributing suitable doctrinal essays to the \textit{Standard}. Loy lamented:

\begin{quote}
A very discouraging circumstance has been the paucity of contributors of original articles to the paper . . . . The paper cannot accomplish its purpose while it is made up so largely of matter selected from other than Lutheran sources.\footnote{\textit{Lutheran Standard}, XXIV (April 15, 1864), p. 4.}
\end{quote}

For a while he was required to reproduce non-controversial theological material by non-Lutheran authors. Selections from the works of W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, as their \textit{Life and Epistles of St. Paul},\footnote{\textit{Lutheran Standard}, XXIV (June 15, 1864), p. 3; both were Anglicans, W. J. Conybeare being a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dr. J. S. Howson the Dean of Chester.} were published, as well as extracts from the books of Archbishop Richard C. Trench of the Church of
England\textsuperscript{132} and Philip Schaff of the German Reformed communion.\textsuperscript{133} Articles from other conservative Lutheran magazines, such as The Lutheran and Missionary,\textsuperscript{134} Der Lutheraner,\textsuperscript{135} and Lehre und Wehre\textsuperscript{136} were used. Confessional Lutherans, including C. W. Schaeffer\textsuperscript{137} and Charles Porterfield Krauth\textsuperscript{138} were quoted. Gradually Loy recruited "some ready writers who were of the same mind as myself . . . and the paper became more and more influential."\textsuperscript{139}

The major burden for providing copy for the Standard fell on Loy himself. He met this challenge by translating heavily from German sources. Hermann Fick's Life and Deeds of Dr. Martin Luther was rendered in English by Loy and was run serially in the Standard in 1868\textsuperscript{140} as were several of Luther's sermons of the

\textsuperscript{132}Lutheran Standard, XXV (September 15, 1865), p. 114; Trench was noted for his Notes on the Parables of Our Lord (London: Macmillan and Company, 1874), and his work with the miracles and other New Testament themes.

\textsuperscript{133}Lutheran Standard, XXV (October 15, 1865), p. 115. The Swiss-born and German-educated Dr. Schaff was a leader of the Mercersburg theological movement in the United States.

\textsuperscript{134}See Lutheran Standard, XXIV (December 1, 1864), pp.6-7.

\textsuperscript{135}Lutheran Standard, XXIV (June 1, 1864), p. 3.

\textsuperscript{136}Lutheran Standard, XXV (October 1, 1865), pp. 145-146.

\textsuperscript{137}Articles from both Der Lutheraner and Lehre und Wehre were translated into English by Loy.

\textsuperscript{138}Lutheran Standard, XXV (June 1, 1864), p. 1.

\textsuperscript{139}Lutheran Standard, XXIV (November 1, 1864), pp. 2-4.

\textsuperscript{140}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 292.

\textsuperscript{140}See, for example, Lutheran Standard, XXVI (October 1, 1868), p. 145.
Hymns by Reformation and Orthodox figures were put into English by Dr. Loy and were introduced to the Ohio Synod in the columns of the Standard. Loy also wrote long editorials for the journal and several of his original books on theological subjects first appeared there, as The Doctrine of Justification in 1869, and the Essay on the Ministerial Office in 1871. Loy's Christian Prayer, compiled by the Ohio Synod in his honor in 1890, initially had been written as essays for the Standard. The paper also occasionally carried sermons by Dr. Loy. In this manner Loy fulfilled his promise to provide his readers with "heavy" material, and he felt that "many articles were thus published that are of permanent value," and "if they were left unread by many subscribers," they nevertheless "exerted an educating influence on those who did read them . . . ."

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141 Loy announced the publication of the House Postil in book form in the Lutheran Standard, XXVI (September 1, 1868), p. 133. See Dr. Martin Luther's House-Postil, or Sermons on the Gospels for the Sundays and Principal Festivals of the Church Year Tr. from the German by M. Loy (Columbus, Ohio: J. A. Schulze, 1884, 3 vols.)

142 Lutheran Standard, XXVII (May 1, 1869), pp. 65-67. He announced the essays would be published in book form on May 15, 1869. Ibid., p. 77.

143 Loy also advertised his own works. See Lutheran Standard, XXIX (December 1, 1871), p. 183.


145 Lutheran Standard, XXVII (January 15, 1867), pp. 9-11.

146 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 296-297.
A consequence of "the long doctrinal article" and the frank editorials "was of course" that they "provoked controversy."\textsuperscript{147} It was an "age of antagonism"\textsuperscript{148} and though Loy disclaimed having any "special delight in polemics," he felt "I could not have been faithful to the Lord and His Church if I had not been willing to defend the truth when assaults were made upon it."\textsuperscript{149} This meant "instances of wrong-doing, which having become public, demanded public rebuke of the person or persons" involved.\textsuperscript{150} Some of these were editors of rival Lutheran journals, and

Against . . . these I would have to contend in my editorial career, and I was not stupid enough to imagine that the way to win a battle is to underestimate the enemy's power.\textsuperscript{151}

The first protagonist was "American Lutheranism" because "it creates prejudice against us by leading persons to think that Lutheranism is an undefined, chameleon-like thing, which is anything you please."\textsuperscript{152} Loy characterized the followers of Schmucker as adherents of a

. . . Lutheranism which has fallen away from the confession of the Lutheran Church for the sake of catering to the tastes of such Americans as have no sympathy with the Lutheran Reformation . . . .\textsuperscript{153}

\textsuperscript{147}Ibid., p. 297.
\textsuperscript{148}Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 303.
\textsuperscript{149}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 295. It was said of Loy, "his soul was zealous for the Lord and His Word," "... seine Seele eiferte sich fuer den Herrn und sein Wort." See Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (February 6, 1915), p. 81.
\textsuperscript{150}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 297.
\textsuperscript{151}Ibid., p. 291.
\textsuperscript{152}Lutheran Standard, XXIV (June 1, 1864), p. 4.
\textsuperscript{153}Ibid.
The leaders of that movement, including his former pastor, Dr. Samuel Sprecher, were said to be guilty of "Recensionism" and "Unionism" and Loy asked, "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" He implied that the exponents of the "New Theology" were ignorant, and he held them up to ridicule:

In the Lutheran Observer's account of the last meeting of the Melanchthon Synod we read the following: 'At the examination of candidates a novel idea was advanced, viz., that water ought to be substituted for wine in the Lord's Supper; one of the brethren contending that there was no Scriptural proof that wine was used or enjoined, inasmuch as the Evangelists have not told us what the cup contained which the Savior blessed. One who was asked to give Scriptural proof that wine was used in the Eucharist, quoted St. Paul, 1 Timothy 5:23--"Use a little wine, etc."'

It is not necessary for the writer to remark that 'this body is thoroughly General Synod.'

Criticism of "American Lutheranism" brought Loy into conflict with "the so-called General Synod" and with that body, "whose Lutheranism is so dubious." Loy felt . . . there were fundamental differences, and when we exposed and refuted the errors which were taught and tolerated, the papers of that body were usually not silent . . .

Counterattack did not cause Loy to relent, and

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154 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (May 1, 1866), p. 69; he called Sprecher a "noted recensionist," Lutheran Standard, XXVI (June 15, 1866), p. 92.
155 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (February 15, 1866), p. 28.
157 Lutheran Standard, XXIV (May 1, 1864), p. 5.
158 Ibid.
159 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 297.
Our trumpet has given no uncertain sound, and we intend that it shall not. We have endeavored to be courteous and kind to opponents, but have guarded against the fatal error of mistaking unfaithfulness to the truth for courtesy and kindness.\textsuperscript{160}

He was persuaded that

... the heterogeneous mass called the General Synod, never can hold together, as it is a union on the Romish principle of outward conformity at all hazards. Its unity rests upon the concealment of diversities.\textsuperscript{161}

He therefore urged the conservatives in the General Synod to revolt, and

If they quit themselves like men, renouncing the poor expedients of a treacherous compromise with error, or a dastardly concealment of the differences in a mass of equivocal words, to which weak persons sometimes resort for the sake of raising the cry of 'peace, peace, when there is no peace,' we may hear good news from the East before long.\textsuperscript{162}

The "good news from the East" came in 1866 when the General Synod was disrupted by the secession of its more orthodox members to form a General Council.\textsuperscript{163} In spite of initial efforts by President Loy to incorporate the Ohio Synod into that body, "we had to engage in controversy with the General Council also, soon after its organization, notwithstanding that its very purpose seemed to be the advancement of the divine truth ... ."\textsuperscript{164} Warfare began in late 1867 occasioned by the reception of the Ohio Synod's former English District into the Council and because of

\textsuperscript{160}Lutheran Standard, XXV (January 1, 1865), p. 4.
\textsuperscript{161}Lutheran Standard, XXVI (May 1, 1866), p. 69.
\textsuperscript{162}Lutheran Standard, XXIV (May 1, 1864), p. 5.
\textsuperscript{163}The relationship of Dr. Loy and the General Council will be described in the following chapter.
\textsuperscript{164}Loy, Story of My Life, p. 298.
the failure of that synod to accept Loy's "four points" (a pro-
hibition of the sharing of pulpits with non-Lutherans and open
communion, membership in secret societies and adherence of
chiliasm). The Standard, therefore, "showed fight . . .
because it was set for the defense of the Gospel . . . ." The
Council retaliated in like measure, and one of its spokesmen,
T. E. Schmauk, compared Loy's behavior with that of the Missouri
Synod:

Always ready with eagle eye, to note and pick out faults,
she [Missouri] will suppress excellencies, and so far as
we know, something of the same spirit has characterized
the influence of Dr. Loy . . . .

Loy was convinced, however, that

Our warfare against the General Synod and General
Council, which both in part occupied the same territory
with the Ohio Synod and which both did us damage in
substantially the same way, served to clear up some
important points in our contention and to draw our
people more closely together.

Unexpectedly a new antagonist appeared in 1881--the Missouri
Synod, with which the Ohio Synod had had cordial relations. The
two orthodox midwestern churches disagreed over the doctrine of
predestination and the "skirmishes" with the "fanatical corporals"
of Missouri began. The "supercilious" ways of the Missourians

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165 See Lutheran Standard, XXVII (Dec. 15, 1867), pp. 3-4.
166 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 304.
167 Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 195.
169 They had entered into a Synodical Conference in 1878.
The union will be discussed in the following two chapters.
170 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 306.
inflamed Loy, and a new means of defense was needed: Though the Standard had been much enlarged and was issued weekly, it could not, with justice to all readers, afford space enough to publish all that our writers thought it necessary to say. There was no larger periodical that we could use for the purpose.

Under the circumstances Loy felt "impelled . . . to undertake additional editorial labors," founding The Columbus Theological Magazine.

In 1880 at the beginning of the predestination controversy Professor F. A. Schmidt of the Norwegian Lutheran Seminary at Madison, Wisconsin, had established a monthly German journal called Altes und Neues to "counteract the baneful influence of the St. Louis publications." The following year a colloquy held between the Missouri and Ohio Synods in January "ended in a formal declaration of war." Loy was alarmed that "we have no longer a stronger sister to lean upon, as we have been accustomed to do in the past," and he said of Missouri:

That they have erred, and have troubled Israel by promulgating their error, is our sincere conviction. What . . . can we do but lift up our voice against the evil, and help, with such strength as we possess, to protect the Church against its influence?

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171 Ibid., p. 313.
172 Ibid., p. 316.
173 Ibid., p. 311.
174 Ibid., p. 313.
177 Ibid., p. 5.
The prolific presses of St. Louis had to be answered, but "to wait until synod could deliberate on the subject and start such a new publication seemed inadvisable." On his own initiative as a Professor of Theology and the Editor of the Standard, Loy began issuing the *Columbus Theological Magazine* in February, 1881.  

The *Magazine*, published by the Lutheran Book Concern, had six issues a year, each averaging about sixty-four pages, appearing bimonthly in February, April, June, August, October, and December. "Devoted to the interests of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," it was "edited by the Faculty of Capital University" under the leadership of Dr. Loy. Among the major contributors were Loy, P. Eirich of Hoboken, New Jersey, C. H. Rohe of Detroit, Michigan, and Professors C.H.L. Schuette, George H. Schodde, and F. W. Stellhorn of the Seminary. The periodical was "intended primarily, as its title indicates, for pastors, students, and professors ..." It proposed to cover the four chief fields of theology—the exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical—

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180 Personal examination of *The Columbus Theological Magazine*, Vols. I-XXX (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1881-1910).
181 Frontpiece, *The Columbus Theological Magazine*, II (February, 1882).
but "it was devoted almost solely to the subject of predestination." Loy wrote:

... as the doctrine of predestination is that which furnishes the occasion of issuing it [the Magazine] at the present time, a large share of our space will at least in the first volume be allotted to discussions pertaining to that 'burning question.'

It was Professor Loy's hope that the Magazine would serve as a medium of communication with those who are able and willing to study the doctrine now unhappily in controversy in the Lutheran Church.

He wanted to avoid polemics, and

... as it is disciples of Christ on both sides that are engaged in the controversy, we can trust in the grace of God that such influences will not be permitted to warp the judgment or to lead to expressions that will wound, but not convince. It would be disastrous if on either side the context became a scramble for the mastery at the cost of brotherly love.

This expectation was not realized, and the Missourians created an English-language St. Louis Theological Monthly to counterattack.

At its convention in September, 1881, the Ohio Synod accepted The Columbus Theological Magazine "as its own" and made it

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183 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 67. See also Loy, "Introductory to Volume II," p. 5.
185 Ibid.
186 Ibid., p. 3.
187 "How vigorously this war was carried on is evinced by the fact that the Missourian German theological journal was much enlarged and a similar periodical in the English language was started, but proved a failure." Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 317-318.
an official publication. Loy recalled that "so little this was thought a needless venture that when Synod met it . . . resolved to publish a similar periodical in German . . . ." This second journal, Theologische Zeitblaetter, issued its first number under the editorship of Dr. F. W. Stellhorn in January, 1882. Appearing bimonthly to alternate with the Magazine, it welcomed Loy as one of its frequent contributors.

In this manner Loy was relieved of paying the costs of the Magazine. Later, he stated, it "subjected me to little, if any, financial loss . . . ." The Magazine, however, did not achieve the circulation that Loy felt it should have and it was not "pecuniarily profitable." In 1888 Loy resigned as editor, and in 1910 the Magazine and the Theologische Zeitblaetter were combined under the name of Zeitblaetter-Magazine, carrying a German and an English section. It was discontinued in 1919.

There was another Ohio Synod periodical to which Loy made contributions, the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, which began in the year in which he was elected Synod President, 1860. Earlier

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188 Loy, "Introductory to Volume II," p. 3. "The Magazine has thus become the property of the Ohio Synod and is edited by its authority and under its supervision." Ibid., p. 4. See Ohio Verhandlungen (September, 1881), p. 59.
190 Stellhorn was its editor for thirty-six years. Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 270.
192 Ibid.
194 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 270.
attempts had been made to found German papers. In 1848 the Lutherische Botschafter appeared at Canton, Ohio, edited by Dr. A. B. Bierdermann. "It was recognized and recommended by the Joint Synod . . . but it did not long survive."195 Twelve years later the Lutherische Herold was established by H. Ludwig of New York, and together with Walther's Der Lutheraner it "found a welcome entrance into many German homes of our Synod."196 The Ohio Synod, however, resolved in 1859 to produce its own German church paper under the title of Lutherische Kirchenzeitung as a companion to the Standard. W. F. Lehmann was editor, and the first copy was released to the public in January, 1860.197 Since "it was well received," it soon outstripped the Standard in number of subscribers, having 5,585 by 1902.198 After the death of Professor Lehmann it was edited by Dr. Stellhorn, and

On the 'Lodge Question,' 'Predestination,' 'Justification,' 'Unionism,' and many other vital questions in the life of the Church the Kirchenzeitung would sometimes strike very hard and wound severely; sometimes personalities would creep in and hinder rather than advance a good cause, but these thrusts indicated the earnestness rather than the belligerency of the contenders.199

195 Ibid., p. 122. Ohio Minutes, 1848, p. 28.
198 Ohio Minutes, 1902, p. 64.
199 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 149.
By 1890 Loy saw "age with its infirmities . . . creeping upon me and the burden . . . becoming unsupportable," and he officially resigned as editor of the Lutheran Standard. Though this marked something of a terminal point in his journalistic activities, he later stated: [I did not] "cease to use my pen in the service of the Church when my editorial responsibility ceased." His attention was then concentrated upon other literary labors.

The writing of books, Dr. Loy remembered, "was always incidental to the work in which I was engaged and made tributary to that. I therefore never held a copyright to any of my books, and never asked . . . any share in the profits that might accrue." Though he "never pursued authorship as a business," he managed to make a significant contribution in the literary field and he was still listed in a directory of Ohio authors in 1962. His writings were of three categories: translations into English from the German, doctrinal treatises, and devotional materials.

Loy stated:

The literature of the Lutheran Church is rich in every branch of sacred learning . . . . But unhappily her

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201 Ibid., p. 319.
202 Ibid., p. 398.
203 Ibid.
treasures have been mostly locked up in Latin and German
caskets, to which but comparatively few have keys.\textsuperscript{205}

Motivated by a desire to remedy this situation, the earliest book
which bore Dr. Loy's name on the title page was a translation of
the Reverend Hermann Fick's \textit{Life and Deeds of Dr. Martin Luther}\textsuperscript{206}
appearing in 1869. In 1915 it was still in the book market and
Loy felt "it is worthy of retaining its place."\textsuperscript{207} Soon afterward
Loy rendered Johann Conrad Dietrich's edition and explanation of
Luther's \textit{Small Catechism} into English,\textsuperscript{208} and in 1871 the English
District of the Ohio Synod:

\begin{quote}
Resolved, That we shall with pleasure welcome the
'Dietrich' Catechism in an English dress, as supplying
a want long felt in the English language.\textsuperscript{209}
\end{quote}

Cheered by this response, and encouraged by his friend, the
Reverend J. A. Schulze of Columbus, who "was as eager as myself
to furnish good Lutheran literature for English readers,"\textsuperscript{210} Loy
undertook, together with Professor E. Schmidt of Capital Uni-
versity and the Reverend M. Martens, the production of an English
version of Luther's \textit{House Postil}.\textsuperscript{211} By 1871 the second of the

\textsuperscript{205}Dr. Martin Luther's \textit{House Postil}, I, iii.
\textsuperscript{206}Hermann Fick, \textit{Life and Deeds of Dr. Martin Luther}, Tr.
from the German by Matthias Loy (Columbus, Ohio: J. A. Schulze,
1869, 1878). It had appeared earlier in the \textit{Standard}.
\textsuperscript{207}Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 395.
\textsuperscript{208}The Missouri Synod soon issued a new German edition.
See Johann Conrad Dietrich, \textit{Dr. Martin Luther's Kleiner
Katechismus in Frage und Antwort gründlich ausgelegt von Dr.
Johann Conrad Dietrich} (St. Louis, Missouri: Lutherscher Concordia
Verlag, 1878).
\textsuperscript{209}Ohio Minutes (English District), 1871, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{210}Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 396.
\textsuperscript{211}See Dr. Martin Luther's \textit{House Postil}, I, iv. Extracts
had appeared earlier in the \textit{Standard}. 
three volumes of this work had appeared, and the English District of the Ohio Synod supported its sales, stating that "all our ministers should regard themselves as agents to secure subscribers."\textsuperscript{212}

Because of his increasing interest in providing his American readers with studies in orthodox Lutheran theology, Loy wrote his first original book during the summer vacation of 1868, \textit{The Doctrine of Justification}.\textsuperscript{213} To Loy "the theme was one of which I never grew weary"\textsuperscript{214} and "the longer I wrote the more the subject delighted me."\textsuperscript{215} It was well received by the Lutheran public and was soon out of print, requiring a second edition to be published in 1882.\textsuperscript{216} Prompted by this success, Loy published a manuscript he had written earlier on the controversial subject of church and ministry.\textsuperscript{217} Entitled \textit{The Essay on the Ministerial Office: An Exposition of the Scriptural Doctrine as Taught in the Evangelical Lutheran Church},\textsuperscript{218} it received favorable reviews. \textit{Lehre und Wehre} reported:

\begin{quote}
English readers have in this \textit{Essay} the sound doctrine of our Church on a disputed point, drawn from the pure
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{212}Ohio \textit{Minutes (English District)}, 1871, p. 10.
\item \textsuperscript{213}Published in Columbus, Ohio, by J. A. Schulze in 1869; see Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 396.
\item \textsuperscript{214}\textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{215}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 397.
\item \textsuperscript{216}Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern in 1882.
\item \textsuperscript{217}Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 397.
\item \textsuperscript{218}Published in Columbus, Ohio, by Schulze and Gassmann, 1870.
\end{itemize}
fountain of Israel and set forth in a clear, transparent, well arranged and thorough manner.  

The Lutheran and Missionary, an English language conservative journal, declared that "the plan of the work is strictly logical; its arguments are eminently Scriptural."  

The burdens of the Synodical Presidency prevented Loy from preparing another major theological volume until 1896, when The Christian Church in Its Foundation, Essence, Appearance, and Work was published.  He later indicated: It was "the only one of my books which was not written at the solicitation of others, or did not result from work done independently of the publication."  

A summation of his thoughts on ecclesiology, it had a more polemical tone than his earlier volumes. In spirit it was akin to his next and final work in theology, The Augsburg Confession: An Introduction to Its Study and an Exposition of Its Contents, which was published in 1908.  Though apparently he intended the latter text to be the opus magnum of his career, it was inferior in content and style to his earlier writings.  

A recent biographer believed that Loy's most enduring literary achievement was found in his devotional writings.  

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220 Quoted in Ibid.  
221 Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern in 1896.  
222 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 403.  
223 Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern in 1908.  
224 Personal Interview, Dr. Leonard Ludwig, Feb. 10, 1965.  
These included three volumes of sermons inspired by Luther's House Postil: Sermons on the Epistles for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Church Year, Sermons on the Gospels for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Church Year, and The Sermon on the Mount: A Practical Study of Chapters V-VII of St. Matthew's Gospel. The latter work was heavy and exegetical, while the former two were more popular and were sometimes used by Lutheran families in their home devotions. A fourth book, Christian Prayer: A Jubilee Gift Published by Authority of the Publication Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States, was a compilation of Loy's articles on that subject which had appeared in the Standard until the time of his retirement as editor in 1890.

Loy also found time to write an autobiography, Story of My Life, as well as several unpublished manuscripts, including the notes of his lectures at Capital University.

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226 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 401.
227 Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern, no date.
228 Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern, 1888.
229 Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern in 1909.
230 Personal Interview, the Reverend H. N. Brobst, February 18, 1965.
231 Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern in 1890.
232 Published in Columbus, Ohio, by the Lutheran Book Concern, 1903, 1905.
Loy also made a contribution to Lutheran liturgics and hymnology. Beginning in 1853 he served on hymnal committees of the Ohio Synod and he was instrumental in the preparation of two improved books of worship. The German Gesangbuch fur Gemeinden des Evangelischen Lutherischen Bekenntnisses, first issued in a trial edition in 1867, was still employed by some congregations of The American Lutheran Church in 1965. The English equivalent, the Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, revised in 1908, continued to be issued until 1930 when it was replaced by an intersynodical American Lutheran Hymnal.

The Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal contained four hundred sixty-eight hymns, largely translations from the German, including eighteen translated by Loy. Among these were his versions of Lazarus Spengler's "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt," Johannes Olearius' "Herr, oeffne mir die Herzenstuer," "Our Nature Fell in Adam's Fall," Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, number 247; Lazarus Spengler, born March 13, 1479, was a noted Christian Humanist of Nuernberg, Germany. Olearius was a noted Lutheran hymn writer of Germany born in 1611.
Walther's "Herzlich tut mich erfreuen" and Nicolaus Selnecker's "Wir danken dir Herr Jesu Christ, Dass du gen Himmel gefahren bist" and "Lass mich dein sein und bleiben." Only Loy's translation of the last hymn was chosen for use in the recent Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America. Loy also wrote twenty original hymns which were sung in the Lutheran Church. Some of these were for Holy Communion, as "An Awful Mystery is Here," and Baptism, as "How Matchless is our Savior's Grace." Several dealt with the Bible, as "The Gospel Shows the Father's Grace;" Confirmation, as "O Great High Priest, Forget Not Me;" and daily duty, as "O Lord, Who Hast My Place Assigned." Others were composed for festivals of the church year, as "Though Angels Bright Escape Our Sight," for St. Michael and All Angels Day, and "When Rome Had Shrouded Earth

241 "The Bridegroom Soon Will Call Us," Ibid., number 24.
242 "We Thank Thee, Jesus! Dearest Friend, That Thou Didst," Ibid., number 96.
243 "Let Me Be Thine For Ever," Ibid., number 230.
244 See Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America (Columbus, Ohio: Wartburg Press, 1958), number 506.
246 Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, number 267.
247 Ibid., number 225.
248 Ibid., number 183.
249 Ibid., number 232.
250 Ibid., number 328.
251 Ibid., number 123.
in Night” for Reformation Day. Though at Loy's death it was believed that "some of the Doctor's hymns will live while there is an English Lutheran Church,” only two have survived to be included in the Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America, "Jesus Took the Babes and Blessed Them," and "Jesus, Thou Art Mine Forever."

Both in prose and poetry Loy labored to promote the cause of Lutheran Orthodoxy, and as he admitted,

Writing under the influence of such convictions, he may sometimes have expressed himself with more vehemence than some would think meet; but he asks the reader calmly to weigh the reasons offered for the propositions laid down, and would persuade no man to accept what does not commend itself as truth.

An historian of the Ohio Synod summarized Loy's literary career in this manner:

... his writings will be classed as among the conservative books of the Lutheran church. He was not a brilliant writer, nor did he wield a striking or fascinating style; but he was logical, clear and exhaustive. And the golden thread of a child-like faith and trust pervaded all of his writings as well as his utterances.

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252 Ibid., number 150.
253 Ohio Minutes (English District), 1915, p. 65.
254 Service Book and Hymnal, number 260, a baptismal hymn.
255 Ibid., number 518.
257 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 263.
CHAPTER VII

MATTHIAS LOY: SYNODICAL LEADER, 1849-1860

The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States existed for one hundred twelve years, from its founding in 1818 until its merger with two other Lutheran groups in 1930 to form the American Lutheran Church. For sixty-eight years of the Synod's life, from 1847 until 1915, Matthias Loy was one of its active members, and for over half a century, from 1860 until 1915, he was its guiding spirit. An observer wrote in 1904 that Loy's labors in the Ohio Synod "did much toward making that the large

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1For the early history of the Ohio Synod, see Chapter I, "Ohio Lutheranism, 1800-1850." The name of the body was changed in 1831. Until that time it was known as "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and Other States." In that year it was divided into districts and was titled "The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States." See Ohio Minutes, 1831, p. 10; an earlier division had been made in 1822, see Ohio Verrichtungen, 1822, p. 5. The German name was "Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten," and after 1831 it was altered to "Die Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten." At times in its history the body called itself "The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States" ("Die Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Ohio und angrenzenden Staaten"), see Ohio Minutes, 1880, p. 17. In 1930 it united with the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States and the Lutheran Synod of Buffalo to become the American Lutheran Church. In 1960 this body merged with the Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly the Norwegian Lutheran Church) and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly the United Danish Lutheran Church) to become The American Lutheran Church.
and efficient body which it is recognized to be," and a recent biographer reported of Loy that "he dominated the Synod, which grew during his lifetime into an organization of national scope." Loy edited the church's official periodical, the Lutheran Standard, from 1864 until 1890, and from 1865 until 1902 he was a Professor in the denomination's college and seminary at Capital University. In 1860, at the age of thirty-two, just eight years after his ordination, Matthias Loy had been elected President of the Joint Synod of Ohio at its Galion Convention to replace Professor W. F. Lehmann. Loy, the thirteenth man to occupy that office in forty-two years, was the youngest President in the history of the Ohio Synod. He was to hold that position, with the exception of two years, for an unparalleled period of nearly three and one-half decades until his resignation in 1894.

The Ohio Synod, which in 1860 was only ten years older than its youthful President, had experienced moderate and steady growth. At its formation in 1818 the church had been composed of

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4See Chapter VI, "Matthias Loy: Editor and Author, 1864-1890."
5See Chapter V, "Matthias Loy: Educator, 1865-1902."
6See Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 81.
7Lehmann had served from 1854 until 1860. He was President again from 1878 until 1880; the other officers elected in 1860 were Pastor G. Cronenwett of Woodville, Ohio, as Vice President, Dr. A. B. Bierdemann of Sagerstown, Pennsylvania, as Secretary, F.O.P. Baker as Corresponding Secretary, and F. H. Stoppelmann as Treasurer. See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1860, p. 7.
8He was followed by Professor C.H.L. Schuette who had been his successor at St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, O.
seventeen pastors and approximately seventy-five congregations located between the Appalachian Mountains of Pennsylvania and the plains of central Ohio.\(^9\) In 1830 it was reported that there were twenty-five ministers who had performed 2,291 baptisms, six hundred fifty-nine confirmations, two hundred fifty-nine burials, and communed 8,915 persons.\(^10\) Sixty-nine schools were said to be in operation.\(^11\) Since the Synod had almost doubled in size and territory, it was subdivided in 1831 into an Eastern and a Western District.\(^12\) Each "District Synod" had authority to administer its own treasury, to license ministerial candidates, and to expand missionary work.\(^13\) District conventions were held annually, except every third year when a "joint" session of the entire synod assembled. After this partition of the church in 1831 it was known as the "Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States." Five years later, in 1836, a non-geographical English District was created.\(^14\)

When Loy entered the Synod as a student in 1847, it was recorded that it had one hundred seventy-three congregations, 16,481 communicant members, and forty-two schools.\(^15\) This increase

\(^9\)Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 10.
\(^10\)Buehring, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism," p. 120.
\(^11\)Ibid.
\(^12\)Ohio Minutes, 1831, p. 10.
\(^13\)Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 10.
\(^14\)See Ohio Minutes, 1836, pp. 12-16.
\(^15\)Ohio Verhandlungen, 1848, p. 34. In 1848 there had been nine hundred fifty-nine baptisms and seven hundred eighty-six confirmations. Ibid.
led the Joint Synod at its meeting at Canton, Ohio, in May, 1851, to appoint a committee composed of Candidate Loy, and Pastors J. J. Beilharz and G. Cronenwett to consider the creation of a fourth district. On May 27 a Northwestern District was formed. The boundaries went south from Cleveland along the Ohio Canal to the southeast corner of Wayne County, and then west along Richland, Marion, Hardin, Allen, and Mercer Counties, embracing all the territory between them and Lake Erie.

By 1854 the Synod had ninety-three pastors serving two hundred thirty-four charges. Of the four districts, the Western, of which Loy was a member, was the largest and probably the most influential. It had thirty-four ministers and seventy-eight parishes. Next in size was the Eastern District, containing some of the Synod's oldest churches, and situated along the Ohio-Pennsylvania state line. It numbered twenty-one pastors who supplied fifty-seven congregations. The Northwestern District was third in rank with nineteen ministers and fifty-four churches.

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16 Ohio Minutes, 1851, pp. 27, 28.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 12.
20 See Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1854, pp. 3, 4.
21 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 12.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid. It was later known as the Northern District.
The smallest District was the non-geographical English one with forty-five parishes and nineteen clergymen.\(^{24}\)

Despite its increase in members and its territorial expansion, the Ohio Synod experienced internal tensions during the 1850's. Problems were encountered in connection with both the institutions and the ideology of the Church. In the times of crisis, Matthias Loy steadily emerged as an administrator and theological leader.

Loy played an important role in the controversies concerning the operation of Capital University.\(^{25}\) Living close to the city of Columbus, he was able to maintain cordial contacts with his friends associated with that school, as W. F. Lehmann, Daniel Worley, E. Schmid, and Christian Spielmann.\(^{26}\) Professors Lehmann, Worley, and Schmid were invited to Delaware to assist in the dedication of the new church Loy's congregation had constructed in 1853.\(^{27}\) Christian Spielmann came to St. Mark Church in 1855 to christen Loy's first born son, Luther.\(^{28}\) Loy managed to attend many of the academic and social functions of the university and was a frequent visitor on its campus.\(^{29}\) In 1851 he had been appointed as one of six "General Agents" to collect sub-

\(^{24}\)Ibid.
\(^{25}\)See Chapter V, "Matthias Loy: Educator, 1865-1902."
\(^{26}\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 219.
\(^{27}\)Ahn, The Centennial Anniversary, p. 15.
\(^{28}\)Baptismal Records, 1855, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
\(^{29}\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 219.
scriptions for the college, and the following year he received permission to be absent from his parish to preach and solicit funds in Ohio congregations. This brought him favorable recognition, and he was chosen to serve on a synodical committee which censured President Reynolds for his neglect of the German language in the courses of instruction at Capital. Following the resignation of Reynolds, Loy taught part time at the school and was elected to its Board of Directors. In these ways his name became known in the denomination.

The recurrence of the language question, occasioned by the disagreements over the management of Capital University, caused the authority of the Synod to be tested. The English District, already reconstituted after a secession in 1840, was again shattered by schism in 1855. Professor Lehmann and Pastor Loy were dispatched to meet with the disgruntled "English" at their Wooster Convention. Though the mission was unsuccessful and Loy did not prove to be a good mediator, he won the loyalty of those who wanted to maintain the unity of the Church and to uphold the district system. He also was regarded as a "friend of the Germans,"

30 Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 25.
31 Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1852, p. 7.
32 Ohio Minutes, 1853, p. 8.
33 Ibid., p. 18.
34 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1856, p. 3.
35 Ohio Minutes, 1854, p. 15.
36 Ohio Minutes, November, 1854, p. 4.
which was important since "all the elements of Muhlenberg descent that had entered into the original Synod of Ohio in 1818 separated and formed other bodies." When the German remnant of the Synod met in 1856, the meeting was held at Loy's Delaware church and he was named Corresponding Secretary of the body. At the same convocation Loy supported a resolution to create a new English District.

Simultaneously Loy made himself and his views public to the Synod through the press, and he became a frequent contributor to the Lutheran Standard. He was a member of a synodical committee on church papers as early as May 22, 1851, and three years later he declined a similar honor. In 1856 he was elected to the powerful "Editorial Committee" of that journal. He used that position, as well as the columns of The Evangelical Review, to express his discontent with the doctrinal stand of the Standard and the Ohio Synod.

It was as a militant conservative that Loy eventually earned the respect and support of many in the Ohio Synod, especially the younger pastors, during his initial decade in the ministry. In the theological struggle between the forces of "American" and "Old

37 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 146.
38 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1856, p. 2.
39 Ibid., p. 12.
40 Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 7.
41 Ohio Minutes, 1854, p. 15.
42 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1856, p. 15.
Lutheranism," Loy emerged as an uncompromising "Missourian."\(^{43}\) Two of his closest friends, Pastor F.C.D. Wyneken\(^ {44}\) and Dr. W. Sihler\(^ {45}\) had joined the St. Louis body.\(^ {46}\) Loy was profoundly influenced by C.F.W. Walther's writings and stated that he "had learned much from the Missourian publications . . . ."\(^ {47}\) He recalled that he received "the reputation of being a Missourian, which rendered my position more difficult . . . ."\(^ {48}\) Loy remembered that "even my nearest friends thought me an extremist, and begged that allowance should be made for my youth and inexperi-

\(^{43}\) On the earlier aspects of the rise of conservatism, see Chapter II, "The Rise of Confessionalism in the Ohio Synod, 1812-1854."

\(^{44}\) F.C.D. Wyneken, born May 13, 1810, near Verden, Hannover, Germany, came to America in the early summer of 1838, going to St. Louis in 1850. He was President of the Missouri Synod from 1850 until 1864. In that year he was called to Cleveland, Ohio, where he was active until his retirement in 1875. See Baepler, A Century of Grace, pp. 53-64.

\(^{45}\) Dr. W. Sihler, born November 12, 1801, received a classical education in Germany, attending the military academy at Berlin where he was a classmate of Von Moltke. He entered the University of Berlin in 1826, studying philology, philosophy, and theology, and attending lectures by Friedrich Schleiermacher. Reacting against the viewpoint of his teachers, he became a conservative Lutheran and came to Pomeroy, Ohio, in 1843 to supply a parish of the Ohio Synod. Disappointed with the liberal position of that body, he withdrew from it in 1845 to serve as a teacher at Ft. Wayne. He labored in the Missouri Synod until his death on October 27, 1885. See Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America (2nd ed.; Burlington, Iowa: German Literary Board, 1916), pp. 314, 315, and W. Sihler, Lebenslauf (St. Louis: Concordia, 1879), 2 vols.

\(^{46}\) Loy, Story of My Life, p. 193.

\(^{47}\) Ibid.

\(^{48}\) Ibid., pp. 194-195.
Loy's outspokenness and "the prejudice against my alleged Missourianism, made it far less easy to carry a point in Synod than it was in my congregation." Tempers flared and "it would not be perfectly candid," Loy noted, "if I did not confess that there were some of the fathers . . . for whom I had . . . little respect . . . ." He felt that "had it not been for such men as Pastor Spielmann and Prof. Lehmann, my position in the Ohio Synod would probably have become untenable," and he feared that those members of his congregations who did not like his confessionalism might appeal to the Church to revoke his license, for

A few of these might have taken the necessary steps to counteract the recommendation which was given to me, if they had only known how to do it; and there were a few of the prominent men in Synod who would not have been disinclined to heed the cries of these few.

Though Loy's services were approved by the ruling board of his parish and they asked for the continuance of his ministrations, he wondered if one . . . dark day, Synod might revoke my license and declare my congregations vacant. I suppose that the fathers in our Synod never contemplated the case, which might have occurred with me as the principal actor in the drama, of a candidate rendered obnoxious by his Lutheranism and of a Lutheran congregation deprived of its faithful pastor by opponents who had no love for consistent Lutheranism.

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49 Ibid., p. 199.
50 Ibid., p. 195.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid., p. 198.
53 Ibid., p. 201.
54 See, for example, Ohio Minutes, 1851, pp. 18, 19.
"If my brethren had refused to renew my license in 1850, after my first year of hard work and hard fighting," Loy speculated, "I do not know what would have resulted." 56 He decided that "I would have continued to perform the duties of which I had been called ... even if my license had not been renewed." 57 The worst did not materialize, his license was repeatedly renewed until his ordination in 1852, 58 and

I was not expelled, probably because there was too much liberality for that, and too much sturdy Lutheran good sense to discriminate against Lutheranism in the practice of unionism. 59 Loy remained to labor for the confessional cause "and the leaven worked." 60

Loy was not alone, for there had been a growth of strict Lutheranism in the Ohio Synod, and in 1845 editions of the Symbolical Books had been imported from Germany. 61 Three years later the Ministerium had officially subscribed to the Lutheran Confessions. 62 Among the older members of the Synod, however, a strong "unionistic" feeling survived into the 1850's. In 1842 a Methodist minister was received as a guest of the Ohio Synod's Canton

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56 Ibid., p. 201.
58 See Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1851, p. 33; He was ordained June 8, 1852.
59 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 199.
60 Ibid.
61 Ohio Minutes, 1845, p. 7.
62 Ohio Minutes, 1848, pp. 35, 36.
convention, and the members of that body preached in Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. On Sunday, May 25, 1851, when the Synod again met in Canton,

Upon invitations given, there was also preaching, by members of the Synod, in all the Protestant Churches in the town, both in the fore and afternoon.

The same assembly continued to supply pastors for union churches. Three years later when the Ohio Lutherans assembled at Greensburg, Pennsylvania,

Not only in the German Lutheran, but also in the English Lutheran, and in the Reformed and Presbyterian—and in one of the country churches—preaching was had by members of the Synod.

From the beginning Loy was an opponent of such practices, and he resolved

... to resist all unionistic movements tending to reduce her [the Lutheran Church] to a pitiful sect among the other sects of the land. When I accordingly argued, in opposition to the so-called liberality of the old pioneers, that if we had nothing special to contend for in the Lutheran Church for conscience sake, we could save men and money by abandoning our Lutheran organization and joining our forces with other Christians who cared nothing for creed, but still professed to care for Christianity, the effect was horrifying.

