

Henry Harbaugh in Lancaster

By ELIZABETH CLARKE KIEFFER

In October, 1851, when Henry Harbaugh, who had been pastor of First Reformed Church for a little over a year, preached a series of "Centenary Sermons"¹ in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the stone building in which the congregation then worshipped, he detailed the history of the church up until a few years before his own pastorate, and then suggested that the troubled years which had just closed, should be left for treatment at the end of another hundred years, when the passions aroused by them should be forever stilled. Could he have looked ahead over the ten years of his own unhappy service in this charge, I am certain he would have included them in his suggestion. In fact, his son, Wilson Linn Harbaugh respected his father's wishes when, in writing a life of the latter,² he omitted almost all mention of those ten years, although they must have been much the most important in the poet's brief life.

To an outsider, coming to Lancaster, it seems at first curious that one of the most distinguished men who ever walked its streets is almost ignored by its present-day inhabitants. Lancaster is not reticent about its great men. Ross and Shippen, General Hand, the Muhlenbergs, Otterbein, John Williamson Nevin, President Buchanan, everyone knows of them. Everyone knows that Lloyd Mifflin of Columbia has been celebrated as "America's greatest sonneteer" and we prefer to ignore the fact that a leading modern critic says that his sonnets were made of stucco.

Yet Lloyd Mifflin is not even mentioned in the "Cambridge History of American Literature,"³ while Henry Harbaugh receives in its pages, some rather fulsome praise—the *only Lancaster County writer to be so honored*. Knowing, in addition to this, that Henry Harbaugh was a distinguished theologian, an editor of no small ability, a very popular preacher and public speaker, mentioned with respect in many of the histories of religion in his

¹ Published in "History of First Reformed Church," W. Stuart Cramer, ed. Lancaster, 1904.

² Linn Harbaugh "Life of the Rev. Henry Harbaugh," Phila. 1900.

³ Cambridge History of American Literature," 1921, v. 4, pp. 584-5.

time, the outsider, I say, is surprised to find that citizens have not seized the opportunity to boast of his name as among the glories of Lancaster. As the inquisitive outsider, however, grows more familiar with the community, he will discover that old prejudices and misunderstandings are hard to kill. "Harbaugh?" some one will say, "oh, he was a quarrelsome old soul—always fighting with his congregation, always stirring up trouble in the community—constantly at odds with someone. The town was better off without him." "Oh him!" says another, "one of these fool social reformers—going around smashing up saloons and pouring good liquor into the streets. You can blame this deadly Lancaster Sabbath-keeping on him, too. If he hadn't ingrained such fool ideas into people we'd have had Sunday movies long ago." Says a third, in apparent contradiction, "Why the man was practically a Roman Catholic. He created no end of scandal. Tried to introduce image-worship. Preached about the adoration of the Virgin. Why no Protestant church could have put up with him!"

Then, on the other hand, one may hear the version of Harbaugh's admirers. "First Reformed Church treated him scandalously." "His salary was never paid." "They broke his heart and shortened his life." "They locked the door in his face." A contemporary authority who was himself a participant in the events in question, wrote bitterly, "The spirit of discord . . . seemed to stick like leprosy to the very walls (of the church)."⁴

All of these hints are ugly and cruel, giving a most unattractive picture of both pastor and congregation. One who should stop with them would feel little desire to know either of the parties in the quarrel. But, fortunately, none of these tales, handed down by word of mouth these eighty years, is completely true. Neither Henry Harbaugh nor his congregation was so lost to decorum and religious brotherhood as is hinted, and although the hundred years suggested by their principal actor have not yet elapsed, the time is surely ripe for the contradiction of old scandals and the justification of their subject. As will appear, neither the pastor nor the congregation, as a whole, can be held to blame for the events which took place in First Reformed Church in 1859.

The writer of this paper has had, by a series of coincidences, the opportunity to examine exhaustively a wealth of documents covering this sad old story. She has had the records of the church, the minutes of the classis, Henry Harbaugh's own diary,⁵ and a record written by one of the college professors,⁶ who himself attempted to act as mediator in the quarrel. That Harbaugh himself, desired the story to be fully known in the future, is evident by the way he carefully preserved, in the church archives, all the documents in the case—most of them annotated in his own handwriting, and

⁴ Theodore Appel Notebooks, ms. copy in F. & M. College library.

⁵ Now the property of the Historical Society of the Reformed Church. These diaries with other mementos of Harbaugh were loaned to the Lancaster County Historical Society for exhibit, May 2, 1941.

⁶ Appel, *op. cit.*

caused to be drawn up, by the secretary of his consistory, a minute account of the entire proceeding for preservation in the records. From these records emerges a story, intensely human, intensely appealing, illustrating, at the same time, many faults and many high virtues. It is a story that has never been told before, and one which is intensely important not only in the life of a man, not only in the history of a congregation; but also, and herein lies its appropriateness to this Society, as showing, in vivid detail the interests and the passions which agitated the lives of men and women of this community in the days just before the Civil War gave them other and larger worries.

One of the least creditable chapters in American church history—a chapter included in the church history of this country alone—has been the agitations which accompany a change in language in the churches of the minority groups. To this day, such troubles are going on in the Middle and Far West. They attacked the German churches of Eastern Pennsylvania in the middle nineteenth century, and many and sad were the church quarrels which grew out of them. The situation in the Reformed congregation of Lancaster—then the only Reformed congregation—became acute in the 1840's. As this was before the pastorate of Henry Harbaugh, we need not, fortunately, discuss the details, but they must be outlined, as a background for our story.⁷

The last bi-lingual pastor of the church had resigned in 1847, and the English-speaking group, largely in the majority, had elected a Mr. Keyes, a minister of the Congregational Church—a New Englander utterly unacquainted with the situation. It was at first intended to employ a German-speaking preacher to serve the minority who preferred German services, but, after a year of fruitless search for such a person, an arrangement was made with Rev. D. Y. Heisler, of Columbia, to supply in German, in addition to his services in Columbia and Lancaster. Rev. Heisler, sympathetic with the German group, helped stir them to rebellion, and two years of miserable quarrels ensued. The English group claimed, not unreasonably, that as those members who could not understand English preaching were paying only \$44 yearly toward the support of the church, they should no longer be considered. If they insisted upon services in their own tongue, let them employ a minister for themselves and hold services at an hour which would not inconvenience the rest of the congregation. The Germans claimed that the church had been founded by Germans, for the preaching of the gospel in German, and therefore legally belonged to them, no matter how small their number.

Too much praise cannot be given to the dignity and forbearance with which Rev. Keyes handled this trying situation. It was owing to his pacific influence that the English group, in spite of their strong claims, withdrew quite peacefully, and formed a Second Church (now St. Paul's) taking as

⁷ The following account is based upon the consistory minutes, and letters preserved in the archives of the church. Nothing has ever been published on the subject.

their share of the property, the cemetery and the lot on the *south-west*⁸ corner of Orange and Duke Streets, where they at once erected a brick building. During the search for a German pastor in 1847, a letter had been sent to a promising young preacher in Lewisburg, one Henry Harbaugh. He had replied with an unqualified refusal — not even caring to preach a trial sermon — stating as his reason that he “felt no intimations of Providence” which would cause him to make the change.⁹ By 1850, however, when the withdrawal of the English congregation had left the German group without a pastor except the trouble-making Heisler, the thoughts of its consistory again turned to Lewisburg, where Mr. Harbaugh had recently begun to attract wide-spread recognition.

This time their call was backed by an official letter from the Lancaster classis, explaining the situation and imploring the young man to come and use his obvious talents to pacify the disturbed congregation. Mr. Harbaugh now obviously felt those “intimations of Providence” which had been lacking before, and, with very little further negotiation, he accepted.

