

# *Emanuel V. Gerhart and the Mercersburg Theology*

By Charles Yrigoyen, Jr.

*I*n any history of the German Reformed Church in America in the nineteenth century the name of Emanuel Vogel Gerhart (1817-1904) appears prominently. He distinguished himself as a parish minister, missionary, college administrator, teacher, and theologian. He was the first President of Franklin and Marshall College and for thirty-six years was an influential professor in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church at Mercersburg, and later at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

To date no thorough examination of Gerhart's life and theological thought has been published. There are brief biographical sketches in various places, but no detailed account of his life and accomplishments.<sup>1</sup> Two brief articles have analyzed his theology.<sup>2</sup> They are helpful, but inadequate. There is a place, therefore, for a more comprehensive look at Gerhart and his ideas. The purpose of this article is to provide a biographical summary and to indicate Gerhart's relationship to the Mercersburg Theology, the most celebrated theological development in the German Reformed Church in the nineteenth century. We will have occasion to describe Gerhart's assessment of the Mercersburg Theology and his exposition of its major themes, i.e. its Christology, ecclesiology and sacramental views.

## *The Life of Emanuel V. Gerhart*

*E*manuel V. Gerhart was born at Freeburg, Snyder County, Pennsylvania, 13 June 1817. His parents were committed to the Christian faith and to the life of the church. Emanuel's father, Isaac, was a respected minister in the German Reformed Church. The Gerhart's possessed a deep love for their denomination and its heritage.<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to determine when and under what circumstances Emanuel decided to enter the Christian ministry. We may surmise, however, that the decision was made with the encouragement of his parents. His vocational choice led him through the educational institutions of the German Reformed Church and into a variety of opportunities for ministry.

Emanuel's earliest academic training took place under the careful supervision of his father.<sup>4</sup> When he was sixteen he was enrolled in the Classical School of the German Reformed Church at York, Pennsylvania. The Classical School had been opened in 1831 to educate young men for their various callings, but especially those who were preparing to enter the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, located at York since 1829. Gerhart was still a member of the student body of the Classical School when it moved from York to Mercersburg, a small town in south-central Pennsylvania, in 1835. One year later the school was incorporated as Marshall College, name for John Marshall, the late Chief Justice of the United States.<sup>5</sup> Emanuel graduated from Marshall College in 1838. During his tenure in the Classical School and Marshall he had begun to exhibit scholarly competence and intellectual promise.<sup>6</sup>

Among those who influenced the mind of young Gerhart was Frederick Augustus Rauch, Principal of the Classical School, professor in the Theological Seminary, and first President of Marshall College. Rauch had left Germany in 1831 and after a brief teaching experience at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, had become affiliated with the educational institutions at York. He remained a very important figure in the schools until his untimely death in 1841.<sup>7</sup> Gerhart highly respected his mentor and defended Rauch's views when the occasion demanded, especially after his death.<sup>8</sup>

Upon his graduation from Marshall, Gerhart became a student in the Theological Seminary which had moved to Mercersburg in 1837. He continued his study under the two members of the faculty, Rauch and Lewis Mayer. If his respect for Rauch was profound, the same could not be said for his opinion of Mayer. Within a year of Gerhart's 1838 matriculation, however, Mayer had resigned.<sup>9</sup> In 1840, after months of searching for Mayer's successor, the Synod named John Williamson Nevin (1803-1886) to the post. Nevin, a Presbyterian, brought to Mercersburg a deep interest in German thought and a high regard for the German Reformed Church.<sup>10</sup> Since Gerhart did not complete his theological studies until the fall of 1841 his student days included the first year of Nevin's teaching at the Theological Seminary. During that period there began a friendship between the two which grew over the years despite the fact that they were not always in agreement. Shortly after Nevin's death Gerhart wrote:

The secret of Dr. Nevin's notable history was his *godliness*. Great as he was in the different spheres of thought, he was still greater in the sphere of positive Christian faith. He has rendered manifold valuable services to the church into which he was transplanted, and his influence in the line of Christological Theology will tell upon generations yet unborn; but our chief cause for gratitude to God is this: — that in the course of His Providence He led into



*A new portrait of Emanuel Vogel Gerhart, first president of Franklin and Marshall College, was recently unveiled by Gerhart's descendents and F and M College officials. This portrait is hanging in the Admissions House where Gerhart lived while he served as president of the Seminary across College Avenue from F and M.*

*The artist, Dr. Ronald E. Sykes, is professor of Art at Millersville State College. He is particularly noted for his bas relief and in-the-round sculptured figures and portraits and for his pastel and oil portraits. He has taught portrait and figure drawing and painting at the Lancaster County Art Association for the past 21 years.*

the fold of the Reformed Church a man of genuine spirituality, of godly simplicity, of moral heroism and of thoroughly upright character – a man along the pathway of whose life bloomed on either side the fragrant flowers of genuine goodness.<sup>11</sup>