Loy did not object to church unity, but he believed the subject had to be approached theologically. The Christian Church, which was "essentially invisible," was spiritually one by faith

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63 Ohio Minutes, 1842, p. 8.
64 Ibid., p. 3.
65 Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 14.
66 Ibid., p. 21.
67 Ohio Minutes, November, 1854, p. 2.
68 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 198, 199.
69 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 112.
in Jesus Christ. God, however, "has not promised that external unity shall be attained during our earthly pilgrimage." The ultimate cause of organizational division was sin, and

There is no ground of hope that sects and schism shall end while time endures, because there is no ground of hope that sin will cease . . . .

Denominationalism was an evil, for sectarian

. . . loyalty and patriotism in many leaves no room for higher interests; proselyting is practiced without any compunctions of conscience; discipline is rendered impossible, because those who are refused communion in one church find another glad to receive them; and church life runs out into sectarian jealousies and rivalries and ambition to excel.

Loy concluded that

We have no word to speak but that of condemnation of the whole sect system, and those who laud it as the normal state, on the principle that competition is the life of trade, if they are sincere Christians at all, know not what they do.

The immediate causes of church division, wrote Loy, were sociological (schism) and theological (heresy). Some denominations arose because of ethnic, economic, or environmental reasons. He explained:

Most of these separated bodies are schisms, which do not even pretend that they have any ground in conscience for their separate organizations. They divide

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70 Ibid., p. 103; the one mark of the church was faith.
71 Ibid., p. 243.
72 Ibid., pp. 156-157.
73 Ibid., p. 242.
74 Ibid., pp. 242-243.
75 In this he anticipated the insight of H. Richard Niebuhr in _The Social Sources of Denominationalism_ (New York: Meridian Books, 1957).
on matters of worship or government or work, which are subject to human reason, and are therefore mere grounds of human liberty, which the Word of God does not recognize as any ground of division.76

Loy believed:

We have our own judgments in regard to expediency in church work, and our tastes in regard to forms and ceremonies and ornaments in church building and decoration and worship; but these are human affairs, and it is sinful to make them conditions of unity.77

These matters were "adiaphora,"78 and the Lutheran Church "is the most liberal of all visible churches"79 because it did not insist on uniformity in these areas.

Since the essence of the Church was faith, the theological grounds of division were serious. There were degrees of purity in the confession of the truth. Of the visible churches, the Lutheran was the one which held to the Gospel in its fullest form. Though Loy noted that "the Lutheran is in fact the only Church that fully recognizes . . . the rights of other denominations as churches,"80 the

Erring Churches deceive themselves when they imagine that any saving work which the grace of God effects among them is due to their distinctive character.81

Loy was convinced that

To the degree in which the Reformed parties adopted human errors and maintained them against the divine

76 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 246.
77 Ibid., p. 238.
78 Ibid., p. 237.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., p. 257.
81 Ibid., p. 430.
truth which the Lutherans confessed at Augsburg, insisting upon them even to the extent of causing division, and organizing a separate church with a different confession, they are impotent for the purposes of our Lord in the establishment of His Kingdom. 82

For this reason "unionism" with the Reformed was to be avoided for the sake of the Gospel.

Beginning at the second synodical meeting that he attended, the twelfth convention of the Western District in May, 1850, Loy attacked "unionism." Though still only a Candidate, he supported the resolution:

... that we as a Synod object to the formation of mixed or so-called unionistic congregations and recommend to our preachers, that, where such are already in existence, they serve them only as Lutheran preachers. 83

The District also petitioned the Joint Synod to give an answer as to

... what Lutheran practice is concerning the following points: 1. The serving of so-called unionistic congregations as such by a Lutheran preacher. 2. The admission to Holy Communion (a) of members of other denominations, so long as they do not accept the doctrine of our church, (b) of our own congregational members as such. 84

82 Ibid., p. 431.
83 "... dass wir als Synode die Bildung vermischter oder sogenannter unierter Gemeinden missbilligen und unsern Predigern anraten, dass, wo solche schon bestehen, sie dieselben nur als lutherische Prediger bedienen." Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1850, p. 12.
At the same time the conservative Christian Spielmann was elected President of the Western District.  

When the Joint Synod met at Canton in May, 1851, the Western District's inquiry was set aside until the next convention. Though the Synod did lament "the abandonment of the Lutheran name and faith by the late Synod of Tuscarawas, and its organization into the so-called Evangelical Union," it still received a delegate from the German Reformed Church of Ohio and heard the minutes of that body read.

An indirect reply to the questions of the Western District was given at a special meeting of the Joint Synod at Trinity Church, Columbus, in April, 1853, at which membership in the General Synod was discussed. That body was rejected on the grounds that it was "unionistic" and not sufficiently Lutheran.

The next year, at its regular convocation, the Ohio Synod voted overwhelmingly to revise its Constitution to read:

This Synod shall be composed of representatives of all Ev. Lut. Synods, now united in the existing Synod of Ohio, and such other Synods as may from time to time adopt this Constitution, and with us adhere to the doctrines of the Word of God as set forth in all the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, or who in their own Constitution confess and maintain the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's smaller Catechism in the sense and spirit of the other symbols.

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85 Ibid., p. 7.
86 Ohio Minutes, 1851, p. 31.
87 Ibid., p. 21.
88 Ibid., p. 27.
89 Ohio Minutes, 1853, p. 32.
90 Ohio Minutes, 1854, pp. 6, 7.
Loy not only served on the committee that advocated this re-
vision, but he also chaired a committee that rejected a union
hymnbook for use in Ohio Synod schools. The convention also

Resolved, That we regard the so-called Protestant
Union of Pennsylvania, as belonging to the above class
of societies [secret ones]; and that in addition we find
the following . . . objectionable in it: It stands upon
unionistic ground . . . .

The secession of the English District after this assembly further
removed liberal elements from the Church.

When the Joint Synod gathered two years later at Delaware,
it decided "only to consider the minutes of such Synods which at
least acknowledge the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in the spirit
and sense of all of the confessional writings of the Evangelical
Lutheran Church." A committee, composed of Matthias Loy,
Christian Spielmann, and D. Rothacker, drew up an answer to the
queries posed by the Western District in 1850:

1. Can Lutheran pastors as such serve unionistic
congregations? Your committee has to reply negatively
to this question, in as much as the congregation is
constituted alone by its confession; the pastor, however,
by accepting the call is a part of it; so the serving
of the congregation would be an actual denial of the
decisive doctrines of the Lutheran Church.

2. (a) Concerning the admission to Holy Communion
of members of other denominations who do not acknowledge
the doctrines of our church, your committee answers
thusly: As Holy Communion entails a confession (1 Cor.
11:26) and as this confession can only be explained by

91 Ibid., p. 7.
92 Ibid., p. 9.
93 Ibid., p. 13.
94 "... nur die Verhandlungen solcher Synoden zu berueck-
sichtigen, die sich wenigstens zur Ungeaenderten Augsburgischen
Konfession im Geist und Sinn der saemtlichen Glaubensschriften
the Confession of the Church which celebrates it, therefore members of other denominations can by no means be admitted, since this would include a denial of the confession of his own church on the part of the recipient as well as the celebrant of the Holy Sacrament.

(b) The question concerning the admission of our own congregational members as such is answered in the twenty-fifth Article of the Augsburg Confession where it states: 'The custom has been retained among us of not administering the sacrament to those who have not previously been examined and absolved.'

This position, a victory for the young conservatives, anticipated the provisions of the future Galesburg Rule.

The confessional party in the Ohio Synod during the 1850's was encouraged by contacts with other orthodox Lutheran groups.

As early as 1852 Loy served on a committee of the Western District which advocated closer connections with the conservative.

95. Koennen lutherische Pastoren, als solche, unierte Gemeinden bedienen? Ihr Komitee muss diese Frage verneinen, indem eine Gemeinde allein durch ihr Bekenntnis konstituiert wird, der Pastor aber bei Annahme des Berufs ein Teil derselben ist; so wuerde die Bedienung der Gemeinde eine thatsachliche Verleugnung der Unterscheidungslehren der lutherischen Kirche sein.

92. (a) Hinsichtlich der Zulassung zum heiligen Abendmahl von Gliedern anderer Benennungen, welche die Lehren unserer Kirche nicht anerkennen, antwortet Ihr Komitee also: Weil das heilige Abendmahl ein Bekenntnis einschliesst, (1 Kor. 11:26) und dieses Bekenntnis nur durch die Konfession der Kirche, welche es austeilt, erklart werden kann, so koennen Glieder anderer Benennungen durchaus nicht zugelassen werden, da dieses eine Treulosigkeit gegen die Konfession seiner Kirche sowohl vonseiten des Empfaengers als des Ausetilers des heiligen Sakraments in sich fassen wuerde.

96. Adopted at Galesburg, Illinois, 1875, stating that Lutheran pulpits were for Lutheran preachers, and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only.
Tennessee Synod, and annually from 1856 until 1858 a number of conferences were held with the Missouri Synod. The influx of theological candidates from Germany and the absorption of the small Indianapolis Synod also strengthened the confessional faction.

Matthias Loy became an "Old Lutheran" leader during the 1850's in another controversy which was second only to the question of "unionism" in its implications for the Ohio Synod—that of Lutheran membership in secret societies.

In the early history of the Joint Synod there had been little objection to "lodgery" among Lutherans, and many of the denomination's original adherents, stemming from American stock, were affiliated with various fraternal organizations. Several of the Synod's outstanding clergymen, as the Reverend Andrew Henkel, the son of the pioneer missionary, Paul Henkel, were Masons. Andrew Henkel had been a champion of the Lutheran Symbols, and he had four brothers active in the ministry of the Synod.

Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1852, pp. 22, 23.
Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 350.

Under confessional pressure, the Synod also dropped a "Jesus says" wording used in the formula of distribution for the elements in the Lord's Supper. It was felt this made it possible for Reformed Christians to accept the Sacrament at Lutheran altars without being confronted with the teaching of the "Real Presence."

Ibid., p. 353.

The problem was more serious in the Ohio Synod than in Lutheran bodies made up largely of European immigrants.

Ohio and Tennessee Synods. Licensed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1811, he was "one of the founders and pillars" of the Ohio Synod. Henkel had seen no incompatibility between Church and Lodge. Loy, who himself had recently belonged to a secret society, recalled that at the first synodical meeting he had attended as a ministerial candidate, that of the Western District at Lewisburg, Ohio, in June, 1849, Andrew Henkel, "who was looked up to as one of the wisest and most distinguished of our old pioneers," had delivered the principal sermon.

He showed what the Word of God requires of us in regard to the practice of love, how the Church has failed in executing the Master's will, and how the secret organizations of our land had been impelled to take up the work, which the Church had failed to perform.

Loy was "indignant," for Henkel "was a Mason, and I was a Lutheran." Loy was upset that, though "in private I spoke of it, little was said by others and nothing was done." On another occasion Loy encountered Henkel in a western Ohio town during a Masonic meeting. Henkel invited Loy to come with him to the lodge, where he was to give an address. Loy declined in a manner which

103 Ibid.
104 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 197.
105 Ibid., p. 196; Loy did not mention Henkel by name, but the minutes of the meeting show that the man in question was Andrew Henkel. He was a member of the Western District with a parish at Germantown, Ohio. See Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1849, pp. 1, 4.
106 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 196, 197.
107 Ibid., p. 197.
108 Ibid.
caused the older man to be insulted.\textsuperscript{109} The increasing hostility of Loy toward the Masonic Order made him enemies, for "especially in the English district was there a movement towards lodgery,"\textsuperscript{110} and Loy became convinced that the fathers of the Synod "had gotten into ruts out of which it was humanly impossible to pry them . . . ."\textsuperscript{111}

Organized opposition to secret societies had already appeared from another quarter. Its first manifestation was a political movement, the Anti-Masonic Party, growing out of agitation in western New York in 1826.\textsuperscript{112} The party had sufficient strength to influence the presidential election of 1828,\textsuperscript{113} and remained active into the 1830's.\textsuperscript{114}

The origin of anti-lodge feeling in the Ohio Synod was primarily religious, however, and the basis of disapproval was similar to that against "unionism." Conservatives, such as Loy, were convinced that fraternal clubs encouraged Rationalism and Deism,\textsuperscript{115} and it was suggested that "at times" Henkel "preached deism and universalism."\textsuperscript{116} Loy believed that lodges appealed to

\textsuperscript{109}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{110}Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{111}Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 197, 198.
\textsuperscript{113}Ibid., p. 101.
\textsuperscript{114}See Ibid., pp. 110, 111.
\textsuperscript{115}Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{116}Ibid., p. 154.
the lowest possible common denominator to achieve harmony between the various world religions, practiced syncretism, taught salvation by "works righteousness" instead of by faith, and attempted to usurp the divinely ordered position of the Church. \footnote{P. A. Peter and Wilhelm Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten (Columbus, Ohio: Verlagshandlung der Synode, 1900), pp. 125-126.} It was felt that the religious ritual and secretism of such societies, the limitation of membership to an "elite" of "initiates," and the competition which they provided for the loyalty of men's minds, made them a modern equivalent of the ancient mystery cults. \footnote{Ibid.; for a lengthy explanation of Loy's position, see Ohio Verhandlungen, 1856, pp. 20, 21.}

"Lodgery" came up for discussion for the first time in the Ohio Synod at the regular meeting of the Western District in 1852. \footnote{Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode, p. 125.} Pastor H. S. Lasar, supported by Loy and other "Old Lutherans," requested the District to officially state its position regarding Lutheran membership in secret societies. A committee, including M. Loy, P. Gast, A. Gockelen, P. Obermeier, and J. Bachmann, investigated the matter and gave this reply:

As this is a matter which has already caused great disturbance in many places and has disturbed the peace of our church where it has been suggested, therefore your committee is of the opinion to suggest the following: Resolved, that the Synod deem it unnecessary at this time to take up the matter in said memorial for further consideration, but that the brethren be
admonished not to join societies whose principles are opposed to the spirit of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.\textsuperscript{120} This statement did not please Loy, but many in the Western District were "not anxious to discuss a question that would likely create disturbance."\textsuperscript{121} The presence of Andrew Henkel prevented a stronger stand, for he was an "astute protagonist of Masonry . . .\textsuperscript{122}

The decision of the Western District was moderate, but "nevertheless its trumpet gave a clear sound right away,"\textsuperscript{123} and the Northwestern District resolved later in the same year: "that the members of our Synod be earnestly admonished not to join any of the so-called secret societies."\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{120}"Da dieses nun eine Sache ist, welche bereits grosse Aufregung in manchen Gegenden hervorgerufen und den Frieden unserer Kirche, wo sie in Anregung gebracht wurde, gestoert hat, so ist ihr Komittee der Meinung, folgendes vorzuschlagen: Beschlossen, dass die Synode es gegenwaertig fuer unnoetig erachtet, sich mit der in besagtem Memorial angeregten Sache naehr zu befassen, dass aber die Brueder ermahnt werden, sich an keine Gesellschaften anzuschliessen, deren Grundsaezte dem Geist der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche zuwider sind." Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1852, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{121}Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 155.

\textsuperscript{122}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{123}".. doch seine Trompete gab gleich einen klaren Ton," Peter und Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{124}".. dass die Mitglieder unserer Synod ernstlich ermahnt seien, sich mit keinen der sogenannten geheimen Gesellschaften zu verbinden." Ohio Verhandlungen (Northwestern District), 1852, p. 16.
At the Joint Synod meeting early in 1854, in compliance with a request from two of its pastors, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Synod regards as unchurchly all societies outside of the Church, and particularly secret societies, whenever they aim to accomplish those objects which the Christian Church according to the Word of God has, and ever must have in view, because they are not only rendered unnecessary by the establishment of the Church, but because they are calculated to produce indifference towards the Kingdom of Christ, and in many cases entire estrangement from Christianity and even gross infidelity.

It was further "Resolved: That . . . in the future we will admit no one into our connection who belongs to said societies."

Pastors Andrew Henkel and H. Heinecke gave notice that they could not concur with this position, and voted against the latter resolution. Many in the English District were also offended, and when they subsequently withdrew from the Ohio Synod they listed the lodge question as one of their main grievances.

The secession of the "English" weakened the faction opposing the condemnation of secret orders. At the Delaware convention of the Joint Synod in 1856, a committee, composed of W. F. Lehmann and Matthias Loy, was appointed to prepare a recommendation

125 They were F. G. Zeumer, pastor from Pittsburgh, and P. J. Buehl, a Candidate from Fulton, Ohio. Ohio Minutes, 1854, p. 13.
126 Ibid.
128 Ibid.
129 Ohio Minutes, November, 1854, p. 11.
with reference to lodge membership. The "two L.'s" delivered an extended discussion of the problem on practical and theological grounds which was accepted. Membership in such organizations was prohibited, and though no punishment or disciplinary measures were provided for offenders, "it nevertheless makes it plain that Synod regards lodgery as opposed to the Church and dangerous to Christian faith."

At the Galion Convention of the Joint Synod in 1860, at which Loy was elected President, it was

Suggested: That the Synod of Ohio and Other States alter the decision of the year 1854 concerning secret societies to read: that the different District Synods be admonished to request those among their members who belong to secret societies to relinquish their unchurchly affiliations, or to expel them.

Most of the Districts soon complied with this recommendation, and during the period of Loy's Presidency a firm stand was taken

130 Loy and Lehmann were affectionately called "Die beiden 'L'", see Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang. Lutherischen Synode, p. 135.
131 See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1856, pp. 20, 21; the report was to be published in the Lutheran Standard and the Lutherische Herold, Ibid., p. 21.
132 Ibid.
133 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 156.
135 See, for example, Ohio Verhandlungen (Eastern District), 1861, p. 16.
against "lodgery." In 1888 at its meeting at Detroit, Michigan, the Joint Synod excluded "secretists" from Holy Communion:


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Opposition was extended to such German fraternal groups as the Turner societies. By 1894, the year of Dr. Loy's resignation as President, the Synod could pass a resolution of thanksgiving that it was largely free of the "lodge problem." The orthodox party, led by Loy, had won a major victory.

A third theological controversy arose to vex the Ohio Synod during the 1850's, for "the doctrine of Church and Ministry became a burning question among us." The debate "gradually became heated, and for a time threatened the very existence of our Synod." Unlike the issues of "unionism" and "lodgery," this dispute originated in the ranks of the "Old Lutherans" and was introduced into the Joint Synod from other bodies. Loy felt that

137 See Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (July 18, 1891), p. 225.

138 See Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 158.

139 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 204.

140 Ibid., p. 208.
It may be that the struggle would never have convulsed our Synod as it did, had it not been for the influences exerted from without.  

The main antagonists were J.A.A. Grabau and his adherents, who created "The Synod of the Lutheran Church Emigrated from Prussia" in 1845, and C.F.W. Walther and his followers, who founded "The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States" in 1847. The immediate cause of the conflict was a "Pastoral Letter" (Hirtenbrief) written by Grabau in 1840 "in which pastorless congregations were warned against itinerant preachers . . . ." Some Buffalo Synod churches, desperately in need of pastors, had asked laymen to perform ministerial acts. Grabau denounced this practice for fear that a congregational or free church policy would lead to "a condition of ecclesiastical anarchy . . . ."

\(^{141}\) Ibid., p. 209.
\(^{142}\) See Chapter II, "The Rise of Confessionalism in the Ohio Synod, 1812-1854." On Grabau and the Buffalo Synod see Buehring, The Spirit of the American Lutheran Church, pp. 15-33; Johann A. Grabau, Lebenslauf des ehrwürdigen J. An. A. Grabau (Buffalo, New York: Reinecke und Zesch, 1879); Johann A. Grabau, "Johann August Andreas Grabau," translated from the German by E. M. Biegener, Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXIII (April and June, 1950), pp. 10-18, 66-74, 176-181; XXIV (January, April, July, October, 1951), pp. 35-39, 74-79, 124-132; XXV (July, 1952), pp. 49-71. See also J.A.A. Grabau, Der missourische und iowanische Geist und die Lehre der lutherischen Kirche in kurzer Vergleichung gegen einander gehalten (Buffalo, New York: Reinecke und Zesch, 1877); also his Vom Begriff des Kirchenregiments (Buffalo, New York: Friedrich Reinecke, 1860), and Grabau and others, Aufklärung über die vom 28. Mai bis 7. Juni gehaltene Synode von Buffalo (Buffalo, New York: Friedrich Reinecke, 1866); a translation of Grabau's Tagebuch, an unpublished diary kept while he was imprisoned in Germany in 1837, has been made by Professor Herbert C. Leupold of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio.

\(^{143}\) Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 279.

\(^{144}\) Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 138.
through a misinterpretation of the fourteenth article of the Augsburg Confession."  

A copy of the Hirtenbrief reached C.F.W. Walther and the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri. At the time they were in turmoil because of the loss of their leader, Martin Stephan. He had attempted to restore the historic episcopate as a form of church government. With his expulsion from the community on the grounds of immorality, the Saxons wondered whether they were still a church without their "bishop." C.F.W. Walther solved the dilemma by developing a congregational theory of church government, wherein laymen had the right to elect pastors from among their midst. Walther replied to Grabau in a printed, sixteen page document in July, 1843, stating

145 Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 280; Article XIV of the Augsburg Confession states: "It is taught among us that nobody should publicly teach or preach or administer the sacraments in the church without a regular call."


147 See Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 86.
that with respect to the so-much-emphasized church ordinances essentials and non-essentials have been confused and thereby Christian liberty has been curtailed; more has been ascribed to the ministerial office than belongs to it, and thus the spiritual priesthood of the believers has been forced into the background. 

Grabau answered by asserting that the "Missourians" were guilty of seventeen errors. When the Missouri Synod adopted the views of Walther in 1849, controversy commenced.

In the consequent warfare, there were two fundamental points in dispute. One dealt with the nature of the Church, whether it was visible or invisible. The second asked what constituted a proper ministry.

Since at least the time of St. Augustine of Hippo, a dual notion of the nature of the Church had been present in western Christendom. A recent writer noted:

Augustine had conceived of the church as the communion of the Spirit, created solely by God, who bestows faith and elects for Himself the citizens of His realm. But side by side with this view we find that Augustine was also convinced that the Catholic Church, visible and tangible, with her bishops, sacraments, and dogmas, was the only saving church. 

Earlier, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (A.D. 248-258), had believed

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148 Quoted Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 139.
149 Ibid. On the relation of Missouri and Buffalo, see Roy A. Suslow, "The Relation of the Missouri Synod with the Buffalo Synod up to 1866," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, XXVII (April, July, October, 1954), 1-19, 57-73, 97-132.
150 Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther's World of Thought, Tr. from the German by Martin H. Bertram (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), p. 143.
that *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*,\textsuperscript{151} which was understood to mean that outside of the visibly constituted catholic or orthodox Church, there was no salvation.

A thousand years after Augustine, Luther attacked this problem and came to the following conclusion:

> The church is not a visible organization; it extends over all the world. But it is a real communion, which rallies around Christ, its common Head. It no longer finds its unity in the Catholic episcopal succession (*successio episcoporum*) but in the hidden yet uninterrupted continuity of believers (*successio fidelium*).\textsuperscript{152}

Luther viewed the "church as a spiritual communion (corpus mysticum) of believers—invisible and visible at the same time . . . .\textsuperscript{153} This understanding was recorded in Article VII of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 that the Church "is the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and the holy sacraments are administered according to the Gospel."\textsuperscript{154}

Grabau and the Buffalo Synod emphasized one aspect of Luther's paradox, the visibility of the Church on earth, for,

> Our symbols teach and confess that there will always be and remain on earth a holy Christian Church, consisting of the visible congregation of believers, with whom the Word is preached in its purity and among whom the sacraments are administered according to Christ's institution.\textsuperscript{155}

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\textsuperscript{152} Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought*, p. 143.


\textsuperscript{154} Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{155} Quoted in Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, p. 281.
He taught

. . . that the one Holy Christian Church is a visible Church, that by it is not meant scattered believers, but those who gather about the Word and Sacrament, that members of the true Church are not found in communions that teach error, that communion with the invisible Church is not sufficient to obtain salvation, and that external fellowship with a visible orthodox Church is necessary for salvation. 156

Because the Lutheran Church possessed the pure Word and Sacrament, it was the true community of God on earth, and outside of it there were only "sects." In these groups

. . . there are, no doubt, true believers, who, according to their inner life, belong to the Lutheran Church; but these would unite with the Lutheran Church, if they would come in contact with it. But none can be assured of salvation unless actually connected with the true Church. 157

Walther, in contradistinction, "insisted that the Church is essentially invisible, and consists of all the faithful in whatsoever denomination." 158 The Church, though divided and "scattered physically," is "united spiritually," and

. . . Christians are found in the churches that hold false doctrines but do not deny the Word of God outright; that whoever makes salvation dependent on communion with any visible Church overthrows the article of justification of a poor sinner before God by faith only . . . . 159

Both Grabau and Walther affirmed that the Church was called, constituted, and continued through the "means of grace." Misunder-

156 Quoted Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 140.
157 Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, pp. 280-281.
158 Ibid., p. 281.
159 Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 140.
standing developed relative to the question, to whom in the Church had God delegated the administration of Word and Sacrament?

Grabau, educated to revere the ancient Prussian ecclesiastical orders, taught that the ministry of Word and Sacrament had been instituted by Christ and committed to His Church. In the Church it was the ordained ministry which preserved and perpetuated the pastoral office for the welfare of the entire people of God. The ministry, by virtue of divine call and the "laying on of hands" (ordination), formed a distinct rank or class separate from laymen. They had the responsibility to preach, baptize, and celebrate the Lord's Supper. Their ordination gave validity and efficacy to their work. Those not called according to the rules of the Church had neither "right nor power to officiate; the Lord's Supper, given by them, is mere bread and wine."\(^ {160}\) A congregation had no authority to call a pastor without the assistance and presence of a representative of the clergy. The Buffalo Synod, consistent with this opinion, patterned itself after the old Saxon and Pomeranian constitutions and had a separate "house of ministers" or Ministerium, which elected a "senior ministerii," a de facto "bishop." He was the synodical leader.\(^ {161}\) The Ministerium, not the congregation, had the duty to judge doctrine. In addition to the two "means of grace," a high value was placed on private confession and absolution.\(^ {162}\) Laymen were to be obedient to the

\(^{160}\) Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, p. 282.

\(^{161}\) This was changed to a presidency in 1886, *Ibid.*, p. 384.

clergy in all matters not contrary to the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions, and the pastor had the power to excommunicate those guilty of heresy or immorality.\textsuperscript{163}

Walther, who had originally shared this "high" conception of the ministry, developed the theory that the "means of grace" had been given by God to the congregation of believers. This was the "Doctrine of Transference," which was as follows:

Every Christian as a priest of God has: a) the office of the Word, b) to baptize, c) to bless and consecrate the holy bread and wine, d) to retain sins and to remit them, e) to offer sacrifice, f) to pray for others, g) to pass judgments on doctrines. But as all Christians cannot simultaneously discharge these offices, God has commanded that the many spiritual priests choose one among them as pastor, who, as a representative of the whole congregation, performs the ministerial rites. The ministerial office is therefore the spiritual priesthood of all members transferred to an individual. This transfer takes place in the call of the congregation. Ordination is merely an ecclesiastical rite; it is altogether a human institution, and serves only as a public confirmation of the transference by the congregational call.\textsuperscript{164}

Spiritual powers, including excommunication, resided with the congregation.\textsuperscript{165} Since the call of a congregation made one a minister, not clerical ordination, the pastors of the Missouri Synod had no Ministerium and formed no distinct class.

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid. It was not until 1891 that public absolution was permitted. In the twentieth century the practice of excommunication fell into disuse. See Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{164} Quoted in Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, pp. 282-283.

Once begun, the disagreements between Buffalo and Missouri steadily increased. In 1846 the Saxons invited Grabau to confer with them at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and the Leipzig Conference and the Breslau Synod, two "Old Lutheran" Churches of Europe, asked for a truce. The Ohio Synod, alarmed at this disunity in Lutheran ranks, issued the following appeal to the Buffalo and Missouri Synods:

Resolved: That we as a part of the Lutheran Church of this country earnestly beseech the two Synods of Missouri and Buffalo, for the well-being of the Church, and considering the great influence which both together could exercise on the Lutheran Church in America, that both of them may try everything in their power to make peace between themselves.

This effort of 1856, inspired in part by Matthias Loy, was without success. Three years later Grabau excommunicated the Missouri Synod, made up of some two hundred congregations, en mass, and in 1866 expelled a number from his own Synod for sympathizing with the St. Louis body. This engendered a schism among Grabau's adherents, and in 1867 twelve pastors and five delegates of the


167. "Beschlossen: das wir als ein Theil der Lutherischen Kirche dieses Landes die beiden Synoden von Missouri und Buffalo instaendigst um das Wohl der Kirche willen und in Beruecksichtigung des grossen Einflusses, welchen dieselben vereint auf die Lutherische Kirche in Amerika aeußern koennen, bitten, sie moechten beide doch alles versuchen, was in ihren Kraeften steht, den Frieden unter sich herzustellen." Ohio Verhandlungen, 1856, p. 21.


169. Ibid.
seceding Buffalo faction came to full doctrinal unity and fellowship with the Missouri Synod. Upon Grabau's death in 1879, the remnant of his Synod "gradually modified the views which had caused the disruptive conflict."

The strife between the Buffalo and Missouri Synods compelled Ohio's Lutherans to seek answers to four questions: (1) What was the nature of the Church? (2) What was the function of the ministry? (3) What was the purpose of Synods? and (4) What was the power of a Synodical President? The Ohioans found their spokesman and theological leader in Matthias Loy.

Loy held that Grabau and Walther had failed to distinguish between the essence and the appearance of the Church. The "essence" of the Church was faith, for it "is the one mark which the Scriptures uniformly indicate as that which is essentially distinctive of the true Christian." In this respect "the Church is essentially invisible" for "faith is not a visible thing." Faith "has, indeed, its manifestations." The phenomena of faith, however, were not to be confused with its essence, and visible churches should not be confused with the Invisible Church.

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170 Ibid.
171 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 16; by 1930 Buffalo "had achieved as strong a congregational viewpoint" as many other Lutheran bodies in America. Ibid.
172 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 103.
173 Ibid., p. 112.
174 Ibid., p. 113.
175 Ibid.
Loy continued:

• • • that there is such a body of believers, we believe; we do not see it. We do indeed see visible societies that are called churches, but that which makes them churches is not visible.  

All tests of words, works, and worship—or doctrine, deeds, and devotion—which have been applied to denominations in order to discern the true Church proved unsatisfactory, for the earthly churches have many "who wear the livery of heaven to serve the devil ..." To Loy it was sufficient to say that the true Church was invisible in its essence, but had visible manifestations.

In 1870 Loy wrote an extended study entitled An Essay on the Ministerial Office: An Exposition of the Scriptural Doctrine as Taught in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. His approach agreed substantially with that of Walther, for he stated that "the Bishop or Pastor has no rights which are not involved in the rights of God's people, and held in common by them all," for "according to the Word of God, all believers are priests and called to perform priestly functions: the priesthood of the Church is not a select class within her pale, but is composed of all true Christians . . .

Out of this "universal priesthood of believers" was 

176 Ibid.
177 See Ibid., pp. 113 ff.
178 Ibid., p. 111.
179 Matthias Loy, An Essay on the Ministerial Office: An Exposition of the Scriptural Doctrine as Taught in the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Columbus, Ohio: Schulze and Gassmann, 1870).
180 Ibid., p. 11.
elected "a special pastoral office, or ministerial calling in the Church...". This ministry was a public office of the Church to preach the Word and administer the sacraments, doing so "in the name of the Church" and acting "as the agent of the rest." It was established "for the sake of order" and by "divine appointment." Loy accepted Walther's "Doctrine of Transference" and "the call to the pastoral office is given mediately through the congregation only." Ordination was "nothing more than a confirmation of the call," and a "useful rite" for the sake of order. It was not absolutely necessary, for it had no sacramental basis, or Scriptural authorization. Loy felt Grabau to be guilty of four errors: (1) he led one "to the error of making the efficacy of the means of grace dependent upon the administrator, not upon the administration according to God's Word"; hence Grabau was a "Donatist." This understanding, (2) under-

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182 Ibid., p. 75.
183 Ibid., p. 78.
184 Ibid., p. 80.
185 Ibid., p. 81.
186 Ibid., p. 85.
187 Ibid., p. 90.
188 Ibid., p. 122.
189 Ibid., p. 231.
190 Ibid., p. 241.
191 Ibid., p. 198.
192 Ibid., pp. 207-215.
193 Ibid., p. 63.
194 Ibid.; Donatus the Great (c.A.D. 316) had taught that the sacraments were not valid if received at the hands of an unworthy priest. See Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p.106.
mines Christian assurance, for

... the rejection of these common Christian rights deprives us of the certainty of God's grace, and, therefore, prevents our hearts from attaining to full peace in Jesus. 195

Loy believed, (3) Grabau's view "excludes the administration of the means of grace by laymen, even in case of necessity," 196 and (4) it was legalism, for...

... it is not difficult to perceive that something else than faith is made essential here to justification, namely, the intervention of the minister, and our submission to his acts. 197

Loy then attacked two time honored practices of the Ohio Synod which contravened this theology—the license system for ministerial candidates, and the segregation of clergymen from laymen by means of a Ministerium. 198

Loy was persuaded that the licensing system, inherited without question from the Pennsylvania Ministerium, was de facto "Romanism."

I do not think that the pioneers of our Synod consciously entertained the human opinion, that a minister is really such only when he receives ordination at the hands of other ministers, who were in like manner ordained before him. They had no explicitly Romish views, but they had imbibed Romanizing traditions without suspicion of their Romish trend. 199

By 1850, at the second Synodical conference Loy attended, the licensing system had to be defended, and

196 Ibid., p. 67.
197 Ibid., pp. 70-71.
199 Ibid., p. 192.
Its justification was sought in the wisdom and care commanded in the appointment of ministers, while the most important question, namely, to whom the power of such appointment belongs, was overlooked.

Loy stated that "it was a pitiful system, that absurd license system . . . ." The conservatives won their victory at the Ohio Synod convention in 1856 when three questions were posed relevant to the ministry; namely, regarding

1. The call of the preacher,
2. The examination of candidates for the preaching office,
3. The licensure and ordination.

A committee, headed by Matthias Loy, who was assisted by Christian Spielmann, decided:

Concerning the call of preachers, your committee is of the conviction, that nobody should preach or teach publically in the Lutheran Church or administer the Holy Sacraments without one, Augsburg Confession, Article XIV. Further, that the call is divine, Acts 20:28, Eph. 4:11, although it is given by the congregation, for the church has the divine command to ordain pastors and deacons (Apology, Article XIII).

Finally, that the call by God to this office is a lasting one, Rom. 11:29, therefore the call by the congregation is also such, and therefore, according to the Word of God, no preacher can be hired for a limited time.

Candidates for the holy preaching office must first be examined and found worthy, 2 Tim. 2:2, 1 Tim. 5:22. It would be therefore better, if their examination would take place in the presence of all members of the Ministerium in order that everybody could be convinced of their ability; however it can also be held by a committee in whose judgment all the others have confidence.

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200 Ibid., p. 200.
Concerning licensing and ordination: the Synod has already given its decision, in so far that it wants the licensing system to be abolished, and those candidates found worthy, to be ordained at once when they have received an orderly call.\(^{203}\)

In the words of an Ohio Synod historian, "then the old license system was simply abolished, while some years earlier nobody dared to suggest such a thing."\(^{204}\) Loy remembered that "it soon died without much controversy as a practice inconsistent with accepted principles."\(^{205}\) When the Ohio Synod met in 1868, it re-


"Endlich, dass der Ruf Gottes zum Amte ein bleibender ist, Roem. 11, 29, folglich derjenige der Gemeinde auch so sein muss, und daher kein Prediger nach dem Worte Gottes auf eine gewisse Zeit gemiethet werden kann.

"Kandidaten des heil. Predigtamts muessen zuerst geprüft und bewährt erfunden werden, 2 Tim. 2, 2, 1 Tim. 5, 22. Es wäre daher besser, wenn ihre Examination in Gegenwart aller Glieder des Ministeriums vorgenommen wurde, damit jeder sich von ihrer Befähigung überzeugen konnte; sie kann jedoch auch von einer Kommittee-vorgenommen werden, in deren Urtheil alle übrigen Vertrauen setzen.

"Was das Lizensiren und die Ordination betrifft: so hat die Synode bereits ihre Entscheidung in so fern darüber ausgesprochen, dass sie das Lizens-System abgeschafft, und die bewährt erfundenen Kandidaten sofort ordiniert wissen will, wenn dieselben einen ordentlichen Beruf erhalten haben." Ibid., p. 13.

\(^{204}\)"Dann wurde das alte Licenzwesen einfach abgeschafft, wahrend man noch einige Jahre früher kaum daran zu rütteln gewagt hatte." Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio, p. 142.

affirmed the declaration on the ministry drawn up by Loy and Spielmann twelve years earlier.  

"Of a piece with the license system," Loy noted, "was the distinction between the Synod and the Ministerium." A "house of ministers" or Ministerium existed both on the denominational level and in each of the District Synods. This question was not so easily settled. It had become venerable, and the fathers, some of whom had become jealous of the influence of the younger men, were loth to let it go.  

The Ministerium "was defended rather from veneration for an old custom than from conscious adherence to a false principle," and the attack on it, therefore, was practical, not theological, in nature. Loy said that the Ministerium caused a discrimination to be made between ordained clergymen on the one hand, and candidates and laymen on the other, and "it was always painful when one or the other, not understanding the situation, retained his seat."  

The accusation was made that the "ministerial session" was a secret meeting "by men who professed opposition to all secretism." Older men, often sent as delegates to Synod, "did not feel good over the invitation to leave when important matters of the Church

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206 See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1868, pp. 13-27.  
208 Ibid., p. 203.  
209 Ibid., p. 204.  
210 Ibid.  
211 Ibid.; see Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode, p. 205.
were to be considered only by ordained ministers."\(^{212}\) Ohio laymen joined forces with the conservative party to effect the slow decline of the Ministerium, and after prolonged struggle in the Districts and the Joint Synod, the institution had disappeared by the 1870's, though ministers still continued to hold special "pastoral conferences."\(^{213}\)

With the passing of the Ministerium, the Synod itself, in which both clerical and lay delegates met to transact the business of the Church, gained in importance. The gradual adoption of congregational polity in Ohio, however, meant that a new understanding and justification of the Synod had to be made. If Synods were not of divine origin, as Loy contended,\(^ {214}\) what was their basis? In the Ohio Synod's Constitution of 1880 Loy offered a theological and practical defense of the arrangement. Christians formed associations of congregations, or synods, that "the manifestation of the Spirit may be given to every man, to profit withal;" because of the example of the apostolic Church recorded in the book of Acts; for the preservation and promotion of unity in pure faith and "a united warfare against everything opposed to this faith;" for the extension of the Kingdom of God through missions; for the

\(^{212}\) Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 204, 205.

\(^{213}\) Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode, p. 205.

\(^{214}\) See, for example, Matthias Loy, "What is the Church?" The Columbus Theological Magazine, IV (April, 1884), 65-83, and Matthias Loy, "Pastoral Conferences," The Columbus Theological Magazine, IV (April, 1884), 117-121; Loy stated, "Lutherans never denied the facts of history that external organizations have come and departed . . . ." Loy, The Christian Church, p. 179.
establishment of useful facilities, as schools and publishing houses, which were beyond the power of the local church; to protect and maintain the rights of pastors and congregations; and finally for the "promotion of the greatest uniformity attainable in the government of the church."  

If Synods were a voluntary matter, what was the power of the national convention over its Districts? This problem arose in 1863 when the English District resolved that it would consider action taken by the Joint Synod to be only "advisory" until it had been ratified by a majority of the Church's constituent Districts. When the Joint Synod met two years later, a committee, headed by W. F. Lehmann, drafted a moderate but firm reply to the English District. Ohio's Lutherans, by a free and unhindered decision, had covenanted together into a Joint Synod, and the terms of that union were contained in the Synodical Constitution, by which all should abide, not only by the letter, but also in the spirit of brotherly love and cooperation. This instrument of government, stated Lehmann, gave the Joint Synod power to uphold correct doctrine and "good order" in the Church and all of its parts. It authorized the national body to review the minutes of the participating Districts, to suggest suitable constitutions and church orders for them, and to give counsel in all matters brought before it by resolution of the District Synods. The Ohio

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216 Ohio Minutes (English District), 1863, p. 15.
Synod was to discipline the Districts when they erred in either faith or practice, and was to give "recommendations" on such subjects as it saw fit. Finally, when the Districts were unable to settle disputes arising between them, they could appeal to the Joint Synod for jurisdiction. When this occurred, the decision of the Ohio Synod was to be binding. The English District, by implication, was admonished. In doctrinal affairs the Districts were not at liberty, though they were in the areas of "adiaphora."