Henry Harbaugh had been born in 1817, in the Harbaugh Valley, four miles south-east of Waynesboro, the locality celebrated in all his Pennsylvania-German poems.¹⁰ These poems, written mostly in Lancaster, undoubtedly are colored with a sentimental nostalgia, perhaps arising from his troubles here, for it is certain that in his youth he appreciated his home so little that, when he was eighteen, he ran away and found work in Ohio as a journeyman carpenter.

He might have grown into the typical roving adventurer of the early west if his passionate love for Louisa Goodrich, a young Ohio lady, had not inspired him, first to efforts at self-education through local institutes and night schools and finally to return to Mercersburg to study for the ministry. In spite of his irregular preparation he was able to complete both the college and the seminary courses in three years. During this time, he was one of those few fortunate students who studied under both Rauch and Nevin, and was even there during the first year of Philip Schaff's professorship, and thus was actually present at the birth of the so-called “Mercersburg Theology,” which was to influence not only the Reformed Church but the entire trend of religious thought in America. “Schaff and Nevin,” it has been said, “founded this theology; but Harbaugh was its apostle to the Gentiles.”

In 1843, immediately upon graduation, he became pastor at Lewisburg, and, at once, married his Ohio sweetheart, Miss Goodrich. Four years of idyllically happy married life ended in tragedy. Just after his refusal of the

⁸ Note that this was not the north-west corner, where their present building stands.

⁹ In this letter, Harbaugh suggested that his friend, Ephraim Kieffer, of Mifflinburg, might be persuaded to consider the opening. If this had been acted upon, it is questionable whether the great-granddaughter of Ephraim Kieffer would today be writing about Harbaugh's Lancaster pastorate.

¹⁰ “Harbaugh's Harfe,” Phila., 1870.

Lancaster call, in 1847, he set out with his wife and child¹¹ (Mary, aged three) to visit her people in Ohio. Traveling by buggy, and stopping at night wherever they found themselves, they lodged at an isolated farmhouse where they were not informed until morning that several of the family were sick with scarlet fever. Louisa Harbaugh lived long enough to reach her parents' home, where she died.

During the bitter winter which followed, the young widower turned for consolation to a study of the future life and, out of his own suffering produced a little book called "The Sainted Dead,"¹² which became a religious best-seller. Today this treatise seems quaint and unreal, almost offensively materialistic in its conception of heaven, and lacking in any literary merit. To thousands of sorrowing hearts of his own time, however, it must have brought consolation and peace, for it ran into fifteen different editions, became his main source of income in years to come, and caused the production of two sequels, "The Heavenly Home," and "The Heavenly Recognition," in which he continued his discussion of the subject.

In November, 1848, fourteen months after his first wife's death, he married again, Miss Mary Louisa Linn, and in January, 1850, almost simultaneously with his acceptance of the call to Lancaster, he started the publication of his literary magazine, "The Guardian," which was to be one of his most successful ventures.

When he came to Lancaster he was a big, broad-shouldered, healthy seeming man of thirty-three, smooth shaven, his hair cut rather long, a bit on the Byronic style, with a pleasing manner, an infectious laugh, a fund of humorous anecdotes, a great deal of practical administrative ability, and an almost unbelievable energy. He had a strong capacity for friendship, but an almost equal capacity for resentment. He was subject to moods of black depression, and alternating periods of almost hysterical elation, but to judge from the comments of his friends and acquaintances, these were kept largely to himself, and confided only to his diary. His childlike nature and his idealization of his own childhood memories made him particularly sympathetic with children and successful in his relations with them.

The church to which he came had its home in the hundred-year-old stone building erected by Philip William Otterbein at Orange and Christian Streets. It was in bad repair at the time, and although the Germans, in a burst of energy after their successful eviction of the English, had installed gas-lighting, there were no other modern conveniences. The parsonage on Duke Street was small and inconvenient. The pastor's salary, in addition to his house, was \$600 yearly—and when we remember the statement that the German-speaking members had only been contributing \$44 a year, we wonder how it was to be paid. There was also an item of \$80 a year for the organist, the salary of a janitor, and upkeep on the building.

¹¹ A newborn baby had died in the spring.

¹² Published in Philadelphia, 1848.

The pastor was expected to conduct three services each Sunday, one in German, two in English. He was also in charge of the Sunday School. On Tuesday evenings, all the year round, he held a catechetical class for the instruction of children preparatory to church membership. On Wednesday there was an English prayer meeting. On Thursday a young people's prayer meeting, which they conducted themselves but at which the pastor must be present. On Friday a German prayer meeting and a children's singing class, which gave a monthly concert for the benefit of missions.

In addition to all this the pastor was expected to give lectures and addresses to schools and clubs in city and county, to conduct services at the jail and the poorhouse and to make himself generally available to the community. In his first year, Harbaugh preached one hundred and seven sermons in Lancaster and twenty-eight elsewhere — an average which he maintained throughout his pastorate.

In the two months which elapsed between his call to Lancaster, and his arrival here on March 24, a great deal of correspondence passed through the mails, all of which is carefully preserved in the archives of First Church. Prominent among it is a letter from Rev. Heisler (February 1) which, considering his late activities in the church quarrel seems amazingly generous: (The italics are his own.)

"Among all the men I know whether in or out of our church there is no one whom I would prefer to Mr. Harbaugh for my own spiritual guide If Mr. Harbaugh comes among you at all he will come to spend and be spent in the service of his gracious Master." One wishes that this could be accounted a pure impulse of Christian fellowship. But one is forced to add that Mr. Heisler succeeded Mr. Harbaugh in the church at Lewisburg.

An even more interesting letter is the passionate one addressed to the consistory at Lancaster from the consistory at Lewisburg protesting against the seduction of their pastor.

"From the greybearded fathers and mothers in the service of the Lord till the blooming youth of the Sabbath School baptized with his hands. All send up one united cry. Leave us not to perish without anyone to break unto us the bread of eternal life. Are not the immortal souls of Lewisburg of as much value in the sight of God as those of Lancaster!" One wonders whether in years to come the harrassed pastor may not, now and then, have turned to this letter (which goes on for three pages in the same vein) with a feeling of regret for the parishioners who felt so strongly at parting with him.

There is also a pleasant letter from Harbaugh himself, dated March 12. He and Mrs. Harbaugh had made a short visit to Lancaster to look over their future home, and now the young preacher writes chattily of his arrangements for moving. He is sending his household goods by boat to Columbia, at 30c per cwt. (The boatman has knocked off 5c from the regular price as a ministerial discount.) He has had a hard trip home from Lancaster. His buggy broke down twice between Lancaster and Elizabethtown. Crossing the

railway near Mount Joy, the axle-tree broke. In Elizabethtown he exchanged the buggy for a Rockaway carriage and got home safe. (It is notable that through all his ten years in Lancaster Mr. Harbaugh always continues to speak of Lewisburg as "home" — a term which he never applies to Lancaster. This attitude of mind may easily be one reason why he never achieved a real fellowship with his people here.)

On March 24, he came to Lancaster to stay, boarding with one of the church members until his wife and little Mary joined him on April 9. His first sermon was on the text: "If I please men, I am not the servant of Christ." The choice was prophetic. Much of the friction of the years to come was caused by his resolute and sometimes truly heroic refusal to be a "man-server."

His first weeks in town were employed in getting acquainted, in settling his furniture into the parsonage, and in looking about the town. The diary records some interesting first impressions. The market astonished but rather disgusted him. It was too crowded and too greedy. He approved of the poor-house, but not of the jail. (The new one was built two years later.) He was shocked by local intemperance and Sabbath breaking and "lack of high-toned feeling with respect to education." On June 3, he went with Dr. Philip Schaff to call on James Buchanan at Wheatland, and was there offered a glass of wine. To his shocked astonishment Dr. Schaff, that great theologian, accepted. Harbaugh refused, and wrote in his diary "Temperance principles! How weak!" At a later visit there, he expressed amazement at the poverty of Buchanan's private library. Throughout his Lancaster experience he was constantly distressed by the lawlessness and rowdyism in the fire companies. In 1850 there were several incendiary fires and false alarms. On December 27 his entry reads mysteriously, "Some disturbance by the devil in the engine house."¹³

Very early one comes upon evidence in the diary of two tendencies in the new pastor's attitude which were to develop into serious trouble later on. His first entry, after coming to Lancaster records his severe shock in finding that a member of the consistory was a tavern keeper who sold liquor.