Gerhart was ordained in August, 1842.<sup>12</sup> He had received and accepted a call to serve the four-church Grindstone Hill charge in Franklin County.<sup>13</sup> The next year he was married to Eliza A. Rickenbaugh by his friend John Williamson Nevin<sup>14</sup> and accepted a call to become the pastor of the Gettysburg charge.<sup>15</sup> In 1849, after six years of successful pastoral service in Gettysburg, Gerhart received an appointment from the Domestic Mission Board of the German Reformed Church to become a missionary agent serving the German Reformed congregation in Cincinnati, Ohio.<sup>16</sup> The Cincinnati pastorate and missionary endeavors associated with it were terminated in the spring of 1851 when Gerhart accepted an opportunity to enter the field of theological education. That vocation was to occupy the remainder of his life.

Following several years of controversy the Ohio Synod of the German Reformed Church established a college and seminary at Tiffin, Ohio in 1851. These institutions bore the name Heidelberg College and Theological Seminary. Their major purpose was to supply a properly educated ministry for the expanding church in the west. The synod settled on the chief officer of the new institution when it elected its own President, Emanuel V. Gerhart, to be President of Heidelberg College and Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary at Tiffin.<sup>17</sup> Under Gerhard's administration the enrollments in the college and seminary increased noticeably and a new academic building and library were added to the campus. He also taught courses in dogmatics, homiletics, church history, apologetics, Old Testament, and New Testament in the seminary, and logic, ethics, psychology, natural philosophy, and German in the college.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile in the eastern sector of the German Reformed Church two major developments were taking place. First, there was a swirling controversy within the church over the theological views of the Mercersburg professors, Nevin and Schaff. Many were unhappy with their anti-revivalist and liturgical opinions. Second, Marshall College merged with Franklin College, located in Lancaster, in 1853. Both of these situations influenced Gerhart's own circumstances.

The trustees of the newly merged college encountered difficulty in the selection of a President for the institution. John Williamson Nevin was offered the position. He declined, partly for reasons of health, but mostly because of his own intellectual struggles. Philip Schaff (1819-1893) was the next choice, but he was forced to decline when the Eastern Synod refused to allow him to relinquish his seminary chair. Finally, the trustees turned to one who had proven himself to be a capable scholar and college administrator. They elected Emanuel V. Gerhart.<sup>19</sup> Gerhart was not anxious to leave Heidelberg. In fact, it took him six agonizing weeks to make his final decision to accept the trustees' proposal. Academic, financial, and theological reasons weighed heavily in his final judgment

to move east.<sup>20</sup>

In April, 1855 Gerhart and his family arrived in Lancaster. He immediately entered into his new position with the vitality and dedication which had marked his administration at Heidelberg. During his first year the main college building was completed and he had instituted a new endowment plan to strengthen the institution's financial base.<sup>21</sup> The heavy demand of administrative duties did not prevent Gerhart from maintaining a regular teaching schedule as the college's Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, nor did it detain him from publishing a collection of Rauch's sermons<sup>22</sup> and his own first major work, published in 1857, titled, *An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy with an Outline Treatise on Logic*.<sup>23</sup> In 1857 Gerhart also became an editor of *The Mercersburg Review*, the journal through which Nevin and Schaff circulated the views of the Mercersburg Theology.<sup>24</sup> For the next five years Gerhart contributed more than fifty book reviews and nine major articles to its pages.

**F**ranklin and Marshall survived the trauma of the Civil War. By 1866 its financial position was as secure as ever. There was a new source of concern, however. The number of students had decreased steadily during the war years and there was no significant reversal of the trend with the coming of peace. The trustees, concerned for their institution, reorganized the curriculum, faculty, and administration. Part of the reorganization included the election of a new President, John Williamson Nevin. Nevin had been on the college faculty since 1861. When Nevin declined the election, Gerhart persuaded him to reconsider indicating his willingness to assume a subordinate role.<sup>25</sup> In the fall of 1866 Gerhart cordially introduced the new President to the gathered campus community.<sup>26</sup> Gerhart was to remain on the Franklin and Marshall faculty for two more years, thereby completing a thirteen year association with the college.

A vacancy on the faculty of the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg was created by the death of Henry Harbaugh (1817-1867), Professor of Didactic and Practical Theology. At a special session of the Eastern Synod in 1868 Gerhart was elected to fill the vacancy.<sup>27</sup> He accepted the professorship, moved to Mercersburg, and was inaugurated 26 October 1868. In his inaugural address titled "The Historical Element in Theology," Gerhart stressed the responsibility of each new generation of Christians to bring about "a purer and fuller development, and a better articulation of the revealed truth taught and believed in all previous periods of church history."<sup>28</sup> The theological task of the church was a never-completed process.