The relationship of Districts and Joint Synod, therefore, was more of a "federation" than a "confederation," and Professor C. V. Sheatsley wrote:

... the situation in the Lutheran Church in this country is somewhat after the manner of the political situation before the Civil War. There are those who advocate a confederacy of districts or synods. They say that these bodies are like sovereign states ... On the other hand there are those, and to this class we believe the Joint Synod belongs, who hold that the constitution of the general body determines the status of the individual districts; in other words, we hold ... that there can be no secession without disruption, and that when a district insists on withdrawal the only legitimate motive it can have is a change of doctrine which in the nature of things makes it a foreign body.

The rights and duties of the President of the Synod grew out of this conception. In the Constitution of 1880, the President was charged with

... supervision of the doctrine and practice and of the official functions of all the officers of the Joint Synod, of all the District Presidents, of all appointees of

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217 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1865, pp. 12, 13.
218 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 110.
Joint Synod, e.g., Seminary and college teachers, supervisory boards, agents, etc. In extreme cases he also has the right to suspend officers.\textsuperscript{219}

He was the chairman of all Joint Synod meetings, and was to cast the deciding vote in case of a tie.\textsuperscript{220} The President held office until a successor was elected, serving two-year terms.\textsuperscript{221} At each session of the Synod he was to deliver a written report concerning the "state of the Church" and together with the Secretary to sign all minutes and documents of the denomination.\textsuperscript{222} He was to attend all District Synod meetings, to visit all "literary institutions" of the church at least once a year, and if any officer of the Synod became incapacitated to carry on his work, the President was to fill the position with a pro tempore appointment.\textsuperscript{223} Finally, with the consent of a majority of the District Presidents, he had the right to call special sessions of the Joint Synod.\textsuperscript{224}

The influence of the office, however, depended on the individual who occupied it. In 1860 an especially strong President was elected, Matthias Loy.

\textsuperscript{219} Article III, "Constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States," in Ohio Minutes, 1880, p.57.
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{221} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{222} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., p. 58.
\textsuperscript{224} Ibid.
A significant change occurred when Professor W. F. Lehmann, who had been President of the Ohio Synod since 1854, relinquished his post to Pastor Matthias Loy in 1860. "In the estimation of many members of synod" Lehmann had come to symbolize "the old regime" and had "sacrificed his power of leadership" while a restless new generation found its representative and spokesman in Loy. Though Loy had been "theologically educated under Professor Lehmann," he had two criticisms of his former mentor which were shared by his contemporaries. First, Loy felt that Lehmann's "learning was sometimes at fault" and, second, that his "theological dicta were not always indisputable" because "his duties as professor and pastor left him little time for study." Loy was convinced that Lehmann failed to appreciate the full meaning of the return to "historic Lutheranism," for he did not incline "toward Missourianism, as did our mutual friend Rev. Spielmann." Lehmann, therefore, "usually stood as mediator between the adherents of old customs and the new Lutheran life which had come

1 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 211.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 211; "Father was not a Missourian," interview with the Reverend William Lehmann, June 10, 1965.
into our synod . . . ."5 Though "the time was one that tried
men's souls,"6 Lehmann "was heroic in expedients to prevent
clashing" and "was extremely cautious in choosing his course, and
often moved so slowly that it seemed to many that he did not move
at all."7 Loy, who wrote that in the 1850's he was still "a big
hearted boy" who could "hope great things," was disturbed because
Lehmann "never allowed himself to be carried away by enthusiasm .
. . ."8 This contrast in character was stressed by Professor T. E.
Schmauk in his comparison of the two men as being of paramount
importance:

To our mind this difference between Dr. Loy and Prof.
Lehmann is a difference of temperament, and not a differ­
ce of fidelity to doctrinal standards . . . . The spirit
of polemics, which breathes through the atmosphere of
Dr. Loy's activity, is no more, in itself considered, a
matter of loyalty to the Word and the Confession, than is
the more placid and equally stubborn loyalty of Prof.
Lehmann.9

Whether the reason was primarily theological or psychological, Loy
recalled that

. . . I grew to be an opponent of my teacher of many a
point, without disturbing our friendly relations. He
always regarded these differences as lying within the
limits of our Lutheran Confession and not involving a
breach of our fraternal relations.10

Lehmann assisted Loy in the exercise of the Presidential office,
but in the decades after 1860 the Ohio Synod was dominated by a

5Loy, Story of My Life, p. 207.
7Ibid., p. 211.
8Ibid., p. 213.
9Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 193.
10Loy, Story of My Life, p. 211.
powerful personality, gave rigid acceptance to conservative principles, and became involved in tragic polemic.

Loy had three main problems as President: first, from 1861 until 1865, he guided the Synod through the perplexities of Civil War; secondly, from 1866 until 1881, he worked to unite the forces of conservative Lutheranism in the United States; and thirdly, when this failed, he devoted his energies from 1881 until 1894 to the preservation and expansion of the Ohio Synod as a bulwark of Orthodoxy.

Six months after Loy's election as President of the Ohio Synod, hostilities began between North and South at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor.\(^\text{11}\) Loy, therefore, was required to determine the stand that his Church would take in the ensuing conflict. In this respect he was cast upon his own resources, for there was no central body to speak for the various synods and there was no uniform approach to the war among America's 245,726 Lutherans.\(^\text{12}\)

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\(^\text{11}\) Loy, was elected on October 25, 1860 (see Ohio Verhandlungen, 1860, p. 7). The firing on Fort Sumter began on April 12, 1861.

\(^\text{12}\) These were organized into 2,219 congregations served by 1,313 ministers. See Charles William Heathcote, The Lutheran Church and the Civil War (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919), p. 69. The Lutherans were fairly well scattered through the nation, approximately thirty per cent living in the middle Atlantic states between Massachusetts and Maryland, another thirty per cent being found in the South from Virginia to Central Texas, and the remaining forty per cent residing in the mid-west. See Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, pp. 146, 172, 173. The Lutherans composed less than eight-tenths of one per cent of the total American population of 31,443,321; See Century Growth of Population, 1790-1900 (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of the Census, Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 151. See Paul S. Dybvig, "Lutheran Participation in the Civil War," The Lutheran Quarterly, XIV (Nov., 1962), 294–300; and Jon Lloyd Joyce, "Effects of the Civil War on the Lutheran Church," The Lutheran Quarterly, XIV (Nov., 1962), 301–314.
The largest Lutheran group, and the one that was most nearly national in extent, the General Synod, soon divided over secession and slavery. Its Northern district synods supported the Union, its Southern members the Confederacy. The Scandinavian synods of the upper mid-west, stemming from Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish migration to America between 1840 and 1850, numbered some 12,000 communicants who were largely Free Soil and Republican in politics. They "did not allow the barrier of language to dim their native interest in public affairs," and supported the federal government wholeheartedly.¹³ In the lower mid-west there were four predominately German and "Old Lutheran" synods: the Iowa and Buffalo Synods, each with 4,000 adherents, the Missouri Synod with 25,000 members, and the Ohio Synod with 20,000 communicants.¹⁴ Generally "the vast majority of immigrant Germans of all classes opposed slavery and supported the Union."¹⁵ There was one noteworthy exception, Loy's close friend, C.F.W. Walther.

Walther, living on the fringe of combat in the contested border state of Missouri, supported the Confederacy. He did this for three reasons:

First, he was repelled by the Methodist abolitionists and the liberal forty-eighters who saw the war as a crusade to end slavery.¹⁶ He had nothing but disdain for "the Republican

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¹³Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 170.
¹⁴Heathcote, The Lutheran Church and the Civil War, p. 69.
¹⁵Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 168.
¹⁶Ibid., p. 169.
rabble" which had caused the trouble by clamoring for abolition. In his mind it was another product of Rationalism and Sectarianism.

Second, stated Professor A. R. Wentz, . . . it was his conviction that the Scriptures teach nothing against the institution of slavery and much in favor of it, for example, the definite command that slaves should be obedient to their masters. Walther had his colleague, Dr. W. Sihler of Fort Wayne, write four lengthy essays defending slavery, and even after Appomattox Walther authored four articles in Lehre und Wehre vindicating his views on Negro servitude as a "divine institution."

Third, Walther . . . regarded the United States as a federation, somewhat like the old Holy Roman Empire in Germany, and therefore he placed loyalty to the state government above loyalty to the Union. Walther, therefore, permitted the Confederate flag to be hoisted over the St. Louis Seminary, with the result that that institution was closed by federal forces during part of the war. The "test oath" imposed in Missouri after the end of the hostilities "was quite a problem for Walther."

Walther's political opinions were not those of the Missouri Synod, however, and its minutes and publications revealed nothing

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17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid. He also "accused the antislavery men of making their voice the voice of God." Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 300.
22 Ibid.
to indicate widespread sympathy with his views. His friends urged silence upon him because he was giving his Church a bad reputation and he was alienating the Republican-minded Scandinavians. Furthermore, in this instance Walther's stand appears to have had little if any influence on Loy and the Ohio Synod.

In the Joint Synod relatively little was said about the war either in the official proceedings or periodicals of the denomination. This was probably for five reasons:

First, the Synod was largely German-speaking at the time, and together with the language barrier, many of its members, being immigrants from Europe, lacked the immediate connection with the war that a native-born American might feel. With the exception of the English District, the District Synods kept their minutes in German from 1854 until 1880, and the proceedings of the Joint Synod from 1856 until 1880, with minor exceptions, were in that tongue. A German newspaper, the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, founded in 1860, had 1,179 subscribers within two years. Many of the English Lutherans had seceded in 1840 and 1855, and the new English District, formed in 1857, was the smallest in the Church. As late as 1916 one-third of the Ohio Synod's Lutherans used German as an only language, another one-third employed English exclusively, and the remaining third was bilingual. This situation meant a general detachment from American life.

23 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 169.
24 Ibid., pp. 168, 169.
26 Neve, A Basic History of the Lutheran Church in America, pp. 356, 357.
Second, the Synod was still largely centered in Ohio and western Pennsylvania, and had no Southern members, and need not fear schism because of the war. Except for relations with the Tennessee Synod and the conservative Concordia Synod in Virginia, established in 1860, the Joint Synod had no direct involvement with the South.

Third, slavery and abolition were not burning issues within the Synod. In 1827 the Ohio Society, an association to promote the colonization of slaves in Africa, had appealed to the Joint Synod for aid. The Church approved the "noble efforts" of the Society, but stated that it did not deem it wise or proper to collect funds for such a purpose. The matter was left up to the individual judgment of Lutherans. Other than on this instance, slavery was scarcely mentioned in the deliberations of Ohio's Lutherans, and the fact that many of the Abolitionists were Methodists, did not endear them to the conservative Germans.

Fourth, the Synod was preoccupied with other issues of a strictly religious nature, as "unionism" and "lodgery." During this period the Synod was torn by the "Church and Ministry" controversy, and at its convention in 1862 Professor Lehmann gave an extended discussion of the doctrine of the Church taught in Article VII of the Augsburg Confession. Internal matters, as

27Ohio Verhandlungen (Western District), 1852, pp. 22, 23.  
28Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode, p. 154.  
29Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 79.  
30See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1862, pp. 9, 10.
the secession of the English District in 1855 and the preservation of Capital University, left little time for national questions, even if these had been considered fit topics for a Synodical meeting. In Loy's first Presidential Report, delivered to the Ohio Synod on October 1, 1862, he barely mentioned the war, implying that the Church should "be about the Master's business." 31

Fifth, the Synod was persuaded that its primary obligation was to preach the Word "in season and out of season." It was to administer the means of grace whether there was war or peace. 32 Loy felt this was the Church's commission, and he repeatedly warned against the substitution of other matters for this task. 33 The preacher should not pass judgment on civil affairs, in which he was neither competent nor commanded to speak. In this regard "Lehmann, Worley, and Loy would not entertain 'political' discussion and preaching to any considerable extent," 34 though "Loy admitted that political truths, as found in the Gospel, could be preached," though that "did not sustain other 'political preaching' ... ." 35 President H. Borchers of the Southern

31 Ibid., pp. 6-7. Loy cited as fit issues of discussion: the "church and ministry" problem, liturgical reforms, and the state of church schools.

32 See Ohio Verhandlungen (Eastern District), 1863, p. 4.

33 See Lutheran Standard, XXV (May 15, 1865), pp. 76-77, and October 1, 1865, p. 148; also Chapter X, "Matthias Loy: Preacher."

34 Personal Letter from Professor Richard Smith, Feb. 8, 1965.

District explained in May, 1861:

Ohio will write the political developments of this year into the Book of History with an iron pen. We have to do with it only in so far as these influence the condition of the Church of Christ in general and our precious Lutheran Zion in particular.\(^{36}\)

He continued that though "the present time is one which is very turbulent in every respect, and although some flashes shine out of these political confusions concerning the Church of Christ," the Lutherans of Ohio ought to "become one among one another" and "to ask for a living knowledge of God and further expansion of His holy Church."\(^{37}\)

Loy and other Synodical leaders, however, did feel obliged to offer a theological interpretation of the Civil War.\(^{38}\) Their evaluation of the conflict contrasted sharply with that of some other Protestants, as Julia Ward Howe, who saw it as a righteous crusade by the North "to make men free."\(^{39}\) While she exclaimed "Glory, glory, Hallelujah" because "Mine eyes have seen the glory

\(^{36}\) "Die politischen Ereignisse dieses Jahres wird Ohio mit eisernem Griffel in das Buch der Geschichte eintragen. Wir haben mit denselben nur in sofern zu tun, als diese auf den Zustand der Kirche Christi ueberhaupt und unseres theuren Lutherischen Zions insbesondere einwirken." Ohio Verhandlungen (Southern District), 1861, p. 4.

\(^{37}\) "Die gegenwaertige Zeit ist eine in jeder Hinsicht sehr bewegte, und wenn gleich auch einzelne Lichtblitze aus den politischen Wirren, die Kirche Christi betreffend, hervorleuchten," but "lasset uns unter einander eins werden, zu bitten um lebendige Erkenntniss Gottes und weitere Ausbreitung seiner heiligen Kirche." Ibid.


of the coming of the Lord," the prevailing opinion of the Ohio Synod's spokesmen was that the hostilities were caused by iniquity and were productive of evil. The war was a "scourge of God" not simply because of the alleged sins of the South, but because of the irreligious conduct of the entire Republic. The war was to be viewed as a judgment of God and Christians should respond by doing penance. This conviction corresponded closely to some of the sentiments of President Lincoln, who stated in public proclamation:

And whereas, when our own beloved Country, once by the blessing of God, united, prosperous and happy, is now afflicted with faction and civil war, it is peculiarly fit for us to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation, and in sorrowful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him, and to pray for His mercy,—to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though most justly deserved . . .

Nearly all of the Districts of the Ohio Synod, therefore, supported President Lincoln's appeal of 1861 for a day of humiliation and prayer. The action of the Northern District was representative:

Resolved, that we want to earnestly observe in our congregations the day of penance and prayer proclaimed by the President of the United States.

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40 Ibid.
41 See Ohio Verhandlungen (Southern District), 1863, p. 4.
43 See for example, Ohio Verhandlungen (Eastern District), 1861, pp. 10, 11.
President H. Lang of the Northern District ended his annual report of September 12, 1861, with an invitation to confession and then quoted Jonah 3:9, "Who knows, God may yet repent and turn from his fierce anger, so that we perish not."  

Four years later, at the time of Lincoln's assassination, Loy perceived another sign of the wrath of God:

The country has been shocked by the sad announcement that the President of the United States was assassinated on Good Friday last. It is truly a calamity that has befallen the land, and we do not wonder that the nation mourns now, which was jubilant with joy before in the hope of a speedy restoration of peace.

As Christians, we are pained all the more in seeing a new proof of Satan's power in a land that has been so severely scourged for its sins. But as Christians, we are not without hope. The Lord still reigns, His providence is over all . . . . Confessing that we have deserved all the calamities that have befallen us, and more, let us still trust in a chastening Father's mercy.

Loy also urged Ohio Lutherans to observe the day of mourning appointed by President Johnson.

"Iniquity begets iniquity" and the war unleashed demonic forces which undermined morality. It encouraged hatred for the fellow Americans who lived in the South, and Loy denied that Union casualties should be seen as martyrs in a "holy Crusade." War did not necessarily engender virtues, but it surely stimulated the growth of vice. At the conclusion of the conflict in 1865, Loy wrote:

The horrors of war have been upon us, and the horrors of war's demoralization are upon us now. Children curse

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46 Lutheran Standard, XXV (May 1, 1865), p. 68.
47 Ibid., June 1, 1865, p. 84.
like sinners grown old in sin, and young men and old deliberately form their plans, and fix the time and place to brutalize themselves with intoxicating drink. Lewd fellows of the baser sort are frightfully abundant, of which we find evidence enough every day in our own city.49

The Church should comfort widows and orphans, send letters and periodicals to the soldiers,50 and administer charity to those in need. By preaching the Word and administering the means of grace, it ought to point the way to the "Prince of Peace" and pardon.

The war was also an evil because it hindered the work of the Church. At the beginning of conflict in 1861, President Lang of the Northern District asked his congregations to pray for a speedy return of peace so that the mission of the Synod, so far untroubled by "civil obstacles," might be maintained and expanded.51 Contributions declined, Capital University suffered from a loss of income and students,52 and the Synod's newspapers were adversely affected.53 Ministers were drafted into the army, leaving un­ tended parishes behind them. One such case was that of Professor Daniel Worley of Capital University, who was "compelled to enter camp" in 1863 due to a new militia law in Ohio.54 He found it impossible to obtain a leave of absence to attend the meeting of the English District that year without either resigning his commission

50Lutheran Standard, XXIV (July 1, 1864), p. 3.
51Ohio Verhandlungen (Northern District), 1861, p. 9.
52See Chapter V, "Matthias Loy: Educator, 1865-1902."
53See Chapter VI, "Matthias Loy: Editor and Author, 1864-1890."
54Ohio Minutes (English District), 1863, p. 8.
or else paying forty dollars. It was suggested in the Lutheran Standard that a Synodical fund be established to purchase substitutes for clergymen who were required to bear arms, for such service was felt to be incompatible with the ministerial calling. Loy criticized the American government for not granting exemptions to pastors and theological students.

The duty of the Church, however, was to support the federal government. Loy believed this was the implication of Matthew 21:22, "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." Pastor G. Cronenwett, the Vice President of the Joint Synod, wrote a hymn based on this text which defined a Lutheran's responsibility to the state:

Unto Caesar let us render
All the things that Caesar's are,
Custom, fear, and tribute tender,
Both in time of peace and war.

Government is by God's order,
Civil rule by His command,
For protection to our border,
Safety, peace, throughout the land.

55 Ibid.
56 Lutheran Standard, XXIII (April 1, 1863), p. 2.
57 Lutheran Standard, XXIV (February 15, 1865), p. 29; the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, had forbidden priests to bear arms. This precedent was used by both Lutherans and Episcopalians during the Civil War. The Episcopal Church cited it when one of its Bishops, Leonidas K. Polk, accepted a commission in the Confederate Army.
By the will of God appointed,
All must fear the power that be;
Who lays hand on God's anointed,
Sins against His majesty.58

The admonition of Paul in Romans 13:1 was also invoked: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God." The Augsburg Confession taught that,

... Christians may without sin occupy civil offices or serve as princes and judges, render decisions and pass sentence according to imperial and other existing laws, punish evildoers with the sword, engage in just wars, serve as soldiers ... 59

On the basis of the Scriptures and the Symbols, a committee of the Eastern District summarized the reaction of most Ohio Lutherans to the war:

God's Word teaches clearly and distinctly, that it is the duty of each Christian to be obedient to the rightful government of the country in all that is not against God's Word. We can therefore only regret that such a large number of our Southern fellow citizens let themselves be misled not only to oppose the Constitutional government of our country, but also to attack it with the force of arms. We must, however, in equal measure decisively disapprove the actions of lawless masses in the Northern states who attack and often destroy the person and property of fellow citizens.

We are further convinced, that it is the duty of each Christian, when he is called upon by his rightful government to defend it against all attacks from within.

58 G. Cronenwett, "Unto Caesar Let us Render," Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, Number 155.
or from without, undisturbed by the fact, whether he agrees or disagrees with its political viewpoint.60

Lutherans, therefore, should oppose "rebellion," bear arms in the Union Army, and pray for "those in authority." Loy wrote:

"The people of this country take more interest in the political questions of the day than is usual in other countries. Our form of government sufficiently accounts for this. But it is assuredly a mistake when it is thought that God does not rule over all in a republic. Frequently the conduct of professing Christians in reference to political questions is such as to suggest that they harbor such thoughts . . . . We lately read the remark of a sectarian clerical politician, who, when he was asked to pray for one in high authority, refused on the ground that the official in question was too bad to pray for. He intended it as a witticism, no doubt, but when ministers can be jocular upon subjects so serious, it seems high time to direct the attention of men whose Christianity is a matter of conscience, to the duty of prayer for the government. (1 Tim. 2:1-2) This, it will be observed, is a duty at all times, the Church must not neglect it. But especially should Christians be urged to observe it when the times are troublous, as they are now.61

Though the Ohio Synod suffered during the war, the six years between 1860 and 1866 brought disaster and disruption to the General

60"Gottes Wort lehrt klar und deutlich, dass es die Pflicht eines jeden Christen ist, der rechtmaessigen Landesobrigkeit in allem gehorsam zu sein, das nicht gegen Gottes Wort ist. Wir koennen es daher nur beklagen, dass eine so grosse Anzahl unserer suedlichen Mitbuergen sich haben verleiten lassen, der constitutionellen Obrigkeit unseres Landes nicht nur zu widerstehen, sondern auch dieselbe mit Waffengewalt anzugreifen. Muessen aber eben so entschieden das Verfahren gesetzloser Haufen in den noerdlichen Staaten missbilligen, welche die Person und das Eigenthum von Mitbuergern angreifen und oft zerstoeren.
"Wir sind ferner ueberzeugt, dass es die Pflicht eines jeden Christen sei, wenn er von seiner rechtmaessigen Obrigkeit dazu aufgefordert wird, dieselbe gegen alle Angriffe von innen oder aussen zu vertheidigen, unbekuemmert darum, ob er mit deren politischem Standpunkte ubereinstimmt oder nicht." Ohio Verhandlungen, (Eastern District), 1861, p. 11.

61Lutheran Standard, XXVI (March 15, 1868), p. 45.
Synod. That body, made up of twenty-four district synods, had 164,226 members and eight hundred sixty-four pastors in 1860. It was both the largest Lutheran Church, containing nearly two-thirds of America's Lutherans, and also the most wide-spread, being a truly "general" Synod. Professor Mauelshagen said of the General Synod:

While bearing the name 'Lutheran,' it hoped to bring other Protestant denominations into fellowship with it. This plan of organization was either a reflection of the . . . union of the Prussian Lutheran and Reformed churches, or it was the result of a desire to make the transition from Methodism, Presbyterianism, and Episcopalianism back into the Lutheran fold less difficult. Back of the plan seemed to be more the idea of an 'Evangelical Alliance.'

This dream was not realized, for in 1860 the Swedes and Norwegians left the Synod of Northern Illinois for linguistic reasons. Two years later a second schism occurred, this time over the sectional controversy. The General Synod had been strong in the South, especially in Maryland (10,452 members), Virginia (5,239 members), North Carolina (4,200 members), South Carolina (9,859 members), and Texas (2,800 members). Like the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist denominations, however, it contained both Abolitionists and advocates of slavery. Beginning in October, 1861, the Virginia Synod led the way in a series of secessions from the national Church. In 1863 the Southern synods formed "The General Synod of the

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62 Heathcote, The Lutheran Church and the Civil War, p. 67.
63 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 146.
64 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 43.
65 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 147.
66 Heathcote, The Lutheran Church and the Civil War, p. 68.
Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America" with a noted defender of slavery, Dr. John Bachmann of South Carolina, as President. 67

A third division took place in 1866, on doctrinal grounds, under the leadership of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. That body, in which the German language and German personalities still predominated, 68 had become increasingly conservative in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and when it finally joined the General Synod in 1853, "it carefully guarded the terms of its affiliation." 69 Several incidents soon occurred which caused the Pennsylvanians to reconsider their reservations and to question the wisdom of their decision. In 1855, Dr. Samuel Simon Schmucker unadvisedly issued a "Definite Synodical Platform" which attributed errors to the Augsburg Confession. 70 Though the "Platform" was roundly defeated, a liberal Melanchthon Synod, founded by the "American Lutheran" spokesman, Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, was admitted to the General Synod over the negative votes of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in 1857. 71 The General Synod, long under attack from


68 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 148.

69 Ibid.

70 For his views, see Samuel Simon Schmucker, The American Lutheran Church, Historically, Doctrinally, and Practically Delineated (Springfield, Ohio: Harbaugh and Butler, 1851).

71 Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 138.
the "Old Lutherans," such as Loy, seemed to confirm the accusations of the conservatives when it received the Franckean Synod into its ranks in 1864. The Franckean Synod, which had endorsed prohibition and Abolition, did not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession, and in the opinion of Matthias Loy it was... a body that is notoriously as little entitled to the Lutheran name as a Methodist Conference or a Presbyterian Assembly.

The delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium shared this conviction, and withdrew from the 1864 General Synod convention in protest. The break was not intended as final, but in fact it was to be such.

The schism was compounded by Seminary difficulties. In February, 1864, Dr. Samuel Simon Schmucker resigned his position as head of the Gettysburg Seminary. Conservatives in the Pennsylvania Ministerium hoped that the orthodox Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth would be elected as his successor. When this did not happen, the Ministerium voted in July, 1864, to withdraw its support from Gettysburg and to establish a new theological school at Philadelphia. Dr. Krauth was installed as Professor of

72 See Chapter VI, "Matthias Loy: Editor and Author, 1864-1890."
73 The Franckean Synod also approved of revivals and the "New Measures." It laid little stress on an educated ministry, and had members who doubted the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, as well as other orthodox doctrines. See H. E. Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, p. 384.
74 Lutheran Standard, XXIII (June 1, 1864), p. 4.
75 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 150.
76 Ibid.
Systematic Theology in that institution, assisted by Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, formerly of Gettysburg Seminary, and Dr. W. J. Mann of New York City.

When the General Synod met at Fort Wayne, Indiana, on May 17, 1866, it was "in an atmosphere charged with forebodings of serious conflict." The outgoing President of the Synod was the "noted recensionist" and liberal, Dr. Samuel Sprecher. Dr. J. A. Brown, who had been given the position at Gettysburg desired by Professor Krauth, was chosen as Sprecher's successor. The Pennsylvania Ministerium, which had sent representatives to the convention, was denied voice and vote because it had walked out of the 1864 assembly and had founded a separate Seminary. Declared to be in a state of secession, the Ministerium withdrew from the General Synod for the last time, and within two years "majorities of the New York, Pittsburgh, English Ohio, Illinois, and Minnesota Synods also bolted the general body."
The "German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States" resolved at its one hundred nineteenth session, held in the summer of 1866,

To prepare and issue a fraternal address to all Evangelical Lutheran Synods, ministers, and congregations in the United States and Canada, which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, inviting them to unite with us in a Convention, for the purpose of forming a Union of Lutheran Synods.84

A committee, including such distinguished Lutheran conservatives as G. F. Krotel, Charles Porterfield Krauth, W. J. Mann, and C. W. Schaeffer, drew up a fraternal appeal to all orthodox Lutheran Churches to send delegates to meet at Reading, Pennsylvania, in December, to create a confessional Church

... supremely for the maintenance of unity in the true faith of the Gospel, and in the uncorrupted Sacraments, as the Word of God teaches and our Church confesses them ... 85

This invitation, mailed from Philadelphia on August 10, 1866, "was to alter the face of organized Lutheranism in America ... ."86

Loy's reaction was one of caution, and he had written in the Lutheran Standard in July:

For ourselves we must confess, that we are not very sanguine in our expectation of immediate great results. We would not cast a gloom over any bright prospects that may lie before the vision of any reader, and we would

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85 Ibid.
86 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 42.
not damp the ardor of any in the pursuit of an end so much to be desired. But to see the difficulties which must and can be overcome, is a prerequisite to un-daunted perseverance. As the synods in this country are now constituted, we could not hope for cooperation of a very large number in the formation of a truly Lutheran General Synod.

When the Joint Synod met at Woodville, Ohio, in October, Loy nevertheless urged his Church to support the Reading Convention to the best of its ability. In the spirit of its leader, the Ohio Synod responded by appointing Lehmann and Loy as delegates to the December assembly at Reading, and also established a committee, composed of Loy and all of the District Presidents, to talk with the Buffalo and Missouri Synods. From the beginning Loy determined to look West as well as East.

On the evening of Tuesday, December 11, 1866, clergymen from thirteen Lutheran synods began to assemble at Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Reading. Included were theologians from the powerful Missouri, Wisconsin, and Iowa Synods. An ill omen for the future was seen in the presence of the Ohio Synod's English District as a separate body in the proceedings. Seated as the "English District Synod of Ohio," its spokesmen, led by Professor Daniel Worley, acted as an independent Church.

87 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (July 1, 1866), p. 100.
88 He suggested that the Ohio Synod should support any effort leading to a truly confessional Lutheran Union. See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1866, pp. 8, 9.
89 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (November 1, 1866), p. 164.
90 Proceedings of the Convention, p. 5.
91 Ibid., pp. 6, 7.
92 Ibid., p. 6.
A further aggravating circumstance to Loy and Lehmann was the admission of Ohio's former English District, which had seceded in 1855, as the "English Synod of Ohio." Loy, nevertheless, recalled:

The days of Reading are among the delightful memories of my life. I had the joy of meeting there some of the ablest men in the Lutheran Church and hearing them express a love for the Church as it burned in my own soul and uttering it in words of eloquence which I could not command.

The opening sermon of the meeting was delivered by Loy on the text from 1 Corinthians 1:10,

I appeal to you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and that there be no dissensions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgment.

Loy affirmed:

... I had a good opportunity to say, at the very outset, what in my judgment the situation required, and I said it as plainly and as frankly as if I had been addressing our own Synod; which always gave me credit for meaning what I say and not leaving in doubt what I mean.

In the address, Loy made three points regarding the prerequisites of church union. They were (1) holding the same faith in the same truth, (2) having the same confession of the same faith, and (3)
possessing the same judgment under the same confession. The sermon was well received," and the official business began.

The transactions of the convention were in both German and English, and Professor Lehmann of the Ohio Synod was elected the temporary Chairman of the assembly. Loy was appointed to several important committees, including one on communications and one to prepare an English hymnal. The most significant assignment, however, was to work with William A. Passavant, G. F. Krotel, Charles Porterfield Krauth, and W. J. Mann to draft a Constitution for the proposed General Council.

The "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity," written by Dr. Krauth, were presented in thesis form to the meeting, and they seemed to substantially support Loy's conditions for unity. Loy was somewhat optimistic, and stated that "to me the outlook was even more hopeful when the convention adjourned than when it opened . . . ."

It was in the application of these "Fundamental Principles" that problems promptly began. Loy made it clear to the

96 Loy's sermon is included in the Proceedings of the Convention, pp. 21-31; It was published in the Lutheran Standard, XXVII (January 15, 1867), pp. 9-11, and in the Lutheran and Missionary, VI (December 27, 1866), p. 37.
97 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 332.
99 Ibid., p. 6.
100 Ochsenford, Documentary History, pp. 132, 135, 142-144.
102 See Jacobs, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, pp. 472-475, and Ochsenford, Documentary History, pp. 135-141.
103 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1867, pp. 8, 9.
Constitutional committee, of which he was a member, that Ohio could not join the General Council without insisting on a final decision on "Four Points," the prohibition of (1) sharing pulpits with non-Lutherans, (2) the admission of non-Lutherans to Holy Communion, (3) membership in secret societies, and (4) chiliasm or millenialism. These "Four Points" have "been a subject of controversy ever since," Loy noted in 1905. The committee could not come to any agreement on these matters, and pleading the pressure of time and the inability to do everything at once, it postponed discussion of them to a later meeting. Loy "later claimed that he was the last to yield to the proposition to leave them out of consideration until a future period ... ." Thus the Reading Convention closed without having settled a source of potential controversy. The Synods were to meet again at Fort Wayne, in 1867, to establish a General Council, but it was understood that

... the Synods present in this Convention which prefer a Free Conference to an immediate organization, be, and hereby are, invited to send representatives to the next meeting, with the understanding that they have in it all the privileges of debate, and of fraternal comparison of views.

Loy gave a full report of the happenings at Reading in the Lutheran Standard in January, 1867, not failing to mention the

Ibid., p. 336.
Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 45.
Ochsenford, Documentary History, p. 144.
"Four Points" which remained undecided. When the Ohio Synod met in special convention in June, it could not take final action on the General Council because Loy did not receive a copy of that organization's Constitution until after the Ohioans had adjourned. The subject of membership in that body was nevertheless debated for three days, and it was decided that, first, Ohio representatives should attend the Fort Wayne assembly, but second, they were to insist on a clarification of the contested "Four Points," and third, they were not to commit Ohio to associate with the General Council until the Joint Synod could meet to discuss the matter further. Ohio sentiment was, in Loy's words, that "Paramount to Love is Faith, and more precious than Union is the Truth."

At Fort Wayne the General Council came into formal existence. For fear of losing some of its more liberal Synods, it did not make a definitive statement on the "Four Points." It invited Ohio to join the General Council with the suggestion that these items might be considered further after organic union. Loy felt that

The answer given us was ample proof that our caution was none too great. The Council was not prepared to give a response that could satisfy a synod which had fought its

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108 _Lutheran Standard_, XXVII (January 1, 1867), pp. 4, 5.
109 Meuser, _The Formation of the American Lutheran Church_, p. 47.
110 _Ohio Verhandlungen_, 1867, pp. 31, 32.
way through hostile crowds of indifferentists and liberalists and unionists to a position of confessional Lutheranism without reservations ... 112

He continued:

The four points, which especially challenged consideration preparatory to the formation of a Lutheran union of Synods on a sound and permanent basis, were thus evaded, and the evasion closed the door against us and others, who stood with us in contending for confessional Lutheranism with corresponding Lutheran practice ... 113

The General Council tried to open the "closed door" on several occasions, and it was said that "the first ten years of the body constituted a history of these 'Four Points.'" 114 At its Akron convention in 1872 it declared that Lutheran pulpits were for Lutheran pastors only, and that Lutheran altars were for Lutheran communicants only. 115 This position was reaffirmed in 1875 in the "Galesburg Rule." 116 These actions were fruitless in respect to the Ohio Synod, because two new sources of offense had arisen.

The first of these was the beginning of literary warfare and polemic. In the summer of 1867 Dr. William A. Passavant of the Lutheran and Missionary had accused Loy of "delaying tactics" in the formation of the General Council. He suggested that Loy had brought up the "Four Points" as a serious matter only after the Reading Convention. Loy replied at length in the August issue

112 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 338.
113 Ibid., pp. 344, 345.
114 Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 221.
115 See Ochsenford, Documentary History, p. 216.
116 Ibid., p. 217.
of the Lutheran Standard, stating that he wished to maintain high standards so that the Council would not become "the mongrel thing of indifference which we have before us in the General Synod." 117 From this episode, bitterness emerged. The struggle continued because Loy believed that "to keep silent would have been neglecting duty," 118 and the Council's periodicals replied in kind. 119

The most severe of the "Four Points," Loy felt, was that of "lodgery," and it led directly to the secession of Ohio's English District and its reception into the General Council. Loy was convinced that since its revival in 1857, the English District has been "the rallying ground for disaffected members of our Synod." 120 The disgruntled Mason, Andrew Henkel, was one of its leaders, and in 1861 he was recommended for Synodical discipline. 121 In 1862 the Joint Synod resolved that President Loy should reprimand the recalcitrant English District, 122 and the following year that District Synod stated that it would consider Joint Synod actions to be only "advisory" until ratified by the various districts of the Church. 123 Under the leadership of Loy's former friend, Daniel Worley, the English District "was cordially

117 Lutheran Standard, XXVII (August 1, 1867), p. 124.
118 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 338.
119 See Chapter VI, "Matthias Loy: Editor and Author, 1864-1890."
120 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 316.
121 Ohio Minutes (English District), 1861, p. 8.
122 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1862, p. 16.
123 Ohio Minutes (English District), 1863, p. 15.
received" into the General Council. This was a perplexing situation, and Loy wrote,

Whether the members thought that they could belong to our Synod and to the Council at the same time, though these two bodies could not agree, I do not know."

The Joint Synod decided in 1868 to take steps against the "English." Loy attended the English District convention in 1869 at Lima, Ohio, "with a view of transferring my membership from the Western District" to that one, with the purpose of helping "the brethren in that District who were still loyal to our cause ... ." Dr. William A. Passavant also came to Lima, to retain the District's allegiance to the General Council. As the session began, "the explosion was horrible and the whole scene was one of amazement," and Loy was denied his Constitutional right to address the District. When it became clear that a majority of the English District intended to leave Ohio for the General Council, Loy led a "secession from secession." The loyal minority of the troubled body met with Loy to found the fourth and final English District of the Ohio Synod. Loy transferred his membership to that District Synod to help anchor it firmly to Ohio. He, furthermore, did not let the Joint Synod forget "that gross wrong was done by the Council District," the General Council, and

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125 Ibid.
126 Ibid., p. 347.
127 Ibid., p. 348.
128 Ibid., pp. 348, 349.
129 He remained a member of the English District from 1869 until his death in 1915.
Dr. Passavant. Warfare with that organization had begun in earnest. The four years between 1866 and 1870 had severely altered the alignment of Lutheran Synods in the United States. The General Synod in its three schisms had lost two hundred seventeen clergymen and seventy-six thousand one hundred forty-nine communicants. By 1916 it accounted for only one-fourth of America's Lutherans. During the decades after the Civil War the General Council grew, despite schisms, to include fourteen synods by 1916, the largest of which was the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In these years Loy participated in an effort to create a "third force" in American Lutheranism, and in 1872 Ohio joined with the Missouri Synod and other bodies to form a "Synodical Conference."

In the seventeen years prior to 1872 the Ohio and Missouri Synods had slowly been drawing together. Their first fraternal contact was occasioned by the appearance of Dr. Samuel Simon Schmucker's "Definite Synodical Platform" in 1855, when C.F.W. Walther suggested that "all synods subscribing to the Unaltered

130 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 351.
132 Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 175.
133 Ibid.
134 Ibid., p. 228.
Augsburg Confession meet together to counteract the innovators. In what promised to be open warfare between the forces of "American" and "Old Lutheranism," many in the Ohio Synod, especially Loy and the younger conservatives, received Walther's plea with great sympathy. Several "General Church Conferences" were held, beginning with one at Columbus on October 1, 1856, at which seventy-three delegates were present from the New York and Pennsylvania Ministeriums, and the Ohio and Missouri Synods. Professor W. F. Lehmann presided, and substantial agreement was reached regarding the meaning of the initial seven articles of the Augsburg Confession. Further conferences were arranged at Pittsburgh in 1857 and at Cleveland in 1858, in the course of which Walther emerged as a potential leader of the mid-west's orthodox Lutherans.