Harbaugh's constant drive against this class of people was to bring him his bitterest enemies in the town. Again he complains, over and over, of the annoying interruptions which cut into his day. It has, apparently, always been a habit of First Reformed people to run in and out of the pastor's study at all hours of the day and night, bringing questions and problems, many of them very superficial and all of them time consuming. Harbaugh was, apparently, not used to this custom and it irritated him unwarrantably. One entire entry in the diary reads in large and angry letters, "Interruptions! Interruptions! Interruptions!" Now, the pastor who regards the visits of his people merely in the light of interruptions to his literary work is heading

¹³ Doubtless, this is a reference to the Sun Fire Company, whose engine house stood on part of the Reformed Church lot, on East Orange Street.

for trouble. He is trying to serve two masters and already he has begun to hate the one and love the other.

When one examines the extent of the work he was doing, however, one can sympathize with his resentment at wasted time. In addition to the church duties we have outlined, and to which he had already added by organizing a teacher-training class for the Sunday School, he had the copy to prepare, monthly, for *The Guardian*, a large part of which he wrote himself. When the magazine was printed, the copies were sent to him and he addressed them to subscribers by hand, and delivered the local copies himself, to save postage. He did the same for all local copies of the *Reformed Church Messenger*, a weekly publication. He was preparing "The Sainted Dead" for its third edition, and writing the first sequel "The Heavenly Recognition," and was also working at a commentary on the Heidelberg catechism, which he used as lectures for his Wednesday prayer-meeting. This was the beginning of a policy which helped to lighten his burdens to some extent. Through the rest of his life, he made a habit of preparing a series of lectures or sermons which he first delivered in his church, then published serially in *The Guardian* and at length produced in book form. This is the genesis of practically all his books—even the "Harfe" which was not published until after his death, was made up of poems chosen from the many which appeared in the pages of his magazine.

Beside all this he began this year, apparently as a recreation, to study Hebrew. He had no tutor in this subject but worked at it steadily throughout the years to come, making frequent notes of his satisfactory progress.

Nor was he without domestic troubles. In the autumn before his coming to Lancaster a girl-child had been born and died. In July of this year, a hurried trip was made to Lewisburg where his first son was born and lived for thirteen days.

The year 1851 added to the labors of the pastor. It may be that his happy experience in Lewisburg had convinced him of the value to a congregation of the effort involved in building a new church. Or it may be that the initiative came from the congregation, moved perhaps by jealousy of the fine building which their English rivals had just completed. At any rate, it was unanimously decided at the consistory meeting of April 14 to sell the parsonage and the schoolhouse on Duke Street and to use the money as the nucleus of a fund for building a new church to replace the old one whose hundredth anniversary was to be celebrated in the fall. A petition was at once sent to the Legislature for permission to go ahead with this transfer.

Considering the financial condition of the congregation, this action, viewed objectively, seemed almost insane. The sale of the Duke Street properties could not be expected to bring more than the smallest fraction of the cost, and it seemed inevitable that the church was about to burden itself with a debt which must prove dangerously difficult to clear. It becomes evident, however, early in the proceedings that the consistory was not depending upon

the efforts of the congregation as a whole, but had hopefully based its plans upon the wealth of three individuals — and one of those three individuals was that liquor dealer whose presence on the consistory had so shocked the preacher.

It was not he, however, who was made chairman of the building committee, but another of the three rich men. Since this man is to figure as the sole villain of these pages, and since he has descendants living in Lancaster today, I propose to withhold his name, and to speak of him, in melodramatic style, as Mr. X. He had been one of the outstanding figures in the fight for preserving the German congregation, he was the second richest man in the church, and was generally looked upon as its leading officer. He was pugnacious and tyrannical and accustomed to having consistory and pastor cringe to him. The minutes of the consistory had but recently recorded a resolution of thanks to him for the gift of a wheelbarrow which might have been appropriate to a million-dollar endowment. Of course it was assumed that his acceptance of the chairmanship implied a promise to assume most of the financial responsibility.

That these new interests curtailed the pastor's literary activities is evident from the fact that he published only one book this year. He was, however, busy working through the church archives for material for his Centenary Sermons for the celebration in October. Many members of this Society will share his feelings when he notes plaintively in his diary, "It takes an immense amount of labor. Had no idea of it when I commenced it." It is obviously due to this labor, however, that the archives of this congregation are so beautifully arranged and cared for. Almost every letter and paper in them bears a notation in Harbaugh's hand, extremely helpful to later students attempting to decipher the crabbed German script.

The diary now begins to show evidence of friction between pastor and people. Too often he indulges in discouraged little exclamations. "They have no appreciation of truth!" "Lax in attendance!" "Alas for the Christianity of this age!" "Fanaticism!" He also, for the first, begins to complain of little minor physical ailments, tiredness, frequent colds, obscure pains and nervous afflictions, which a modern psychologist would probably ascribe to his dissatisfaction rather than to any organic cause. He still resents the visits of his people. On July 12, he records: "Was robbed of two hours by a visitor. Too bad!" There is also a distinct note of reluctance in his statement, "Have commenced to visit the congregation. Find it necessary!" This is certainly not the attitude of a devoted pastor.

One can find also evidences of things which may have caused resentment on the part of the people. There are the frequent trips to Lewisburg, for instance. This was a full day's journey each way, so that, even if he only stayed overnight, he was bound to miss one of the church meetings, and as frequent delays were caused by missing boats or coaches, he often missed appointments or caused the expense and trouble of finding a substitute

preacher. His diary does not conceal his delight when an enforced stay over the week-end gave him a chance to preach to his old people: one does not suppose that he restrained his expression of this feeling when talking to friends in Lancaster later.

He had never refrained from speaking out on subjects which he considered important. On May 14, a prayer-meeting night, he reports: "Had to reprove one of the Ladies (?) for talking. Too bad!" On August 6, "Lectured (at prayer-meeting) on the impropriety of Christians attending the circus." On September 7 (Sunday) "Preached on II Kings 22:8-14. Alluded to slavery which caused no small stir in the congregation." (Harbaugh was always an outspoken abolitionist. There was much anti-slavery agitation at Mercersburg in his time. One wonders, however, how he managed to drag slavery into the story of the finding of the book of the law.)

On July 25, Wilson Linn Harbaugh was born in the old parsonage. This was the first of Harbaugh's children to survive since little Mary, the first wife's daughter, now six years old. His father was inordinately proud of him and kept a little book in which he recorded the child's progress, his bright sayings, and amusing mishaps.

Only twice this year does he allude to community affairs. On August 8, he heard Thaddeus Stevens address a political meeting, and on October 5, he preached the first sermon ever preached in the new prison.

The legal permission having been secured, the consistory, on August 14, authorized the trustees to go on with the sale of the Duke Street property. But already Harbaugh had begun to see what he was facing. On August 19 he wrote: "Met the building committee in the evening and I feel tremblingly fearful in regard to the matter. Mr. - - -¹⁴ shows his egotism already."

The centenary celebration in October and the meeting of the Synod which immediately followed it, were the major events of this year, and there are no further entries of importance until New Year's Eve, when he sums up the sorrows of the past months: "Another year. May God forgive its follies and bless what he can approve. We need mercy always. This is our hope."