Shortly after assuming his professorship at Mercersburg, Gerhart was elected President of the Faculty, a position he held until the time of his death in 1904. As President he was an influential voice in the decision to move the Theological Seminary from Mercersburg to Lancaster in 1871.<sup>29</sup> Aside from the rigors of teaching and seminary management, Gerhart served as the President of the

General Synod of the German Reformed Church in 1869 and continued to contribute his vigorous leadership to synodical committees and activities.<sup>30</sup> He left behind an extensive corpus of books and articles including almost one hundred articles published in the *Reformed Church Messenger* and more than thirty in *The Mercersburg Review* and its successors, *The Reformed Church Quarterly Review*, and *The Reformed Church Review*. The most important of his printed works was a two-volume systematic theology not uniquely titled, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. The first volume was published in 1891, the second in 1894.<sup>31</sup> These volumes contain more than 1600 pages and constitute the marrow of Gerhart's theological insights.

Gerhart's death filled the German Reformed Church with sadness. It mourned the loss of one of its finest leaders and theologians, one who had loved it as a son. Although he never gained the notoriety of Nevin and Schaff, Gerhart made an important contribution to American theological education and literature.

### *Gerhart's Assessment of the Mercersburg Theology*

It has already been pointed out that the German Reformed Church was involved in a serious controversy midway through the nineteenth century. The dispute centered around the Mercersburg Theology as formulated by Nevin and Schaff.<sup>32</sup> A large number of clergy and laity were troubled by the anti-revivalist, Christological, ecclesiological, liturgical, and sacramental positions developed by the Mercersburg professors. They accused Nevin and Schaff of departure from the Reformed theological tradition. Ironically, it was the recovery of a genuine Reformed theology which the seminary professors sought. There were charges and countercharges on the floor of classis and synod. Many believed that Nevin and Schaff would inevitably lead the German Reformed Church into the fold of Roman Catholicism. Ministers and congregations aligned themselves pro-Mercersburg or anti-Mercersburg. For two or three decades beginning with Nevin's publication of *The Anxious Bench* in 1843 the internal conflict was intense.

During his presidency at Franklin and Marshall, Gerhart published an article which described the history and doctrine of the German Reformed Church. In that article he acknowledged the denominational discord occasioned by the Mercersburg Theology. He believed that the debates stimulated by Schaff and Nevin were of positive value to the church. He wrote:

A controversy so exciting and earnest, mixed with no little misapprehension, misconstruction, and acrimony, served to intensify the interest of the German Reformed Church in the momentous questions. The mental agitation was deeper, the attention given to the study of theology more absorb-

ing, and the development of Christological ideas more rapid among ministers and people, than would have been caused by direct theological teaching, without the stimulus of polemical friction.<sup>33</sup>

According to Gerhart, therefore, the Mercersburg Theology had been a revitalizing experience for the German Reformed Church. Its importance in his estimation, however, was greater than its catalytic effect. It had clearly demonstrated that the Protestant theology which was dominant in America during the first half of the nineteenth century was rationalistic and inordinately subjective. It was "modern" Protestantism rather than "original" Protestantism.<sup>34</sup> The rationalism of which Gerhart spoke operated in two ways. First, it assumed that one could interpret the Bible directly without any dependence on the scholarly, exegetical, and hermeneutical insights of previous generations. It assumed that the present generation possessed a superior, enlightened reason with regard to biblical interpretation. In Gerhart's opinion that was nothing less than pride of intellect. Private judgment had been made the sole criterion of Christian doctrine. Second, in terms of revelation under the rationalistic system, man decided what was revealed truth and what was not. He complained that, "all those truths and doctrines that do not tally with the prevailing sentiment and the spirit of the times, are set aside or explained away."<sup>35</sup> In a logic reminiscent of that in Philip Schaff's *The Principle of Protestantism*, Gerhart criticized both liberal and revivalist American Protestants for their subjectivistic rationalism.<sup>36</sup>

The Mercersburg theologians, Gerhart stated, had accurately identified and criticized the degeneration of American Protestantism. They had clearly recognized the deficiencies of the German Reformed Church. He joined their company in judging that the denomination was in a state of deterioration from 1747, the year of the founding of the Coetus, until 1825, the year in which the Theological Seminary was founded. During that period it was characterized by a dearth of educated ministers, by the ignorance and spiritual poverty of its people, by subjectivism and rationalism, and by its disregard and/or misinterpretation of the Heidelberg Catechism and other commonly accepted Reformed standards of faith.<sup>37</sup> But Gerhart observed, the Mercersburg theologians were not content to point out inadequacies. They had formulated a theology which was true to the best standards of the Reformation. Identifying himself with the Mercersburg movement, he literally dared the opposition to show that the views of the Mercersburg professors were biblically and historically erroneous. He wrote:

Our opponents allege that the "peculiar" views of the Mercersburg school are false, dangerous, foolish, unevangelical, Romish, prejudicial to godly living and favorable to dead formalism. We challenge candid, manly, thorough inquiry. Let the "peculiar" theory be tested by the only ultimate standard of truth. We challenge inquiry into the recognized Confessions of the sixteenth century; into the Apostles' Creed, the universal symbol of the Christian Church; into the writings of the Fathers, those heroes of Christ who preached and extended the triumphs of the Gospel amid the fiendish persecutions of three centuries; and

finally but mainly, into the books of the New Testament. Judged legitimately by this standard, we desire to stand or fall.<sup>38</sup>

According to Gerhart the Mercersburg Theology was a profound expression of "original" Protestantism in its best sense. He believed that it was the correct theology for the German Reformed Church. He furthermore predicted that on the basis of indications already present in the denomination there would ultimately be "complete internal and external harmony and consolidation" within the church.<sup>39</sup> The harmonizing, of course, would be arranged around the principles of the Mercersburg Theology.

Gerhart was impressed with the theological unity of the Mercersburg movement. It was not the product of a series of random controversies or disconnected topics. It was a movement which lifted up the crucial question of the Christian faith, i.e. the person of Christ. Specifically at issue was the meaning of the Incarnation and man's union with God through the glorified humanity of Christ. The Christocentric/incarnational nature of the Mercersburg Theology provided the key to its basic integrity. It did not begin with a metaphysical idea such as the sovereign will of God (Calvinism's decrees) or the will of man (Arminianism), but with the incarnate person of Jesus Christ. For that reason, Gerhart said, "The whole movement is Christological."<sup>40</sup> From its Christological base there logically follows a distinctive theory of the church, a definite interpretation of the sacraments and worship, a particular understanding of salvation, and an appropriate style of worship. Its Christological emphasis set it apart from other theological systems contemporary with it. Gerhart wrote:

The one thing by which, more than by anything else, the theology of the German Reformed church is distinguished from that of New England, consists in the person of Christ being held firmly as the *principle* of a scientific system of faith, of the theory of worship, of practical religion, and of all philosophical thinking. This formative principle impresses distinct features on every doctrine, features which we cannot characterize more correctly in a word than by calling them *Christological*, — a fact which no one can fail to perceive who will investigate and compare the systems candidly.<sup>41</sup>

Gerhart recognized the unusual circumstances which produced the Mercersburg Theology. It developed out of "a peculiar combination of mental and moral forces in the persons of the principal professors of the seminary — a combination undesigned and unforeseen by the church."<sup>42</sup> Rauch had come to America without a call. He presented himself to the church for examination and ordination. Aware of his capabilities, the church had placed him at the head of its infant institutions. One or two clergymen were responsible for Nevin's call from the Presbyterian seminary at Allegheny City, Pennsylvania. While he hesitated to accept the call to Mercersburg, he was persuaded to do so. When the scholar chosen by the church to work with Nevin refused to come to America, Philip Schaff accepted the position. He was unanimously received by the church. Surely it was not by accident nor ecclesiastical scheme that these men came to Mercersburg. Gerhart was convinced that, "It must be attributed to the special



ordering of Divine Providence."<sup>43</sup>

Each of the three made his unique contribution. Rauch was the philosopher, Nevin, the theologian, Schaff, the historian. Yet the three were in fundamental agreement; they were committed to a Christological theology.<sup>44</sup>

It is curious that three scholars who influenced the course of theology, at least in the German Reformed Church if not in the larger community of American Protestantism, should have arrived at an obscure seminary in rural Pennsylvania with the basic ideas which resulted in the formation of the Mercersburg Theology. In Gerhart's opinion this set of circumstances was most fortuitous for the theology and life of the denomination. He felt that the theology of the Mercersburg professors set the stage for one of the most productive eras in the history of his church.

### *Gerhart's Exposition of the Mercersburg Theology*

**E**manuel V. Gerhart was a theologian. He was heir to the theological heritage of Nevin and Schaff. Everyone who had an acquaintance with Gerhart's theology and that of the Mercersburg theologians recognized that his thought was intimately related to theirs.