No permanent results, however, came from these consultations for four reasons:

First, though Ohio was becoming increasingly confessional through influence from St. Louis, Missouri was still not satisfied with the Joint Synod's doctrinal position on "unionism," "lodgery," the formula of distribution used in the Eucharist, and the question of "Church and Ministry." Even Loy, who shared many

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135 Meuser, Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 51; see also Lutheran Standard, XIV (February 8, 1856), p. 2.
136 At later meetings agreement was reached on Articles 1-14 and 28, see Baeppler, A Century of Grace, pp. 155-157; see also Lutheran Standard, XIV (October 17, 1856), p. 2.
137 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 51.
Missouri tenets, found that some of the leaders of that Synod, as Dr. W. Sihler, were "violent opponents" of Ohio.138

Second, Missouri's controversy with Buffalo on the "Church and Ministry" issue forced it to focus its attention on other matters, and even to accuse the Ohioans of "hierarchical conceptions."139 Walther, in order to regain his health, spent the major part of 1860 in Germany,140 and his absence allowed the more radical Missourians an opportunity to vent their hostilities against their new friends.141

Third, Missouri received into its ministry a pastor who had stated that President Lehmann of the Ohio Synod was too easy going on secret societies,142 and Ohio soon accepted a clergyman into its ranks who had had difficulties with the Missouri Synod.143 Charges of "sheep stealing" multiplied, and in 1859 the Lutheran Standard carried the following notice: "We are done with the Missouri Synod and Missourians until we can see more honesty and fair dealing in their intercourse with others."144 Even Loy

138 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 193. For his recollection of these sessions, see Ibid., pp. 193-194.
139 This despite the fact that Loy had written a series of articles on the ministry in the Lutheran Standard, XIX (January to April, 1859) which was followed by a series by Daniel Worley from May to September, on "Ministerial Office, Distinct from the General Priesthood, but no Hierarchy."
141 See Loy, Story of My Life, p. 194, where he carefully distinguishes between the character of Walther and that of his friends.
142 Lutheran Standard, XIX (May 13, 1859), p. 3.
143 Ibid., (September 2, 1859), p. 3.
144 Ibid., (December 23, 1859), p. 2.
and Lehmann, who had served as Ohio representatives at the first three conferences with Missouri, failed to attend the fourth and final one.\(^{145}\)

Fourth, the war years between 1861 and 1865 presented the Synods with other problems,\(^ {146} \) though "small scale" hostilities between the theologians lasted until 1866.\(^ {147} \)

By that year, however, Loy felt it was time to seek cordial relations with St. Louis, and the Ohio convention appointed a committee for that purpose.\(^ {148} \) The Joint Synod's confessional position had become more orthodox, and Loy wrote:

> For myself, I never had much difficulty to get along peaceably with its members [Missouri's]. No doubt this was owing to the fact that, from the beginning of my ministry, I in the main accepted their doctrine and practice as coincident with our Confessions, and therefore was often in agreement with them when this implied disagreement with some of the brethren in our own Synod.\(^ {149} \)

Following the failure of the General Council to meet his expectations, Loy invited President Walther and Missouri Synod representatives to meet with him in Columbus in 1868. The conference, with the approval of both Synods, began in March. Loy observed:

> . . . it became evident that there was nothing in the way of working together, occupying the same confessional ground and having the same objection to the

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\(^{146}\) Ibid.  
\(^{147}\) Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, p. 52.  
attitude assumed by the General Council in the four points. My desire was still to unite the Lutheran Church in this country so far as possible...

"Articles of Agreement" were formulated which said that both Ohio and Missouri would recognize one another as orthodox, that they would work together to overcome ill will, as well as to try to agree on territorial jurisdiction and the correction of doctrinal error when such appeared. Loy recommended the "Articles" to the Ohio convention of 1868, which accepted them with only a reservation about the doctrine of the ministry which was still considered open for discussion. As Professor Meuser has observed: "This is the first instance on record of the Ohio Synod's approving church fellowship without insisting on complete unanimity in all doctrines." Pro-Missouri sentiment was so strong at the convention that a motion for merger with that body drew much support. The Missouri Synod, however, was unable to approve the "Articles" because of Ohio's position on the "ministry." This obstacle was removed when the Joint Synod adopted theses on that subject at its meeting at Dayton, Ohio, in October, 1870, which satisfied St. Louis.

150 Ibid., pp. 352, 353.
151 See Lutheran Standard, XXVI (December 1, 1868), p. 179, and Ohio Verhandlungen, 1868, pp. 28 ff.
152 Ibid., p. 33.
153 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 52.
154 Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode, p. 192.
155 Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 158.
156 Ibid., p. 159; Ohio Verhandlungen, 1870, pp. 16-26.
On this basis, representatives of the Ohio, Norwegian, Missouri, and Wisconsin Synods met at Chicago between January 11 and 13, 1871, to prepare a draft of a constitution for a synodical conference. The committee met for a second time at Fort Wayne, Indiana, in November, and "the prevailing tone . . . was one of praise to God and of bright hopes for the future of the Lutheran Church." The Ohio Synod gave unanimous approval to the "Synodical Conference" at a special convention in 1872.

By the early summer of 1872 the Constitution of "The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America" had been ratified by conventions of the Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Norwegian, Minnesota, and Illinois Synods. Delegates from these bodies met at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on July 10, 1872. President Loy and Professor Lehmann were among the representatives from Ohio. Several of Loy's friends, as C.F.W. Walther, W. Sihler, Friedrich Wyneken, and H. C. Schwan, were spokesmen for the Missouri Synod. Walther delivered the opening sermon, and Loy read a paper on "Our Duty to the English-speaking Population of This Country." The Synodical Conference was begun. In Loy's opinion it "was not only the largest of all the synodical bodies bearing the Lutheran name, but also the most thoroughly Lutheran in word and work." 

157 Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 159.  
158 Ibid.  
159, 159 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1872, pp. 7-12.  
161, 161 Ibid.  
162, 162 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 354.
The Constitution defined the purposes of the Conference as:

An expression of the unity of the spirit existing among the respective synods; mutual encouragement as to faith and confession; promotion of unity as to doctrine and practice and the removal of any threatening disturbance thereof; cooperation in matters of mutual interest; an effort to establish territorial boundaries for the synods, provided that the language used does not separate them; the uniting of all Lutheran synods of America into one orthodox American Lutheran Church.\textsuperscript{163}

It described the powers of the body as being purely advisory on matters in which the participating synods had not given it jurisdiction. The consent of "the totality of all synods" was necessary for the reception of other churches into fellowship or for the union of the Synodical Conference with any other organization. It also specified that conferences attended by pastors of the various synods should be arranged.\textsuperscript{164} No member synod was to unite with an outside Church or society without the permission of the entire Conference.\textsuperscript{165} At the meeting of the Conference in 1876, further authorization was given to (1) appoint a committee to examine and correct, if necessary, the minutes of the affiliated synods; (2) dissolve the synods using the same language and create new ones along state lines; and (3) to merge the seminaries of the various bodies into one central theological school which would have German, English, and Norwegian departments.\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{163}Quoted Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 161.
\textsuperscript{164}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{165}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{166}Ibid., p. 162.
moving from a confederation toward a federation. The Concordia Synod of Virginia, which became a member of the Synodical Conference that year, was merged into the Ohio Synod in 1877, and two years later the Illinois Synod became part of the Illinois District of the Missouri Synod. 167

The officers of the Conference were a President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer. 168 Paradoxically enough, W. F. Lehmann, who had serious reservations about the Conference, was the President from 1873 until 1876, and from 1877 until 1880. 169 For the last two years of his life, Lehmann also had the burden of serving as the Ohio Synod President. In June, 1878, Loy resigned that position due to poor health, suffering "from a severe attack of pneumonia, from which for a while my physician entertained little hope of my recovery." 170 Having held that post for eighteen years, Loy relinquished it with the feeling, "it was a great relief to me to have the burden removed . . . . " 171 It appeared to him that he had achieved the goals he had set for the Synod, and all seemed to be going well.

167 Ibid.
168 Ibid., p. 161.
169 Ibid., p. 163. Walther was the first President, from 1872-1873; Lehmann was skeptical of the union, Personal Interview, the Reverend William Lehmann, June 10, 1965.
170 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 361.
171 Ibid., p. 362.
At first everything went well with the Synodical Conference, and Loy observed that "for years I was not disappointed in my expectations." Problems, however, began to appear. As Loy noted:

Yet all the while there was something which had a depressing effect on a large portion of the membership. The Missouri Synod dominated the Conference. It was numerically the strongest of the synods united in it, and it was the strongest in intellectual power and theological learning.

Some Missourians started to ask, "We are the people, but who are you?" Such talk startled many in Ohio, who had not forgotten old grievances. Typical was the statement of Ohio's Vice President, C.H.L. Schuette, in 1880, when the Joint Synod was debating the adoption of a new Constitution:

First we want to know whether there will be an Ohio Synod in the future. If we want to amalgamate with the Missourians, then all our discussions about the new Constitution are useless; they will surely 'fix' the Constitution for us.

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1 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 354.
2 Ibid., pp. 354, 355.
3 Ibid., p. 355.
4 Ibid., p. 354.
5 "Erst wollen wir wissen, ob es noch fernerhin eine Ohio-Synode geben wird. Wollen wir uns mit den Missourianern verschmelzen, dann sind all unsere Beratungen über die neue Konstitution nutzlos; die werden die Konstitution dann schon für uns 'fixen.'" Quoted Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode, p. 219.

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The Missouri Synod, in turn, was dominated by C.F.W. Walther. This led to a clash of personalities with Ohio's leaders.

Loy remembered that Walther

... was accustomed to have his doctrinal statements accepted as indisputably correct and his judgment assented to as decisive and final. He could brook no public contradiction when he had spoken. He had become a dictator...6

Loy also recalled that on one occasion Walther had made a statement which "I regarded as erroneous ..."7 Loy later reported:

[I] modestly ... ventured to speak against his position, most sincerely prefacing my remarks with the statement, that one thinks twice or thrice before openly expressing dissent from a man like ... Dr. Walther, but that with all his gifts he is not infallible, and we owe it to our God and our Church to speak in defense of the truth as we see it, even though it be against a man whom we all delight to honor. My introduction produced such a sensation that my speech hardly received the desired attention. To my astonishment, Dr. Walther was seriously offended ... He took it as an insinuation that he nursed the delusion of his own infallibility. He declined to take any further part in the discussion ... 8

Since "the unity of spirit essential to intersynodical cooperation had never developed between Ohio and Missouri,"9 the implementation of the plan of merger of the two synods and their institutions experienced difficulties. Loy had officially approved the consolidation,10 and wrote:

I could not abandon the conviction that by dividing our synods according to state lines, so that all the members

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7 Ibid., p. 357.
8 Ibid.
9 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 54.
10 See Ohio Verhandlungen, 1872, pp. 7-12.
of our different synods within the boundaries of any given state would belong to the same District of the Conference, many of the dangers threatening our present organizations would be eliminated, and that much more could be accomplished for the cause of Lutheranism... and with this was associated in my mind the importance of sustaining a common Seminary for all the State Synods...11

Some steps had been taken to carry out the educational provisions previously proposed. On January 28, 1878, at the request of the Ohio Synod, C.F.W. Walther was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree by Capital University.12 The same year Loy was offered the Chair of English Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. He stated:

If I had been standing idle in the market place, waiting for the Master to assign me a place of work, I could have accepted the position without hesitation.13

Though Loy returned the call because he felt he had sufficient work in Ohio, the Missouri Synod considered this act expressive of a lack of trust.14 The call, unfortunately, was viewed by some in the Ohio Synod as part of a Missouri conspiracy, "seeing that Missouri must have known that taking away one of our Professors would cripple us."15 A Missouri pastor, C. A. Frank, was engaged to teach in Ohio's Columbus Seminary in 1878, while retaining his

11Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 358, 359; each state synod would alone have had the right to conduct missionary work within the state, thus avoiding "sheep stealing" and competition for converts, see Ohio Verhandlungen, 1876, p. 12.
14Ibid.
15Ibid.
membership in the St. Louis body. Though Ohio debated the plans for a Joint Seminary in 1878, the Synod had just recently erected new academic facilities for Capital University and had relocated that institution in Bexley, Ohio. It was reluctant to abandon the school, and

Lack of money to contribute toward the building of the new seminary, the conviction that termination of the seminary in Columbus would harm rather than help Ohio's outreach, and mounting dissatisfaction with Missouri's dictatorial role in the Synodical Conference kept the plans from ever gaining approval.

Even more controversial was the suggestion to eliminate the constituent synods of the Conference and to create new ones along state lines. This was discussed repeatedly throughout the 1870's at Ohio conventions. The plan had already reached its "darkest days" at the Wheeling, West Virginia, meeting of the Joint Synod in June, 1878. Despite his "death-like appearance," Loy got up from his sick bed to "go to Synod" and argue for the union proposals. He did so without avail. It was then evident that "Synod was not ready for anything more than the appointment of a committee to confer with a similar committee of the Missouri Synod in relation to the subject." The committee was composed of

18 This occurred in the spring of 1876; see Chapter V, "Matthias Loy: Educator, 1865-1902."
19 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 53. See also Loy, Story of My Life, p. 361.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., p. 362.
W. F. Lehmann, M. Loy, and C. A. Frank. Lehmann, who was not enthusiastic for the idea, soon became ill with a terminal case of cancer. This left Loy and Frank with the responsibility to prepare terms of federation. Loy was known to be favorable to the project, and Frank was a "Missourian." The Ohioans grew restive, fearing that the committee was unfavorably balanced in favor of St. Louis.

When the Joint Synod met in 1880, Lehmann was dying and was physically unable to fulfill his office. Loy was "prevailed upon by the repeated and urgent requests of the Synod, once more to accept ... service" as President. He accepted the will of the convention, and held that post until 1894, when the position became a "salaried office, demanding all the incumbent's time ..." As prearranged, Loy and Frank presented what turned out to be the final plan for federation with Missouri. It had five main points:

(1) There was to be a complete merger of Ohio into the Synodical Conference;

(2) Out of the former synods two or three geographical "General Synods" were to be created. An "Eastern General Synod" was to encompass Ohio and all states that were wholly East of Ohio's western boundary. A "Northwest General Synod" was to in-

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23 Ibid., p. 366.
24 Ohio Minutes, 1880, p. 11; C.H.L. Schuette was Vice President, Pastor C. Huebner was German Recording Secretary, Pastor H. A. Becker, English Recording Secretary, Professor E. Schmid, Corresponding Secretary, and Mr. H. J. Klingler, Treasurer. Ibid.
clude Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and all congre-
gations and synods to be formed west of Dakota. A "Western
General Synod" was to occupy all the territory west of the
"Eastern General Synod" and south of the "Northwest General Synod."

(3) Together with the Norwegian Synod, a "Theological
Joint Seminary" was to be established in or near Milwaukee,
Wisconsin. Other theological schools were to be closed. If the
Norwegians failed to participate, the "Joint Seminary" was to be
located either at St. Louis or Columbus, or else on "neutral
ground," as at Richmond, Indiana.

(4) The "Joint Seminary" was to have three faculties—
German, English, and Norwegian.

(5) The colleges currently operated by the member
synods were to become the property of the General Synod in which
they might be located. 26

A roll call of the members of the convention revealed that
the majority of the Ohioans were either opposed to or undecided
about the plan. 27 A letter was received from Professor Lehmann
stating his emphatic disapproval, 28 and he condemned the idea of
State Synods and a consolidated Seminary in his final presidential
address, which was read for him by Professor Schuette. He had
stated that "this project should be left entirely out of view." 29

26 Ohio Minutes, 1880, p. 13.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., p. 9.
The Synod then

Resolved, That the report of the committee, comprising the propositions of the Synodical Conference be and is herewith laid on the table, and that this Synod hereby declares that at present it is not prepared to decide in favor of the formation of state synods and a consolidated seminary.\(^3^0\)

For all purposes, this marked the end of Ohio's relationship with the Synodical Conference. A year later the Joint Synod officially withdrew from membership due to the outbreak of the "Predestination Controversy."

The complicated "Predestination Controversy" can best be discussed in three connections: First, theologically, with a description of the point in dispute and a comparison of the contrasting positions held by Missouri and Ohio; second, historically, with a review of the course of events that caused and continued disagreement from 1877 until after 1894; and third, practically, with a consideration of the consequences the struggle had for the synods concerned.

The problem of predestination was of ancient origin. It had appeared to St. Augustine of Hippo to be a necessary corollary of his understanding of the Church as an invisible company of those who had been elected by God to grace. Augustine

... distinguishes between those that are only outwardly in the Church and those that really belong to her. He adds ... to his conception of the Church by pointing to the distinction between the predestinated and the non-predestinated. The 'invisible union of love' is not identical with the 'number of the predestinated.' In the

\(^{30}\)Ibid., p. 16.
end that man alone can maintain himself as a true member of the Church who is predestinated and has the gift of perseverance.31

The concern of Walther and Loy with the nature of the Church as "essentially invisible"32 consequently caused them to become interested in the "call" or "election" or "divine decree" of God by which the "communion of saints" was constituted. In this respect they were returning to a Reformation theme, for

Virtually all the Protestant reformers had emphasized St. Augustine's doctrine of predestination in opposition to the semi-Pelagian tendencies of the nominalists and Franciscans of the late Middle Ages.33

Among the Protestants, Calvin came to place a "distinctive emphasis" on the doctrine,34 and

... whereas Luther, among others, had placed the loving and forgiving God of the New Testament in the foreground and, with his aversion to speculative theology, had been satisfied with dwelling upon the question, how man was saved, Calvin followed Bucer in stressing the autocratic God of the Old Testament and became increasingly absorbed with the question, why man was saved.35

Calvin came to teach what was called a "double predestination" of some to grace and others to perdition, for "God sealed the fate of all persons in eternity ... ."36 Luther "gave little consideration to the question concerning those who were not saved," and

31 Neve, History of Christian Doctrine, p. 103.
34 Ibid., p. 314.
36 Ibid.
held to what was termed "single predestination." It was God's will for all men to be redeemed if they would accept the gospel. The subject of predestination, therefore, was "not under dispute among Lutherans in the 1530-1580 interval between the writing of the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord . . . ." The authors of the Formula, however, . . . included a lengthy section on 'election' because they knew it to be one of the essential distinguishing doctrines between the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches and one on which erroneous ideas could easily develop. Later Lutheran dogmaticians often "reduced election to little more than God's foreknowledge of those who would accept the gospel

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37 Ibid.
38 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 63.
39 Ibid.
of Christ," and there had been a relative neglect of the doctrine in the Church, except for negative statements against Calvinism.

The Missouri and Ohio Synods, therefore, were wrestling with an old dogma, about which they could both appeal to the Scriptures, the Confessions, and tradition for ammunition. Paradoxically, they were also pioneering a new frontier of doctrine, for the Lutheran Symbols said little that was immediately relevant to their dilemma. Until then,

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40 Ibid.

42 "... the Missouri Lutheran doctrine is not concerned with system or logic, but rests solely upon pertinent passages of Scripture, of Luther, and of the Lutheran confessions." Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 213.
Lutheran consensus was actually limited to the negative definition of the doctrine, and because of the danger of teaching a shallow election which is really no election under the guise of *intuitu fidei*, it was not strange that detailed discussion of this doctrine in the Missouri Synod should lead to trouble.\footnote{Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, p. 64.}

Professor A. R. Wentz has suggested:

> The question may be reduced to its simplest form. The man who believes in Christ and his atoning merits is saved. In God's plan he is one of the elect, he is predestined to be saved. But shall we say that God's predestination is the cause of his faith and his salvation, or shall we say that his faith is the cause of his predestination?\footnote{Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism*, p. 213.}

The Missouri Synod taught that God elected men *unto* faith (*ad fide*), that God's eternal decree of election was the cause of faith. Predestination preceded faith. The doctrine, therefore, was a theological one, concerning the mystery of God's will. The Ohio Synod held, on the other hand, that God elected men *in view of* faith (*intuitu fidei*), that God's eternal decree of election was caused by faith. Faith preceded predestination. The subject, therefore, was a psychological or anthropological one, involving the mystery of human will.\footnote{Neve, *History of Christian Thought*, p. 307.} The Missouri Synod accused the Ohioans of "synergism," or believing that man cooperated with God to attain salvation; and of making faith a good work meriting election, and thereby denying that redemption was by God's grace alone, without any merit or worthiness in man. The Ohio Synod replied with the assertion that Walther was a "crypto-Calvinist," who affirmed that there was a "hidden" or "second decree" of God by which men were
saved apart from that of the universal promise of the gospel that all who believe shall receive mercy. 46

46 An immense pamphlet and periodical literature in both the German and English languages developed in the course of the conflict. Most of this was heavily theological and polemical in nature, rather than historical. Much of this material has been preserved in the library of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, and in the Archives of The American Lutheran Church, at Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.

Some of the more significant items are: Ohio Verhandlungen, 1881, devoted almost entirely to theological discussion of predestination; the periodicals Altes und Neues, Vols. I-V (Madison, Wis.: F. A. Schmidt, 1880-1884), The Columbus Theological Magazine, Vols. I-XXX (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1881-1910), Theologische Zeitblaetter, Vols. I-XXIX (Columbus, Ohio: Lutherische Verlagshandlung, 1882-1910), and from the Missouri viewpoint, St. Louis Theological Monthly, Vol. I (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, May, 1861-December, 1862). See also H. A. Allwardt, Die jetzige Lehre der Synode von Missouri von der ewigen Wahl Gottes (Columbus, Ohio: Lutherische Verlagshandlung, 1908), C.H.L. Schuette, Die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl in Fragen und Antworten gestellt (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Synodal-Druckerei, 1881), F. W. Stellhorn, Pruefung der 'Beleuchtung' Herrn Dr. Walther's (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Synodal-Druckerei, 1881) and also Worum handelt es sich eigentlic in dem gegenwaertigen Lehrstreit ueber die Gnadenwahl? (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Synodal-Druckerei, 1881), C.F.W. Walther, Beleuchtung des Stellhorn'schen Tractats ueber den Gnadenwahl-lehrstreit (St.Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1881), and Der Gnadenwahlslehrstreit: einfacher, bewahrter Rath fuer gottselige Christen welche gern wissen moechten, wer in dem jetzigen Gnadenwahlslehrstreit lutherisch und wer unlutherisch lehre (St. Louis: Concordia-Verlag, 1881), and Die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl in Frage und Antwort dargestellt aus dem elften Artikel der Concordienformel der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1881). See also George H. Schodde, ed., The Error of Modern Missouri: Its Inception, Development, and Refutation (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1897).

The development of the "Predestination Controversy" began in 1877. For several years Walther had been delivering theological papers at the conventions of the Missouri Synod's Western District under the theme, "The Doctrine of the Lutheran Church Alone gives all Glory to God—an Irrefutable Proof that its Doctrine is the Only True Doctrine." At the meeting in 1877 Walther dwelt on predestination, affirming that election was solely by grace, for,

God foresaw nothing, absolutely nothing, in those whom He resolved to save which might be worthy of salvation, and even if it be admitted that He foresaw some good in them, all good in man originates in Him.47

"At the same time," wrote Walter A. Baepler,

. . . Walther rejected the unfortunate terminology of some of the Lutheran theologians of the 17th century that God elected 'in view of faith,' that is, that God foresaw that a person would believe in Christ and for that reason elected him to salvation.48

The Proceedings of the Western District, containing Walther's essay, were subsequently published in December, 1877, and in keeping with the procedure of the Synodical Conference, they were read and approved by that body when it met in convention in 1878.49

As the speech circulated in the Conference,

To some it seemed as if Walther was not only asserting a certain permissible mystery about the doctrine but actually veering to dangerous Calvinistic extremes . . . .50

47 Quoted by Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 200.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 65. Walther made statements as, "Saturday does not follow Friday because I foreknow it. Just as little will anyone reach heaven because God foreknows it." Quoted Ibid.
Professor F. A. Schmidt, a German by birth who taught at the Norwegian Seminary at Madison, Wisconsin, became convinced that Walther was bordering on Calvinism, and on January 2, 1879, he raised some objections to Walther's position. Walther's reply to these criticisms was not to Schmidt's liking, and disputation began. When the Northwestern District of the Missouri Synod met later that same year, Frederick W. Stellhorn, who was married to Walther's niece and who was a Professor at Missouri's college at Fort Wayne, joined his protests to those of Schmidt. Others, as Henry A. Allwardt, started to disagree with Walther.

By the summer of 1879 Loy became disturbed at these developments, though it looked improbable to me that such a man as Dr. Walther, with all his wide learning and profound devotion to Lutheran doctrine, would at last be caught in the snare of Calvinism.53

Therefore, for months I entertained the hope that the mystery would yet be cleared up and Missouri would yet retrieve its honored Lutheran character.54

A conference between Walther and Schmidt was held in Columbus in July, and though no progress was achieved, both men promised to keep the dispute private.55

In his customary lecture to the Western District of the Missouri Synod on dogma in 1879, Walther mentioned that opposition

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52 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 65.
53 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 370.
54 Ibid.
55 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 66.
had arisen to his teachings on predestination, denied that he was a Calvinist, and maintained that his conception of election had valid significance for the Church.\(^{56}\) This action was interpreted by Walther's enemies as a breach of faith and it was felt that he had broken his promise to keep the dispute a private matter.\(^{57}\) Loy and others became alarmed, for

The Missourians defended their error, and it became ever more evident that their offensive statements were not slips of their tongues and pens, but were the expression of false doctrines which had entered into their souls.\(^{58}\)

Believing his pledge to silence to be no longer necessary, F. A. Schmidt began a monthly magazine, *Altes und Neues* (Old and New) in January, 1880, "to expose Walther's 'new doctrine' and to prove his un-Lutheran tendency."\(^{59}\) The Missouri Synod promptly appealed to President Lehmann to call a special meeting of the Synodical Conference to prevent further controversy. Lehmann, who was severely ill at the time, "thought he was not authorized to do so,"\(^{60}\) and possibly he suspected that schism could not be prevented.

Since the Synodical Conference could not be convened, the Missouri Synod held a "Pastoral Conference" at Chicago between September 28 and October 5, 1880, with over five hundred ministers present. Theological debate occurred between Walther, Stellhorn,

\(^{56}\) His full speech is given in Missouri Synod Synodal-Bericht (Western District), 1879, pp. 21-120.  
\(^{57}\) Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church*, p. 66.  
\(^{58}\) Loy, *Story of My Life*, p. 370.  
\(^{59}\) Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism*, p. 213.  
and Allwardt. The majority of the clergymen present supported Walther, and passed a resolution declaring that they regarded those who attacked the Missouri Synod in public as enemies, not friends.  

When President Lehmann died on December 1, 1880, Pastor L. Larsen, Vice President of the Synodical Conference, requested the theological professors of the synods involved to meet at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, between January 5 and 10, 1881. Conflict prevailed instead of consensus, and the Ohio representatives left after five days. Loy noted that the session ended in a "declaration of war."  

Loy returned to Columbus "convinced that they inculcated Calvinistic opinions" and "I did not hesitate to say so," for in February he began to issue The Columbus Theological Magazine. In his initial article Loy declared:

The advocates of the new theory claim a Lutheran confessional doctrine which, so far as history exhibits the facts, virtually never had any Lutheran confessors.

Though he expressed the hope that discussion might be conducted in brotherly love, he carried an essay in the Magazine by Pastor Stellhorn which attacked Walther. To Missouri, this meant that Loy wanted war.

61 The full debates are found in Verhandlungen der Allgemeinen Pastoralconferenz der Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten ueber die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 29 bis Oct. 5, 1880 (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1880).
63 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 370.
64 See Chapter VI, "Matthias Loy: Editor and Author, 1864-1890."
When the Missouri Synod convened in May,

The announcement was made that Missourians would not sit in conference with any who pronounced their doctrine Calvinistic, and that settled the matter for them as regards their future relations to opponents.66

A second "Pastoral Conference" of that body met at Fort Wayne from May 23 to 24, and passed a similar resolution.67

A traffic in converts soon followed. Missouri pastors who sympathized with the Ohio position held an assembly at Blue Island, Illinois, to organize an "Evangelical Lutheran Conference." This body seceded from the Missouri Synod and joined the Ohio Synod in 1882, becoming its Northwestern District.68 In 1881, Professor Stellhorn resigned his position at Missouri's Fort Wayne college, and was promptly extended a call to teach theology at the Columbus Seminary of the Ohio Synod. Loy observed:

A goodly number of the Missourians, among whom were several of the ablest men among them, lifted up their voices like a trumpet against the Calvinizing innovation, and failing to effect any change for the better in the Synodical Conference, which was dominated by the master mind that introduced the error, left their former association and joined forces with us. Our cause prospered and our strength increased.69

Conversely, some Ohio ministers affiliated with the Missouri Synod.

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68The minutes of this meeting, November 16-21, 1881, are in Zeugniss wider die neue, falsche Gnadenwahlslehre der Missouri-Synode auf Grund der hl. Schrift und des lutherischen Bekenntnisses abgelegt von einigen ehemaligen Gliedern genannter Synode (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: B. Loewenback und Sohn, 1882).
Fourteen pastors, including Professor C. A. Frank of the Columbus Seminary, left the Ohio Synod to form a "Concordia Synod of Pennsylvania and Other States" in 1882. It later became part of the Missouri Synod.  

At a special convention held at Wheeling, West Virginia, in September, 1881, Ohio officially withdrew from the Synodical Conference after an extended discussion of the doctrine of predestination and a rejection of Walther's standpoint.

The following month the remnant of the Synodical Conference met at Chicago. Professor F. A. Schmidt, who came as a lay-delegate from the Norwegian Synod, was a source of controversy. It was brutally apparent that the Conference was falling apart, and in 1882, the Norwegian Synod severed its connections with that body.

After 1882, the Predestination struggle, which "raged with unbated bitterness and violence," entered into a "literary phase," which lasted till Dr. Walther's death in 1887. Face to face encounters declined, and the warfare was carried on in pamphlet and periodical form from a distance. The major Missouri polemicists were C.F.W. Walther, Professor Franz Pieper, and Pastor G. Stoeckhardt. Apologists for the Ohio side included Dr. Loy, and five

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71 Ohio Verhandlungen, 1881, p. 58.
72 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, pp. 213, 214.
73 Baepler, A Century of Grace, p. 203.
74 Ibid.
former Missouri Synod ministers—Dr. F. W. Stellhorn, Professor F. A. Schmidt, and pastors H. A. Allwardt, P. Eirich, and H. Ernst.  

Since it was believed that "one error seldom marches alone," the "battle of the presses" produced new subjects of dispute between the two synods. Professor J. L. Neve suggested "Four Points" of disagreement which developed:

First, how did election relate to grace? Ohio taught that there was no difference between God's decree of election and his universal counsel of grace. In practice the two were the same, for both predestination and the call to pardon were summed up in the statement, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Missouri contested that there were two entirely different and distinct decrees—one of election, and one of grace.

Second, what was the cause of conversion? Ohio confessed that the source of conversion was God's universal decree for all men to be redeemed, not the decree of election in the narrow sense. Missouri, on the other hand, insisted that conversion was due to God's particular or specific decree of election, not to the universal one of grace.

Third, why did some men come to grace and others not? Ohio maintained that this was a "psychological" or "anthropological mystery," resting in the heart of men. God had chosen only a few to be saved because He knew that the majority of humanity would

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75 Ibid.; See Chapter VI, "Matthias Loy: Editor and Author, 1864-1890."
76 Saeppler, A Century of Grace, p. 206.
willfully resist his Holy Spirit. Missouri stated that this was a "theological mystery," hidden in the mind of God. Unlike the Ohio Synod, the Missouri Synod said it was impossible to know why God had not elected all men, or why he had elected some and chose not to elect others. It was impossible to reconcile the particular decree of election with the universal decree of the gospel.

Fourth, which was more important, grace or faith? Ohio believed that Walther's emphasis on God's all powerful grace meant that it was irresistible, and that once God willed to save a man, he could not refuse. Ohio, therefore, stressed the importance of faith, or the reception of the gospel. Missouri charged Ohio with synergism, or affirming that faith was a "good work" by which man earned God's mercy and cooperated with God in salvation. Missouri, hence, contested for the priority of grace, or the divine impartation of the gospel. 77

By the end of the decade, the original leaders of the controversy had passed from the scene. Walther died in 1887, and three years later Loy resigned his editorial positions. With the removal of the two giants of "Old Lutheranism," the warfare abated in the 1890's, only to reemerge between 1903 and 1907 when a series of intersynodical conferences were held on the subject. 78 The polemic revived in the 1920's, turning again to the relationships of predestination and conversion and the freedom of the will. 79

77 Neve, A Brief History of Lutheran Church in America, pp. 354, 355.
78 Ibid., pp. 300-305.
79 Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 215.
By 1965, though

There has been no general agreement on the doctrinal issues involved . . . the passing of the decades and the current confrontation of stupendous problems for all Lutherans has led the disputants on predestination and its related problems to something like an armistice. 80

There were four major practical consequences of the "Predestination Controversy." First, it delayed the attainment of Lutheran unity for several generations and alienated the Ohio and Missouri Synods until the middle of the twentieth century. Destroying one of the most promising projects for comprehensive Lutheran unity that the nineteenth century had produced, it postponed the day of "altar and pulpit fellowship" among churches of the Augsburg Confession in North America indefinitely. In 1965 such an arrangement had not yet been achieved. "To those who labor for the union of all Lutheran forces," wrote Professor A. R. Wentz,

. . . it is a matter of special regret that the predestinarian controversy came just at the time it did. The discussions with Buffalo and Iowa and Ohio on other points had about closed. In the three older groups in the East, the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod South, conservative influences had gained control. In 1880 a general union of all Lutherans in America might have been expected after a generation of transition in language. But this stubborn theological dispute among the immigrant Lutherans caused divergences of faith and organization that postponed total Lutheran union indefinitely. 81

The participants in the divisive conflict realized this, and it was a "bitter experience" for Dr. Walther, who

80 Ibid., p. 216.
81 Ibid., p. 212.
For forty years . . . had cherished the hope of realizing a single Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America, and when the sharp controversy on predestination blasted that hope, he regarded it as a peculiar triumph of Satan.

It was equally disappointing to Loy. He was aware that "the predestinarian controversy with its consequences exercised a potent influence on the subsequent development of our Synod." Sensing it to be the tragedy that it was, he was extremely reluctant to discuss it in later years, and he was hesitant in offering criticism of Dr. Walther after his retirement.

Second, not desiring to be thwarted in his efforts to achieve Lutheran unity, Loy sought fellowship with new partners. He was fifty-three years old in 1881, and he had spent over two decades seeking union, first with the General Council and then with the Synodical Conference, but Departure from the general body which had seemed to hold the greatest promise for the Lutheran Church in America left Ohio without active intersynodical fellowship.

Ohio was as isolated as it had been in 1860. Since the course of ecclesiastical mergers runs slowly, Loy did not seriously expect to see any new efforts in that direction in his lifetime. He did,

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82 Ibid.
83 See his presidential address, Ohio Verhandlungen, 1882, pp. 6, 7.
84 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 376.
85 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965. As a Seminarian, Dr. Schuh recalled hearing Professor Stellhorn's furious criticisms of Missouri. He would then ask his grandfather's comment on these topics. "Grandfather usually said nothing, and offered no criticism of Dr. Walther in my presence."
86 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 69.
however, wish to establish concord and fraternity with other synods when such was possible "in love and in truth." Between August 8 and 10, 1883, therefore, Loy and Stellhorn met with the highest ranking officials of the Iowa Synod at Richmond, Indiana. 87

The Iowa Synod had originated as an outgrowth of missionary labors by the "Old Lutheran" disciples of Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Germany. 88 Initially the pastors trained by Loehe had cooperated with the Missouri Synod and the Joint Synod of Ohio. Many of these found the Ohio Synod too liberal, left its ranks, and affiliated with the Saxons of St. Louis and Perry County, Missouri. Doctrinal differences, however, developed with C.F.W. Walther, and two of Loehe's adherents, Georg Grossmann and John Deindoerfer, led in the organization of a separate Lutheran body, the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa." It was constituted on August 24, 1854, at St. Sebald, Iowa. 89 Predominately

87 See Ibid., pp. 73 ff.
German in language and tradition, the new synod expanded in the Mississippi Valley until by 1873 it had one hundred ministers serving one hundred forty-three congregations and 10,000 adult members. By 1860 it had several parishes in the Toledo area of northern Ohio. Informal contacts were made with the Ohio Synod on the local level, and if there was no cordiality, at least there was no open conflict and a kind of "peaceful coexistence."7

During the late 1850's and after, Iowa came under attack by the Missouri Synod on six points:

First, the doctrine of "Church and Ministry" was disputed, Iowa holding, with Loehle, a "higher" conception of the Church than Missouri could tolerate. For a while Iowa reached harmonious relations with Pastor Grabau and the Buffalo Synod.92

Second, chiliasm was a source of antagonism. Some in Iowa advocated millenial views which the St. Louis theologians found to be un-Lutheran.

Third, disagreement arose over the person of the Anti-Christ, Missouri teaching that he was the Roman Pope, while Iowa maintained that the Bishop of Rome was not specifically described as such in the Scriptures.

Fourth, Iowa felt that the Lutheran Confessions could be interpreted "progressively," that certain areas of dogma were still "open questions" on which Christians could legitimately

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91 Ibid., p. 40.
92 Ibid., p. 55.
disagree without a disruption of fellowship. Missouri contested that Iowa considered questions "open" which were already "closed."

Fifth, conflict broke out concerning Sunday and the Sabbath.

Sixth, there was no consensus between the two synods on the practice of usury. Iowa tolerated it, but Missouri condemned it.93

By 1880 the warfare had expanded to an additional topic, that of election, and in the "Predestination Controversy" Iowa took a position substantially the same as that of Ohio. As a result, the two Synods became interested in one another as "allies" against a common "foe."94 Since neither had joined the General Council and both were at odds with the Synodical Conference and were without active intersynodical fellowship, it seemed only logical to strive for some measure of agreement.

At Iowa's invitation, a meeting was arranged at Richmond, Indiana, in August, 1883. "Because Iowa's position on certain doctrines had kept Ohio from recognizing her as a truly orthodox Lutheran synod,"95 Gottfried Fritschel of the Iowa Synod prepared a set of theses describing his Church's views on ecclesiology, the ministry, the Lutheran Confessions, "Open Question," Chiliasm, the Anti-Christ, and Predestination. These were the "Richmond

93 Suggested by Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, pp. 284-300.
94 Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 105.
95 Ibid., p. 74.
Theses" which were presented to Loy and the Ohioans in 1883. Discussion of these "Theses" lasted for three days, which "indicates that they were debated in great detail." Concord seemed to be attained on the controverted points, and "no one present saw any good reason why the two synods could not recognize each other as truly Lutheran." 97

Hopes for fraternity, however, were soon destroyed. The Ohio Synod had several ex-Missouri Synod members in its ranks, and they had neither forgotten nor forgiven Iowa for its previous "heresies" and polemics against their former mother church. To them, Iowa was only an ally in the predestination conflict, and the only point of agreement was that of election.98 A practical matter also arose to create tension. The Ohio Synod had received into its ranks an Iowa clergyman, the Reverend John Klindworth, who had been the leader of the pro-Missouri faction in the Iowa Synod. Iowa suspected the good intentions of the Ohioans, and interpreted this act as not only "sheep stealing," but also as assistance to one of its enemies.99

In 1886, in response to a plea from President Loy for renewed efforts at harmony, the Joint Synod appointed a committee to hold an official colloquy with representatives of the Iowa Synod.100

96 Ibid., p. 75; the "Richmond Theses" are given in Ibid., pp. 285-290.
97 Ibid., p. 76.
98 Ibid., p. 105.
99 Ibid., p. 76.
100 Ohio Minutes, 1886, p. 54.
Among the members of the committee were Dr. Loy and Professor Stellhorn, neither of whom had severely attacked the Iowa Synod.\(^{101}\) Iowa, though upset over the fact that it would have to be colloquized to prove its orthodoxy, agreed to a conference. Since Iowa, however, had insisted that the Ohio Synod was guilty of unfair conduct in the Klindworth case, Loy and the Joint Synod withdrew their invitation to a colloquy in 1888.\(^{102}\) It was specified, however, that as soon as Iowa stopped raising the charge of dishonest dealing in connection with Pastor Klindworth, the committee appointed in 1886 should meet with Iowa.\(^{103}\) As one historian of these negotiations has suggested, "the initial attempt to achieve Iowa-Ohio fellowship had foundered on the Klindworth issue."\(^{104}\)

Loy suggested a resumption of talks with Iowa in 1892, and representatives of both synods met at St. Paul Lutheran Church, Michigan City, Indiana, the following year. Since Iowa was ready for fellowship without colloquy, Ohio, therefore, should give definite indication of what it considered necessary for doctrinal agreement.\(^{105}\)

At the request of President Loy, Professor Henry Ernst drew up a set of theses for discussion. The "Michigan City Theses," as they were later called, dealt with the same questions treated in the

\(^{101}\) Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 73; Stellhorn had, however, written some articles against Iowa, but his position was not as strong as that of some other ex-Missourians in Ohio.