No diary has been found for the year 1852, but this was an important year for the congregation. The old parsonage and half of the Duke Street lot were sold. Plans were drawn by Mr. Jacob Wall. The last service in the old church was held on March 21, and the cornerstone of the new laid on Whitsunday, May 30. To the credit of both congregations it may be said that during building operations services were held in the Second Church building, and entirely friendly relations seemed to be restored. On December 19, the basement floor of the new building was dedicated, and, as this was to be the Sunday School room, an appropriate children's service was held.

¹⁴ Not Mr. X, but another trouble-maker.

The church and the new parsonage had so far cost \$14,300, of which all but \$1,300 had been paid. It was estimated that it would cost \$3,500 to finish the building (which even to a novice seems impossibly small, and was, in fact, less than half of the final cost). The congregation now worshipped in this basement room, and seemed for awhile quite content to do nothing towards going ahead with the building.

This year, of course, marked also, the union of Franklin and Marshall Colleges. Harbaugh, now a trustee of the college, was very busy with that.

In 1853 we return to the diary record and meet at once his continued complaint that visitors interrupt his writing. This year again he complains of many small ailments—a series of apparent gastro-intestinal upsets were treated by Dr. Atlee with quinine. He also complains often of “feeling sore,” which may mean rheumatism or may have been caused by travel, as the complaint comes often after a long journey.

On January 4, the regular congregational meeting was expected to consider ways and means of raising money to complete the building. The attendance was so small that the meeting was postponed until the 13th, when again the members either indifferent or afraid of being asked for money, stayed away. After prayer-meeting on January 18, Harbaugh called together a group of prominent members, and presented to them a plan whereby the money could be borrowed, if several of the wealthy members of the church would underwrite the loan. The men in question agreed to this scheme; chief among them were John Bausman and his sons, Jacob and Samuel, our villain Mr. X, and the despised tavernkeeper. This plan, and the favorable attitude of the persons involved was reported to the consistory who moved to adopt it on January 21.

On February 4, while Harbaugh was preaching in Philadelphia, a telegram was handed to him in the pulpit announcing his father's death. He left at once for his old home, but bad train connections and muddy roads delayed him hopelessly. His horse threw him on the long ride from Chambersburg, and he arrived several hours too late for the funeral service.

The spring and summer passed quietly. On July 4, he recorded in Wilson Linn's book, that he took the little boy (two years old) to the postoffice where they met Mr. Buchanan, who shook the little fellow's hand, and Harbaugh said that he would make sure that when his son grew older he should know the honor that had been done him.

In July, he was disturbed by rumors of his Romanizing tendencies which were floating about the town. These, of course, were due mostly to his preaching of the Mercersburg theology, which, like the contemporary Puseyite movement in England was popularly supposed to be leading the church back to Rome.

The coming of the college to Lancaster was his greatest happiness. Now he could revel in intellectual companionship and he does not seem to regard the hours spent in company of the professors as lost. Not least of

his joys were the books in the library of the Diognothian Literary Society, in which, as a former member, he had borrowing privileges. He exchanged them regularly every two weeks, and thus seems to have added a quantity of reading to his already crowded life.

On August 8, the diary moans, without explanation, "Oh for a more pious consistory! Hope for better days in this respect!" A careful reading of the consistory minutes fails to reveal the reason for this complaint. On Sunday, August 28, the diary says: "Dr. Heiner preached today in Mr. Keyes church three incendiary sermons. Oh! What folly and wickedness. But it is pride." This is the only reference made to an unhappy little episode that threatened to mar the peaceful relations which had been established between the two churches. The two pastors, although utterly unlike in disposition and theological outlook had always been perfectly friendly. Each had preached more than once from the other's pulpit, and their families had visited each other and taken tea together several times.

Dr. Theodore Appel in his notebooks elucidated the matter referred to above. "A meeting," he says, "was held in the Second Church consisting of ministers and others of the anti-Mercersburg persuasion, to consider what was to be done—in the sad state of the Church into which it had been plunged by Dr. Nevin and others, the anti-Puritans, as it was said. Brother Heiner remained over Sunday and preached two sermons in which he pelted the Mercersburg Theology right and left. On the same day Dr. Harbaugh was holding communion service in his church, and Dr. Schaff and I were assisting him. We did not hear the thunderbolt through the trees not far off. But we heard something better, the voice of our Master saying, 'Come and eat of the Bread of Life.' On the Sunday following, Dr. Harbaugh also preached two sermons, among the most powerful he ever preached, in reply to Dr. Heiner's sermons, in which he refuted them so completely that there seemed to be nothing left of them. They made a sensation in the city and Pastor Keyes came to see him, and asked to be allowed to see and read them. I was present when he came—he looked pale and seemed to be trembling. Dr. Harbaugh handed him the manuscript copies and he then was asked whether he had added anything in preaching not in the manuscript. He was told that nothing was added. The brethren then parted respectfully, and probably did not come so close together afterwards."

On February 19, 1854, the completed church building was at last dedicated. The diary gives a vivid and human picture of all the rush of busy excitement leading up to it—the choice of pulpit chairs, the women tacking the carpet, the rehearsal of the Sunday School children for their share of the program. They were presenting the baptismal font, and were to march past and drop their pennies into it, to pay for it. Wilsie, aged three, remarked afterwards, "I put a levy in the bird's nest."

Things were not going so well in the Harbaugh home. Wilsie had had a long and tedious illness in January, and his father had dreaded the loss of another child. He, himself, was far from well—he complained of headache,

dizziness, ague — of “a strange feeling while praying.” Short walks exhausted him, although he was quite able to sit up all night writing. Dr. Atlee’s diagnosis was “a slight congestion in the brain.”

Money difficulties were becoming serious. For two years now the congregation had been behind with his salary. He was forced to borrow from the banks in order to pay the tradespeople. Thus, as he wrote bitterly, “I have to pay interest on the money which the church owes me.” Dr. Appel in his illuminating notes, says that this was not due to lack of funds in the congregation but to the fact that Harbaugh’s outspoken sermons had offended many individuals, who showed their anger by refusing to pay toward his salary. Says Appel, “He preached not only against intemperance — intemperately — but every now and then hit not only the taverns but the tavern-keepers, their family and friends, at milkmen and persons getting milk from them on Sundays, and other classes of people.”

In an effort to assure a more steady income than voluntary subscriptions, the consistory on February 21 instituted the system of pew rents. This was an innovation and caused vehement argument among the consistory itself. One of the members who had, several times before caused trouble, spoke passionately on behalf of those church members who would not take pews unless they were free. He was over-ruled and apparently felt himself deeply insulted, for, at the next consistory meeting (March 27) he sent in a very sharply-worded letter of resignation, which apparently to his surprise, was accepted. This unpleasantness occurred on the same day that another baby was born to the Harbaughs and died.

At the consistory meeting of April 10, a scene was enacted which was, I believe, the root of all the trouble to come. The tavernkeeper, of whom we have spoken before, had ceased to be a member of the consistory at the expiration of his term several years ago. Apparently Harbaugh had restrained himself as to expressing his disapproval of this man, who was a faithful and respected member of the church. Since the vacancy left by the resignation of the aggrieved trustee was to be filled at this meeting, Mr. X, that autocrat of the consistory, proposed in a laudatory address that the tavernkeeper be elected to the vacant post. The election, like most of the other resolutions introduced by X, was about to be passed unanimously, when Harbaugh arose, very stern, and entirely brave, and announced that he could never give consent to a man of his profession serving as an officer in the church of Christ. The consistory, without apparent discord, admitted that they had never considered this point of view. It was voted that a committee wait upon the candidate, tell him frankly, and inform him that, if he should see fit to discontinue the sale of liquor at his tavern, the post would be gladly offered him. There is a story extant that this man, moved by Harbaugh’s disapproval, either at this or some later time poured all his liquor into the street, and closed his bar. It is certain that he later served with credit, on the consistory during Harbaugh’s administration.