Gerhart was not much of an original thinker. He added very little to the basic principles established by the progenitors of the movement. Most commentators, however, have rightly acknowledged his contribution as an apologist and systematizer for the Mercersburg ideas. Certainly the two volumes of the *Institutes* are the most systematic presentation of the major tenets of the Mercersburg Theology though one finds in them only a handful of acknowledgments to Nevin and Schaff. One of Gerhart's contemporaries referring to the *Institutes* wrote:

This theological movement known as the Mercersburg Theology came to a certain measure of completion, and had received attention widely both in this country and in Europe, and yet no one had as yet reduced it to a scientific form in a published work. The time then seemed ripe for some one to accomplish this important work. Dr. Rauch, Dr. Nevin, Dr. Schaff, Dr. Harbaugh and others, qualified for the task, had passed away, and now it seemed to fall to the lot of Dr. Gerhart to produce the looked for theological work . . . . The time was ripe and the ripe scholar was here to perform the task of bringing out a work that would set forth the theology of the Reformed Church.<sup>45</sup>

Others have made similar statements. George W. Richards commented:

Dr. Gerhart, Professor of Theology at Lancaster, continued to expound the principles of Mercersburg in his lectures, and finally published two volumes of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*; the first complete treatise in printed form of the distinctive doctrines first presented by Dr. Nevin. Apparently little if any disapproval of this monumental work was published.<sup>46</sup>

And in his valuable essay on the history of American theological thought, Sydney Ahlstrom stated, "The Mercersburg theology' received its full doctrinal expression in Emmanuel (sic) V. Gerhart's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*."<sup>47</sup>

James H. Nichols correctly warns against accepting Gerhart's *Institutes* as being consistent with the thought of Nevin and Schaff in every detail. He says, "The Mercersburg men produced no formal systematics, at least not until Gerhart's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* of 1891, which does not qualify in all respects for this role."<sup>48</sup>

The themes with which Gerhart dealt and his manner of dealing with them in the *Institutes* and elsewhere reveal his pronounced dependence on the thought of Nevin and Schaff.

According to Gerhart the task of theology is to present the truth of Christianity to each new generation in light of its changing needs and intellectual capacities. This meant for him the formulation of a theology which was suited to the needs of the nineteenth century.

Gerhart identified two important disciplines in accomplishing the theological task. One of them was biblical theology which had achieved "definite recognition as a distinct" branch of scientific study during his lifetime.<sup>49</sup> It illuminated the historical basis of the faith located in the written Word. The Bible is the foundation upon which theology is constructed. The second discipline was dogmatic theology. It related the past and present epochs of the Christian faith. The theologian had to be a student of the historical development of Christian theology and he had to be able to translate the truth into contemporary terms. A thoroughly sound dogmatic theology recognized its debt to, and dependence upon, the work of Christian theologians over the whole course of the church.<sup>50</sup>

Like Schaff, Gerhart was troubled by those American Protestant thinkers who believed that true Christianity was in eclipse during the medieval period or who seemed to hold that Luther and Calvin had the last word. The theologians of the past made crucial contributions, but there was a legitimate place for further theological endeavor including his own.<sup>51</sup>

Perceiving the responsibility of creating a theology pertinent to his own time, the theologian must search for a proper source of knowledge concerning the faith. He must determine from such a source what is essential to Christianity. He will then be in a position to complete the task of presenting the truth to his own generation. That was the approach Gerhart believed was logical and necessary.

What is the proper source? Is it the Bible? Gerhart believed that the Bible is an integral part of divine revelation. It could be considered a valid source of theological knowledge, but only a derived source.<sup>52</sup> Then what is the primary

and original source? He answered, "Jesus, the Christ of God, is Himself the source of true and final knowledge of God."<sup>53</sup> "The glorified Christ speaking in His written word must discipline, ennoble and enrich theology . . ."<sup>54</sup>

Gerhart's commitment to a Christocentric theology, which is so obvious in the *Institutes*, can be traced to the earlier years of his theological scholarship. More than thirty years before the publication of the *Institutes* he wrote that Christ,

gives relative position, character and force to every doctrine of the Gospel, every ordinance of the Church, and to the peculiar methods by which the Gospel is taught and propagated. Thus the whole system of Christian truth, and in consequence also the ordinances in which it is exhibited, and the language in which it is taught, derive their significance from Him – from His person and work – as their fundamental principle. To know the Gospel either in its parts or as a whole, it is necessary therefore, first of all, to know Christ; and to know Him it is necessary to receive Him from the heart in true faith, and obey Him in childlike simplicity.<sup>55</sup>

On several occasions Gerhart stated that "a correct Theology depends upon a sound Christology."<sup>56</sup>