\(^{102}\) Ohio Verhandlungen, 1888, pp. 18, 19.

\(^{103}\) Ibid., p. 19.

\(^{104}\) Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church, p. 85.

\(^{105}\) Ibid., p. 87.
"Richmond Theses." The conference appeared to end in concord, but the Joint Synod convention of 1894 declined to take any further action toward unity with Iowa.

In that year Loy resigned his Presidential responsibilities. Though the efforts for harmony with Iowa had been conducted in great measure by other men, he had given this movement his support. Somewhat mellowed by his previous struggles for Lutheran unity,

The Loy of 1867, who, without differentiating the various kinds of elements of the Christian faith, had called for the same interpretation of the same confession of the same faith, by 1893 had become convinced that some variety of interpretation was permissible within the bounds of Scriptural and confessional loyalty.

Though nothing concrete was achieved during his Presidency toward concord with Iowa, Loy lived to see a new generation seek fraternity. In 1907 a conference was held at Toledo between February 13 and 15. It produced the "Toledo Theses" which were later ratified by both the Iowa and Ohio Synods. Dealing with the old issues of Church and Ministry, the Lutheran Confessions, "Open Question," Chiliasm, and Predestination, they nevertheless provided a fresh start toward fellowship. Fifteen years after Loy's death, Iowa and Ohio entered into full organic unity as partners in the American Lutheran Church. Loy's long search for Lutheran union finally bore fruit.

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106 The "Michigan City Theses" are reproduced in Ibid., pp. 290-292.
107 Largely due to continued opposition by ex-Missourians among its membership; see Ohio Minutes, 1894, pp. 132, 133.
109 The "Toledo Theses" are given in Ibid., pp. 292-293; see also Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 286.
The "Predestination Controversy" with Missouri had a third major consequence, in that it drew Lutheran theologians away from the divisive questions of Biblical Criticism, Evolution, and the "New Geology." While other denominations split into Liberal and Fundamentalist factions, such a dichotomy did not develop to plague the Lutherans. The "Predestination Controversy," as Professor Sheatsley has noted,

... sent men into the treasure house of the Sacred Scriptures as well as back into the study of the Confessions of the Church. Indeed it would almost seem to us now that the mighty force which held the Lutheran Church of this country to her moorings in the ... age of rationalism, higher criticism and evolution was the close study given in many quarters to the faith of the fathers .... It may be that this generation after getting the proper perspective may be able to discern the 'unfortunate controversy' as a blessing in disguise.\textsuperscript{110}

The final result of the "war with Missouri" over election was that Ohio began to pay more attention to its own expansion and growth, "better provision was made for cultivating our constantly widening missionary field,"\textsuperscript{111} and

During the following years Ohio grew very rapidly, largely because the controversy with Missouri had opened for it the Western and the Northwestern territory, where some men and churches had withdrawn from Missouri and had joined the Ohio Synod as a new district.\textsuperscript{112}

Under Loy's guidance, the Synod became a national body. In 1869 the English District was reconstituted and continued henceforth without further disruption to minister to Lutherans of that language in the United States. In 1876, in what was possibly the

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., p. 172.
\textsuperscript{111} Loy, Story of My Life, p. 377.
\textsuperscript{112} Neve, A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, p. 351.
first union of a Northern and a Southern Lutheran Church after the Civil War, the Concordia Synod, located largely in Virginia, requested and received admission into the Ohio Synod. Beginning with five pastors and seventeen congregations, it had expanded through Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and North Carolina by 1896 to have over forty ministers. The Joint Synod had a firm foothold in the Upper South. In the meantime, the old Southern District of the Joint Synod, lasting from 1839 until 1881, was merged into the Western District, which was expanded to include southern Ohio and Indiana. By 1896 it had seventy-five pastors. In 1882 the "Evangelical Lutheran Conference," composed of seceding Missouri Synod congregations, asked for union in the Ohio Synod. It became the Joint Synod's second Northwestern District. The original Northwestern District, created in 1851, had meanwhile become known simply as the Northern District, with ninety-three ministers in 1896 serving congregations in Michigan, and northern Ohio and Indiana.

The new Northwestern District of 1881 started out with fifteen clergymen, but experienced a "remarkable growth" so that

113 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 245.
115 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
by 1890 its clergy roster had risen six-fold.  It embraced a vast domain in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, the Dakotas, Missouri, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Alabama, and Texas. In 1890, therefore, it was split into five new districts. The first of these was the Wisconsin District, located in that state and Illinois, with seventy-three pastors in 1896. Second was the Minnesota District, which also included Iowa, North and South Dakota, and bordering areas, with seventy-eight clergy-men. Third was the Kansas-Nebraska District, stretching west into Colorado, with over twenty-four parishes. Fourth was the Texas District, with eight ministers, and the final jurisdiction was the Pacific or Washington District, with twenty-five pastors.

The Joint Synod not only expanded toward the West, but also in the East. The Eastern District was revised to encompass all of Pennsylvania and New York, as well as eastern Ohio. In 1890 mission work was begun among Negroes near Baltimore, Maryland, and this later was extended to include the "Black Belt" of central Alabama.

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118 With eighty-nine pastors and twenty teachers, Ibid., p. 253.
120 Ibid. Statistics are for 1896.
121 Ibid. Statistics are for 1896.
122 Ibid. Statistics are for 1896.
123 With fifty-three pastors in 1896. Ibid.
124 Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, pp. 224, 225.
When Loy retired in 1894, the Ohio Synod had ten large Districts with congregations in nearly half of the states of the Union. Before Loy's death in 1915, the Synod had also become international, with the addition of a Canadian District in 1908 and the creation of an Australian District in the same year. The latter was the former Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Australia, which was composed of one thousand communicants and three pastors and eleven congregations at the time of its merger with the Ohio Synod.125 Thus, at the termination of its first century in 1918, the Ohio Synod had over "600 congregations with 140,000 communicants, scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf far up into Canada and even in far-off Australia . . ."126 This was a seven-fold increase over the 20,000 members that the Joint Synod had in 1860.

Educational advances were also made, and by 1918 the Synod had one hundred eighty-four teachers and 9,827 pupils in its parish school system.127 In the same year the Joint Synod had five hundred and two students enrolled in its institutions of higher learning.128 These included Capital University in Columbus; the

125Ibid., pp. 256, 257.

126Ibid., p. 291; at the time of merger in 1930, the Ohio Synod had congregations in twenty-nine states, five provinces of Canada, and a total of 1,134 parishes, 814 pastors, and a quarter of a million baptized members. Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, p. 298.


128See Ibid., pp. 185-214 for a description of the schools; the figure of five hundred is a grand total, see Ibid., p. 292.
Woodville, Ohio, Normal School, founded by Mr. Cronenwett in 1880; Luther Seminary, established to serve the Northwest, and moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1893; Hebron Academy in Nebraska; a Pacific Seminary in Olympia, Washington; and Luther Academy at Melville, Saskatchewan. A Practical Seminary had been operated at Hickory, North Carolina, until 1912, and a Normal School was maintained at Lima, Ohio, from 1893 until 1905.\(^{129}\)

Agencies of mercy were created, including the Wernle Orphans Home at Richmond, Indiana, which was opened in 1879, and a home for children and the aged at Mars, Pennsylvania, dedicated by Dr. Loy in 1893.\(^{130}\) In 1918 there were one hundred seventy-four residents in these benevolent institutions.\(^{131}\)

The Joint Synod, which had previously carried on its missionary work through German societies, sent an evangelist to Iran in 1901.\(^{132}\) By 1912 arrangements were made with the Hermannsburg Missionary Society for Joint Synod ministers to work in India. Jewish, Negro, and social missions were also thriving by the time of the World War. In 1918 the Synod had one hundred seven home missionaries and was spending $57,000.00 annually for that purpose.\(^{133}\)

The German and English periodicals of the Church prospered, and since 1878, when Dr. Loy suggested the project, the Synod had

\(^{130}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 237.  
\(^{131}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 292.  
\(^{132}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 220.  
\(^{133}\)\textit{Ibid.}, p. 292.
its own publishing house, the Lutheran Book Concern, located in Columbus, Ohio.\textsuperscript{134}

In the year that Loy retired, 1894, a "Luther League of the Young People's Societies of Joint Synod of Ohio--East" was created at Pittsburgh, and in 1910 the first meeting of the "Men's Missionary Conference," a forerunner of the contemporary Brotherhood movement, was held at Christ Church, Bexley, Ohio. Soon afterwards a "Women's Missionary Conference" was estab­lished.\textsuperscript{135}

Though Loy may have failed in his efforts to form a united Lutheran Church in America, he was eminently successful in building up the Ohio Synod. By 1915 it was a prosperous and powerful member of the American family of Protestant denominations.

\textsuperscript{134} See Chapter VI, "Matthias Loy: Editor and Author, 1864--1890."

\textsuperscript{135} Sheatsley, \textit{History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod}, p. 276.
CHAPTER X

MATTHIAS LOY: PREACHER

The Victorian Age was a golden era for the American pulpit and "was still a time when . . . a colorful preacher could become a national figure in the manner of a motion picture star . . . ."¹

"The greatest preacher of the English-speaking race,"² wrote Harper's Weekly, was Henry Ward Beecher of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, New York, who proclaimed "a doctrine of love and an ethic of individualism modified by the demands of brotherhood," thus becoming "a symbol of the middle class pulpit."³ Scarcely less popular was Bishop Phillips Brooks of Trinity Episcopal Church, Boston, who "carried on the great tradition of evangelical conviction and Christian humanism"⁴ and caused his congregation to "Focus on Infinity."⁵ Russell Conwell of Philadelphia's Baptist Temple called his auditors' attention to "Acres of Diamonds" on over five thousand occasions and became a spokesman for the "Gospel

²Quoted by Francis P. Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, p.166.
of Wealth.6 Washington Gladden of Columbus, Ohio, appealed for "Social Salvation"7 while Walter Rauschenbusch of Rochester, New York, advocated Christian Socialism.8 The "old fashioned gospel" was expounded in revival meetings by Billy Sunday, Reuben Torrey, and Wilbur Chapman.9 Pre-eminent in this area was the former shoe salesman from Chicago, Dwight L. Moody, who with the assistance of Ira Sankey, became "the rising young tycoon of the revival trade as Andrew Carnegie was of the steel trade or John D. Rockefeller of oil."

Layman John Fiske, meanwhile, led sophisticated Unitarians in an exploration of the "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy" and explained the "Mystery of Evil."11 In Trinity Lutheran Church, St. Louis, C.F.W. Walther skillfully contended for the "faith once delivered to the saints."12

Though equal in intellect and ability to the "pulpit giants" of his age, Matthias Loy did not become a nationally known orator.13 In part this was because "he never aspired to universal

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10 Quoted Roberts, "Gilt, Gingerbread, and Realism," p.186.
11 See John Fiske, The Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy (Boston: Osgood, 1874), and Ethel Fisk, ed., The Letters of John Fiske (New York: Macmillan, 1940), p. 593.
12 Walther's preaching was largely in the German language, however.
13 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary of the West, p. 50.
recognition."\textsuperscript{14} His personality, also, lacked the "animal magnetism" of a Beecher, the spirited imagination of a Brooks, or the dramatic simplicity of a Moody, and by contrast "many things that Dr. Loy said would seem rather dry . . . ."\textsuperscript{15} As an exponent of theological orthodoxy in a period of questioning, he did not feel it his duty to be an interpreter of the discoveries of science and Biblical Criticism, and he stated that he had

\begin{quote}
no new theories to offer and no new policy to advocate. He had no trust in novelties as substitutes for the old ways of God, though many suppose these to be antiquated. The old that is divine is better than the new that is human.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

His polemical nature alienated some, for though

He was not conceited, yet he was always sure in his faith. He could brook no compromise. He knew that his Redeemer lived and that settled everything for Dr. Loy.\textsuperscript{17}

Unlike Gladden and Rauschenbusch, he did not discuss social issues in his sermons, feeling that "all such meddling in civil affairs by the church . . . must end in secularization and spiritual ruin."\textsuperscript{18} The Lutheran tradition, furthermore, did not encourage pulpit popularity, because, it was held:

\begin{quote}
There are churches where the man in the pulpit is the center of attraction. There are denominations where 'pulpit masters' are the criterion of the importance of the church. In the Lutheran Church, as a rule, the altar is supposed to be the central point toward which
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 51.
\textsuperscript{16} Loy, The Christian Church, p. iii.
\textsuperscript{17} Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{18} Loy, The Christian Church, p. 283.
all else points. Here the administration of the sacrament is pre-eminent, and preaching may sometimes appear quite insignificant.¹⁹

A member of a midwestern Synod with many immigrant adherents, Loy frequently preached in the German language, which further limited his appeal to the general public. These factors, combined with the fact that he did not occupy a prominent pulpit during his ripest years, but was instead a professor and administrator, prevented him from attaining popular acclaim.

Within his church, however, he was a "powerful figure,"²⁰ and it was within Lutheranism that his preaching was of significance. His sermons were published and widely read within the Ohio Synod.²¹ For almost half a century he taught homiletics to the pastors of that body.²² As the President of that organization he

²⁰ Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 50.
²¹ They were frequently published in the Lutheran Standard, and the volumes were prepared: Matthias Loy, Sermons on the Epistles for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Church Year (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d.); Matthias Loy, Sermons on the Gospels for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Church Year (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, n.d.); Matthias Loy, The Sermon on the Mount (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1909).
²² An unpublished manuscript, Matthias Loy, "The Art of Discourse, as Dictated by Prof. M. Loy, Senior Year (copied by) Harry Loy, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, September 13, 1882," (The Archives of the American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa) contains the essence of the lectures he gave at Capital University on preaching. See also Matthias Loy, "Encyclopedia and Methodology of the Theological Sciences, as Dictated by Prof. M. Loy During the term beginning September 3, 1884 (copied by) Harry Loy, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio" (unpublished manuscript in The Archives of The American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa).
spoke on major occasions, as when he delivered the opening address of the General Council meeting on December 11, 1866, and his words could be extremely influential.²³ It was as a denominational, not a national preacher, that he had importance, and it was in this context that he made his contribution.

Dr. Loy's conception of the nature of a sermon differed from that of many of his contemporaries. Classified according to their primary purpose, there were four main types of preaching in nineteenth century American Protestantism: emotional, ethical, rational, and revelational.²⁴

The evangelistic, exhorting, experimental, or emotional sermons, popular among the Baptists and Methodists, treated

... of the experiences of men in receiving the Gospel and living according to it. They make the chief phases of religious experience the subject of careful discussion.²⁵

An evangelist, such as William McKendree of the Methodist Church, was

... describing the joy of ... his Christian experience, his feelings about conversion. Instead of

²³ For the sermon, see Lutheran Standard, XXVII (1867), 9-11.
²⁴ See Weisenburger, Triumph of Faith, pp. 43-44, where religious groups in America in the Gilded Age are classified as Ritualistic or Sacramentarian; Experimental or Emotional; Intellectual or Doctrinal; and Rationalistic; Samuel Southard, "The Pulpit Heritage of Louisville and Nashville," The Pulpit, XXXVI (January, 1965), 8-10, said preaching in the "Jerusalems of Southern Religious Culture" between 1792 and 1950 was of four varieties: the exhorter, the narrator, the administrator, and the inquirer; Ferdinand S. Schenck, Modern Practical Theology: A Manual of Homiletics, Liturgics, Poimematics, Archagics, Pedagogy, Sociology and the English Bible (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1910), pp. 29-33, describes four categories: doctrinal, practical or moral, historical, and experimental.
²⁵ Schenck, Modern Practical Theology, p. 32.
preparing a sermon that described the way to heaven, the
exhorter just walked along the way and told the audience
how he felt about it.26

Such an address was an "informal association of spiritual thoughts
and emotions."27 This method had been practiced by frontier
Lutheran parsons, as John Stauch,28 and was advocated by men like
Samuel Simon Schmucker and Benjamin Kurtz, so that

Even in some Lutheran Churches, these 'new measures' were
frequently employed; a pastor perhaps serving as his own
evangelist, as he preached in his own church every night
for six or eight weeks between January and Easter.29

A child of Pietism, Loy concurred with the belief that the
preacher should have strong personal convictions,

... and those who speak because they believe, and set
forth the eternal truth in a tone and manner making it
plain to all hearers that they are ready to die for it,
are always eloquent ...

Revivalism, however, was not effective Lutheran preaching because
it confused the testimony of the speaker with the duty to expost
the Scriptures. It, moreover, did not affirm the Lutheran con-
viction that the Bible was objectively true apart from the minister's
subjective apprehension of it. Its power became operative when the
orator became silent about his experiences and "let the Word witness
to itself."31 The appeal of the sermon, furthermore, was to judg-
ment, which was an "intellectual faculty."32 Since the Gospel was

27 Ibid.
28 See Chapter I.
29 Weisenburger, Triumph of Faith, pp. 49-50.
30 Matthias Loy, Story of My Life (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran
Book Concern, 1905), p. 95.
31 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
32 Matthias Loy, "Psychology," Class notes of C. F. Lauer,
Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, 1895, p. 41.
according to this view, "God's plan of wisdom" which "deals with men as the intelligent creatures they were made to be," the preacher's "immediate object is the mind for only through it can the ultimate objects be obtained." This thought should guide the speaker, for

... though he immediately seek to instruct, convince, persuade, or please, [he] has an ultimate end which he would obtain in influencing the mind, and this end is right or wrong.

The moralistic sermon or ethical discourse was another variety of popular preaching, aiming to

... set forth the duties of man to man, individually and socially ... [and] urge the cultivation of the virtues proclaimed in the Bible.

Loy was convinced that there was a place for moral admonition in preaching, for God

... does give us commandments by His Word, and we are to obey them. But that is not the Gospel. It is the law, by which is the knowledge of sin.

The moralizer has failed to distinguish between the two central doctrines of Scripture, Law and Gospel, for

The law makes known the holy will of God, shows us how unholy our will is that disobeys His holy will, and condemns us as transgressors.

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33 Loy, Sermons on the Epistles, p. 351.
34 Loy, "Art of Discourse," p. 3.
35 Ibid.
36 Schenck, Modern Practical Theology, p. 31.
37 Loy, Sermons on the Epistles, p. 403.
38 Ibid., pp. 403-404.
The Lord, however,

... has given us a Word that differs from the law and is called the Gospel. It is a Word that does not command, but promises and imparts.\textsuperscript{39}

Ethical injunctions also substituted the works of men for the salvation of Christ, and confused proclamation with the application of the Gospel:

It should be well observed that preaching does not show us how to save ourselves by our own efforts and accomplishments, but saves us. The gospel is glad tidings, not because it asks to do what we cannot, which would render it merely a new law, but because it proclaims to us that a Saviour has come... The great fact of redemption is proclaimed, and the Word by which the proclamation is made contains the saving power.\textsuperscript{40}

The danger in the Church, Loy believed, was "that of preaching law unto repentance until people are driven to despair, or unto holiness until they fall into a fond conceit of their own righteousness..."\textsuperscript{41}

Rationalistic sermons were delivered by men who felt the preacher was primarily a social interpreter and inquirer into intellectual matters. Loy emphatically rejected this sort of approach as being subjective and secular:

As I knew well that all the power for saving and sanctifying souls comes from God, and that He exercises this power through His Word, my preaching aimed to set this forth in all its heavenly truth and beauty, that God's will and God's work might be done. I was thus protected from the beginning against the vice of serving up on Sundays my everyday reflections on current events,

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 402.
\textsuperscript{40}Loy, Christian Prayer, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{41}Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 157-158.
or ventilating my opinions on secular subjects, instead of preaching the gospel.\textsuperscript{42}

The minister was also incompetent and presumptuous when he ventured into the civil realm:

Preachers are not sent to show the tailor how to make coats nor the blacksmith how to shoe horses. Nor is the church in any manner to interfere with such secular business, either by presuming to direct men how to do the work of their callings, or by establishing shops and stores to compete with them for the trade of the community.\textsuperscript{43}

Intellectual or doctrinal preaching was popular in the Reformed and Lutheran communions. Its aim was primarily instructional, for

A doctrine is the entire teaching of the Scripture on any particular subject, such as sin, redemption, regeneration, providence, the love of God, the Divinity of Christ.\textsuperscript{44}

The practitioners of this type of oratory were

Orthodox in viewpoint, [and] they generally placed great weight upon the belief that the Bible is 'the infallible rule of faith and practice,' with the corollary that a correct interpretation of it is necessary to salvation.\textsuperscript{45}

A Congregationalist described it as

... the prominence given to distinctive gospel, to pure doctrine, taken directly from the Book, the mind of God—this doctrinally presented, discussed, applied.\textsuperscript{46}

Loy appreciated and practiced doctrinal preaching, but he was aware of its limitations. It often neglected the pragmatic

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., p. 157.
\textsuperscript{43} Loy, The Christian Church, p. 283.
\textsuperscript{44} Schenck, Modern Practical Theology, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{45} Weisenburger, Triumph of Faith, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{46} George Shepherd, "Discourse on the Congregational Pulpit," American Congregational Yearbook for 1858 (New York, 1858), V, pp. 23-24.
aspects of religion, and

It may be that in my effort to make the way of salvation plain to my congregation I gave so much prominence to the doctrine that some hearers might have been led to overlook the importance of a holy life.47

Theological addresses caused interdenominational controversy, and during a period of polemics in his Delaware pastorate he recognized the need for "a restful and soothing Gospel sermon" so that one "might have an evening of peace and prayer under the benediction of our present Lord."48 The sermon was more than instruction, being together with the Sacrament of the Altar and Baptism, a means of grace to create and sustain faith, for

God's method of bringing the truth to men has ever been chiefly and must ever so remain, that of preaching the Word, that man may hear it and believe.49

In his capacity as a preacher, the pastor acted not as a teacher, but instead "exercises the prophetic office of Christ."50 Within Lutheranism

... it is the prophetic strain in Christianity which dominates the worship; the acknowledgment of that Spirit 'who spake by the prophets,' still finding utterance through the preacher who has been called to be a channel of the Word and has accepted that great vocation.51

48Ibid., p. 145.
The sermon was viewed as

• • • the vehicle of God's self-disclosure to men. The Word is for Evangelical worship something as objective, holy, and given, as the Blessed Sacrament is for Roman Catholic worship.52

The Word for Loy became "the sensible garment in which the supra-sensible Presence is clothed"53 in a manner similar to the Real Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper in, with, and under the forms of bread and wine, for

If the Word of the Lord were taken away we would therefore remain in our natural night and death; the great means of grace by which we are revived and nourished would be removed and we would remain forever unblest. The saving will of God would not be done, because we would be deprived of the means of salvation: for without the Word there would be no sacraments either. But not only is the divine Word necessary as God's power unto the salvation which he designs for men; it is requisite also to guide those who have been called and endowed with peace in believing. It alone can make us sure as to what God's will is in reference to our walk and conversation.54

Such preaching was not only "sacramental," but also devotional and "enters the category of prayer . . . ."55 Loy wrote that "When the Word of God is taught pure, so that man may be brought to Jesus through its divine power,"56 the first petition of the "Our Father" was fulfilled. The sermon, however,

... is not merely the personal prayer of the preacher, nor a personal prayer of each hearer. It is a truly corporate and ritual prayer, in the sense that each

52Ibid.
53Ibid.
54Loy, Christian Prayer, pp. 102-103.
55Underhill, Worship, p. 278.
56Loy, Christian Prayer, pp. 46-47.
member of the congregation who opens his heart to the revelation, will perceive his neighbour's heart inflamed along with his own.  

Lutheran preaching was to be more than the private witness of the preacher, for it was also part of a corporate act of the congregation in worship, "in effect, the living voice of the living church lifted in adoration, edification, instruction, and exhortation."  

For this reason Loy's conception of the sermon cannot be understood apart from his ideas concerning the function of the ministry and the form of the public liturgy.

The command to "teach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments" was given to all Christians and the officiant in worship, Loy felt, was serving as an "agent" of the universal priesthood of all believers. In a spiritual sense, "such a priest is every believer." Though "it is true all Christians are priests . . . they are not all pastors," for an elected leader was necessary for "the public administration of the means of grace in the Church" in sermon and sacrament so that "the priestly office of the believers [may come] into realization . . ." The preacher acted as the "servant of the priesthood" for his calling.

57 Quoted Underhill, *Worship*, p. 278.
60 Ibid., p. 26.
61 Ibid., p. 99.
62 Ibid., p. 78.
... is the public office of the Church, by which the functions of the general priesthood of all believers are publicly performed, in the name of all; by which the means of grace are administered and the people's sacrifices offered through a person chosen, according to God's law of order, by themselves, and acting in their stead.64

This occurred "for the sake of order,"65 because certain priests, as in the case of women, could not exercise this privilege publicly,66 and because of the need for a division of labor within the Christian community based on ability.67 The preacher, therefore, had the responsibility of not "trampling on the delegated rights of the congregation,"68 of teaching "in the name of the Church,"69 and serving as a "steward" of the Word.70 In his proclamation he was to beware of "the teaching of lies,"71 and of preaching without a call, for "none should presume to exercise common rights in the Church without common consent."72 His authority to preach rested on the call of God given through a congregation, and the content of his sermons was to be the "common faith" shared in the Scriptures and Confessions.73 The preacher should avoid

64Loy, Essay on the Ministerial Office, pp. 96, 105.
65Ibid., p. 74.
66Ibid., p. 40.
67Ibid., p. 114.
68Ibid., p. 79.
69Ibid., p. 81.
70Ibid., p. 75.
71Ibid., p. 108.
72Ibid., p. 107.
73Ibid.
... the inflated self-conceit which induces a man to think he must needs be a public teacher, because of his transcendant abilities, even though the Church should be too stupid to appreciate them, and the wild enthusiasm which prompts the fanatic to imagine himself especially called of God to enlighten the world.

The corporate nature of preaching was not only seen in the call to serve as a representative of the congregation in the exposition of Scripture, but also in the relationship of the sermon to the Lutheran liturgy.

Loy held that, since "the doctrine rules the life, and by it all activity is originated and regulated," in accordance with Article VII of the Augsburg Confession, "the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacrament determine the structure of the Service." Historically Lutheran worship has had two foci—sermon and eucharist, symbolized by pulpit and altar. Loy felt the Lutheran preacher should avoid "the partiality with which the Reformed Church gave prominence to the sermon as the only thing absolutely essential," for worship's "summit is the celebration of the Lord's Supper which is above all other parts of the cultus of a festive character." With other "Old Lutherans" such as

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74 Ibid., p. 108.
75 Loy, The Christian Church, p. v.
76 Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, p. 234.
77 "The essence of the Lutheran service . . . is God's Merciful Word coming to man in sermon and sacrament, and man's grateful response in praise and prayer." Underhill, Worship, p. 279.
79 Ibid., p. 22.
Wilhelm Loehe, Loy could agree with the comparison of the arrangement of the parts of the main service to a twin mountain, one of whose heights is a little lower than the other. The lower is the sermon, and the higher the Lord's Supper. The Lord's Supper properly belongs to the full main service.80

This understanding of worship was reflected in "The Order of Morning Service" used in the English and German congregations of the Joint Synod of Ohio from 1863 until after 1930.81 With variation, its sequence was as follows:82

First Part

Hymn
General Introit, Festival Sentence, Invocation
The Gloria Patri
The Exhortation and Confession
The Kyrie
The Absolution
Gloria in Excelsis, or Benedic Anima Mea, or Venite Exultemus Domino
The Introit for the Day
The Salutation
The Collect for the Day
The Epistle for the Day
The Gradual for the Day and Hallelujah
The Gospel for the Day

The Apostles', Nicene, or Athanasian Creed
Hymn
The Sermon
Hymn and Offering
The General Prayer
Lord's Prayer
Benediction

Second Part:

The Holy Communion

The Preface
The Proper Preface
The Sanctus
The Exhortation
The Consecration
The Agnus Dei
The Salutation
Distribution of the Elements
The Nunc Dimittis
The Thanksgiving
The Benediction
Hymn

In such an order of worship,

The Sermon ought to be in harmony with the thought of the day, otherwise the whole service is thrown into confusion. The Introit gave the key thought, the Collect, taking up this key thought, was a petition for special grace, the Scripture Lessons were God's answer, and the Sermon an explanation and application of that answer. Thus the whole liturgical service is a preparation for

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83 Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal: Published by Order of the First English District of the Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1907), pp. 8-26.
the Sermon, and a Sermon on any other theme than one related to the thought of the day, would spoil the whole effect.\(^{84}\)

Loy agreed with the Lutheran principle that

The people of God find the meaning of time in the Church Year, and the scope of preaching is indicated by the Church Year and the lessons of the day.\(^{85}\)

It was his practice to relate his address to the lections and propers of each Sunday by expounding either the Epistle or Gospel pericope.\(^{86}\) This persisted throughout his life and one of his auditors stated, "I never heard him preach anything else."\(^{87}\) In his meditations he explained the Christian calendar to his congregation in the following manner:

The festival half of our church year closes with Trinity Sunday to-day. We have during the past months had frequent occasion to meditate on the love of the Father, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, and you have observed how the Holy Scriptures center all in the great salvation prepared for us in the Only Begotten of the Father . . . . To Him, therefore, all our great festivals refer. They commemorate the wonderful work of our Saviour . . . .\(^{88}\)

Dr. Loy believed "liturgical preaching" had several values: (1) it gave a harmony of propers and proclamation within the service; (2) it educated people in the customs and traditions of the Christian faith; (3) it relieved the preacher of the sometimes burdensome task of selecting a "free text" for each Sunday of the

\(^{84}\) Lang, _The Liturgy of the Joint Synod of Ohio_, p. 97.

\(^{85}\) Bergendoff, "The Sermon in the Lutheran Liturgy," p. 127.

\(^{86}\) See Loy, _Story of My Life_, pp. 394, 109; his two main published sermon books dealt with the historic pericopes.


\(^{88}\) Loy, _Sermons on the Epistles_, p. 463.
year; (4) it prevented the pastor from selecting only "easy
lections" for public exposition; and (5) the balance and logic of
the historic pericopes guaranteed a full presentation of the
central truths of the Christian religion.89

In his lectures to his students Loy reminded them that the
speaker "must keep in view the occasion of the speaking so that
his theme and matter involved may be appropriate."90 Loy explained:

Sometimes I departed from the custom of using the lessons
of the Church Year and preached a series of sermons on free
texts, as I thought the wants of my congregation required.
Thus at one time I tried to make our people better ac­
quainted with the Church by explaining the Augsburg Con­
fession article by article, selecting the texts to suit
the subject thus previously given to my hand. I remembered
that it was not unusual in our Church to preach sermons on
the catechism, and I saw the need of such a practice. At
one time . . . I had chosen the Lord's Prayer for a series
of sermons . . . .91

Consideration of the occasion was a first step in the
preparation to preach. A second was for the speaker to "have
regard to his own abilities so that he may not undertake what is
not in his power to account."92 This meant that the pastor must
cultivate his devotional and intellectual life.93

That the Word might be effective in its "operation on the
hearts of men,"94 the preacher should be a man of fervent and
frequent prayer.95 Dr. Loy led his family in worship in the

89 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
91 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 394.
93 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
95 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
mornings and evenings and at meal times, using the materials he recommended to others: the Bible, the catechism, and the hymnal, for

the devout reading of a chapter in the Bible and the truthful saying of the Lord's Prayer forms a worship that is acceptable to God and edifying to man.

This was also his procedure in his personal meditations. Each evening between the hours of six and seven he would retire to his study to stand at his desk and open the King James Version of the English Bible. He would spend one hour reading and praying over a chapter of the Scriptures. Reading silently and slowly, pausing frequently, he puzzled over the meaning of various passages. His eyes expressed his reactions of fascination, inquiry, pleasure, repentance, and insight. The process was interrupted occasionally when he stroked his long white beard, or when he made a notation of a point of interest on an appropriate piece of paper. It was not his custom to invite visitors or other members of the household to participate with him in this endeavor, and he did not discuss his impressions or findings with other persons. It was assumed, however, that this meditation was part of his preparation for the sermon of the following Sunday. Punctually at seven o'clock he closed the Bible, laid it aside, left his study and rejoined the family for other activities.

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96 Ibid.
98 Ibid., p. 247.
99 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
Intellectual discipline was emphasized. A set time was allowed for reading and writing in the mornings between seven o'clock and noon. Loy indicated that this practice was acquired early in life, for

It was my custom, when I was a pastor at Delaware, to spend the first half of the day in my study, attending to outdoor work in the afternoons, so far as this was under my control. This enabled me to do some reading and thinking and writing beyond the immediate requirements of my public ministrations.101

The first object of investigation was the Bible, which was approached in an exegetical-expository manner to fulfill his admonition to "exhaust the text." A master of five languages—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English—the vocabulary of the Scriptures was especially fascinating to Dr. Loy. The philology of a passage and its grammatical constructions were analyzed. Translations were compared and contrasted, and shades of meaning clearly distinguished. Numerous dictionaries were at his side, as well as several concordances.

Dr. Loy did not employ commentaries in his biblical studies, and a grandson recalled that his grandfather had never owned or employed any of these helps. His students in Homiletics and Isagogics had no recollection of ever being advised concerning the

100 Ibid.
103 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
104 Ibid.
Dr. Loy believed a commentary "would do the preacher's thinking for him," and Too many assistants serve rather to confuse than to guide aright. The beginner should guard as earnestly against relying upon the authority of others as against the false streaming of originality. Holy earnestness and profound reverence in approaching the Sacred Scriptures are the best means to guard against erring.

He also avoided many of the newer books on the Bible because they accepted "source analysis" which he rejected completely.

An aid to the interpretation of canon was found in the writings of the fathers. Pastor Loy was "a zealous student of the Lutheran confessions" and owned The Ante-Nicene Fathers and The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, which he examined carefully. He was also familiar with Luther's sermons and House Postil and the major productions of the Orthodox theologians, such as Gerhard, Chemnitz, and Quenstedt.

Concerning secular literature, he wrote:

History and travel attracted me most, and . . . poetry and philosophy became favorite subjects. With Shakespeare and Milton I formed an early acquaintance, and the best productions of the English poets and a few also of the German delighted me. Though I loved to puzzle over Locke's Essay and skim over Gibbon's Rome, the religious tendencies of such books affected me.

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106 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
little . . . . [My] reading extended pretty nearly over the whole range of English literature except natural science, the poets, metaphysicians and literary critics seeming to me better interpreters of nature than the dry and tedious scientists.\textsuperscript{112}

Periodicals were read from "cover to cover" to the family each evening for an hour.\textsuperscript{113} These included Lutheran religious magazines and popular journals such as the \textit{North American Review of Reviews} and the \textit{Century}. The household grew restless at times, and a grandson inquired why Dr. Loy could not pick \textit{American Boy} for the daily "literary hour." The reply was given that "such is not productive of good literature."\textsuperscript{114} A preacher, Loy believed, would learn to appreciate good writings through the practice of his profession,\textsuperscript{115} and this meant that one would avoid the drama and novels which have "the hardening effect upon the heart of stirring the emotions by fictitious events . . . ."\textsuperscript{116}

In preparing a sermon the pastor should "have regard for his audience" so that "his discourse may be adapted to their character, condition, and culture."\textsuperscript{117} Loy did this by being a lifelong student of human nature and by becoming familiar with the needs of his congregation.

Next to theology, Dr. Loy's greatest interest was psychology, and for a while he had considered making that field his

\textsuperscript{112} Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{113} Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Loy, "Art of Discourse," p. 4.
\textsuperscript{116} Loy, \textit{Story of My Life}, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{117} Loy, "Art of Discourse," p. 4.
area of major concern. During his Delaware pastorate he had lectured to local groups on the workings of the mind. During his years at Capital University he wrote an unpublished volume on "Psychology" and taught a subject called "Mental Science or Mental Philosophy" or "the Science of the Human Mind." This discipline was considered to be one of the preacher's best tools because "the mind is a spiritual, not a material entity," and its study developed the intellect of the clergyman and

Second, it reveals to us mysteries of our own nature, and is thus an aid to self-control, a guide to the knowledge of men, and a help to the appreciation of literature. Third, it furnishes the foundation for the philosophical sciences of Logic, Aesthetics, Ethics, and Metaphysics, and fourth, it leads the devout mind to a wider and more intelligent admiration of the wonderful works of God.

Through it the preacher learned the operation of the processes of conceptualization, perception, cognition, communication, and ways of affecting human nature.

To acquaint himself with the specific problems of his auditors, Dr. Loy had systematically visited his parishioners while a pastor in Delaware, quizzing them on the sermon of the

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118 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
119 See for example Matthias Loy, "Dreams and Dreamers, A lecture delivered before the Delaware Library Association, January 31, 1856," in Archives of The American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa.
120 Matthias Loy, "Psychology," Copied by Harry Loy, June 14, 1881, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, in Archives of The American Lutheran Church, Dubuque, Iowa, p. 4.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid., p. 5.
123 Ibid.
previous Sunday. Through private confession he familiarized himself with what aspects of the Scriptures would best help his people. These interviews with his listeners impressed on him the need to preach simply and directly.

The final step in the preparation of the sermon was composition or "invention." Loy believed that the preacher should begin with conviction and strong purpose. In this endeavor, one who knew him well held that Dr. Loy excelled, for "he knew only one way to do something, the right way, and if not in that manner, then not at all." Endeavoring to prepare the best sermon possible, the speaker engaged in "recollection" of what he had learned from his study of the Scriptures, the condition of his auditors, and his own religious life. This was "a process of meditation, which is governed by the laws of association." Dr. Loy found that "Prolonged brooding over it [the sermon] renders the suggestive faculty more active and the judgment more vigorous." Following this period of reflection, the speaker might want to do some final reading on the subject, but "it should follow, never precede recollection as an immediate preparation for

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124 See Chapter IV.
125 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
127 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
129 Ibid.
130 Ibid., p. 9.
the composition,"131 Then the preacher will engage in "selection," picking those ideas he planned to develop in the address.132

The composition of the sermon then proceeded with the "greatest brevity consistent with clearness . . . ."133 Loy felt the mediation should have three parts: an introduction or peroration, body or oration, and summation or recapitulation.134 The "peroration" presented the theme or text to the congregation, and the "body" of the address continued by means of definition, division, narration, description, exemplification, comparison, and contrast.135 The conclusion was to restate what had been said and to give specific cases of application.136

The expounding of a text followed either a "topical" or "thematical" form, or else a "propositional" or "expository" manner.137 The latter was preferred because of greater clarity and pointedness.138

A basic consideration was orderly progress for, "rhetoric is based on Logic,"139 and a value of preaching was that "it tends

131 "It should be limited to the best authors, that time may not be wasted on superficialities and vain repetitions." Ibid.
132 Ibid., p. 10.
133 Ibid., p. 12.
134 Classnotes of C. F. Lauer from Matthias Loy's "Art of Discourse" lectures, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, 1895, p. 87.
136 Classnotes of C. F. Lauer, pp. 92-93.
137 Ibid., p. 93.
138 Ibid.
139 Ibid., p. 87.
to develop and invigorate the mind." Proportion of parts and harmony between exposition and application were to be maintained. It was deemed helpful to employ frequent repetition of the text to keep it in the minds of the hearers.

Style was to be carefully cultivated. Professor Loy recognized a "simple, or conversational style," a "grand style" for "elevated subjects," and a "middle style" combining elements of the former two methods. For the preacher, the "simple style" was best, for one should "write with simplicity and clearness . . . ." To develop this skill Loy recalled that he early "accustomed myself to do some writing every week . . . ." He was convinced that

A preacher who never writes his sermons, at least the first year, never becomes skillful in the use of language, and is pretty sure to fall into ruts and a slavish use of pet phrases and wearisome repetitions.

Students in his course in Homiletics remembered the frequent admonition to "schwaetz pleen," or "speak plainly."