Mr. X, at this time, showed no open resentment at the check to his authority. He took no part in the disturbance about to be chronicled. But

it seems almost indubitable that after this slight, he, who until now, had been consistently a friend of Harbaugh, became gradually his bitterest enemy, and the prime mover in the revolt against him four years later.

Late in June, Harbaugh received a call from the church at Easton. He had little inclination to accept but he agreed to think it over. The news got around the congregation, and a group of the men who disliked him saw an opportunity to hurt him. At the consistory meeting of July 5, Brother L. Haldy presented a petition. Before reading it, he asked that the consistory place upon the record that he, himself, had nothing whatever to do with it and vastly deplored the fact that he was the unlucky man to whom the paper had been given.

This curious little document (the original is in the church archives) was written on cheap paper, in the handwriting of the trustee who had resigned in March. His name heads the list of signatories. To judge by the other signatures he was the only one who could have written it in English, and his handwriting and orthography have room for improvement. The gist of the matter is that the undersigned "respectfully" request Rev. Harbaugh to resign, "as we believe under his Charge the Congregation can never be united." The twenty-five signatures, most of them in German script, were largely those of men who had been most active in forcing out the English congregation, and who had, at first been eagerly enthusiastic about Harbaugh—in other words, the chronic malcontents.

No action was taken at this meeting, and Harbaugh makes no reference to it in the diary. Two weeks later, an extra session of the consistory was called at which another petition was presented, also with twenty-five signatures. This petition, written on the best paper in the copper-plate handwriting of E. J. Zahm, a young jeweler who was rapidly becoming Harbaugh's most efficient partizan in the congregation, is elegantly and effusively worded, ignoring the other petition but referring to the Easton call, and begging the consistory to take steps to keep him from accepting it. "We sincerely trust that they, in their wisdom, may devise some means by which he may be retained and his work of love in our behalf continued."

It is worth noting, that while the signers of the first paper were all men, most of those who signed the second were women, and that all of them, men and women, signed clearly and neatly. It is also notable that neither paper contains the signature of any of the outstanding leaders in the congregation except that of Zahm, who was, after all, too young at this time to be called really a leader. In other words, the important people of the congregation were not taking part in disruptive squabbles.

The consistory, however, immediately took their official action by passing a resolution begging Harbaugh to decline the Easton call, and promising to raise his salary as soon as the debt was cleared "since he has lost none of the esteem and respect entertained for him at all times, but has greatly endeared himself to the members of the congregation."

This little explosion seems to have cleared the atmosphere. The weight of opinion was obviously still favorable to the pastor. The promise of increased salary could not have been very moving, considering the amount the congregation still owed him, but at least it showed good intentions. Harbaugh declined the Easton offer and settled down to the three most peaceful years of his stay in Lancaster.

On July 5, 1854, the cornerstone of the F. and M. building (Old Main) was laid, Harbaugh delivering one of his best addresses for the ceremony. He was devoting much of his time to the collection of funds for a dormitory (later called Harbaugh Hall)¹⁵ and to other projects in the interest of the college. He also expresses interest this year in the public school situation, saying, apropos of the election of a school superintendent, "It will never work! A term of three years will finish it."

For 1855-6 there are no diaries, nor do the church minutes record anything but routine business. In 1855 the other half of the Duke Street lot was sold, lifting a little of the burden of debt from the church. On May 20 of this year, his daughter, Margaret Anna ("Maggie") was born, the only one of his children who closely resembled him in strength and originality of character. Perhaps, in these years, he gave more of his time to the work of the church, for he published no books except "*Birds of the Bible*" which had been written long before. We know that he was engaged in his translation of the diary of Michael Schlatter, whose character and adventures thrilled him, but this could not have absorbed so much time as original research. On the whole, these years seem to be a quiet interlude.

The truce came to a violent end in 1857. It is interesting to note that the storm in the church was preceded by a renewal of his tremendous literary activities. He published the Schlatter diary, with an historical memoir, this year. He drew up the plan for his eight-volume set of the "Fathers of the Reformed Church," and wrote the early volumes. In connection with this, he was forced to do any amount of original research, involving immense correspondence in the United States and in Europe, and frequently entailing visits to the homes of his subjects and consultation of records, from which he made voluminous copies.¹⁶ In addition to these private projects, he was an active member of the committee to prepare a liturgy for the denomination. This committee met frequently in the First Church throughout the year, and Philip Schaff, its chairman, stayed at the Harbaugh home each time it met.

In March, his daughter "Maggie" had a severe illness brought on by exposure during a trip to Lewisburg. Her father sat up with her all night,

¹⁵ Torn down 1902 to make room for the "Science Building" (now "Stahr Hall").

¹⁶ These copies are now in the possession of the Reformed Church Historical Society.

every night, and went on with his writing every day. On March 20, he spoke to the consistory about his financial problems, stating that, even if his full salary were paid him, it would not suffice for his support. Nothing was done about it.

On March 30, however, action *was* taken on a question he had often raised, that of revising the communion list. There were enrolled as members many who neither attended service, communed, nor gave any financial support to the church. Some claimed membership on the grounds that their grandparents had been members. The only time they called upon the services of the church were for weddings and funerals. Harbaugh, in his testimony before classis two years later, said, "A drunken man came to my house one day and said, 'I am a member of your church. I want you to preach my funeral sermon. No, not mine—the funeral of my child'." Such people always appeared, however, when church quarrels arose, and claimed a right to vote. They were tools in the hands of troublemakers. As it was required by the constitution of the church that all members commune once in three years, these persons were, of course, not legally members of the church. For many years, however, no erasures had been made from the list, and Harbaugh felt that a public clearing of this dead wood, might raise the morale of the congregation. The consistory instructed him and the elders to call upon every person listed on the roll, and to find out if he or she intended to continue or to become an active member.

When the pastor attempted to put this into effect, however, he found that the elders were very loath to help, and he was forced to call upon most of the difficult cases himself.

"I called first," he says, "on - - - - and spoke to him solemnly. He said the reason why he was not a better man was because of the wickedness of the town." Later in the visitation he wrote, "Great ignorance in the outlying fringes of the congregation."

By the time of the Easter communion everyone had been visited, but in case of misunderstanding it was announced at this service that the roll was being revised. The list of those who had communed in the last three years was read, and it was urged that those whose names were not enlisted should commune at this time and be enrolled. A number of the delinquents still failed to appear, and Harbaugh urged that these names be now finally stricken from the list. The consistory, however, had grown dubious and postponed action until June, when they finally, with much timidity, produced a final list. Just after this decision, Harbaugh left for a month's tour of the west. He went as far as St. Louis, visiting relatives, preachers, and missionaries, serving in many pulpits and gaining many new and exciting ideas. The west had always called him, and upon his return he and Benjamin Bausman, youngest son of his parishioner, John Bausman, and preacher at Reading, discussed at length a scheme to go as missionaries to the Far West. Paradoxically, however, he bought at the same time "a triangle of land west of

the city," for which he paid \$2200. On this he planned to plant a garden to provide exercise for himself and food for his family, and expressed his thought that when he should grow too old for the pulpit, he might build a home there for his old age.

On August 20, he returned from a fishing trip with Benjamin Bausman and said, "I got to Lancaster in safety though stones were thrown through the cars at Mount Joy."

On October 24, his son, Henry Lange, was born. The event brought forcibly to his mind his unpaid salary (it was now \$800 in arrears). Brooding over this and all the other injustices he had suffered, he took a sudden resolution and wrote out his resignation from his charge. On November 18 the consistory accepted the resignation and Harbaugh wrote: "My heart is light at the prospect of leaving!"