The Christological focus of Gerhart's theology is a reflection of the theological thought of both Nevin and Schaff. James H. Nichols suggests that they,

characterized their distinctive orientation as Christocentric or Christological. As such it contrasted sharply with the two major theological camps of the day in America – the scholastic Confessionalism of Princeton and the old-school Presbyterians, and the New England theology in its various nuances at Andover, Yale and Union. The characteristic themes of these rival schools – human depravity and inability, election, reprobation, imputation, the atonement, regeneration – had become stale and worn out, at least as conventionally treated.<sup>57</sup>

The controlling principle of Gerhart's Christocentric theology was the Incarnation. He stated that, "All departments of Christian Dogmatics, theology, Christology, anthropology, pneumatology, soteriology, eschatology, are to be viewed in the light of the incarnation, the Word made flesh . . ."<sup>58</sup>

**G**erhart refused to make the ethical teachings of Jesus or His vicarious death the core of Christian theology. To make either of them the central tenet was just as erroneous as to make it Calvinism's unconditional decrees. The fundamental truth of Christianity, Gerhart said, "is not in what Christ says or in what He does, but in what He is."<sup>59</sup> Christ is the person in whom God had become man and man had become one with God.<sup>60</sup>

We can begin to understand the emphasis Gerhart placed on the Incarnation when we point out his conviction that a vital union of man and God is at the heart of true religion. There were two reasons for this. (1) Such a union would completely satisfy man's inherent religious expectations and needs; it would fulfill his manhood. "If human nature were not assumed into union with

God, the original idea of manhood would fail of final actualization.”<sup>61</sup> (2) The union would perfect God’s original creative purpose, i.e. a living union with man which had been interrupted by the Fall.<sup>62</sup> In the person of the incarnate Christ the human and the divine came together.

Gerhart clarified the Christocentric and incarnational nature of his theology in his description of Christ as the Revealer and Redeemer. Throughout the *Institutes* and in some of his earlier writings he used those titles to disclose the significance of Jesus’ divine-human person.

As the Revealer, Jesus’ mission was twofold since, “True religion being the ideal communion between God and man, . . . implies a satisfying knowledge of both.”<sup>63</sup> Jesus supplies that knowledge. He has revealed the essence of God as love. God as love has created man for communion with Himself. God as love continually seeks the fulfillment of His creative purpose even when man becomes estranged through his sin. God as love became one with man in Christ as the distinctive, absolute, and final disclosure of Himself prepared for reunion with His creatures.<sup>64</sup> The incarnate Christ is also the revelation of true manhood. Christ reveals man’s capacity for vital communion with God without which man remains incomplete. Since Christ’s humanity continues in union with the Father in heaven this glorified humanity is an unveiling of the goal of human life.<sup>65</sup>

Christ is also the Redeemer. He lived His life organically connected with the human race in which sin has reigned, corrupting and falsifying human nature, since the Adamic Fall. Yet He kept Himself free from error, wrong, and impurity. He did not sin. The divine image in which original man was created became a final reality in His person. By His complete obedience to the divine law of love Christ has perfectly united human nature with God. Gerhart wrote:

Human nature purified in Him, redeemed, victorious, glorified, is at one with God, at one essentially and ethically: essentially, for the life of man having in Christ transcended the fallen world is active in complete union and communion with the life of God, the love of God to man being absolutely satisfied and the aptitude of man for God being fulfilled; at one with God ethically, for having forever expiated the guilt of sin the Son of Man has no conscience of conflict with evil or deficiency of holy character, He being at peace with God by the free activity of His will. The unity of essence is complete in the character of ethical or self-determined harmony.<sup>66</sup>

The salvation of the fallen race takes place as it becomes one with God through Christ. It is “engrafted” into Christ, men becoming members of a new race of which He is the Head. Since the relation between the members and the Head is organic, the members actually share His life. The process of “engrafting” involves two elements: (1) the activity of the Holy Spirit who communicates Christ and His benefits and also awakens man’s response by destroying the bond of sin’s dominion; (2) man’s faith, the direct apprehension and appropriation of Christ by an act of the will. When the work of the Spirit is joined by

faith a mystical union exists between believers and Christ. The union so formed issues in personal and eternal salvation.<sup>67</sup>