Vocabulary was to be selected with caution, and "as a rule words of Saxon origin, words in common use, and words of a specific

\[140\] Ibid.
\[142\] Ibid.
\[143\] Ibid.
\[146\] Ibid., p. 159.
\[147\] Ibid.
\[148\] Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
meaning are the strongest." The best preaching was characterized

. . . with simplicity and clearness, avoiding unusual words, complicated constructions, and all ornament that contributed nothing to clearness in conveying the thought. 150

Illustration was to be drawn from human life, nature, hymns, and the Scriptures. Believing that the Bible was the book best known to his audience, Dr. Loy quoted at great extent from it, using up to thirty citations in a sermon. 151 The catechism and the confessions of the Church were used, but references to science, secular literature, art, history, and biography were avoided. 152 Anecdotes were not employed, for in the pulpit Pastor Loy was "very sober" and "it was said there was no humor in that saint." 153 In later years he regretted that in his youth he had preached

. . . with occasional scraps of poetry and antique phrases which forced themselves upon my memory in my rapid flow of speech, [which], no doubt lent it a spice and flavor that people liked. 154

In the presentation of the sermon, the method of delivery was a central consideration. Loy recognized and successively tried four methods of speaking: memorization, extemporization or improvisation, reading or recitation, and oral composition while preaching from an outline.

150 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 160.
151 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
152 Personal examination of published sermons of Dr. Loy.
The best means of confrontation was memorization:

Certainly a better way is to teach students to write their sermons and memorize them. When they are early trained to do this the committing to memory soon becomes so easy that it is the work of but a few hours, and the preacher has all the advantages of a carefully worked sermon and unhampered delivery.155

In practice, however, this was not his permanent procedure, for

At the Seminary I had not learned to memorize them, and I never succeeded when I afterwards tried to learn the art.156

Extemporization was another approach, and on several occasions he was required to use this method. In public debates with ministers of other denominations he was forced to improvise,157 and his first sermon at St. Paul Church, Prospect, Ohio, was delivered in this manner. He had taken a prepared address with him, but found it impossible under the circumstances to read it, and

In my perplexity, I determined to do what I could without the manuscript. When I was ready to open the service, I found that there was no Bible at hand. No doubt the people thought that I would furnish all the books that would be needed. This, too, was embarrassing. Rev. P. Gast, who was at the time visiting his parents, was present and I requested him to conduct the worship while I endeavored to collect my thoughts for the sermon. This helped me a little, though his presence tended to increase my confusion. When the messenger who had been sent for the Bible returned with only the New Testament, I was dismayed. I had chosen a free text, and that was in the Old Testament. In my flurry I could not repeat it from memory and could think of nothing better to do in my extremity than to select another text and trust in God for the result of my effort. I had had some experience in extemporaneous speaking at the Seminary, and the necessity seemed laid upon me of using such gift as I possessed. God did not forsake me. I preached, the people appeared to be satisfied, and Pastor Gast allayed

155 Ibid., p. 159.
156 Ibid.
157 Ibid., pp. 142-147.
my fears by assuring me that my sermon was not a rambling mass of confusion. And I learned something that was worth learning.158

Loy had discovered the difficulty and dangers of extemp­oraneous address, especially in the German language. Such sermons tended to lack outline and logical progression, led to the repetition of similar thoughts and phrases, omitted much of importance, and caused the orator to turn from reason to emotionalism, and Loy felt

By temperament and partly by education . . . I was a man of feeling, and sentimentalism was a besetting danger. Even in doctrinal sermons, in the midst of an argument or an explanation, my feelings would at times become so enlisted in the subject as to result in outbursts which would no doubt have astonished some judicial minds, intent on following the thread of the discourse, had not the whole been warm and fervent.159

Recitation from a manuscript was attempted, and

Several times I read them, as some are accustomed to do, but I never liked the method and know that the people generally do not like it; I am sure, too, that it is the least effective way of securing attention and impressing a subject.160

Loy found that such was not always possible, and once

I preached in a little school house . . . and I had written out my sermon with the intention of reading it, which I unwisely thought would be tolerated in a beginner. The school house was crowded up to the little table where I scarcely had room to stand. If I had laid my manuscript on the table, which seemed to me unusually low, the people sitting close by could have read it, but I could have accomplished the feat only by bending over it or sitting down. Of course I was embarrassed.161

158 Ibid., p. 134.
159 Ibid., p. 158.
160 Ibid., p. 159.
161 Ibid., pp. 133-134.
After this experience, "my sermons were . . . always delivered without manuscript." This meant that

For me the best preparation was to write out the sermon, as if it were to be read to the audience, then to preach it without any further use of manuscript.

In later years this was modified to include the composition of an outline, from which he spoke in the pulpit.

The outlines were written in an extremely fine and small script in pencil or pen on a single page. The paper was often the inside of a cut and unfolded letter envelope, for Dr. Loy was extremely economical in his financial ways. Old envelopes were saved and slit open for this purpose. The development of the address was made in great detail, and then the page was carefully refolded and carried in a coat-pocket or Bible.

In the pulpit, Loy made a striking appearance. During his Delaware pastorate he had worn a collar and black preaching gown, though in later life he often preached in a dark gray, black, or blue suit, or a Prince Albert. His flowing white beard, high forehead, and piercing, deep eyes were not easily forgotten. He slowly mounted the pulpit, and began to speak very

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162 Ibid., p. 159.
163 Ibid.
164 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
165 Ibid.
166 Ibid.
167 Ibid.
168 Loy, Story of My Life, picture facing p. 97.
slowly, with precise articulation. He spoke both English and German with perfect freedom, though he preferred the former language. His English was without accent, though his constructions sometimes sounded a bit Teutonic, and his German "was spoken like a native," though of the south or Swabian variety. The tone of voice was even, and

He never raised his voice, or pounded the pulpit as was common with the German pulpit orators of the day. One of these noisy preachers answered my question, "Why do you holler, stamp your feet, and work up such a sweat when you are preaching?" "My boy," he said, "that's a secret, but I will tell you. When I don't know what to say, I holler." Dr. Loy preached in a very dignified manner . . .

Employing no gestures, except to lean over the pulpit to maintain audience contact with the congregation, some found his presentation "slow, dry, boring." The length of the sermon was usually twenty-four to thirty minutes, which meant Dr. Loy practiced extraordinary brevity for his day. Lutheran hymnals of the age specified that "An

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171 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
172 Ibid.
173 Ibid.
176 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
ordinary sermon should not exceed an hour, though this was later reduced to forty-five minutes.

The impressions his preaching made varied considerably. One authority believed that of all his labors, Loy "shows to best advantage in his sermons, which are simple in language, earnest, and deeply felt." An Ohio Synod historian described him as "an appealing preacher." A former student, who later became a District President, wrote that "His preaching was very free and attractive. To me he was always the model preacher." A retired military chaplain, who learned his homiletics from Professor Loy, pointed up a significant difference between his published and spoken sermons:

I never could harmonize his books of sermons with the preacher-teacher as I knew him. His written sermons were models of homiletical excellence. His preaching seemed to me, to be talks that came from his heart. He always did impress on us the fact, that every sermon should have enough of saving grace, that if a man heard a sermon only once, he would know something of Him who said: 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, no man cometh to the Father but by Me.'

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177 Liturgy, or Formulary for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches: Compiled by a Committee, Appointed by the Synod of Ohio, and Ordered to be Printed (Lancaster, Ohio: John Herman, 1830), p. 9.
180 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 50.
A grandson remembered that when Dr. Loy preached in this devotional manner, "he held the attention of the audience like a magnet." To many of his pupils and colleagues he was a noteworthy example of a doctrinal orator, but when he talked in this manner he became "a deadly preacher" who "put one to sleep." If "one knew the man behind the sermon, and with what meditation and piety he prepared his address, one understood him much better." His appeal was also apparently limited to more intellectual auditors, for with the average people he was not too popular. His language for the average hearer was too involved. His theology was not down to earth. I remember he preached in our church, when we were without a pastor. The Sunday before we had a student whose language was very much down to earth, dialect and all. Many of our Elders, my parents included, argued, 'We could understand the student, but the professor? No! He should learn from the student.'

To those, however, who were his friends and students, and who glimpsed the fervent spirit of the man behind the language of theology, "Dr. Loy will always stand out as a guiding light."

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183 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
185 Ibid.
186 Ibid.
188 Ibid.
CHAPTER XI

MATTHIAS LOY: THEOLOGIAN

The Gilded Age was characterized by Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Sr., as "A Critical Period in American Religion."\(^1\)

The problem, as Dr. Henry Steele Commager observed, was not primarily one of denominational growth and organizational well-being, for "during the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, religion prospered . . . ."\(^2\) The "Ordeal of Faith"\(^3\) faced by millions of Americans was instead "The Shaking of the Foundations"\(^4\) of dogma when the churches were confronted with what Professor Martin E. Marty called "The Acids and Assets of Modernity."\(^5\)

Traditional theology encountered difficulties in three dimensions: in describing the relationship between "Nature and the Supernatural,"\(^6\) in defining the meaning of "Sin and Salvation,"\(^7\) and in determining "What Does Revelation Reveal?"\(^8\)

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\(^1\) Quoted by Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, p. iii.
\(^2\) Commager, The American Mind, p. 165.
\(^3\) See Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, pp. i-iv.
\(^5\) Marty, A Short History of Christianity, pp. 294-316.
\(^7\) Ibid., pp. 63-90.
The findings of the physical and natural sciences required a re-examination of inherited cosmological and anthropological conceptions. The "New Geology" questioned the account of the earth's origin as recorded in the book of Genesis and caused controversies concerning "The Age of Rocks and the Rock of Ages." The biological theory of evolution, associated with Charles Darwin and his disciples, necessitated a re-appraisal of conventional understandings of the creation and fall of man and the teaching of a teleologically and providentially ordered universe. Skeptics, as James B. Bury, declared that

If intelligence had anything to do with this bungling process [evolution], it would be an intelligence infinitely low. And the finished product, if regarded as a work of design, points to incompetency in the designer.  

Social studies, as economics, the "New Sociology," and psychology, posed problems relative to the popular "Gospel of Wealth," the Augustinian division of humanity into the twin categories of the elect and the lost, and Calvin's "horrible decree" of double predestination. It was suggested that the Christian doctrines of "total depravity" and "original sin" be revised to harmonize with recent insights into the function of personality and that Protestantism reorientate its approach from that of "saving sinners" to include a program of "social salvation."  

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9 See Ibid., pp. 50-60.  
11 See Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, pp. 117-140.
Comparative Religion and Biblical Criticism seemed to place the claims of Christianity to possess a unique and peculiar knowledge of God in doubt. Robert Ingersoll lectured on "Some Mistakes of Moses" and a New York rector was reputed to have said that "The New Testament is a book written by a lot of chumps who were thick in the head . . . ." 

One historian believed that "theology went slowly bankrupt" in this period as it attempted a "fumbling adaptation" to the forces of secular society, and William Warren Sweet felt that by 1920 "American theology was more or less sterile and the theological crop thin." Undoubtedly there was a certain erosion of spiritual strength and that it could be said that many a Protestant found himself a church member by accident and persisted in his affiliation by habit; he greeted each recurring Sunday service with a sense of surprise and was persuaded that he conferred a benefit upon his rector and his community by participating in church services. The church was something to be 'supported' like some aged relative whose claim was vague but inescapable.

A feeling of insecurity also haunted many in the post-Civil War generation, and John L. Spalding, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Peoria, Illinois, spoke for many of his contemporaries when he

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12 Ibid., p. 88.
14 Commager, The American Mind, p. 165.
16 Sweet, Story of Religion in America, p. 418.
17 Commager, The American Mind, p. 166.
confessed that:

The wavering of religious beliefs has unsettled all other things so that nothing appears any longer to rest upon a firm and immovable basis.\(^{18}\)

Beneath the surface struggle between the powers of faith and doubt, however, was a "will to believe"\(^{19}\) which Alfred, Lord Tennyson, the British poet, ably expressed in these lines:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Our little systems have their day;} \\
\text{They have their day and cease to be;} \\
\text{They are but broken lights of thee,} \\
\text{And thou, O Lord, art more than they.}
\end{align*}
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\begin{align*}
\text{We have but faith: we cannot know;} \\
\text{For knowledge is of things we see;} \\
\text{And yet we trust it comes from thee,} \\
\text{A beam in darkness; let it go.}^{20}
\end{align*}
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Religiously, therefore, the century was one of transition when Christians "attempted to accommodate their faith"\(^{21}\) to "the scientific and historical thought of the time,"\(^{22}\) while "seeking to retain the Evangelical orientation . . . ."\(^{23}\) Much of Victorian theology was marked by what Washington Gladden called "apology and defense . . . ."\(^{24}\)

\(^{18}\) Quoted by Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, p. iii.

\(^{19}\) William James, The Will to Believe (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1897).

\(^{20}\) Alfred, Lord Tennyson, "In Memoriam, A.H.H."

\(^{21}\) K. W. Schneider, "Protestantism," The Nineteenth Century World, ed. Guy S. Metraux and Francois Crouzet (New York: The New American Library, 1963), p. 516. Schneider felt that "the dominant trends of Protestantism since the days of the French Revolution are either reactions to or reconstructions of this faith of the Enlightenment in nature and reason." Ibid.

\(^{22}\) Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 517.

\(^{23}\) Ibid.

\(^{24}\) Gladden, Present Day Theology, p. 7.
During this epoch which President Henry Churchill King of Oberlin College considered to be one of a "Reconstruction in Theology," it was evident that "the American Lutherans were not leaders in these conflicts." A recent historian stated that:

If measured by the standards of Congregational theology, Lutheran theologians in America have contributed but little to the solution of the theological issues of the nineteenth century.

This "apparent backwardness of Lutheran theology" can be explained by reference to Matthias Loy. As the major theologian of the Ohio Synod he was a representative figure of the Lutheran approach to religious problems in this period.

Loy and other informed Lutheran theologians were not ignorant of the religious developments of the age. Writing in the spring of 1866 Loy carefully surveyed the theological scene and made these penetrating comments:

What was once settled as fundamental orthodoxy has, in various particulars, become strangely disturbed. The old ways of thinking no longer fit and satisfy and command the stern and unflagging consent, as they once did . . . . Notice the contradictions, the inconsistencies, the vacillations of theological opinion, in all statements of our time,—how vague the language chosen, how uncertain the note struck, how many the loopholes of evasion! . . . . Try if you can get a definite declaration of theological faith from your

25 Henry Churchill King, Reconstruction in Theology (Cincinnati, Ohio: Jennings and Graham, 1901).
26 Heick and Neve, History of Protestant Theology, p. 298.
27 Ibid., p. 297.
28 Ibid.
29 A recent historian felt "there were . . . Lutherans in America who kept themselves abreast in all other theological issues of the European continent. Read the issues of the Evangelical Review during the editorship of Philip Krauth and similar articles in Lehre und Wehe, Theologische Zeitblätter, Kirchliche Zeitschrift and the journals of the Scandinavian synods." Ibid., p. 298.
intelligent friends of any denomination. Question the professed teachers of religion, and notice how slowly, how guardedly, how vaguely they answer direct inquiries . . . . There has been an almost universal loosening of old moorings, a breaking away from the firm fastenings of other days, and a drifting no one can tell whither.  

Aware of the intellectual climate of his epoch, Loy did not believe he could completely ignore its consequences for his task as a theologian. Unlike many of his more liberal contemporaries, however, Loy was impelled by these changes to formulate a decidedly different understanding of his duties as a spokesman of organized religion. From his observations he drew four basic conclusions that guided his thinking:

First, in the words of Dean Ralph Inge, Loy had "no confidence that the spirit of this age is wiser than the spirit of past ages." He wrote:

To those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern the signs of the times it cannot be a matter of doubt, that the progress and achievements of our age have been mainly of a material sort, and that the gain which might thus have accrued to the kingdom of God by facilitating the preaching of the gospel to all nations has been largely neutralized by injecting materialistic notions into that gospel itself, and thus largely divesting it of its spiritual truth and power. There is a great danger of losing now what was achieved in . . . the great Lutheran Reformation.

Second, Loy felt that the religious thought of the nineteenth century served only a negative function, to act, in the opinion of Professor John Theodore Mueller, as

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30 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (May 15, 1866), 84.
... a kind of foil to set off the beauty of a strictly confessional theology as compared with the frequently false, or at least inadequate, presentation found in the great majority of books on dogmatics which have been issued ... since the death of Schleiermacher, in 1834. 

Third, Loy was convinced that

What our age needs most of all is a return to first principles as laid down in the Word of God and restored to God’s people in the Reformation.

He, therefore, did not consider it his obligation to speak to the "passing fancies" and "old heresies under new names" which were present in his era. He was persuaded that he was addressing himself to matters of timeless and eternal truth, instead of the timely questions of the hour, for

The author has no new theories to offer and no new policy to advocate. He has no trust in novelties as substitutes for the old ways of God, though many suppose these to be antiquated.

He pursued his policy of "expounding and urging ... plain truths before the Christian community" because "we have a higher aim, as we have a higher calling, than that of bandying compliments."

Fourth, Loy decided to go deliberately contrary to the temper of the times, and on October 3, 1896, he wrote a sentence that characterized his career as a theologian:

That at various points he has strong currents against him, he is well aware; but he would not be faithful to his calling and his convictions, if he permitted this to hinder the publication of his work ...

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34 Loy, The Christian Church, pp. 138-139.
35 Ibid., p. iii.
36 Ibid., p. 138.
37 Ibid., p. vi.
Apart from this personal preference for the "old ways," Loy and other Lutheran theologians in America found themselves faced by problems peculiar to their church which made the "Burning Questions" of the age pale by comparison. As Professors O. W. Heick and J. L. Neve have suggested, "Lutheran theology holds a unique position in American thought" because of four difficulties which that denomination had to solve:

First, in contradistinction to the English-language communions, as the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Episcopal Churches, most of the Lutherans were foreign immigrants who "belonged to the underprivileged classes of Europe." Loy himself was of such origin. This meant that the audience, interests, and needs of those to whom Lutheran theologians had to minister would differ for social, cultural, and linguistic reasons from those of general American Protestantism.

Second, a lack of "unified theological leadership" made the doctrine of the church and the quest for denominational union two of the major tasks of Lutheran divines in these decades. As Synod President Loy was active in efforts to found either a General Council or a Synodical Conference to bring together the

39Heick and Neve, History of Protestant Theology, p. 297.
40Ibid.
41Ibid.
42Heick and Neve, History of Protestant Theology, p. 297.
divided forces of Lutheranism, and as a theologian he was engaged in the heated discussions relative to the nature and function of the ministry and the church.

Third, Lutherans had had little experience in living in a pluralistic, English-language society. The doctrinal and liturgical literature had to be translated and adapted to suit the American experience. Lutheranism had to discover its identity and relationship to other denominations, and this explains the anguished debate over the issues of "Unionism" and "Americanism" during the first half of the nineteenth century. Theologians, such as Loy, were occupied "with the establishment of a Lutheran Church in a new world," and had to set important precedents.

Fourth, the formation of an American Lutheran theology was vitally influenced by the confessional revival that occurred in Germany between 1830 and 1860 as a reaction against Rationalism and the Prussian Union with the Reformed. These factors had aroused a new historical consciousness of what it meant to be Lutheran and there was "an intense struggle for the preservation of . . . faith" which was soon transported to the United States. The "Old Lutherans" emigrated with the conviction that "the real issue whether to live or not to live was the problem of

See Chapters VII and VIII.

The doctrine of the Church and ministry was an object of contention between the "Old Lutherans" and the General Synod, and the former party divided over the question as the forces of Loehe, the Buffalo Synod, and the Missouri Synod each formulated a substantially different position.

Heick and Neve, History of Protestant Theology, p. 298.

Ibid., p. 297.
confessional self-preservation." This resulted in the pre-occupation of Lutheran theologians with internal problems and the effort to recapture the essence of Reformation Lutheranism.

For these reasons Lutheran theology was also unique in that the answer it gave to the problem of its existence did not fit the "Liberal-Fundamentalist" dichotomy developing in other Protestant denominations.

For many American Christians Liberalism was one alternative to be chosen. It was felt that Orthodoxy would no longer serve as an appropriate vehicle for the intellectual expression of faith and Liberalism arose in order to adjust the ancient faith to the modern world. Liberalism had two features, a method, and a body of thought.

(1) The method, according to Dr. Cauthen, had three main motifs. First, was the belief in continuity, or the real immanence of God in the world, so that the distinction between the natural and the supernatural was either reduced or reinterpreted. Second, was a conception of dynamism, which felt that God, as the permeating spirit of the cosmos, was the author of the factors of evolution and emergence. Third, Liberalism placed a great

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47 Ibid., p. 298.
51 Ibid., pp. 9, 10.
52 Ibid., p. 10.
emphasis on autonomy, or the right of individual judgment and interpretation.\(^{53}\)

(2) The essential message of Liberalism, despite much variety,\(^{54}\) was summarized by Washington Gladden as:

The idea of the immanence of God; the idea that God's method of creation is the method of evolution; the idea that nature in all its deepest meanings is supernatural; the idea of the constant presence of God in our lives; the idea of the universal divine Fatherhood and of the universal human Brotherhood, with all that they imply—these are ideas which are here to stay.\(^{55}\)

Liberalism was not a live option to Loy and most Lutherans for three reasons:

First, Loy saw it as a religion of Relativism, leaving the truth a victim of subjective opinion:

Liberalism is . . . the religion of doubt and despair. It rests finally upon the assumption that when professing believers are not agreed it is impossible to find the truth in the Scripture, and that as no man can know what the meaning of God's Word is, every man must form his own opinion and accord to every other man the equal right to do the same. It is a system claiming for darkness and error and doubt a full equality of right in the Church with light and truth and faith.\(^{56}\)

\(^{53}\) Liberalism felt that the divine impulses within man needed but to be awakened. See Ibid.

\(^{54}\) There were "evangelical Liberals," probably the majority, who as Phillips Brooks attempted to conserve as much of the old as possible; the "humanists," the left-wing of the movement, who placed a central emphasis upon the achievements of men, while "empirical liberals" who sought to base truth on the scientific method. "Ethical liberals" as Gladden and Rauschenbusch who stressed the social teachings of Jesus as a prophet. See Hordern, A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology, pp. 91-94.

\(^{55}\) Gladden, Present Day Theology, pp. 6-7.

\(^{56}\) Matthias Loy, "The Fallacy of Liberalism," The Columbus Theological Magazine, III (April, 1883), 82.
Second, Loy was persuaded that Liberalism was simply Rationalism and "Reductionism." It appeared to him as a rebirth of the Deism of the German Enlightenment with which confessional Lutherans had had tragic experience in Europe and which he had known as a boy. He described such an approach as the "pride and presumption of reason," which forgot that the mind has no innate truths and needs "food for thought," or ideas which come from without. Reason was but a method, not a source of meaning. It was also just one faculty of man, together with the emotions and the will, and therefore could not claim to be the sole vehicle of receiving knowledge. The mind, felt Loy, was darkened by sin and the Fall, and it would be erroneous to make it the test of theology. He wrote:

It is subordinating the revelation of God to the judgment of man. Thus many are led to renounce the mysteries of Christianity on the plea that they are not in accord with reason. The argument is that God could not ask us to believe what is absurd, and the false premise is quietly assumed as self-evident that what is above our comprehension is necessarily absurd. Thousands are thus led to reject the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Vicarious Atonement, of the Real Presence in the Holy Supper, of Regeneration through Baptism, of the Resurrection of the Body. It is not that these doctrines are not found in the words of Holy Scripture that leads to their rejection, but that human reason rejects the

57 Matthias Loy, "God's Word Without Addition or Subtraction," The Columbus Theological Magazine, II (December, 1882), 378.


doctrines and decides that of right they ought not to be there and in fact cannot be there.\textsuperscript{60}

Reason, therefore, needed the guidance of Revelation, which was not irrational, but supra-rational.

Third, Liberalism appeared to Loy as essentially a system of Moralism or "Self-Righteousness," or salvation by works. He did not feel that religion was primarily a matter of morality, but instead, that of a right-relationship to God. Liberalism ran counter to what Loy considered the central doctrine of the Scriptures, that of justification, apart from which there was no peace. The teaching of justification, he wrote,

\begin{quote}
\ldots is a citadel, within which they [the fathers] felt themselves secure against every foe, and for which they fought with a vigor and a valor that challenges the admiration of all time.\textsuperscript{61}
\end{quote}

Fundamentalism, a relatively new movement in the history of Christianity,\textsuperscript{62} provided answers to many American Protestants disturbed by the advent of a "new theology,"\textsuperscript{63} and

The principal cause of the rise of the Fundamentalist controversy was the incompatibility of nineteenth century orthodoxy cherished by many humble Americans with the progress made in science and theology since the Civil War.\textsuperscript{64}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{60}Loy, "God's Word Without Addition or Subtraction," pp. 378, 379.
\item \textsuperscript{61}Matthias Loy, The Doctrine of Justification (Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1882), p. v.
\item \textsuperscript{62}See John Opie, Jr., "The Modernity of Fundamentalism," The Christian Century, LXXXII (May 12, 1965), 608-611.
\item \textsuperscript{63}Generally associated with "Holy Rollers" and "fanatics," Professor Hordern contended that Fundamentalism was in reality the faith by which millions of American citizens lived. See Hordern, A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology, p. 75.
\item \textsuperscript{64}Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, p. 14.
\end{itemize}
The term "Fundamentalist" was first used by D. C. Laws, editor of the Baptist Watchman-Examiner to designate one who held to that irreducible minimum of belief without which, he contended, one could not be a Christian. The famous "Five Fundamentals," formulated in 1895 at the Niagara Conference, were the verbal inerrancy of Scripture, the deity of Jesus, the virgin birth, the substitutionary atonement, and the physical resurrection and bodily return of Christ. The Fundamentalists believe that they alone are marching to the best of the right drum, that traditional Christianity is incompatible with modern thought.

The adherents of this viewpoint held that man's dilemmas can be resolved entirely through 19th century patterns—revivalism, individualism, moral crusades, benevolence movements, and social paternalism.

While numerous Lutherans were "Fundamentalists in the garb of a strict confessionalism," and although Loy could have subscribed to the "Five Points," there were three significant differences which prevented this from being the accepted approach of

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68 Ibid.
69 Heick and Neve, History of Protestant Theology, p. 311.
70 Recent Lutheran Scholastics have attempted to list what they consider to be the "essentials" of the faith, "viz. Verbal Inspiration of the Bible; Special Creation by Divine fiat; Genuine Prophecy in the Scriptures . . . ; the Accuracy, Inerrancy and full reliability of the Holy Bible as a whole and in all its parts; and other doctrines on this same level . . . ." See Lutheran News, III (July 26, 1965), 1.
Lutheran theology:

First, as Liberalism tended to make reason the measure of theology, Loy felt the "evangelical Protestants" put an undue stress on the emotions. He wrote that among the delusions and dangers which beset the Christian is that of trusting too much to the state of his feelings as the test of his spiritual state.\(^7^1\)

In this connection he saw the "Evangelicals" as akin to the Schwaermer and "Spiritualists" of the Reformation Era, and he condemned that "Fanaticism, which makes the natural faculties a criterion of spiritual things" for it is a more dangerous foe to Christianity than many sincere persons are willing to admit. It leaves the soul at the mercy of ever-changing human opinions and human whims. At the very root of fanaticism is the baseless notion that God deals immediately with men. [this causes] the wild extravagances of those sects who mistake their feelings for the voice of Jehovah.\(^7^2\)

God, Loy was convinced, dealt with men "mediately" through the "objective" method of "the means of grace," the Word and the Sacraments, which were effective apart from human subjective apprehension of them.\(^7^3\)

Second, if Liberalism was accused of "subtraction" from the Scriptures, Fundamentalism was found guilty of "addition"
to the requirements for salvation. Saving "faith must have firm ground to rest upon," wrote Loy, and this consisted of the "imparted promises" of Scripture and the sacraments. Salvation was the work of God, but

... man in his pride despises the gracious plan which divine wisdom has formed for his deliverance, because that plan gives no credit to his genius for devising nor to his power for executing it.\(^7\)

The "Evangelicals," felt Loy, had surrendered to the temptations of "natural religion" and had placed an overdue emphasis upon man's subjective reception of grace as "the one thing needful." Proofs or tests of "conversion" had been designed which obscured the work of the Holy Spirit. Loy explained:

Going to the sacrament and going to the mourners' bench are by no means on the same level; being clothed with humility and being clothed with a regulation Quaker coat are not of equal importance; preaching the Word and wearing a clerical robe are not of the same obligation and value .... Going to the sacrament is commanded; going to the mourners' bench is not ....\(^7\)

Christian nature, Loy believed, was achieved neither suddenly nor dramatically, but by a process of nurturing, and

... it is not inconceivable even in the case of a man's restoration to corporeal life, much less in the case of his restoration to spiritual life, that the effect should be accomplished by a gradual process. Life might begin in some part of the body, as death sometimes begins, so that it would be difficult to

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\(^7\) See Loy, "God's Word Without Addition or Subtraction," pp. 376-384.

\(^7\) Loy, The Christian Church, p. 76.

\(^7\) See Loy, The Doctrine of Justification, pp. 80, 81.

\(^7\) Ibid., p. 2.

\(^7\) Loy, The Christian Church, p. 130.
determine the exact point when the man may be pronounced alive, as it sometimes is to determine exactly when he is dead. In the spiritual quickening this difficulty has been acknowledged by the most eminent theologians, some of whom have denied that such a precise moment when death has ended and life has begun can be fixed.79

Third, the basic difference, however, was one of origin and outlook. It has been said that "the Fundamentalists defined themselves against Modernism, rather than in relation to central Christianity"80 and that they primarily reacted against contemporary developments. Loy and confessional Lutherans, on the other hand, were "restorationists" in the fullest sense of the word. Their position emerged as a result of a rediscovery of what they were convinced were the central truths of the Reformation and the Age of Orthodoxy, and their thought had its genesis in a new conception of the past, rather than the present. In this respect the "Old Lutherans" were similar to the English "Tractarians" and the Roman Catholic Romanticists of the Victorian Age. An element of nostalgia prompted them to seek a revival of what they felt had once been. While John Henry Newman believed that "the church of the twelfth century must be the church of the nineteenth,"81 Loy

and Walther were persuaded that "the closer to Luther, the better a theologian." It could be said of Loy, as it was of Walther, that

His theological labors were marked by a persistent attempt at purging American Lutheranism of all alien principles and in restoring the theology of the Reformation and post-Reformation period in its full propensities.

To some this "bordered on symbololatry and a return to the seventeenth century dogmaticians" which "could produce only a re-pristination theology."

Loy was a "Protestant Scholastic," and he confessed his aim as

... setting forth the old doctrines of the Reformation, endeavoring to make English readers acquainted with the treasures of learning and thought contained in old German and Latin folios, exhibiting the solidity and symmetry of the theological edifice erected by our fathers in an age less hurried and more thorough than the present ...

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83 Heick and Neve, History of Protestant Theology, p. 305.
85 There were also elements of Pietism, and he was similar to the "men ... sent out from Ft. Wayne imbued with the pietistic spirit of a Lohe and a militant and confessional attitude of a Sihler to build a bulwark in the West against the tide of religious liberalism." Mauelsbagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 82; Romanticism and Pietism often mingled, and "It is difficult ... to disentangle the romantic impetus from the eighteenth century pietism which carried over into the nineteenth century." Mosse, The Culture of Western Europe, pp. 37-38.
H. P. Dannecker wrote that "one could take Dr. Loy for an old fashioned German theologian," and it was reported that "the Confession of our Church was a beloved home to him, to which his heart hung with all its cords." At his death it was stated that "he lives still in the Spirit of Orthodoxy . . . ."

As a "Biblical Scholastic," Dr. Loy's theology reflected the three "formative elements" found by Professor Theodore G. Tappert in seventeenth century German Lutheran Orthodoxy—authority, methodology, and adherence to tradition.

The Orthodox theologians had looked for "a fixed and final authority" and had found it in the Bible. While "for Luther it was the gospel to which the Scriptures witness that was normative, for the orthodoxists the Scriptures themselves became normative . . . ." Loy, who called "Chemnitz the greatest theologian of the Evangelical Church after Luther," adhered to this conception of the Scriptures. There had been both a natural and a special

88"Das Bekenntnis unserer Kirche war ihm eine liebe Heimat, an welcher sein Herz mit allen Fasern hing." Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (February 6, 1915), p. 82.
91Ibid., p. 43.
92Ibid., p. 44.
93Loy, Essay on the Ministerial Office, p. 244.
94See Ibid., p. 172.
revelation. Natural Revelation (lex naturae) was discerned in the creation and in the human conscience, but such "natural religion furnishes no ground of hope, and brings ... no words of peace."95 Loy taught that

... the religion which it [the Christian Church] professes and preaches is not the religion which nature teaches and the natural man accepts and practices. It is supernatural. Of that which constitutes its essence nature reveals nothing and reason knows nothing. The things which it embraces lie in a sphere that is higher than this earth.96

Truth could be known only in Special Revelation, for

Christianity is wholly a supernatural revelation. The saving truth, to which the researches of science never approximate and of which human philosophy has never dreamed, is given by inspiration of God.97

The divine disclosures were contained in the canonical Scriptures which were "the infallible words of the Holy Ghost ... ."98

With John Andrew Quenstedt Loy contended that the Bible was written by "amanuenses of the Holy Spirit" and that

In the ... Holy Scriptures there is no lie, no falsity, nor the slightest error, whether in contents or words, but each and every statement transmitted in them is true, whether it is doctrinal, moral, historical, chronological, topographical, or onomastic, and no ignorance, thoughtlessness, or forgetfulness, and no lapse of memory can or ought to be attributed to the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit in writing down the sacred letters.99

96Loy, The Christian Church, p. 2.
98Loy, The Christian Church, p. 89.
99Quoted by Tappert, "Orthodoxism, Pietism, and Rationalism," p. 44.
Loy explained that

Our English translation of the Bible is a human explanation of the original, which original alone is absolutely in every jot and title God's Word, but just in proportion as our translation correctly explains the meaning of the original, it too, is God's Word.100

Holding to the plenary and verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, Loy saw them as an "infallible external authority"101 and thus "the Bible became a comparatively uniform source of proof texts."102

Biblical Criticism was to be rejected, and

. . . Christians should jealously guard their sacred treasures . . . and concede nothing to the criticism and the science that arrogantly assert the supposed rights of fallible human opinion against the infallible divine authority.103

The danger of the "new exegesis" was characterized as follows:

If mankind can be induced to believe that holy men of God did not speak as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; that all Scripture is not given by inspiration of God; that the Bible is not the Word of God and that at least portions of it are not authoritative and not reliable; that if it contains infallible truth man cannot know what portions contain it; that the whole is subject to the final judgment of man, each deciding for himself what he shall receive and what he shall reject,—the entire foundation of the Church is manifestly undermined.104

100 _Lutheran Standard_, XXVI (December 15, 1866), p. 190.
101 Tappert, "Orthodoxism, Pietism, and Rationalism," p. 44.
102 Ibid., pp. 44–45.
103 Loy, _The Christian Church_, pp. 94–95.
104 Ibid., p. 94; he said of Biblical Criticism that "it would be folly to be intimidated by it or even to respect it," and that those who followed it were "building synagogues of Satan." Ibid., p. 95.
According to Dr. Tappert, "a second formative element in the theology of the seventeenth century... is the reintroduction of Aristotelian scholasticism." This presented the problem of the relationship of revelation and reason. David Hollaz, theologian, pastor, and rector who died in 1713, suggested that:

Without the use of reason we cannot understand or prove theological doctrines, or defend them against the artful objections of opponents. Surely not to brutes, but to men using their sound reason, has God revealed the knowledge of eternal salvation in His Word, and upon them He has imposed the earnest injunction to read, hear, and meditate upon His Word. The intellect is therefore required, as the receiving subject or apprehending instrument. As we can see nothing without eyes, and hear nothing without ears, so we understand nothing without reason.

Loy endorsed the employment of "sanctified intellect" in theology in 1864 with the qualification that it be the servant and not the master of the Scriptures:

The Lutheran Church has always recommended by precept and example the faithful use of reason, and is far from despising such a beneficient gift of our Maker. In things of this world it has a guiding power which renders it indispensable to man; and in spiritual things, also, its formal use is a necessity... But all reason's dictates must be tested and tried before they are received, and whenever it speaks in matters of religion we must refer at once to the law and the testimony, to which it is bound to subordinate itself, and to which, in every sincere Christian, it does cheerfully submit. No dictate of human reason can bind the conscience: this is the prerogative of revelation only.

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107 Lutheran Standard, XXIV (December 1, 1864), p. 4.
With this reservation, Loy utilized logic and reason to construct a systematic exposition of the doctrines of Scripture. He used all the ability at his command to collect the "proof passages" (texta probata) supporting each teaching of the church and to organize them into a rational treatment.

To Loy, as to the seventeenth century scholastics, "theology was considered a practical discipline, like medicine," and "the object of theology is faith, and this is a practical aim." In this spirit, Loy defined faith in intellectual terms as

... that credit which we give to the truth of anything which is made known to us by the report or testimony, and is grounded either on the veracity of the speaker, or on the evidence which his words are confirmed.

This led to abstraction, and the criticism applied to the theologians of the Age of Orthodoxy by Dr. Tappert also characterizes much of Loy's thought, which was "artificial, mechanical," and "bore only remote resemblance to life" in its "cold intellectualism" and the following of a "procedure ... ill suited to the

108 "He was a logical thinker," see Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 50.

109 It has been said that this illustrated his lack of a "knowledge of Biblical criticism or appreciation of its implications." Genzmer, "Matthias Loy," p. 479.

110 Tappert, "Orthodoxism, Pietism, and Rationalism," p. 46.

111 Ibid.

112 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (November 1, 1866), p. 163; on other occasions he defined faith as trust or confidence; "Faith in the Gospel is the appropriation of pardon ... ." Loy, Doctrine of Justification, p. 16.
genuine religious concern which undoubtedly moved the orthodoxist theologians."\textsuperscript{113}

A third "formative element" in Lutheran Orthodoxy was "a pervasive traditionalism."\textsuperscript{114} To Loy "the preservation of the truth unto salvation is the work of the Church, and the primary work, without which all the rest has little worth."\textsuperscript{115} Theology's task was essentially to conserve and the theologian was a curator not a creator of truth. This was because

Man makes progress in learning and science, and many a scientific and philosophic theory that was in vogue a century ago is abandoned now, as new light has come and new facts have been discovered. But God makes no new discoveries and His Word never changes. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; and the truth which He has written for our learning is unalterably the same.\textsuperscript{116}

He was convinced that

These are the last times, and there is no ground in Scripture or in reason for expecting any new revelations. The Bible is sufficient, and that is old.\textsuperscript{117}

He therefore held a static conception of religious truth and he did not believe that it was historically conditioned, for

Evidently it is not age and martyrdom that constitutes the essence of the church. It was precisely the same church when it was young, and it is precisely the same church when in the providence of God it is free from persecution . . . . The Church of Christ exists

\begin{thebibliography}{117}
\bibitem{113} Tappert, "Orthodoxism, Pietism, and Rationalism," p.47.
\bibitem{114} Ibid.
\bibitem{115} Ibid.
\bibitem{116} Loy, The Christian Church, p. v.
\bibitem{117} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
independently of such incidental experiences. It was the same church before it became old, and it is the same church whether men praise it or persecute it.\textsuperscript{118}

This did not mean that "Lutherans . . . denied the facts of history that external organizations have come and departed,"\textsuperscript{119} and Loy admitted that "history shows many vagaries and variations, sects and schisms, defeats and dissolutions."\textsuperscript{120} The dogma of the church, contained in the Scriptures, remained the same whether men of a generation accepted or rejected it. The test of tradition, therefore, was "the apostolic word, which is recorded for our learning in Holy Scripture."\textsuperscript{121}

Applying this measure to church history, Loy and the Orthodox theologians gave

\ldots adherence to a 'tunnel theory,' true Christianity, to them, having disappeared sometime around 100 A.D., not to emerge until the Reformation.\textsuperscript{122}

Following the apostolic and patristic periods, the revelation was increasingly obscured by the "philosophy of men," and Loy was of the opinion that the medieval age was dark because it lacked the light of Scripture. With Luther the Gospel reappeared, for

\begin{quote}
When Rome had shrouded earth in night,
God said again, Let there be light!
And Luther with the Gospel came
To spread the truth in Jesus' name.\textsuperscript{123}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{118}Ibid., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{119}Ibid., p. 179.
\textsuperscript{120}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121}Ibid., p. 178.
\textsuperscript{123}Matthias Loy, "When Rome Had Shrouded Earth in Night," Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, number 150.
\end{flushright}
By tradition, then, Loy had in mind the "evangelical tradition" or the doctrinal development of the Lutheran Church.