A third party, however, had to pass upon this decision. The Reformed Church had a strictly Presbyterian government. The Consistory ruled the Congregation, but the Classis ruled the Consistory—the Synods being over them all. In relations between a pastor and his people, no definitive step could be taken without the consent of Classis. A pastor could not resign nor a consistory dismiss him unless Classis approved. The Lancaster Classis, made up largely of professors from the college, liked Harbaugh, felt him an influence for good in the community, and deplored the thought of his leaving, especially of his wild plan of going west, which he now spoke seriously of carrying out. They summoned him before them and asked his reasons. He explained that the opposition to his preaching was a constant discouragement to him. He had become, he said, "the song of the drunkard in the streets." Says Dr. Appel, "We thought his reasons had more force for his staying than for his leaving."

Dr. Appel and Mr. Hoffmeier (an elder of Second Church and son of a former pastor of First) were appointed a committee to investigate the trouble, and their first move was to pay a call upon Mr. X, who was now generally conceded to be Harbaugh's bitterest enemy. It was felt that if he could be pacified, his influence would bring all the other malcontents into line. The peace-makers spent a full afternoon at the home of the angry man who was no longer a church officer, but still a church leader. At the very end of their visit one of Mr. X's chief grievances came out. Harbaugh had in early years treated him as a valued friend, had dined with him frequently, and gone in and out of his home as an intimate. X had treasured these attentions. He was proud of his close friendship with the preacher. Now, he said, Harbaugh "hardly noticed him, although he had done so much for him." He promised, however, that if Harbaugh would renew his old friendship, he himself would forget the past and resume his old championship of the pastor. Dr. Appel testifies: "X was a man of strong will and true to his word and I thought the quarrel was over." He was to find out, however, that it takes two to patch a quarrel as well as to make it. When he went delightedly to

Harbaugh with his story and suggested that the pastor drop in at Mr. X's home and stay for dinner as if nothing had happened, the result was unexpected. Says Appel: "He blushed, got red in the face, and said that X might go to Sheol, or something of that kind. I was surprised." It must be admitted that in this incident the honors are all with Mr. X.

An agreement was finally reached, under pressure from the Classis, whereby Harbaugh withdrew his resignation and the consistory promised to enforce the revised communion list, to pay his back salary, and make some effort to liquidate the church debt. On November 24, the consistory paid him \$36, leaving them in his debt for \$763.

The year 1858 was a sort of armed truce. Neither the pastor nor the people, however, took any steps toward conciliation. In January, as a gesture toward fulfilling their promise, the consistory renewed the mortgage on the church, and secured, once more, the signatures of the wealthy men who had guaranteed it, giving as security the graveyard and parsonage. In the early part of the year, intensive efforts collected and paid \$1700 on the interest and principal of the debt. Except for the money from the Duke Street lot in 1855, this was the first payment made on the debt since the completion of the church in 1853. As for the salary, instead of making up the back payments, they even failed to keep up the current ones so that their debt to him increased steadily. If it had not been for the royalties from his books, the pastor would have been put to it to live. Yet during the year he paid \$1047 on his lot near the College, and bought numerous fruit trees for it (they cost usually 5c apiece). He was also keeping pigs in the parsonage garden. Two ladies of the congregation offered to pay him for German lessons, which while it consumed some more of his time gave him a little added income. The small room in the southwest corner of the church basement was, this year, let to a Miss Hoffmeier, who kept a private school there. This, perhaps, was part of the money collected for the debt. Wilson Harbaugh received free tuition, which further eased the pastor's burdens.

A more tactful man might have refrained from acts which were bound to stir up further discord, but that was not Harbaugh's way. During the Advent season — beginning immediately after the withdrawal of his resignation — he had given a series of lectures at the Wednesday prayer-meetings which had stirred up violent anger not only in the church but throughout the town. The title under which they were later published in book form was "The True Glory of Woman,"¹⁷ but their substance was a justification of the adoration of the Virgin. Even a modern reader can find very little difference between the doctrines expressed and those of Catholic works on the same subject. As soon as word got about as to the nature of these lectures, the meetings were crowded with people of all denominations, including Catholics

¹⁷ Published in Philadelphia, 1858.

who expressed their entire agreement with the opinions stated. It was about this time that Catholic churches throughout the country were offering public prayers for the conversion of Dr. Nevin; I have no doubt that local Catholics prayed for his brilliant pupil as well.

Not satisfied with this sensation, the pastor next proceeded to the introduction of the "Order of Worship" just published by the liturgical committee. The whole denomination was in an uproar over this document with its introduction of confession and absolution, its use of prayers translated direct from the Roman missal, and of the Nicene Creed, to which many of the Reformed people were utterly unwilling to consent. Its introduction into the most peaceful congregation was therefore a delicate matter, let alone into one already so upset. But Harbaugh, as the most active assistant in its preparation, undertook to be the first to use it in public. He began with some attempt at tact, by reciting the prayers instead of reading them. His hearers, however, soon recognized what he was about and indignant consistory men accused him of attempting to cheat them into the use of "vain repetitions." Thereupon he abandoned pretense and used the book openly. Dr. Appel says he did it "with a vim and rather defiantly." He must have, somehow, provided copies for the congregation, although I find no record of their purchase, for on Saturday, May 22, the night before the Whitsunday communion he writes, with satisfaction, "Went through the preparatory service. The congregation responded in the Litany."

Dr. Appel says, "The war had now fairly begun. The opposition strengthened itself in number, week by week When the hotspurs met on the street, biting ugly words passed between them."

Harbaugh, with apparent nonchalance, had his lot fenced and bought more fruit trees, taking little Wilson along with him when he went almost daily to cultivate his garden. His diary says almost nothing about church affairs this summer. On August 16, he writes; "At nine o'clock the Queen's dispatch came. Bon-fires and bells, etc. The great event is from Christ and for him."—The event, of course, was the first message by trans-Atlantic cable—Harbaugh with characteristic opportunism spent the next day writing an article for *The Guardian* on the subject.

On August 24, a happy interlude took him, in company with Drs. Schaff, Bomberger, and E. V. Gerhart for a day at Atlantic City where all four went in bathing, and later took a fishing trip from the Inlet.

On October 5, he says, "The comet is beautifully visible these evenings." (Donati's comet.)

In December he took a long trip collecting money for the college hall, and returning in time for the holidays, reports complacently: "Much more Christmas spirit than when I first came."

The Christmas spirit probably existed in the hearts of that large body of members who took no part in the quarrel. We must bear these persons

in mind throughout the story. Dr. Appel speaks of them in his account. "The real partizans on both sides," he says, "are in the minority . . . The larger portion of the members did not go to church to fight but to pray."

But that fighting minority was little concerned with the Christmas message of peace and good will. They were waiting a chance to strike at their enemy and at the congregational meeting of January 3, 1859, they found it. Congregational meetings in all churches, are apt to be dry affairs and poorly attended. There had been no hint to the majority of the people that this one would be an exception. The principal matter of business was the election of two consistorians to fill the place of two whose terms had expired. As constituted at the time, the consistory had four members opposed to Harbaugh and five in his favor, the other six being neutral. With his own vote, in addition to these five, Harbaugh practically controlled the consistory. Mr. Zahm and Mr. Roth, whose terms expired, were both loyalists, and their names were up for re-election. The names of two rebels had been put up against them but it was taken for granted that the experienced men would be returned to office. The small group of loyalists and neutrals who came to the church at 2:00 P. M. to dispatch what seemed a routine matter, were astounded to find the Sunday School room crowded. To their further dismay, in studying the crowd, it became evident that almost everyone whose name had been erased from the communion list in 1857 was present.

In stunned silence, the loyalist group permitted this assemblage to elect a chairman and tellers and to begin casting their votes. Then, at last, Mr. Westheaffer, a trustee and one of the loyalists, rallied and sprang to his feet demanding that the election be stopped while the clerk read that portion of the charter which defined the qualifications for voting. The portion in question read as follows: "Each voter must have paid or contributed towards the support of the church for the space of three years next preceeding the said election."