The theology of John Williamson Nevin was also organized around the Incarnation. Nevin wrote that the Incarnation, "is the key that unlocks the sense of all God's works and brings to light the true meaning of the universe."<sup>68</sup> He reasoned that from the time of the Fall man's life has been estranged from God, the true Source of life and goodness. This disunion leaves man incomplete. Try as he may, man cannot reunite himself to God. That can only be accomplished by divine initiative, i.e. through the incarnate Christ.<sup>69</sup> For Nevin Christianity was not a system of doctrine to be learned as one learns a philosophy. Nor was it a rule of human conduct; it was not simply following the example of Christ. Christianity is a life, a participation in the divine-human life of the Second Adam, a mystical union between the incarnate Christ and His people. It is a union in which His people share more than Christ's name or His doctrine. Nevin said, "They are so united with him as to have part in the substance of his life itself."<sup>70</sup> Christ's humanity continues beyond the grave as a resurrected and glorified humanity in which His people share. They are "inserted" into Him by the work of the Holy Spirit and man's faith, the consequence of which is a mystical union of saving proportion.<sup>71</sup>

**F**urther explanation would simply show in more detail the correspondence of Gerhart's thought with that of Nevin. When Luther J. Binkley closed the chapter in his book which describes the Christology of the Mercersburg movement, the key to unlocking its basic meaning, it is surprising that he did not mention Gerhart as one of the foremost representatives of the Mercersburg Christology.<sup>72</sup> For clarity and systematic arrangement Gerhart was probably its finest exponent.

Following Nevin and Schaff, Gerhart also lamented the "unchurchly" disposition of the German Reformed Church and the other Protestant churches in America. He believed that the absence of an authentically Christological theology was directly related to the want of a satisfactory ecclesiology. In his own words, "An unchristological theology (had) begotten an unchurchly spirit."<sup>73</sup>

Salvation, Gerhart held, was more than an individual's engrafting into Christ. It also involved the believer's engrafting into a community of believers who share His life. Gerhart often referred to this community, the church, as the "second race." He was convinced that central to the work of the Holy Spirit was the real, "objective translation" of men from one race into another. Just as natural birth involves the individual's translation from an embryonic mode of life into a totally different sphere of conditions and relationships, so, by the Spirit, the believer is translated from the fallen Adamic race into the life of a regenerated race which springs from the Second Adam. He said, "This transition is greater and more real than an external transfer from a barren desert to a

blooming paradise, or than the elevation of a man from the condition of a slave to the throne of a king, or a natural transition of the embryo into the history of individual existence."<sup>75</sup>

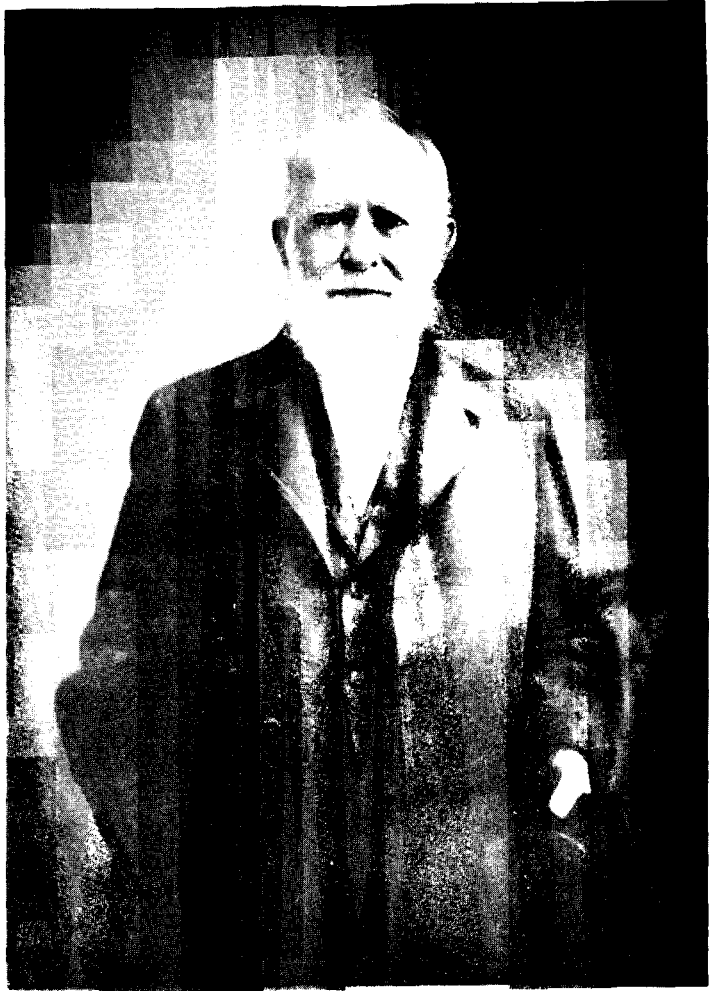
The church is not the creation of man, nor is it incidental to Christianity. The salvation of man doesn't lie beyond the church and outside it, but directly in its breast. "The ancient adage is sound: *extra ecclesiam, nulla salus . . .*," Gerhart wrote.<sup>76</sup> Thus, he maintained, the mystical union of Christ and the believer necessarily involved the church. Gerhart also called the church an "objective economy."<sup>77</sup> Although he did not clearly define what he intended by the use of that terminology it may be that it was meant to convey, among other things, his opinion that there is a visibility to the church. Like Nevin, he could not accept any idea of the church as a purely invisible fellowship of the saints.<sup>78</sup>