The primary authority was Luther, and Loy quoted him liberally, stating, "we present extracts from works of different dates, in confirmation of this." Next in importance were the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Martin Chemnitz, Nicholas Selnecker, John Gerhard, Abraham Calovius, John Andrew Quenstedt, David Hollaz, and Philip Melanchthon.

The corpus of tradition was found in the Lutheran Confessions, as contained in the Book of Concord, for "the Confessions are decisive because they are the expression of the church's consent to the contents of that Word," the Scriptures. Loy's understanding of the role of the Symbols in the Church could be summarized in the following statement of a contemporary German Lutheran theologian:

Confessions are primarily expositions of Scripture, more particularly summary presentations of the whole of Scripture, that is, a witness to the heart of Scripture, a witness to the saving Gospel.

They served as a guide to the discovery of the content of the Bible and as an aid in its correct interpretation, and they were statements

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125 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 299; the Book of Concord of 1580 contains the three Ecumenical Creeds—the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian, the Augsburg Confession of 1530 and its Apology of 1531, the Smalcald Articles of 1537, the Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope of 1537, Luther's Large and Small Catechisms of 1529, and the Formula of Concord of 1577.
designed by the Church to bind once and for all its proclamation in subsequent times. Loy stated that "the Reformers were not nodding when they drew up their confessions." Loy's theology, like that of the Lutheran Symbols, was based on the concept of grace, and it can be discussed under the four categories of Revelation, Creation, Justification, and Sanctification.

The first task of a theologian was to obtain knowledge of God. Though "no man can penetrate the mind of God and know His counsels and His ways," Loy believed that the existence of a Deity could be demonstrated by reason and he accepted the four traditional proofs--the cosmological, ontological, teleological, and moral. Representative was his treatment of the "First Cause" argument:

The law of causation applied to all material things. No change can take place without some power to effect it . . . There can be no event without a cause. All changes in nature are explicable only by assuming that there is a first cause to which all power can be traced and which operates through all intermediary causes. 'He that built all things is God.' Heb. 3, 4.

127 See Ibid., p. xix.
128 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 132.
129 Ibid., p. 85.
130 The cosmological argument, developed by Aristotle and elaborated by Thomas Aquinas, proceeds from the existence of the world to a Creator. The ontological proof, associated with Anselm, affirms "a being than which nothing greater can be conceived," while the teleological demonstration, expounded by William Paley, is that of design in the universe. The moral argument, connected with Immanuel Kant, begins with conscience and a sense of duty. See Geddes MacGregor, Introduction to Religious Philosophy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959), pp. 96-120.
The God perceived by reason, however, was the God "of the philosophers and the learned" and not the "God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob." This "natural knowledge" of God led only to anxiety for by instinct:

Men do not trust God. They would rather hide from Him than see His face. They dread Him. 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth.' Prov. 28, 1. Therefore all natural religions are prompted and pervaded by fear. By nature man expects nothing but wrath from Deity, and is therefore through fear of death all his lifetime subject to bondage.

The grace of God was found solely in divine self-disclosure, for

Only the revelation given us beyond that which we can gather from nature and which the infinite love of God has given us in the word of inspiration can assure us of it.

The Bible had two central doctrines, Law and Gospel, and it was essential to keep them separate because

The failure to distinguish between the Law and the Gospel in the Divine Word is one of the most prolific sources of confusion and error...

The Law "comprehends all those portions of Scripture ... which make demands upon man, and threaten punishment in case these demands are not satisfied." The Gospel, in contradistinction, "embraces all those portions of Scripture ... which offer blessings and set before us promises of grace." The Law was discernible by reason,

132 Blaise Pascal, "The Memorial."
134 Ibid., pp. 24-25; Loy wrote, it "is not due to our natural reason, it is due to the supernatural revelation which the God of love has given to men." Ibid., p. 24.
136 Ibid.
137 Ibid., p. 68.
though not clearly, while grace was known by the Word alone. The Law, which always accused (lex semper accusat)\textsuperscript{138} had a three-fold function: of "restraining wickedness of men and preserving order," or to act as a policeman; "to show people their sins and reveal the wrath of God," or to be a mirror or schoolmaster; and "it serves as a rule of holy living to the regenerate" as a measure of holiness and growth in grace.\textsuperscript{139}

The God of revelation was eternal, unchangeable, omnipotent, omniscient, holy, just, faithful, benevolent, merciful, and gracious. "From everlasting to everlasting," stated Loy, "God lives in the blessedness of His holiness and His love, perfectly pure and perfectly happy."\textsuperscript{140} He was the Supreme and Uncreated Spirit, and as such He "has none of the attributes of matter ... just as we know of matter that it has none of the attributes of spirit."\textsuperscript{141} The ... Lord God that was and is from everlasting to everlasting is Triune--One God in three persons; three persons who are in essence One, so that there is but one God, who is the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. This Trinity in the Godhead exists eternally, whether man believes it or not, or whether he can see any use for its existence or not.\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{138}This was also Luther's position; see George W. Forell, "Law and Gospel," A Re-examination of Lutheran and Reformed Traditions--Justification and Sanctification; Liturgy and Ethics; Creation and Redemption; Law and Gospel (New York: U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation, 1965), pp. 29-43.

\textsuperscript{139}Loy, The Doctrine of Justification, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{140}Loy, The Christian Church, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{141}Matthias Loy, "The Original State of Man," The Columbus Theological Magazine, II (June, 1882), 130.
\textsuperscript{142}Loy, The Christian Church, pp. 45-46.
Of God's free will "it pleased Him to call beings into existence who should share His love and happiness." This was the grace of Creation. The Divine Spirit made three classes of derived spirits—angelic, satanic, and human. The highest earthly being was man, who

... has a body; in virtue of which he forms part of the material universe. But he also has a soul, which has none of the qualities of matter.

This

Man was formed of the dust, which has extension and cannot know, or feel, or will, and into the material being thus formed, God breathed the spirit, which has no extension and can know, and feel, and will.

Adam was in the "image of God" (Imago Dei) which meant not primarily man's qualities, as rationality, volition, and affection, but his capacity to relate to his Creator,

And thus man was pure and happy like his Maker. What a blissful kingdom of God was thus established on earth! There was no created will but such as bowed to the will of the Creator, and all was harmony and joy in cordial coincidence of every thought and desire with the King of saints.

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143 Ibid., p. 19; the Creation was by divine will ex nihilo, in six days, and "The reason why gold is so heavy and gas is so light, why the daisy is so small and the cedar of Lebanon so large, why the lamb is so weak and the lion so strong, is that God willed it so and made them so." Loy, "The Nature of the Will," p. 197.
Man was endowed with a free will, and God

In His infinite wisdom . . . chose to create man with
the power of will which could be exercised even against
the will of the Creator. 149

This was because

God designed to make a rational and moral creature who
might be good from choice. Such goodness would be after
the similitude of God, not after the similitude of a
creature that serves the purpose of its Maker because
it cannot do otherwise. 150

Without this freedom "there would be no more possibility of moral
blessedness than there is in a robin or an ape." 151

During the "probation" 152 period in the Garden of Eden
"the human creature had been tried and found wanting," 153 for man,
through his will, "the dominant power in the human soul, whence
all personal action emanates," 154 chose to rebel "against the Lord
of all." 155 Through "the Fall" the "race was wrecked," 156 and

If men, notwithstanding all the reason and righteousness
which God gave them, chose to hang themselves, should He
not let them hang? If they chose to cut their throats,
in spite of His pleading with them, should He not let
them bleed? 157

149 Ibid., p. 20.
150 Ibid.
151 Ibid., p. 28.
152 Ibid., p. 21.
153 Ibid., p. 22.
157 Ibid., p. 23.
Man still had "animal life," but his intellect was "benighted" and his affection turned to unworthy objects. His will had lost the ability to do good and please God. Man could perform "civil righteousness" but that "is not the righteousness which avails before God." The predicament was that God could not bestow an absolute pardon on the soul that sinned. That would conflict with the very nature of God as the Holy One. He could not suffer His creature to rise in rebellion against Him with impunity. God cannot permit Himself to be dethroned. He cannot suffer a mortal to usurp His crown and involve creature and Creator in one eternal ruin. If this were possible He would not be God.

This led to the grace of justification. Its basis was the life and death of Jesus Christ. While throughout Christian history there have been different interpretations of the meaning of the crucifixion of Christ, the Swedish theologian Gustaf Aulen has summarized them into three categories: the Subjective or Moral Influence Theory of Abelard, that the death of Jesus moved men to...

158 Ibid., p. 52.
159 Ibid., p. 21.
160 Ibid., p. 5.
161 Ibid., p. 31.
162 A conservative theologian, John Theodore Mueller, listed seven: the Accident Theory, that Jesus' death was no different from that of any other man; the Martyr Theory, that he died for his principles; the Moral Example Theory, that his death influences men to reform their character; the Governmental Theory, to demonstrate that sin is displeasing to God; the Declaratory Theory, that Christ died to show men how much God loves them; the Guaranty Theory, that Christ shows he can win followers and conquer their sinfulness; and the Vicarious Atonement Theory. See Mueller, Christian Dogmatics, pp. 309, 312-313; a Liberal, Washington Gladden, had five classifications, the Ransom or Redemption Theory, the Satisfaction Theory, the Legal-Penal Theory, the Governmental or Juridicial Necessity Theory, and the Moral Influence Theory. See Gladden, Present Day Theology, pp. 147-173.
repentance; the Classical Theory of the ancient church, that Christ conquered sin, death, the Devil and the Law in his atonement; and the Satisfaction Theory of Anselm of Canterbury that Christ by his sacrifice appeased the wrath of God. Though Loy's thought contained elements of each of these, the dominant motif was the Anselmian one. Loy felt that "salvation was effected by the substitution of the Son of God in the sinner's stead," or that

The process is that of a debtor's liberation on the ground of another's payment of his debt. God declares us free from punishment because our Saviour has borne the penalty of our violation of His law, and pronounces us righteous because our Saviour has fulfilled all righteousness in our stead.

Justification, "a stupendous mystery of divine grace," was for Loy, as for Luther and the Orthodox theologians, "the very heart of the Christian revelation." Loy confessed that "Dying men are justified by faith, or they are not justified at all." Justification was not a declaration defining the sinner's moral condition, for that would show him to be iniquitous.

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164 Loy, The Doctrine of Justification, p. 50.
165 Ibid.
168 Ibid., p. 4.
Neither was it a divine act making man just,\textsuperscript{170} for the Scriptures "never . . . assert that this consists in rendering the unjust person intrinsically just,"\textsuperscript{171} and the "justified sinner is a sinner still,"\textsuperscript{172} or in Luther's words simul justus et peccator. Loy was convinced that "it is incontrovertibly certain that justification is a forensic act"\textsuperscript{173} changing the sinner's relationship to God.\textsuperscript{174} Loy wrote that:

Justification is the gracious act of God by which He declares the sinner righteous, removing the sentence of condemnation and imputing to him a perfect holiness. The cause of this declaration cannot be the sinner's worthiness; for then he would not be a sinner. We can find the ground of God's act only in abounding grace, which seeks the welfare of men, even though they have, by their iniquity, forfeited all claims upon the divine blessing, and in the merits of Jesus, whom that grace has sent into the world to atone for human sin.\textsuperscript{175}

Justification was received by the believer through faith, which was insight, for "the object of faith must be known,"\textsuperscript{176} and consent, for "it involves assent to that truth which is known. There are many who obtain a knowledge of divine truths without becoming believers."\textsuperscript{177} It was also trust, for

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{170} Ibid., pp. 13-14.
  \item \textsuperscript{171} Ibid., p. 14.
  \item \textsuperscript{172} Ibid., p. 17.
  \item \textsuperscript{173} Ibid., p. 27.
  \item \textsuperscript{174} Ibid., pp. 24-32.
  \item \textsuperscript{175} Ibid., pp. 6-7.
  \item \textsuperscript{176} Ibid., p. 112.
  \item \textsuperscript{177} Ibid., p. 117.
\end{itemize}
Faith differed from justification in that while there are degrees of faith, some having strong and some having weak faith, there were none in justification, all being saved by God's merciful act. Like justification, faith was "not natural to man. He cannot originate it. Only God ... could work it in our hearts." This led to the fourth theme of Loy's theology, the grace of sanctification, which described how "saving faith" was created by God through the appointed "means of grace," the Word and the Sacraments. God has worked "immediately" or directly to confirm His works, as in the miracles recorded in the Bible, and ... He keeps His promises even if He must work miracles still, though the time demanding miracles for the establishment of His Church and the attestation of His heavenly truth is past.

The normal method for the Spirit to work, however, was through the preaching and teaching of the Scriptures, and "He who gave us in these Scriptures the truth unto salvation, also by the same Spirit gives us the power to receive it."  

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178 Ibid., p. 119.  
179 Ibid., pp. 150-142.  
180 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 45.  
181 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 28; see also Lutheran Standard, XXVI (November 1, 1866), p. 166.  
182 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 28.  
183 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 28.  
184 Loy, The Christian Church, p. 2; on the Word as a means of grace in preaching, see Chapter IX, "Matthias Loy: Preacher."
Closely related to the Word were the Sacraments. Loy wrote:

A sacrament is a visible word. Words are signs. They signify something. But there are other signs besides words. We communicate to each other our thoughts by audible signs which we converse orally. We write certain characters, which represent the sounds uttered in oral converse, and we have visible signs. These are still words. We express our emotions by actions, and we have visible signs. These are not strictly words in the proper sense. But they convey our meaning and we call them language. Conveying our meaning by actions is styled speaking by gesture. Actions speak. The Sacraments are actions of God; they speak God's pleasure. They are visible words with a plain signification, and this signification is divine. 185

There were two sacraments—Baptism and Holy Communion—because these met the four-fold test of having a divine author, being instituted by Jesus Christ; a human agent, the minister acting as baptizer or celebrant; an earthly element, as water, wine, and bread (materia terrestris); and a spoken word of grace and promise (materia coelestis). 186

Baptism implanted faith while the Eucharist increased it. The Lord's Supper was not a miracle of transubstantiation nor a memorial of Christ's Passion. It was not a heavenly meeting of communicant and Christ in spirit. The Sacrament was a "divine mystery," for

An awful mystery is here
To challenge faith and waken fear;
The Savior comes as food divine
Concealed in earthly bread and wine.

185 Loy, The Doctrine of Justification, p. 80; Dean Inge once spoke of "the acted parables which were called sacraments," see Inge, Christian Ethics and Modern Problems, p. 75.

In consecrated wine and bread
No eye perceives the myst'ry dread,
But Jesus' word is strong and clear:
My body and my blood are here.\(^{187}\)

The administration of the "means of grace" called into existence a Christian Church, which was also

... an object of faith, not of sight. That there is a congregation of saints or true believers we cannot know upon the evidence of our eyes, but we can know only by the evidence of faith.\(^{188}\)

This "holy people" was to witness and work in the world until the "Second Advent" and the creation of a "new heaven and earth."\(^{189}\)

To evaluate Loy as a theologian, it is necessary to cite five characterizations of his thought.

First, Loy's theology was a somewhat closed system. It was not really receptive to recent developments and was not very responsive to the unique problems of nineteenth century religion. In part this was due to the peculiar environment and circumstances under which he lived and labored, but in some measure it was a result of his personal temperament and disposition.

Though "Loy had a strong mind and a great capacity for work,"\(^{190}\)

\(^{187}\)Matthias Loy, "An Awful Mystery is Here," Evangelical Lutheran Hymnal, number 267.

\(^{188}\)Matthias Loy, "What is the Church?" The Columbus Theological Magazine, IV (April, 1884), 79.

\(^{189}\)Loy's doctrine of the church is treated in Chapters VII and VIII which discuss his role as a Synod President; his ideas on ethical questions are touched in various places, especially in Chapter IV on his Delaware pastorate and Chapter XII on his personal life and opinions.

he had an inherent distrust of "intellectualism" and he warned:

Nay, we are even warned against the insidious arts of unhallowed wisdom. 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.' (Col. 2, 8) It is a matter of experience, also, that men of eminence for intellectual ability and acquirements are often those who fight against the Redeemer and His Church. 191

For this reason Professor T. E. Schmauk of the General Council said of him:

Dr. Loy's mind is a closed reservoir, into which the thousand streamlets from a hundred hillsides do not trickle and filter; but which opens to receive the Word, the Confessions, and one's reflections thereon. That is sufficient. The wind and sunshine and storms of Nature and of Providence, the undeclared sides of the great questions of life and death, of theology and Biblical science, of the Church and the Christian life are closed to this reservoir, from which then in distributing pipes, the waters of certainty flow forth into the teachings of the Church. It is all very simple and powerful. 192

At the close of his life Dr. Loy gave evidence of this disposition when he wrote:

In the broader and intenser light that has come to me through many years of study and experience, all solemnized now by the near prospect of death and after death the judgment, would not my position and course be different, if I had my life to live over again? My answer must be an emphatic No! 193

Second, since "an ecclesiastical life of this kind will make no mistakes," 194 and since "he could brook no compromise," 195 Dr. Loy's theology was a polemical system. The Reverend

192 Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 197.
194 Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 197.
195 Sheatsley, History of the First Lutheran Seminary, p. 50.
C. V. Sheatsley, an historian of the Ohio Synod, commented that:

> If we were inclined to offer a criticism it would perhaps be this, that he was always very sure that the position he took was the right one. He left little room for those who honestly differed from him.\(^{196}\)

Sheatsley remembered that his grandfather spoke of Loy as "the young fellow who was always on the right side of every question."\(^{197}\)

George Harvey Genzmer, a twentieth century biographer, described Loy as follows:

> He was a truculent controversialist, never forgetting that the Church Visible is also the Church Militant, and never giving his opponents time to forget it.\(^{198}\)

The Reverend T. E. Schmauk noted "the spirit of polemics, which breathes through the atmosphere of Dr. Loy's activity," and observed:

> The zest for fight, even in the heart of an humble theologian, grows wonderfully . . . [especially] when a man comes to be the leader of the Church . . . [and] as some of Dr. Loy's own students would testify of him—if they were not afraid—he exceedingly dislikes to be on the losing side, or to have his statements questioned.\(^{199}\)

Loy's convictions, which had clarity but which lacked charity, often made "the continuance of warfare" to be "a work of faith that we are not at liberty to relinquish."\(^{200}\)

Third, Loy's theology, representing a transplantation of German Romanticism and confessionalism to the United States, was an imported system. Loy, like many of

\(^{196}\)Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 263.

\(^{197}\)Quoted, Ibid., p. 262.

\(^{198}\)Genzmer, "Matthias Loy," p. 479.

\(^{199}\)Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 193.

\(^{200}\)Loy, Story of My Life, p. 415.
Those who did most to restore orthodox Lutheranism in America in the nineteenth century had come under the spell of the German national and religious regeneration. Though Loy was born in Pennsylvania, it could be said of him as it was of many German Lutheran immigrants, that "firmly rooted in their confessional . . . convictions," they

. . . became more zealous in America for fear their new environment might endanger their doctrinal convictions so dear to them.202

This made the American church a bulwark of traditional Lutheran theology203 and preserved the historic faith in the New World by preventing its absorption into a "general American Protestantism."

It also, however, delayed the emergence of a distinctively "American Lutheranism" which drew on the insights and experiences provided by life in the United States, and which spoke to that nation's peculiar needs. Professor Vergilius Ferm has seen in the thwarting of the efforts of English-speaking Lutherans such as Samuel Simon Schmucker and his colleagues to evolve an indigenous expression of the faith one of the great tragedies of Lutheranism in America.204

Fourth, though Loy believed himself to be going against the currents of his age,205 he was more in rapport with the Romanticist urge than he realized. His theology became an imitative system. He felt he was expounding and defending the "faith

201 Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 31.
202 Ibid., p. 203.
204 See Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology.
205 Loy, The Christian Church, p. vi.
once delivered to the saints," but instead he produced a "repristinationist theology" constructed along the lines of an idealized German Lutheran pattern of the seventeenth century. His theology was similar in origin if not in form to the Wesleyan longing to recapture the essence of primitive Christianity and the Tractarian effort to return to the twelfth century. His orthodoxy was of the same genre as the "gingerbread palaces" in medieval style constructed by affluent Americans and the "steamboat Gothic" churches built by his coreligionists.

Fifth, Loy's theology was a personal and an imposed system. Lacking roots in America and being the creation of a cross-current of nineteenth century thought, it could survive only as long as its author lived to uphold it. Loy conserved Reformation insights, but his presentation of these principles in a neoscholastic fashion left much to be desired. Professor Schmauk noted this transitory nature of Loy's thought, and suggested that

... though it may develop a very powerful and machine made theology under the control of one or a few men, yet the day will surely arise when the theology thus inflicted by a stronger will upon weaker wills will go to pieces with a crash.\footnote{Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 196.}

\footnote{For an elaboration of these comparisons, see Mauelshagen, American Lutheranism Surrenders, p. 31, and Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, pp. 398-399.}
During the twelve years between the autumn of 1841 when he left his father’s house to become a printer’s apprentice in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, until his marriage on December 25, 1853, in Delaware, Ohio, Matthias Loy was without a real home. Between 1841 and 1847, when he worked as a compositor and printer, he stayed with his employers, and while he was a student for the ministry he was a resident of the Columbus seminary. When he was called as a pastor to Delaware in 1849, "there was no other choice for me . . . but to live as a boarder among strangers." His limited income prevented him from taking a room at one of the village’s hotels, and though "it may be a debatable question whether an unmarried pastor should seek a home in a family belonging to his congregation," Loy had no other alternative. For the first three months he found accommodations in a Lutheran household on the outskirts of

1Loy, Story of My Life, p. 36.
2Ibid., pp. 41-49.
3Ibid., p. 79.
4Ibid., p. 235.
5Ibid.
6Ibid.
the town, and then, he recalled later:

[I] . . . accepted the offer of a well-to-do farmer to give me a furnished room with boarding at rates so reasonable that I could save a portion of my little salary for the purchase of books.

Though the home was located at Stratford, three miles south of Delaware, "I was a good walker and did not lay much stress on the inconvenience." Loy had a front room on the lower floor. Accordingly, he found: [I] "could be alone with my God and my books," and since the farmer had only one child, a married daughter who lived in an adjacent house, "there were no children to disturb me." Loy remained at Stratford for two years until he decided to move to Delaware for the sake of greater convenience, though it "seemed a little difficult to adapt myself to the limitations imposed by city life . . . ." Boarding, however, left much to be desired, and Loy began to take seriously the suggestion of one of his close friends, who was also a Lutheran minister, that he should marry. Loy recalled that:

I could not deny that in many respects he was right, but influenced by my passion for books and the advantages of privacy for the pursuit of studies, as

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7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
10 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 236.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., p. 243.
13 Ibid.
well as by some consideration of pastoral prudence, I was long in doubt.  

It was pointed out that he could "better himself" by a good marriage, and

... gradually my old opinion that a pastor could do better work in celibacy was undetermined. My experience had not disproved it. But nature asserted itself, and I resolved to marry a wife and set up a home of my own.  

Loy shared this plan with his landlady who assured him that since he was now twenty-five, "it was not too early to marry."  

Loy began to consider his prospects in a systematic manner. As a youth in Harrisburg he had had several girl friends, and years earlier in that city

At a social gathering one of the most intelligent and witty of the company answered yes to the question whether she would marry me, and one of the company who was somewhat versed in law declared that we were wedded.  

This young lady corresponded with Loy until after he assumed his pastorate in Delaware, but the letters terminated when it became evident that Loy "had no intention to marry." During his student career in Columbus, a girl who had nursed him back to health in the period of his paralysis, had "once intimated that she would be glad to share my fortunes for all time . . . ." Young Loy informed

14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., p. 245.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., pp. 245-246.
19 Ibid., p. 246.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., pp. 246-247.
her that he lacked the means to begin a marriage, but the romance persisted for some months. Later at synodical meetings "especial care" was taken "to bring me into company with girls of a marriageable age," and the shy Loy remembered that

[I] . . . always deported myself as a Christian gentleman, but never subjected myself to the charge of unfaithfulness to any lady, though it is possible that I sometimes violated the rules of an etiquette that I did not understand.

In 1852 while on a vacation visit to Harrisburg Loy preached at his home congregation, Zion Lutheran Church, and efforts were made to do some "match-making," but to no avail.

Loy seriously began to look for a wife early in 1853. Attempts were made to interest him in various young women of his parish, and he

. . . did sometimes like to take strolls through the lanes and woods of the country homes . . . and to take walks in the evening time to the sulphur springs in the college campus at Delaware and enjoy fresh draughts of the sparkling water; and it will be as untrue as it would be unnatural to say that these strolls and walks were less pleasant because there were ladies in the company . . .

The choice of a wife, however, did not prove difficult, for when Loy made up his mind to wed, he resolved to marry Mary Willey.

Mary Willey, who had been born in Delaware County in 1836, was eight years younger than Loy. Her father was a prosperous

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22 Ibid., p. 247.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., p. 248.
27 Ibid., p. 249.
farmer who lived on a thousand acre tract of land north of the county seat. The numerous Willeys of the vicinity were of mixed German and Scotch-Irish descent, having emigrated to Ohio from eastern Pennsylvania. In religion they were largely Lutherans and Democrats in politics. Loy's initial contact with Mary had been that of a pastor and teacher, for she was a student in his first confirmation class at St. Mark. She was then fourteen years old, but "was beautiful withal," and "I had particularly admired [her] for her unassuming piety and modest ways, as well as for her aptness to learn." After her confirmation on Maundy Thursday, March 28, 1850, she had been a "regular communicant" in the congregation "and as such I had frequent occasion to meet her . . . ." Though the Willey farm was five miles from town, Loy still found opportunities to see the family frequently, for he sometimes preached in a union church near by, and so "I visited their home oftener than most other families."

Increasingly Loy's "heart turned to that country girl" and Accordingly I determined to see the coy maiden alone, if possible, to have a heart to heart talk with her. I

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28 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
29 Ibid.
30 Memorial Record of the Counties of Delaware, Union, and Morrow, Ohio, p. 500.
31 Ibid.
32 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 249.
33 Ibid.
34 Confirmation Record, 1850, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records of congregation).
36 Ibid., p. 250.
found this by no means easy, because my visits to the family had never been designed for her alone and I was never left alone with her. Indeed, it greatly taxed my ingenuity to secure a private interview with her without revealing my purpose, and probably my scheming made this purpose as palpable as if I had blurted out my business.\

The difficulty presented itself that Mary had an older, unmarried sister, and

With her I was sometimes, though very rarely, left alone in the parlor, but so far as I can remember, this never occurred with the younger girl who became my wife. She could speak to me as her pastor, but the thought of meeting me alone in her home was evidently abhorrent to her shy and shrinking nature, neither was it her place, as a younger member of the family, to entertain visitors at the house.

One evening, however,

... I did succeed, by some maneuvering, to separate her from the rest of the company ... and we wandered through the fields and woods homeward alone. I told her of my purpose to devote my life to the work of the ministry, whatever hardships it might bring; that I desired to do what our Lord would require and go whither He sent me; that I was lonely; would she share my destiny, though it were in poverty and lowliness all our days; would she go with me even if it pleased my dear Lord to send me far away from home and friends as a missionary to a benighted land? She did not, as might have been expected, talk about the suddenness of the proposal and ask time to consider. She simply leaned her head on my breast and answered Yes.

Since Mary was only seventeen years old, Loy asked her father for permission to marry her, and this was granted with the provision that she be allowed to complete her higher education at

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37 Ibid., pp. 251, 252.
38 Ibid., p. 251.
39 Ibid., p. 252.
the Ladies' Seminary at Granville, Ohio. The marriage, therefore, was postponed until December 25, 1853, when they were married in St. Mark Lutheran Church, Delaware. The same day the new church building was dedicated, a baptism performed, and the Lord's Supper celebrated, and Christmas was observed. In this manner a marriage, which was to last for over sixty-one years, was begun.

Loy's views of home life were those of the traditional German Hausvater variety. He felt that "woman has her mission and sphere, which are not the same as man's," and that realm was summarized in three words—"Kirche, Kinder, Küche," or "Church, Children, Kitchen." He steadfastly opposed the "fad about women's rights" for

... all man's gallantry and courtesy, even all his effeminacy and flattery, will never succeed in winning respect for the female immodesty and presumption that arrogates to itself the right of being a man and taking man's place in the social economy.

By nature and divine decree woman was meant to stay home, and in

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40 Ibid.; Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965; Father Willey was interested in higher education for girls, and he provided for their training; upon his death, however, he disinherited his daughters and gave his land to his sons. Ibid.

41 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 253; Parish Records, 1853, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio.

42 Ibid.

43 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.


46 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 15.

the household the husband was to be the master, though this

... does not constitute the husband an autocratic
tyrant, nor assign to woman the place of a slave ... .
It merely makes the family a unit in which there is no
conflicting authority to disturb the peace ... . 48

Mrs. Loy did not accept these opinions completely, for
"it evidently did not lie in her conception of a wife that she
should be a mere ornament in the house ... ."49 She was "a
delightful, pleasant woman, a fine conversationalist,"50 and she
showed her independence when she protested against the living ar-
rangements which her husband had made. They resided where her
husband had boarded as a bachelor and she disliked being in a home
"of which she was not mistress."51 Had it not been for the close
proximity of her relatives, Loy believed "she would have pined
away with homesickness."52

Soon thereafter Loy rented an apartment of four rooms in a
house owned by one of his parishioners, but his wife was dis-
pleased with the lack of a kitchen, at having to share a hallway
in common with another family, and with the work done by the house-
keeper.53 After the birth of their first child, Luther, in August
of 1855, more commodious quarters were needed.54

48Ibid., p. 296.
52Ibid.
53Ibid., pp. 254-255.
54Ibid., p. 255.
Loy purchased a small frame house in Delaware near his church for eight hundred dollars,\textsuperscript{55} and he and his young wife set to improving its appearance. As a result, he later recalled, a neighbor, an attorney, "complimented me with the remark that I had increased the value of property on our whole square by 50 percent."\textsuperscript{56} Five years later in 1860,\textsuperscript{57} as the family had increased in size and Loy's salary had been raised, a bigger house on a larger lot was bought which was within a block of the "much frequented sulphur spring in the college campus."\textsuperscript{58}

After their removal to Columbus in 1865, the family lived in a suite of rooms in the old University Building on North High Street, since Professor Loy was required to act as a house father to the students at Capital.\textsuperscript{59} Mrs. Loy . . . liked the surroundings, and to this day she maintains that they were delightful beyond all former or future arrangements made for our family comfort. She always was youthful in spirit and enjoyed the youthful sports of the students and their occasional company . . . .\textsuperscript{60}

Her husband did not share this feeling, and admitted that . . . my experience was different. With my classes to attend to and my editorial work on the Standard, I had plenty to do, and when to this was added the preaching almost every Sunday, and after a while every Sunday, it was a burdensome task; and when it is considered that

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p. 256.  
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 263.  
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p. 260.  
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p. 269.  
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
the original stipulation was that I must be house father and attend to the whole discipline of the College and Seminary, it is no wonder that I felt overburdened. 61

Loy began to look for a new home, and by 1872 the family was living at 474 East Rich Street. 62 Loy had sold his property in Delaware for a down payment of five hundred dollars, 63 and out of his annual salary of eight hundred dollars at Capital he was able to save money to invest in government bonds "which were then paying a liberal interest." 64 With these accumulated funds he acquired two lots at 566 East Rich Street and built a brick house which became the permanent Loy residence. It was as far East as he could locate in Columbus in the late 1870's without getting into the "Great Swamp." 65

The marriage of Matthias and Mary Loy produced seven children, five of whom outlived their father. 66 Four children were born and baptized in Delaware, Ohio, the remaining three in Columbus. On August 11, 1855, a year and a half after her wedding, Mary Loy bore her first child, a son. 67 Loy reported that "we were

61 Ibid.
63 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 270.
64 Ibid.
65 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
66 There were also two miscarriages. Ibid. Loy apparently did not believe in birth control and he felt this went contrary to the purpose of marriage and Divine Providence. He wrote: "And if the loaf of bread on hand is small for a hungry family that is large, he knows the power of his Master, who is Lord of heaven and earth, and does not despair, but cheerfully hungers for a day or two until the wisdom and mercy of the Master supplies the want." Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 273-274.
67 Ibid., p. 255; Baptismal Records, 1855, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
happy in the gift [of God], and as soon as possible devoted him
to the Lord with the name of Luther," the child being christened
on Sunday, September 2, 1855, by the Reverend C. Spielmann. A
second child, also a son, arrived on July 6, 1857, and was baptized
on August 12 by the Reverend P. Gast, being named Matthias in
honor of his father. The third infant, a girl, came into the
world on January 5, 1860, and was dedicated ten days later by the
Reverend E. Schmid. She was named Mary, after her mother. A
second daughter, Alice, was born on February 13, 1863, and was
baptized on March 15 of that year by Loy's personal friend,
Professor D. Worley. After moving to Columbus, three more
children were born—Harry, in 1865, Ada Willey, in 1870, and Carl,
in 1875.

Tragedy came into the Loy home when Alice died on
September 23, 1864, at the age of nineteen months and ten days.
Nearly forty years later Dr. Loy remembered that

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68 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 255.
69 Baptismal Records, 1855, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran
Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
70 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 257; Baptismal Records, 1857,
St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish
records).
71 Baptismal Records, 1860, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran
Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
72 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 257.
73 Ibid., p. 265; Baptismal Records, 1863, St. Mark Evangelical
Lutheran Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
74 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 271.
75 Funeral Records, 1864, St. Mark Evangelical Lutheran
Church, Delaware, Ohio (in parish records).
She was a beautiful child, lovely in her little life, and when she took sick and the physicians told us that by all indications she would die, the thought was one of anguish. 76

While seeking aid in prayer, Loy also "called another physician who had some reputation for skill, and who belonged to a different school of medicine." 77 This doctor gave a more favorable prognosis, but "this seemed strange to me, for I could see through my tears, that Alice was dying." 78 The last minutes were scorched on Loy's memory:

After the doctor left we arranged the child's little bed, and I sat down beside her. My wife, who neglected nothing in the depth of her sorrow, was trying through her blinding tears to look after some necessary appliances. In a short time, as I saw that death was approaching rapidly, I called her and told her that if she desired to see our darling once more before death came, she must come to the bedside now . . . . She replied that she could bear it better if she were not present when the spirit of our little Alice took its flight. A few minutes later our dear daughter quietly and peacefully fell asleep . . . . Mary, though she wept much, was ready for it. 79

Loy recalled that

The children were yet too young to know what death meant, and only saw that their little sister moved no more and that a great sorrow had come upon us. 80

The funeral was held on Sunday, September 25, 1864, at St. Mark Church, Delaware, with the sermon delivered by Pastor E. Schmid

76 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 266.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid., pp. 266-267.
80 Ibid., p. 267.
on a text from Luke 9:48. At the time Loy said, "God gave us our little girl to nurse for Him, and we will not complain now that He has taken her again." Later he wrote:

It is almost a year since we laid our little Alice there [in a cemetery one mile south of Delaware], and the grave still looks fresh, but not as fresh as the wound in our hearts. We knew it was well with her, and know it now; but we cannot, as we could not, forget. And if we sometimes sit beneath the trees which shade her little bed, and let the heart heave at will, resigned, but very sad, no one will find reason to blame us.

The annual pilgrimage to the child's burial plot continued for several years until the body was finally moved to Greenlawn Cemetery in Columbus.

Death paid a second visit to the Loy home twenty-one years later, this time in Columbus, to claim a son. Loy's second boy, Matthias, had been destined by his father for the clergy, but he had discontinued his studies for that profession before graduation from Capital University. The father remembered the son's "referring to the hardships of the ministry and pointing to my own life as an example . . . ." The son learned jurisprudence and was admitted to the bar as an attorney-at-law in Columbus, where "he was building up a lucrative practice . . . ." He was

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81 Lutheran Standard, XXIV (October 1, 1864), p. 4.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
86 See for example Lutheran Standard, XXVI (September 15, 1866), p. 140.
87 Ibid., p. 275.
an active layman in the English Lutheran congregation of the city and became one of its officers. At the age of twenty-eight, in September, 1885, he was stricken with typhoid fever after visiting some friends who were afflicted with that disease, and "their sufferings affected him much, and were a subject of serious remark." He "was depressed and complained of headache," and was seized with a severe fever and had alternating periods of delirium and consciousness. Since one of his associates had died of the illness, he was convinced that he would not live, though his father "regarded his impression as one of the illusions of his disease." Though the sickness was of such measure that the family physician summoned other doctors into consultation, the prevailing opinion was that Matthias would recover, and

... he improved, and one evening when the weather was misty and disagreeable he insisted, as he had been able to move about the house for several days, that he must go to his office and attend to some duties, as one of his clients would otherwise suffer for lack of his attorney's attention. He went in spite of all our remonstrances. As I think of it now I cannot censure him, for I think that he was acting in accordance with the principles which I had always sought to instil into my children and my congregations, that so long as any strength is left for the performance of duty, we should do it, and leave the consequences to Him who ordained the duty.

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88 Ibid.  
89 Ibid., p. 276.  
90 Ibid.  
91 Ibid.  
92 Ibid.  
93 Ibid., p. 277. One of the doctors, however, had his doubts about a recovery. Ibid.  
94 Ibid.
The son "came home exhausted and suffered a relapse," and soon "he lapsed into unconsciousness, and for hours and days we could have no converse with him." Loy found it hard for me to believe that my dear boy was dying, and I regularly went to my work at school and did, as well as I could, my duty there, as my boy did when he went to his office on that drizzling night which brought on the relapse.

On the afternoon of September 11, 1885, Matthias died. His father gave the address at his funeral, and Loy said "I could preach the sermon at the burial of my son better than I ever could officiate at a funeral before." Mrs. Loy, however, "was almost inconsolable." The son had been devoted to his mother "as few sons of his age are ordinarily found to be" and "his cheery greeting when he came home to his meals and his affectionate attention to her every want, it was hard for her to miss." He was buried next to Alice at Greenlawn Cemetery, and Loy reported in 1905 that "my wife still goes out often to lay flowers on their graves."

The three surviving sons—Luther, Harry, and Carl—had also been intended for the ministry, and Loy made it clear that

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95 Ibid.
96 Ibid., p. 278.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid., pp. 278, 279.
99 Ibid., pp. 279-280; see also the Columbus, Ohio State Journal, September 12, 1885, p. 4.
100 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 280.
101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
It was my ardent wish that all our boys should become preachers of the precious gospel of the grace of God in Christ. My wife concurred in my wish, and to this end their training was directed.103

In due time they were all enrolled at Capital University while their father was a professor there, but they were of a different disposition and temperament and earned a reputation for being "rascals" and "scalawags," though none of them was delinquent.104 Loy simply wrote that "they did not meet my expectations. Probably I had expected too much . . . ."105

Luther or "Lute"106 left Capital before graduation to enter a "mercantile career" in Columbus.107 This enterprise "fluctuated much, but always secured him a livelihood."108 For many years "Lute" lived in a home owned by his father at 572 East Rich Street.109 The house, close to that of Dr. Loy, was the scene of summer lawn parties replete with beer, limburger cheese, and a great variety of sandwiches.110 A skilled musician, Luther served for a long period as the organist of Grace Lutheran Church in Columbus,111 though he received offers to play for other

103Ibid., p. 271.
105 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 274.
107 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 274.
108 Ibid., p. 275.
109 Interview, Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
110 Ibid.
congregations. He gave much money and time to Grace Church and was one of its officers.

Harry Loy was the only son to complete college, and obtained his Master of Arts degree from Capital in 1883. He enrolled in the theological department in that year with the feeling that he would take the Seminary course for his father's sake. Harry withdrew from his clerical studies with the conviction "that the ministry was adapted neither to his taste nor talent," and became a "Commission Merchant" in Dayton, Ohio. Harry prospered in his business and could afford to make a trip around the world. He soon acquired a partner in the person of his younger brother Carl.

Carl entered Capital's Preparatory Department and was one of its fifty-two students in 1889. He attended the college to study for the ministry, but

The younger Loy was a misfit. He had the happy faculty of getting into mischief. No one could conceive of Dr. Loy going to a football game, or hiking in fields with a dog and gun. He was a scholar, busy at writing, at least working his brain.