Mr. Zahm and Mr. Westheaffer then insisted that each voter who had not fulfilled these conditions should be required to pay at once a sum equivalent to three years contributions or to have his vote cancelled. Voters all began protesting that they had made payments during the last year and that this should suffice. The officers of the meeting then gave it as their decision that anyone who had paid at all during the last three years could vote. Under this condition the election proceeded with the natural result that the rebels were elected, making the balance of power in the consistory now six to four against Harbaugh.

Next day the pastor wrote sadly in his diary: "I see now that it is impossible to raise this congregation in its present form to a true Christian position."

The first meeting of the new consistory was set for January 10. At this meeting, the new members did not appear, and, against the provisions

of the charter, Messrs. Zahm and Roth were present. They had brought with them an appeal against the results of the election, made up of three counts: That the Constitution of the Reformed Church requires that voters be communicant members. That the official decision about the payments was not in strict accord with the wording of the charter. That six more votes had been cast than there were names on the communion list.

As the petitioners could not, of course, vote, this appeal was lost by two votes, the only votes in its favor being those of Harbaugh himself, and of Professor William Nevin, one of his most loyal and prudent supporters.

Mr. Roth and Mr. Zahm then warned the consistory that they would carry their appeal to the Lancaster Classis.

On January 24, accordingly, a letter came to the consistory from E. V. Gerhart, president of the Classis, warning them that Classis intended to investigate and requesting them to attend a meeting on February 9. On this date, accordingly, Classis met in the church. The only justification the rebellious consistorymen could give in defense of the election was that the men who had voted were on the old communion list and that they denied the legality of the 1857 revision.

Classis resolved that members who habitually neglect communion are not communicant members, that the 1857 list was entirely legal and should be used as the list of qualified voters, and directed that a new election be held.

Of what happened at this second election (April 4) I cannot find any explanation. It may be that the neutrals, disgusted with the whole affair, stayed away to be out of the quarrel. It may be that the loyalists, pacified by their victory in the Classis, failed to make an effort to insure a majority. Whatever the case, the simple facts are that the election, at which 78 votes were cast, returned not only the two rebels previously elected, but one more in place of a loyalist who had resigned. The consistory now had seven members openly opposed to the pastor, several of the neutrals showed alarming signs of sympathizing with that side, and the only votes that Harbaugh could really count upon were his own and those of Professor Nevin and Mr. Westheaffer.

This consistory, during the next few months, misruled the church in a manner that would be unbelievable if one had not the evidence of their own almost illegible minutes. The finance committee appointed in 1858 to attempt the reduction of the church debt, had collected subscriptions amounting to \$4800 to be paid in five years. Some of them, however, were made conditional upon the whole amount being subscribed. The new 1859 consistory not only made no effort to collect installments on these, but withdrew their own subscriptions on the ground that the whole had not been subscribed. Frightened by this action, other members (even loyalists) withdrew their subscriptions and not even the interest could be paid.

Mr. X and his friend, the tavern keeper, neither of whom were now members of the consistory, instituted suit against the congregation, claiming that they were acting for the holders of the mortgage, and announced that the church building would be put up for public auction unless the minister resigned.

Harbaugh, meanwhile, powerless to do anything, had gone west again, for a long visit to his brother, David. In his absence, the consistory passed a resolution asking his resignation on the grounds that he alone was responsible for the debt. Harbaugh replied with an indignant refusal, and returned to Lancaster, only to fall ill of a malady diagnosed as "bilious fever." On August 29 the consistory called a congregational meeting, carefully neglecting to notify the loyalist members.

It was a most irregular affair as even its own minutes show. More than half of those present were again non-communicants. One of them was elected to the chair, Parliamentary practice was utterly ignored, and no prayer was offered either in opening or closing — although this was required by the charter. The business of the meeting was to pass a resolution *discharging* the pastor and ordering him to vacate the pulpit by October 1 — an action utterly prohibited by the constitution.

When word of this astonishing meeting reached the Classis — by way of a petition signed by thirty-seven loyalists — they at once summoned the consistory to appear before them on September 23. When the meeting convened, the three loyal members of the consistory were present — not one of the rebels appeared. The loyalists reported that the summons had been read, and laid upon the table. The Classis decided that the consistory was animated by a spirit of persecution; that the accusation making Harbaugh responsible for the debt was unfounded and injurious; that the consistory had transcended its authority and power in discharging the pastor without appeal to Classis. A committee consisting of Dr. J. W. Nevin, Dr. Th. Appel, and Mr. A. Peters was appointed to wait upon the disaffected consistorymen, and order them to attend and bring their minutes. In their visits, these committeemen were met with sullen stubbornness on the part of the leading rebels, and by shamefaced apologies from those former neutrals who had acted with the rebels. These last claimed that there was nothing to do but get rid of the minister or lose the church, that their action was forced upon them against their will.

On the last Sunday in September the regular fall communion was held. The church was packed. More than two hundred communed, and from the reverent and friendly spirit shown, Harbaugh and his friends on the faculty almost began to hope that the weight of congregational feeling would force a peaceful settlement.

The next Sunday, with no warning whatever, the congregation arrived to find the doors of the church locked. Excitement was great. Crowds stood

outside. Sunday School teachers and their pupils gathered in bewildered groups. Mr. Roth tried all six doors (the seventh had not yet been cut). Finding them all closed, he went for the sexton, who told him that the consistory members had officially taken the keys from him, and told him his duties were suspended for the time. The consistory members could not be found. Gradually the congregation gave up and went home.

Harbaugh and Zahm with several other friends attended the services at the college chapel that afternoon. Says Dr. Appel, "It was a sad sight and we sympathized with him fully."

Next week Harbaugh took his family to Lewisburg to await events, where he spent his time preparing a volume of his English poems for publication.

On October 28, the Classis resolved to impeach the ten consistorymen who had voted for the discharge, and summoned them to be tried according to the law of the church.

On November 10 and 11, the trial took place in the church which was now opened for the first time since that October Sunday. It was a picturesque scene. J. W. Nevin presided. All the clerical members of the Classis were present and most of the lay members. Strictest judicial practice was observed. Witnesses were sworn in, advocates spoke for prosecution and defense, and some of their speeches lasted for hours.

The charges were:

- A. Conspiracy against the pastor.
- B. Contentiousness and Contumacy.
- C. Lawless Violence.

The accused first tried to escape trial on the plea that they were not subject to the constitution because First Church had never ratified it.¹⁸ The Classis dismissed this objection on the grounds that the constitution provides that all members of all congregations are amenable to it whether they ratify or not.

They also protested against the college professors serving on the tribunal as they were members of the congregation and admittedly on Harbaugh's side. This was also dismissed.

The accused then pleaded not guilty on all the charges, and the prosecution began to call its witnesses. The testimony told practically the story we have just rehearsed. The defense only called witnesses to testify that the

¹⁸ This was true. There were clauses in the constitution which conflicted with the earlier charter of the church. A committee had been appointed several years before to amend the charter, but in the disturbed state of the congregation this had not been done.

irregular congregational meeting had not been disorderly. Most of these witnesses could hardly speak English and made a bad impression.

Dr. Samuel Welchans summed up the case for the prosecution, speaking eloquently and to the point. He emphasized the mystery underlying "this unnatural persecution," and referred to "the man who has made the removal of the pastor the leading object of his life for the last six years." He deplored the fact that such things could have happened "in the middle of the Nineteenth Century when men are not only civilized and moralized but also Christianized."

Mr. Achey, speaking for the defense, pled that the consistory had acted with good intentions. If they had done wrong it was unwittingly. They were forced to get rid of the pastor or sell the church, and they chose the lesser evil.

Other speeches were made for both sides. Mr. Zahm's was long and passionate and largely incoherent.

Then the roll of Classis was called and each member gave his opinion. It now became very evident that this was not merely a trial of the rebel consistory but of the Presbyterian system.

Said Dr. Nevin, when the roll call reached him, "Power begins with the consistory, rises to the Classis and terminates in the Synod . . . The principle here involved must be sustained though it scatter the congregation to the ends of the earth."

As the voting proceeded, it became evident that the elders who voted were more inclined to be easy upon the accused than were the preachers; although some of the milder clergy questioned if the charge of conspiracy was proved. All three charges, however, were sustained, and five of the accused now acknowledged their guilt and promised better conduct.

A committee was appointed to decide the penalty, and Drs. Nevin and Appel now pled for clemency, and advocated that mere dismissal from the consistory was enough, with possible reinstatement of those who had apologized. Harbaugh and E. V. Gerhart, however, insisted on the extreme penalty, and the ten rebellious consistory men were excommunicated.

On the following day, the diary records: "Was much called on. The members of the church are rejoiced at the triumph of right." Next Sunday, the church was open and Harbaugh preached to a large and joyful congregation.

We have now to record an episode so delightful and so heartening that it almost makes up for the whole miserable business just ended. As the consistory minutes merely record the result, we turn for the full story to Dr. Appel's account. The mortgage as we have said was underwritten by Mr. X, his brother, their friend the tavernkeeper, and the three Bausmans,

John, Jacob, and Samuel. The Bausmans had taken no part in the quarrel. They had always been friends of Harbaugh and their youngest brother, Rev. Benjamin Bausman, was his closest friend.

Defeated by Classis, Mr. X turned to his last resource, that of withdrawing his guarantee. He enlisted his brother and their friend for the same purpose and then went to call upon Mr. Jacob Bausman. Appel says that the younger Bausmans were generally thought to be in sympathy with the opposition, but that when their father, old Elder John Bausman, heard that the Classis was to meet, he said to his sons, "Die Buve" — that "they should go with the ministers." Accordingly, when Mr. X approached Jacob Bausman with his suggestion that they join in threatening the church, he was refused. "When he found he could not use Jacob as his tool for a mischievous purpose, he talked big and surly. Jacob got roused — a little mad, and said he would take the whole thing into his own hands, bear the responsibility himself. At first X laughed and said he might try it. Jacob went to the creditor and stated the circumstances and offered his own sole name. Mr. Herford said that that was enough — plenty — that he had never cared about the other names, that he regarded his as sufficient. The change was made, and Mr. X lost 'hold' on the church and became nobody."

Evidently the other Bausmans wished to have a part in this beautiful gesture, for when the change in status of the mortgage is, at last, recorded, the underwriters are John Bausman, Jacob Bausman and Samuel Bausman. The malice of one man had nearly wrecked a church. The loyalty of one family had saved it.

On January 2, 1860, a new consistory was elected at a very quiet congregational meeting. It was made up 100 per cent of the best neutrals. These men set to work at once to "build up the divisions and restore the disorders."

The first matter was a small debt owed to Mr. X, whom they were anxious to eliminate from the finances altogether. A committee of the congregation headed by the energetic Zahm, was appointed to collect money for this purpose. They collected \$769.72 out of which they paid the interest of X's debt, the Bausmans taking over the principal and a small note held by the tavernkeeper. With the remainder, and \$200 borrowed, they paid the pastor \$335.27 on his overdue salary, reducing this accumulation to \$641.57.

A plan was now proposed to pay the remainder of this debt by publishing and selling a sermon on "The Wines of the Bible" which Harbaugh had just preached to the Society of Good Templars, the Society to take 3000 copies at \$30 the thousand. This scheme fell through, as the Society refused.

The year of 1860 was one of real peace. The large body of malcontents left the congregation and went to other churches. Most of them joined St. Paul's, thus as Appel remarks, "They became one with those whom they had fought out of First Church." Most of the offending consistorymen had event-

ually made humble petition to be reinstated as church members and their petition was granted, although none of them ever held office again.

Except for the birth and death of another child, Harbaugh's home life was peaceful. He made some attempt to straighten his tangled finances, as is evident by some rudimentary accounts which he began to keep in the back of his diary but abandoned before the end of January. He confided to friends that his mind was now set to live and die in Lancaster and that, as soon as possible, he was going to build a house on his lot. His pigs were butchered at a cost of \$5, and with the produce of his garden and orchard he was able to live quite cheaply. He obtained permission of the consistory to use the room in the southeast corner of the church basement as a study — for which purpose it has been used by all ministers since that day. He had a great deal of fun planning its arrangement and equipment, and employed a group of college boys to move his books for him. He, also at his own expense, had a door cut into it from the side nearest the parsonage and obtained permission to keep the key himself — thus providing against any recurrence of the door-locking episode.

Feeling that all his troubles were at an end, the pastor now returned to his old practice of spending all his time on literary endeavors. He published this year the poems and his excellent small manual for catechumens, "The Golden Censer." The congregation felt they were being neglected once more. The young men, who had been his most active adherents in the late quarrel, were permitted to manage church affairs as they pleased, to the disapproval of the more staid older element.

On Sunday evening, September 9, after the sermon, three strange young men stepped forward and presented to the minister a call from the new and wealthy St. John's Church in Lebanon. Harbaugh was not at all inclined to accept. He felt that since his victory, his place was in Lancaster; he expected, apparently, that his friends would earnestly protest his leaving. According to Appel, he went the rounds of those whose judgment he respected and found that none of them urged him to stay, while the college professors openly advised him to go, on the grounds that another man could now better insure forgetfulness of past troubles. Appel says that his final decision was made on the advice of John Schaeffer, bookseller and elder, who had always been one of his firmest adherents. When approached on the subject, Mr. Schaeffer said: "Mr. Harbaugh, I think you had better now go."

Upon this, Harbaugh presented his resignation which was unanimously accepted, and his ten years of service in Lancaster came to an end. He served four years in Lebanon, and in 1864 was called to the chair of didactic theology in the seminary at Mercersburg, where, after three years of teaching, he died December 28, 1867, at the age of fifty.

But as for First Church — the church which had striven so hard to rid itself of its minister — First Church is Harbaugh's church to this day. The

stamp of his personality is upon it to be plainly read by anyone who has studied the man. Not his intolerance and hard-headed crusading spirit perhaps, although there are flashes of these too, but his wide, enthusiastic human interests, his breadth of culture and his deep spirituality are there. His love of beauty and form—these are there—the church which protested his introduction of the liturgy is now the most liturgical church of the denomination. His theology, which was, of course, the Mercersburg Theology, is forever ingrained in these people. Probe the convictions of any member of the older families of First Church and you will hear repeated, with no consciousness of their source, the same opinions which Henry Harbaugh voiced from its pulpit nearly one hundred years ago.

Once, in a letter to Benjamin Bausman during his worst troubles, Harbaugh spoke of his desire to possess a childlike spirit. Without knowing it, he was always at heart a child. His very contentiousness was in the nature of a child's brief anger. Even the modern student of his life comes to feel toward him as to a lovable, if sometimes annoying, child.

Christmas, the children's festival, he made essentially his own, and the year at First Church revolves around the six o'clock service on Christmas morning which he planned and instituted. Above the altar, where in his time was a blank wall, now gleams the lovely window dedicated to his memory by his loyal friend and supporter, John B. Roth. From it the gracious figure of the Christ he loved speaks to his people, "I am the way, the truth and the life," and gazing at that shining form, the congregation sings over and over again the words of that essentially childlike and yet profoundly satisfying hymn, which, whether or not he wrote it in Lancaster, First Church will always regard as peculiarly its own:

"Jesus I live to thee,
The loveliest and best
My life in thee, Thy life in me
In Thy blest love I rest."