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112 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 275.
113 Ibid.
116 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 274.
118 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
119 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Capital University, 1889-1890, p. 8.
Influenced by the example of two of his older brothers, Carl left college before he received a degree and entered a mercantile career, settling with his wife in Dayton. 121

To Loy

It was a disappointment that none of them could be induced to enter the ministry, yet it was a comfort to know that they are still faithful workers in the Church. 122

"It was a little soothing in this disappointment," Loy wrote, "that our eldest daughter married a minister . . . ." 123

Mary Loy was the wife of the Reverend Doctor L. H. Schuh, a graduate of the Seminary class of 1883, who was President of Capital University from 1901 until 1912. 124 One of her children, Henry, became not only a Lutheran clergyman, but was President of the American Lutheran Church, the successor body to the Ohio Synod, until 1960.

The remaining daughter, Ada Willey, "a bachelor gal [who] was the life of any party," 125 stayed at home with her parents, and in later life was supported in part by her brother Harry. 126

The Loy household operated on a daily schedule that was observed with an almost military discipline, a grandson recalling that everything was to occur within three minutes of its appointed time. 127 At six o'clock the family arose and breakfasted at seven.

122 Ibid., p. 276.
123 Ibid.
124 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 128.
126 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
127 Ibid.
The doctor had a rule that if his meals were not served promptly, he would not eat. Afterwards family worship was held, and all were required to attend, whether they were so disposed or not. While the children were young, religious instruction was coupled with these exercises:

... I conducted our family worship morning and evening, day after day, and in this spirit, as soon as our oldest child was capable of learning what God had done for him in the redemption, and on the basis of this had done for him in Holy Baptism, I appointed regular hours of instruction on this subject and earnestly sought to teach what children of God should learn.

Following the morning prayers, Loy "usually indulged in a delightful walk about the grounds" of the house. Then, as he remembered, [I] "retired to my library and to my duties." The doctor worked in his study preparing sermons, lectures, manuscripts, and magazine copy until eleven thirty, when he took lunch. Then he went to the University, usually teaching until around five. Returning home he dined, withdrew to his study between the hours of

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128 In later life when he was ill and confined to bed, he complained bitterly that his nurse did not bring him his food when it was mealtime, and he asked, "Am I still master in this house, or am I not?" Ibid.
130 Devotions were also held in the evening after dinner. When his son Matthias was sick, worship was held in his bedroom, and the father carefully observed whether the son participated or not. Ibid., p. 279. A historian recalled that "every visitor remembered with delight the long and fervent prayers the good doctor delivered at family worship." Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 123.
131 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 263.
132 Ibid., p. 261.
133 Ibid.
six and seven to meditate on the Scriptures, and then emerged to gather the family for a "literary hour." Dr. Loy was persuaded that a love of reading was one of the four essentials of a happy home. The lections, taken from the classics and the periodical press, occupied an hour. The remainder of the evening was devoted to work or family discussions, and punctually at ten o'clock the doors of the home were locked and the family retired for the night. If guests were present, the doctor excused himself, announcing that it was his bedtime. If any member of the household had not returned by ten, he was locked out until the next morning.

This rigorous routine meant that though Loy was "frail of body and often ill," he maintained his health and thus had "a great capacity for work." Budgeting his time carefully, his life was "geared to production" and C. F. Sheatsley described him as

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134 See Chapter X, "Matthias Loy: Preacher."
135 Lutheran Standard, XXIV (April 15, 1864), p. 7; the others were piety, mutual affection, and obedience and respect by children for parents.
136 See Chapter X, "Matthias Loy: Preacher."
137 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
138 Ibid.; it was reported that the sick son, Matthias, was locked out of the house in this manner on one occasion, and was forced to spend the night at his office, sleeping on a couch. This was believed to have contributed to his illness. Ibid.
140 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
... a hard worker. In spite of his physical ailments, which often incapacitated him for the strenuous work of his calling, he, nevertheless, did a prodigious amount of work.\textsuperscript{141}

He was accused of being "a legalist"\textsuperscript{142} because of his meticulous schedule, and this was illustrated in his manner of keeping the Sabbath.

Together with Protestants of other denominations, many nineteenth century Lutherans were concerned to maintain the sanctity of "the Lord's Day."\textsuperscript{143} The Franckean Synod in 1838 had stated:

It is the sense of this Synod that travelling on the Sabbath, paying social visits, operating post-offices, delivering and receiving letters, and papers, running stages and investing money in Sabbath-breaking establishments, are violations of the Sabbath and sins against God.\textsuperscript{144}

Both Dr. and Mrs. Loy, in keeping with the pietistic Lutheran tradition of Muhlenberg, were strict in their observance of Sunday.\textsuperscript{145} The family was expected to be in church morning and evening, and though Dr. Loy was not serving a parish, he preached

\textsuperscript{141}Sheatsley, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod, p. 263.
\textsuperscript{142}Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965; Professor T. E. Schmauk said that "Dr. Loy's principles imply a judicial ability, on the part of pastor and people, to ascertain innocence and guilt, which even the civil courts do not possess; and also imply a personal perfection and righteousness in the leaders of 'God's redeemed people' which it is difficult to discover either in congregation or synod." Schmauk, "Dr. Loy's Life," p. 195.
\textsuperscript{143}See Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, pp. 47-48.
\textsuperscript{144}Quoted Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 296.
\textsuperscript{145}On Muhlenberg on the Sabbath, see Ibid., p. 277. In this instance Mrs. Loy was more strict than her husband. Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
almost every week. The afternoons were to be spent in reading the Scriptures and religious literature. A few close friends were sometimes invited to the house, but much "social visiting" was discouraged. No work was to be done which could be avoided, and a grandson recalled that he was forbidden to study on that day and was punished by Mrs. Loy for picking flowers on the Sabbath. Dr. Schuh remembered that "the only place you could go on Sunday, beside the church, was the cemetery." Professor Loy did not seek relaxation in his garden on that day, though he did work in it on holy days, as Good Friday, much to the consternation of some of his German neighbors who believed that to be sacrilegious.

Dr. Loy was a man of "grave and serious disposition," and he felt that, unfortunately, most men chase their butterflies, as children, large and small, do everywhere else. Only the few seem to realize that life is earnest.

Such a view determined his idea of what constituted proper pastimes and relaxations. Time was important, and was not to be wasted upon

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146 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 269.
147 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid.
150 Ibid.
151 Interview with Dr. Leonhard Ludwig, February 10, 1965.
card playing, dancing, attendance at the theater or the circus, and he reflected:

I do not reckon the social features of town life as a great advantage. The greater freedom and quiet of the country was better both for health and for study. For society outside of the church I cared nothing, finding all that I needed and all that I desired, so far as the gratification of social instincts was concerned, in connection with my pastoral work. I did not seek relaxation in places of amusement, not only because they were little to my taste, but also because they seemed to me mostly improper resorts for a pastor, who had indeed the same liberty as any other Christian, but who must, because of the greater influence of his example, feel bound to use it with greater circumspection. Occasionally I heard a public lecture or a concert, but always was careful not to go where my example might mislead the unwary. Shows of all sorts I avoided, and was never enticed into sanctioning them by the vain pretense that they were in the service of the church or of charity.155

Because of this attitude, he wrote:

I probably appeared to be living the life of a recluse. My pleasant study and my books were dearer to me than street corner discussions and drawing-room gossip.156

Professor Loy's favorite diversions included reading,157 indulging in a game of chess or checkers,158 and playing the

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154 See Chapter IV, "Matthias Loy: Pastor," Muhlenberg had also condemned these practices. See Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, p. 277; in 1884 the Pittsburgh Synod declared dancing to be an "unmitigated evil" and the Augustana Church in 1868 condemned card playing, dancing, theater going, and similar amusements. Ibid., pp. 297, 344. See also Weisenburger, Ordeal of Faith, pp. 44-48.

155 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 244. See also Ibid., pp. 47-48, 173.

156 Ibid., p. 245.

157 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.

158 Ibid. He was an avid chess player.
Walking, believed to be salutary "on sanitary grounds," was a lifelong form of exercise. Gardening, a hobby he learned after he became a home owner in Delaware, was his "delight," and he managed to find time for his "vegetable patch whenever possible, even if it meant going out into the heat of the noonday sun." He would often stroll in his yard, "admiring the beauty of the flowers and the growth of the edibles," and he was proud when "the shrubbery and the flowers grew luxuriously and became the admiration of the neighborhood and of all who passed our premises . . . ."

Dr. Loy was also fond of eating, and when his meals were served on time, he devoured them with gusto and much gratification. His tastes were simple, preferring the ordinary staples, but his appetite often caused him to overindulge, with the result that he frequently suffered from indigestion and nightmares.

For reasons of health and pleasure, Loy was a moderate drinker of alcoholic beverages. Wine accompanied his meals,

159 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 88. This hobby was developed early in his life and as a young man he liked to sing in church choirs. To Luther, so to Loy, music was a gift of God second only to the gospel.

160 Ibid., p. 236.
162 Ibid.
164 Ibid.
165 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
166 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 123.
167 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
and he kept a bottle of it in his desk drawer, from which he took a sip early in the morning and periodically during the forenoon while he labored in his study. Mrs. Loy made some of the wine consumed in the household, a large grape arbor in the backyard of the Columbus home supplying some of these needs. The doctor also purchased wine from a merchant on East Main Street, and he was known as a good judge of vintage. This was discovered by one of his students of the class of 1901. The Reverend C. F. Lauer remembered:

One year we wanted to do something for Dr. Loy's birthday. Our class had little money, so we could not splurge. I was commissioned to contact Mrs. Loy to find out what would be acceptable. She said: 'You know the Doctor's wants are few; he does enjoy a small glass of good wine when he is weary.' Then she told me of a wine merchant on Main Street between Fourth and Third Streets. It was here that the Doctor purchased his wine. I did as directed. I told the old merchant what we had in mind. He said, 'Ah, for the old doctor—he likes only one kind of wine.' He then drew from a large brass-bound barrel into a long-necked bottle. He said, 'That's a fine thing you boys are doing.' I took the bottle to the Loy home. The doctor was resting. In a motherly way Mrs. Loy said: 'We never disturb him when he is resting, but I know that he will be pleased at your thoughtfulness.' He was that, more than over the contents of the bottle.

On the temperance question Dr. Loy tried to pursue a middle position between what he considered to be the two extremes of "Prohibition" and "alcoholism." He condemned total abstinence, for,

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168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
When men take it on themselves to teach that it is a mortal sin to touch or taste spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider, and to impose total abstinence from them upon men's consciences as divine law, we are under the necessity, as we reverence the Word of the Lord and value that liberty where with He has made us free, to refuse being brought under such a yoke of bondage.171

With equal fervor, however, he discouraged the excessive use of alcohol, and he was unrelenting in his attack upon drunkenness and the saloon traffic. 172 Though his approach was sometimes misunderstood by his contemporaries, 173 his views on temperance have come into vogue in the twentieth century. 174

Tobacco provided Professor Loy with great pleasure, and he had little patience with those who prohibited its use. When he learned that a Methodist Conference was concerned as to "whether smoking cigars disqualifies for the Kingdom of heaven," he mused satirically that "it is one of the great and grave questions upon which the intellect of the age is expending its mightiest energies." 175 He smoked both a pipe and cigars, though he felt cigarettes were too "dudish." 176 "Stogies," purchased at the price of three for a nickel, were carried in the lapel pocket.

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173 Some Lutheran Synods condemned the use of alcohol, as the Allegheny Synod in 1853 and the Franckean Synod in 1858; see Swihart, Luther and the Lutheran Church, pp. 10-12, 19.
175 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (July 1, 1868), p. 101.
176 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
of his suit. The Doctor was disturbed if his supply became exhausted, and he would dispatch one of the household to replenish his stock from a nearby confectionery. More than smoking cigars, Loy liked to chew them. He would break off a portion of a "stogie" either in his mouth or hand, and furtively place it between his lips. He did not want it known that he chewed, though a narrow yellow streak in his white beard betrayed his vice. Though he chewed frequently while writing and teaching, he carefully waited until he believed he was alone before he walked to a window or fireplace to expectorate. This habit, which was an "open secret," was a source of amusement to his students.

Dr. Loy also enjoyed being with his immediate family, and certain periods were set aside for them. In addition to the daily reading hour, for many years there were the "packing parties" to prepare the Lutheran Standard for mailing, and the visit of students, "which was regular because of the work of folding and mailing the paper which I continued to edit," provided a break in the routine. Saturday evening was reserved religiously as a time for relaxation, and that was Loy's "night off." That day he didn't

177 Ibid.
178 Ibid.
179 Ibid.
180 Ibid.
181 Ibid.
183 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 269.
184 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
read either the Bible or magazines, but the family gathered in the
parlor or dining room, popcorn was prepared, and they played a
game together called "Logomache." This was a "war of words,
"testing intellect and spelling ability, similar to "scrabble."
On other occasions the Loy children would have a garden party with
sandwiches and light refreshments for their father. In later life
the visits of his eight grandchildren and two great-grand-
children delighted Dr. Loy. One of these lived with his grand-
father for several years at the turn of the century while attending
a German Lutheran parochial school in Columbus.

Despite an early fear of horses since his "boyhood's mis-
fortune in hauling bricks at Harrisburg," Loy overcame his
inclination not "to have anything further to do with horses." and became an accomplished rider. When he began his Delaware
ministry, he "did not know much about horseback riding," for, as he
recalled:

No doubt I was shamefully timorous in my first efforts.
I still remember how, when I was to ride between a noisy
threshing machine and a river embankment and my horse
shied, I appealed to one of the threshers to lead my
horse past the machine, and received the answer that I
should go on and the horse would not be such a fool as
to plunge to his death in the river. My little learning
in zoology had never reached that far.

With the advice of some of his Delaware County parishioners, he

185 Ibid.
186 Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (February 6, 1915), p. 81.
187 This was Dr. Henry Schuh, the son of Mary Loy Schuh.
188 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 236.
189 Ibid.
190 Ibid., p. 237.
bought a three-year old colt named "Bonny," which he owned for ten
years.\textsuperscript{191} She had been used for racing purposes, and "was gener-
ally pronounced vicious and unsafe,"\textsuperscript{192} but Pastor Loy enjoyed the
spirited steed and learned that he "could compete with any rider
of horses that reared and kicked and plunged . . . ."\textsuperscript{193} Though
he remembered her as "a horse that would kick and caper and plunge
rather than let any other drivers pass," he had no difficulties
with her.\textsuperscript{194}

Dr. Loy also liked to ride the streetcar,\textsuperscript{195} trains, and
buckboards. With relish he described a journey to the Western
District meeting of the Ohio Synod on June 8, 1865:

\ldots bright and early, we bade adieu to loved ones
at home and hurried away to the depot, bound for
St. Mary's. That hurry was needed, is a matter of course,
when numerous impedimenta must be collected for an early
start in the cars, which provokingly enough, wait for no
man, not even for editors.\textsuperscript{196}

By a "pony express" engine he passed westward across Ohio from
Columbus, and noted:

Exhilarating beyond expression is the ride over a fine,
beautiful country on a breezy June morning, especially
in congenial company. Beautiful the country is, along
the road we traveled, especially about Urbana and Piqua,
both of which would be lovely places if there were
flourishing Lutheran congregations there, as there ought
to be.\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{191} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 238.
\textsuperscript{192} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{193} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 238.
\textsuperscript{194} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{195} He tried this as a therapeutic measure in old age. \textit{Ibid.},
p. 410.
\textsuperscript{196} \textit{Lutheran Standard}, XXV (June 15, 1865), p. 92.
\textsuperscript{197} \textit{Ibid.}
With a springboard wagon he went from Wapakoneta to St. Mary's, the horses kicking up so much dust that the travelers couldn't see the fields.

But we reached St. Mary's safely, presenting a most curious spectacle to the inhabitants thereof with our dirty faces (they had been carefully washed in the morning) and our powdered beards, and earth-colored uniforms. But these good people were not afraid of the strange apparition: we were soon comfortably lodged, dusted, washed, etc., and looked and felt like ourselves again. 198

After such tours, required by his position as Synod President, Loy signed, "Haste - heat - headache - home!" 199

The love of travel was exercised during Professor Loy's three-month summer vacations. Though he still had his responsibilities as an editor and Synod President, he found sufficient time to undertake several journeys. In 1865, for example, the Loy family left Columbus as soon as school was out to visit Mrs. Loy's relatives at Delaware, and then they went to eastern Pennsylvania. 200 This procedure was frequently followed. In later years they went through the midwest, and while vacationing in Indiana in 1866 Loy spent part of his days seeking sites for new Lutheran churches. 201 Trips were also made to the middle Atlantic states, with stops at Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. 202 Though these were sometimes for "health reasons,"

198 Ibid.
199 Ibid.
201 Lutheran Standard, XXVI (September 1, 1866), p. 140.
202 Loy, Story of My Life, pp. 385-386.
Dr. Loy often used the opportunity to preach in General Synod and General Council pulpits.\(^{203}\)

The largest vacation of his life came upon his retirement as President of Capital University in 1890. Among the gifts presented to him then... was a purse of money large enough to pay the expenses of a more extensive trip than I had ever been able to make, and a four months' vacation to afford the time for it. I was made a rich man that day, as I counted riches; for time and money were given to me to travel to my heart's content.\(^{204}\)

In the spring of 1891 Loy recalled that... my wife and I flitted away, westward ho! as free as the birds of the air, visiting some friends in Chicago, to begin with, and taking a look at the sights, in that windy city; then to Kansas City; then to Denver; and then to Manitou and Pike's Peak and the Garden of the Gods. Our first long stay was at Manitou, where wonders of the world are piled together in stupendous fashion, and where the longer we stayed the greater nature's attractions became. But we had not gone there to stay, so we broke away and crossed the Rocky Mountains, and exulted in the amazing peaks and canyons in our rapid transit to Salt Lake and the Mormon City...\(^{205}\)

That Utah metropolis required only four of the seven days we had set aside for it,\(^{206}\) and he and his wife went by train to San Francisco, where they spent a week,\(^{207}\) and where:

He found the city for the most part beautiful and interesting with the exception of the Chinese quarter, that appeared interesting to him but also very dirty. He praises the climate, yet he indicates that the stay

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\(^{207}\) *Ibid.*
in San Francisco was not very good for the health of either himself or his traveling companion.208

The stay in San Francisco included a Sunday, and Dr. Loy found himself worshipping in a Missouri Synod Church, and he

... indicates his joy concerning the fact that the pastor, neither in his sermon nor in the pleasant private conversation with him, disclosed anything of the "New Missouri" doctrine of predestination.209

On June 20, 1891,210 Loy and his wife left San Francisco by train along the Shasta route "with its marvelous scenery and feats of engineering" to Portland and Tacoma.211 In Tacoma they spent nearly a month212 visiting their daughter, Mary, and their son-in-law, the Reverend L. H. Schuh.213 They made "daily trips about the Sound, to neighboring towns and cities."214 By then

My time was nearly up, and my purse was running low, and it was highly proper to think of going to work again.215

The return trip was by way of Spokane, over the Rocky Mountains to St. Paul, then to Chicago, and back to Columbus, where Loy was

208"Er fand die Stadt grossenteils schoen und interessant mit Ausnahme des Chinesenviertels, das ihm wohl interessant aber auch sehr schmutzig vorkam. Er lobt das Klima, doch deutet er an, dass weder fuer ihn noch seine Reisegesellschaft der Aufenthalt in San Francisco ein der Gesundheit sehr zutraeglicher war." Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, XXXII (June 25, 1891), p. 237.

209... spricht seine Freude darüber aus, dass der Pastor, weder in seiner Predigt noch in der freundlichen Privatunterhaltung mit ihm, etwas von der 'Neumissourischen' Gnadenwahlserlehre merken liess." Ibid.

210Ibid.

211Loy, Story of My Life, p. 384.

212Ibid.


215Ibid.
relieved to learn that

All was well at home, and I was refreshed by the long journey and rest from my usual occupation, so that I was in excellent condition to resume my duties with new energy and zeal . . . . 216

Rest periods and vacations were undertaken not simply for pleasure, but for the pursuit of good health. As a youth in Harrisburg Loy had been afflicted with "inflammatory rheumatism" and he had come to Ohio to seek relief. 217 During his student days at the Columbus Seminary he was stricken with "facial paralysis" and underwent a prolonged and painful cure. 218 Beginning while he was a pastor at Delaware was the problem of dysentery or "the flux." 219 This caused him embarrassment and "induced modest and strikingly sensitive patients to shun company." 220 Later he "was prostrated by an acute attack of stomach trouble" 221 and in 1853, when he was acting as an agent for Capital University, he was struck down with a fever. He recalled:

On my sick-bed . . . I heard that the older pastor had uttered his complaint that we young men had banded together and that my professed inability to fill the appointment in his congregation, which was next in order, confirmed his suspicion that we cared nothing for the fathers but desired and designed to crowd them out. I cancelled my postponement of the appointment, sent

216 Ibid.
217 Ibid., p. 60.
218 Ibid., p. 91.
219 Ibid., p. 239.
220 Ibid.
221 Ibid., p. 241.
information to the pastor that I would be there, arose from my bed of sickness, and preached, and returned to my bed.\footnote{222}{Ibid., pp. 241, 242.}

At times Loy looked so ill, that fellow ministers refused to travel with him to the synodical meetings for fear that he would die on the journey.\footnote{223}{Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.} Despite these diseases, which troubled him most of his life, Dr. Loy was able to continue his work with only minor interruptions, until 1902. In May of that year he was the victim of an attack of angina pectoris,\footnote{224}{Loy, Story of My Life, p. 407.} a serious illness marked by sudden attacks of pain in the chest accompanied by feelings of suffocation and faintness. The cause of the disease was a spasm and constriction of the coronary arteries of the heart, resulting in a failure of sufficient blood to reach that organ.\footnote{225}{Ibid.} Dr. Loy was forced to become a semi-invalid and to refrain from physical exertion, mental excitement, teaching and preaching.\footnote{226}{Ibid., pp. 408-409.} He remained in this condition for the last thirteen years of his life. He found he often could not sleep, and during his periods of insomnia he would sit in his bed and write, continuing to do so until just a few hours prior to his death.\footnote{227}{See Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (Feb. 6, 1915), p. 83.}

Next to his health, money was a persistent problem. With a small salary and a large family, Loy recalled that "necessity
compelled me to save in ways which were sometimes not in accord with my dear Mary's tastes and wishes." He also stated that "poverty pinched us," and that "I was poor and had sometimes to deny myself as a needless luxury some things which a common laborer could afford . . . ." By temperament he was ascetic, his ideas on "thrift" corresponding to the views of many in the Victorian Age. From his mother, of conservative German peasant stock, he had acquired a further tendency in this direction. Nothing that could possibly be used was thrown out. Instead of using matches to light lamps and cigars, tapers were rolled from old newspapers and ignited at the fireplace. Many of Loy's articles and books were first written on the back of slit, folded-out letter envelopes and other scraps of paper. Vegetables and fruits were grown in the garden to avoid the expense of buying them in the market.

Dr. Loy, however, resisted all efforts and offers to change his vocation. In early life he had desired to become a missionary, and at times he was tempted to leave the ministry to be a professor of psychology. Due to poor health, he stated:

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228 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 257.
229 Ibid., p. 258.
230 Ibid., p. 272.
231 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
232 Ibid.
233 Ibid.
234 Ibid.
235 Loy, Story of My Life, p. 252.
236 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
More than once did I speak to my wife about applying for an easier charge in the country, preferably among the hills, where I could find better air and lead more of an outdoor life. Probably these were only moods of discontent... and my wife... never encouraged my whimsies.  

While on a trip to eastern Pennsylvania in 1866 Loy was promised a call to the pastorate of the influential St. Mark Lutheran Church of Philadelphia, and it was rumored that he would be given a position at the General Council's Seminary in that city. Some years later, with the formation of a Synodical Conference, it was suggested that Loy assume a professorship of theology at the Missouri Synod's St. Louis Seminary. Loy was persuaded, however, that the choice of occupation was a "call" ordained by divine providence, and he said "every Christian is to look upon the labor of his earthly vocation... as a service that he renders in gratitude to his Redeemer." He stayed with the Ohio Synod with the prayer,

O Lord, who hast my place assigned,
And made my duties plain,
Grant for my work a ready mind,
My wayward thoughts restrain.

Dr. Loy was not known to have had any pronounced opinions on the political questions of his age. His attitude concerning the

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238 Ibid., pp. 334, 335.
239 Ibid., p. 335.
240 Ibid., pp. 358-361.
243 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
state was thus summarized:

To it the means of grace are not committed; and it therefore can save no souls. That is not its office. Nor does it inquire whether citizens are governed by the right motives in their obedience to the 'powers that be.' It requires external obedience, and has no authority to require more.²⁴⁴

In personal appearance Dr. Loy "was ascetic, bald, lean and straight."²⁴⁵ Of moderate height, he was about five feet seven inches tall,²⁴⁶ and the most he ever weighed was one hundred fifty-six pounds.²⁴⁷ His forehead was high, his face long and thin, dominated by two small dark eyes. He had grown a beard during the Civil War that was originally sandy in color,²⁴⁸ and which reached almost to his waist. In later years it became completely white, and was trimmed to reach just slightly below his throat.²⁴⁹ A "natty dresser,"²⁵⁰ he preferred dark gray, black, and blue suits, and was extremely tidy with his clothes.²⁵¹ When walking on the street he wore a high black top hat, gloves, and carried a cane given to him by his students for Christmas in 1889.²⁵² It was rumored that when he removed his hat and gloves and placed

²⁴⁴ Loy, The Christian Church, p. 286.
²⁴⁶ Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
²⁴⁷ Loy, Story of My Life, p. 386.
²⁴⁸ Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 122.
²⁴⁹ Ibid.
²⁵⁰ Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
²⁵¹ Ibid.
²⁵² The top hat is in the possession of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, Columbus; the cane is the property of Dr. Henry Schuh, 1348 Haddon Road, Columbus.
aside his cane, his scholars would snicker and whisper, "All Gaul is divided into three parts." The general impression was that "Dr. Loy was, as one says in this country, a 'gentleman.'" The Reverend C. F. Lauer, a former student, suggested that Loy looked like a "retired army officer" or a "cross between a patriarch and a foreign nobleman."

By personality Dr. Loy was an introvert, quiet, soft-spoken, reserved, and a bit shy. He was also stubborn, strong-willed, and determined, and Wilhelm Schmidt recalled that Dr. Loy was a Christian of one mould: 'The Lord and I are always a majority,' that was one of his favorite sayings.

In intimate company, however, "Loy could also be happy and cheerful, though he always remained a personality that commanded respect."

Among his friends were his fellow faculty members of Capital University, including Professors C.H.L. Schuette, George Schodde, and F. W. Stellhorn. He included as acquaintances most of the leading Lutheran theologians of his era, especially Dr. C.F.W.

253 Interview with Dr. Ronald Hals, July 13, 1965.
254 "D. Loy war, wie man hierzulande sagt, ein 'gentleman.'" F. W. Stellhorn in Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (March 6, 1915), p. 147.
256 Ibid.
258 Quoted Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 123.
259 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
Walther, who was a frequent visitor in the Loy home. At convention time, when the Ohio Synod met in Columbus, the Loy household hosted ministers from various parts of the denomination.

Not included among the visitors at the Loy home, apparently, were any of his brothers and sisters. Little is known of them, and the feeling is that the doctor did not get along well with them.

In his later years, Dr. Loy did not receive many guests. After his illness and retirement in 1902, he was left increasingly alone and lived the quiet life of a semi-recluse. As his colleagues died, he was at a loss for company. At times, in the forgetfulness of sickness and old age, he would ask his wife and grandson, out of his loneliness, "Why don't my friends come and see me anymore?" His wife had the painful task of reminding him, "Mat, they can't come. They're dead." Then he would sigh, lean back in his bed, and say, "Yes, I'm the last one left."

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260 At least before the Predestination Warfare. Ibid.
262 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
264 Interview with Dr. Henry Schuh, January 25, 1965.
MATTHIAS LOY: AN EPILOGUE

Following a severe attack of angina pectoris in May, 1902, Matthias Loy was compelled to curtail his labors and to retire from active public life. He was to remain confined to his home for nearly thirteen years until his death in 1915. The Ohio Synod, observing Loy's incapacity for further responsibilities, appointed him a "Professor Emeritus" at Capital University. This gave Loy a guaranteed income and, as he noted, "the large liberty of doing what and as I think best."¹

This leisure was not an unmixed blessing. Loy found that he could no longer preach or teach, for his voice was permanently impaired. He recalled:

That organ has suffered severely, and its weakness renders speaking with sufficient force to be distinctly heard in public too much of a strain upon me to be safe. I have therefore made no attempt to preach ... ²

Efforts to deliver lectures proved futile.³ His intellect, however, was not affected, and Loy considered it

... a great blessing that my mind remained unclouded, and that I could read and meditate, in the intervals of freedom from heart-pangs, as well as my eyes and heart were ever capable of doing; and when seasons of despondency came, as they often did, they never shook my faith ... ⁴

¹ Loy, Story of My Life, p. 409.
² Ibid., p. 410.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid., p. 408.
Loy had no desire to be idle, and in spite of his disabili-
ties, he commented:

Of course I try to do something still, however little it may now be, in the cause to which my life has been devoted.\(^5\)

He believed "that this contribution is not of large importance ... .\(^6\) His labors consisted largely of writing articles for periodicals and in producing a large volume on the Augsburg Confession. Predominantly, however, his time was occupied with memories, and in this spirit he prepared his autobiography. In it he remarked,

"In these days of ample leisure it is natural that my thoughts should often revert to scenes and experiences of the past ... .\(^7\)

Loy's health took a turn for the worse in October, 1914,\(^8\) and for weeks prior to his death the Lutheran Standard had given reports of his poor physical condition until in the black bordered edition of February 6, 1915, it announced that on Tuesday evening, January 26, he had passed away at his Columbus home at the age of eighty-six years, ten months, and nine days.\(^9\) The event, though not unexpected, came as a shock. Shortly before his expiration at 9:15 p.m.\(^10\) he had been working, in his customary manner, on a manuscript, and having written two pages, his pencil, "with peculiar appropriateness, stopped in the middle of an unfinished sentence:

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 409.
\(^6\)Ibid.
\(^7\)Ibid., p. 411.
\(^8\)Columbus, Ohio Evening Dispatch, January 27, 1915, p. 11.
\(^9\)Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 88.
\(^10\)Ibid., p. 89.
'When the Lord makes a demand . . . ',"\ mauA 11 local newspaper commented that "his death was as peaceful as the peace he had enjoyed during . . . years of retirement in the quietude of his own home, with all his family in close connection."\[12

"The service was simple and unostentatious," President Otto Mees of Capital University wrote of the funeral of Dr. Matthias Loy.\[13 It was just as "modest and unassuming as he was" and would have been what he "would have desired."\[14 Despite the near zero weather,\[15 a large congregation composed of many students, teachers, ministers, and friends had crowded into Grace Lutheran Church on Oakwood Avenue, Columbus, by 1:30 p.m. on Friday, January 29, 1915.\[16 One mourner had come from as far as Minneapolis.\[17 Music selected by the family was sung by a quartet from this parish which Dr. Loy had helped establish in 1877.\[18 Dr. F. W. Stellhorn, Dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, preached a

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11 Owens, These Hundred Years, p. 121. The text of Loy's last manuscript is given in Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, LVI (February 6, 1915), p. 83.


13 Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 89.

14 Ibid.

15 The day's high was fifteen degrees. See Columbus, Ohio Evening Dispatch, January 29, 1915, p. 1.

16 Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 89; see also Columbus, Ohio Citizen, January 27, 1915, p. 8; Columbus, Ohio Evening Dispatch, January 27, 1915, pp. 2, 3, 11; Columbus, Ohio State Journal, January 27, 1915, p. 1.

17 Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 90.

18 Ibid., pp. 88, 89.
German sermon on the text so often sung in the Communion Liturgy as the *Nunc Dimittis*,\(^\text{19}\) which reads, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy Word."\(^\text{20}\) An English address was delivered by the Reverend Robert Emerson Golladay, Dr. Loy's pastor, on 2 Timothy 4:7, 8, under the theme, "The Christian Soldier's Farewell."\(^\text{21}\) Prayers were offered, and five professors and a college president as pallbearers carried the casket containing the remains of their former colleague and leader from the church.\(^\text{22}\) The body was buried in the Loy family lot at Greenlawn Cemetery next to the slumbering forms of two of the doctor's deceased children.\(^\text{23}\)

Matthias Loy had not been well-known to the general public, and

There were no flags at half-mast in the city, nor any cessation of the noise and bustle of its industries; there were no bells tolled, and no immense cavalcade of people to march in parade. But if the Master praises, what are men? He cared not in his life, but to be true to his God . . . .\(^\text{24}\)

It was within the Lutheran Church that he had labored, and there he was mourned. The *Ohio State Journal* characterized him as "one of

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\(^{19}\) Ibid., p. 89. Dr. Stellhorn's sermon is given in the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, LVI (February 6, 1915), pp. 83, 84.


\(^{21}\) *Lutheran Standard*, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 89. Dr. Golladay was pastor of the church from 1906 until 1947. See Columbus, Ohio *Evening Dispatch*, September 18, 1965, p. 6.

\(^{22}\) Owens, *These Hundred Years*, p. 121.

\(^{23}\) Ibid.; see Columbus, Ohio *Evening Dispatch*, January 27, 1915, p. 11. A private service was held at the Loy home, 566 East Rich Street, for the members of the immediate family. Ibid., p. 2.

\(^{24}\) *Lutheran Standard*, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 90.
the most distinguished theologians of the Lutheran faith in the United States . . . ."^25 The Evening Dispatch described him as a "religious author of note" who was "held in high esteem by the Lutheran Church of the country . . . ."^26 President Otto Mees believed that "No one can estimate the reach and extent of his influence for good in shaping the affairs of the Church."^27 Dr. Loy's career of "singular fidelity"^28 to duty was summarized in an official eulogy of the English District of the Joint Synod of Ohio in October, 1915, as follows:

Another Churchman of varied attainments and wide usefulness: pastor, professor, editor, author, church-leader, has answered the summons of the roll call above. The Church below will miss a master workman . . . .^29

In his oration at the funeral of Dr. Loy, the Reverend Robert E. Golladay had expressed the conviction that

When men get the right historical perspective, Dr. Loy will receive credit, under God, as one of the greatest conservative leaders of the Lutheran Church.^30

Fifty years after Loy's death, it is possible to observe three lasting contributions which he made to Lutheranism in America:

First, Dr. Loy was a lifelong advocate of Lutheran unity. He did not live to see this dream realized, but in 1930 the Ohio Synod joined with the synods of Buffalo and Iowa to form the

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^26Columbus, Ohio Evening Dispatch, January 27, 1915, pp. 3, 11.  
^27Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 89.  
^28Ibid., p. 81.  
^29Ohio Minutes (English District), 1915, p. 65.  
^30Lutheran Standard, LXXIII (February 6, 1915), p. 89.
American Lutheran Church. This was the final outcome of the conferences Loy had held with Iowa beginning in 1883. In 1960 a further merger occurred with the Evangelical Lutheran Church (the former Norwegian Synod), the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (of Danish origin), and the Lutheran Free Church producing The American Lutheran Church.

Meanwhile other Lutheran bodies sought concord, and in 1918 the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South came together to make up the United Lutheran Church in America. In 1962 it was consolidated with the Augustana Lutheran Church (of Swedish background), the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (of Danish antecedents), and the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church-Suomi Synod to become the Lutheran Church in America.

By 1965 there were three major Lutheran synods in the United States and Canada—The American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America, and the Missouri Synod and its affiliates.

Efforts to achieve greater harmony were made during the First World War, and in 1918 an intersynodical committee drew up plans that led to the creation of a National Lutheran Council. It included most North American Lutheran churches with the exception of the Missouri Synod and its associates in the Synodical Council.

31 The story of this merger is given in Meuser, The Formation of the American Lutheran Church; see also Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, pp. 297-301.
32 The Lutheran Free Church, which divided over the issue of merger, did not come into the new body until 1962.
33 See Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, pp. 279-296.
34 See Ibid., pp. 302-319.
Conference. The National Lutheran Council worked for cooperation in such areas as education, welfare, collection of statistics, and publicity. By January 1, 1967, it will be replaced by a new agency, the Lutheran Council in the United States of America, which will have the Missouri Synod as one of its charter members. 35 This organization will unite the majority of the 8,700,000 Lutherans of the United States in a joint program of theological study and Christian service. 36

The American Lutheran Church also belongs to the Lutheran World Federation, formed at Lund, Sweden, in 1947. 37

Second, Dr. Loy was a lifelong advocate of Lutheran confessional principles. Due in part to his influence, the Ohio Synod was known as a conservative force in American Protestantism. Its successor, The American Lutheran Church,

... accepts without reservation the symbolical books of the evangelical Lutheran Church, not insofar as but because they are the presentation and explanation of the pure doctrine of the Word of God and a summary of the faith of the evangelical Lutheran Church. 38

Similar statements have been made by the Missouri Synod and the Lutheran Church in America. Though the Lutherans in 1965 might

35 Erik W. Modean, "Missouri Okays LCUSA," The National Lutheran, XXXIII (September, 1965), 14-16.
37 It was a successor to the Lutheran World Convention, formed in 1923. The Ohio Synod had cooperated with that body. See Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism, pp. 337-347.
still differ over the interpretation and application of the Book of Concord, few responsible leaders today would argue, as the "American Lutherans" did in 1855, that the Symbols of the faith should be abridged or revised. The confessional revival of the nineteenth century, in which Loy played such an important role, had caused the Lutherans of America to rediscover and appreciate their doctrinal heritage.

The twentieth century has seen a further upsurge of interest in Luther and the Reformation. The "Neo-Orthodox" movement in theology, with its emphasis on the historic Confessions, biblical studies, and liturgical renewal, is similar in emphasis, if not in form, to the goals which Loy and his contemporaries sought. Unlike the reawakened confessionalism of the nineteenth century, the current conservatism has led not to polemics, but to a more irenic and ecumenical spirit. Since the death of Loy, colloquies and conferences have been held between the various Lutheran synods to produce greater consensus on the meaning of the Symbols, and in the same mood Lutheran theologians have met with representatives of both the Reformed and Roman Catholic traditions to explore points of difference and agreement. 39

39 The American Lutheran Church's Wartburg Seminary at Dubuque, Iowa, has been one leader in this inter-faith dialogue, see William E. Hulme, "Dubuque's Experiment in Ecumenism," The Christian Century, LXXXII (September 29, 1965), 1187-1190. Between July 6, 7, 1965, conversations were held between representatives of the National Lutheran Council and the Roman Catholic Church at Baltimore, Maryland, on the Nicene Creed. See "Scholars Explore Nicene Creed at Lutheran-Roman Catholic Talks," The National Lutheran, XXXIII (September, 1965), 17-19.
The American Lutheran Church, though it does not hold membership in the National Council of Churches, cooperates with various agencies of that organization. It is a full member of the World Council of Churches.

Finally, Loy labored throughout his life for the extension of the Ohio Synod and the growth of its institutions. In 1965 The American Lutheran Church had 5,329 congregations with 2,544,617 baptized members, organized into nineteen districts located in all the states of the Union and seven provinces of Canada. It has affiliated churches in the Cameroun, Central African Republic, Nationalist China, Columbia, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Madagascar, New Guinea, the Union of South Africa, and Mexico. It also operates several English language congregations in Europe. The Church's official periodical continues to be the Lutheran Standard, now located in Minneapolis, Minnesota, having 262,000 subscribers in 1965. The American Lutheran Church maintains four theological seminaries, eleven senior and three junior colleges, and three secondary schools. Together with other

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41. Ibid., pp. 47-53.
42. General Letter from Edward W. Schramm, Editor, the Lutheran Standard, to pastors of The American Lutheran Church, August 20, 1965, p. 1.
43. 1965 Yearbook of The American Lutheran Church, pp. 27-33.
Lutheran synods it cooperates in numerous agencies of health, welfare, and relief. The Ohio Synod, which Loy guided to national status, is now part of an expanding and prosperous member of the world family of Lutheran Churches, The American Lutheran Church.
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