While not completely satisfied with the multiplicity of Protestant churches in America, Gerhart apparently was not persuaded as were Nevin and Schaff that the church must move in the direction of outward and visible unity. They deplored the proliferation of Protestant sects which testified to and promoted the disunity of the church, Christ's mystical body. Nevin held that it was the obligation of all Christians earnestly and actively to seek the unity of the church in its most complete and visible form.<sup>79</sup> In comparison, Gerhart was unwilling to make use of this major theme of the Mercersburg Theology with all of its ecumenical implications. His fear of a stifling uniformity outweighed the urgency of the visible unity anticipated by Nevin and Schaff.

Since he was concerned about a correct ecclesiology, it follows that Gerhart was also very interested in the role of the sacraments in the life of the church. He was specifically distressed by interpretations of the sacraments which he thought minimized their value and made them nothing more than "empty" signs or ceremonies. He joined Nevin in reproving American Protestantism for its "unsacramental" nature. In his own teaching about the sacraments he attempted to employ a genuine biblical and historical approach. He was emphatic about the relationship of the sacraments to the church. They were essential to its life.<sup>80</sup> His stress on the sacraments is another obvious tie to the Mercersburg Theology.

For Gerhart the sacraments were more than signs or symbols of God's love already secured by the believer. They themselves objectively convey divine grace to their recipients. For sacramental grace to be effective in the life of the Christian, however, it must be appropriated by faith. Objective conveyance and subjective appropriation are the two components which produce a valid sacramental transaction.<sup>81</sup> That was very much the position of Nevin who testified that the sacraments were objective transactions in which "a real spiritual energy" is conveyed to the recipient, the benefits of which are appropriated by him through his faith.<sup>82</sup>

Unlike Nevin, Gerhart devoted more space in his writings to an interpretation of the sacrament of baptism than to the Lord's Supper. In addition to



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references in the *Institutes* he wrote three major articles on baptism.<sup>83</sup> He never wrote a single article which dealt solely with the Lord's Supper. Baptism, he believed, was the sacrament of initiation for adults and infants into the Kingdom of God. Through baptism the believer, confessing Jesus as the Christ, is objectively translated from the Adamic race into the Second Race. He said, "By natural birth the individual becomes a member of the fallen race whose head is

the first man; by Baptism the believer passed into the community of the new race whose Head is the Second Man. By divine act there is effected an objective translation."<sup>84</sup> Just how important Gerhart considered adult and infant baptism in the redemptive process is further revealed in his statement that the possibility of salvation did not exist apart from baptism. "According to the established economy of grace, he only enters into the kingdom who believes the gospel and is baptized."<sup>85</sup> He also said, "no Baptism, no objective engrafting into the mystical body of Christ."<sup>86</sup>

Gerhart also described the nature of the Lord's Supper as a transaction. It involves an objective conveyance of grace and a subjective appropriation by faith to be effective. The Lord's Supper furnishes sustaining grace to the Christian and the Christian community. The relationship between his Christology and his understanding of the Lord's Supper is outlined in the following statement: ". . . the observance of the Holy Supper can mean nothing less than that the glorified Son of Man, really present by His Holy Spirit, imparts Himself, His divine-human life, as the true spiritual meat and the true spiritual drink to His members, a mystical truth taught with great force in figurative speech by our Lord."<sup>87</sup>

He was convinced that the Calvinistic interpretation of the Lord's Supper was the most tenable of the alternatives and he was firmly of the opinion that his own explication was in agreement with the traditional Calvinistic-Reformed position. Certainly his posture is correspondent to the propositions advanced by Nevin in *The Mystical Presence*.<sup>88</sup> In his definitions of the sacraments Gerhart was true to the basic insights of Nevin. For the Mercersburg Theology the sacraments were the appointed means by which the union of God and man through Christ by the Holy Spirit was initiated and maintained.

### *Did Gerhart Change His Mind?*

**I**n his estimate of Gerhart's theology, Theodore F. Herman claimed that "from the beginning to the end of his theological career, there is not an iota of change in his position, not even a readjustment of emphasis."<sup>89</sup> James I. Good, the anti-Mercersburg historian of the Reformed Church, challenged Herman's contention. Good stated that there was a great deal of change in Gerhart's theology. He claimed that Gerhart had not been sympathetic to the Mercersburg Theology prior to his acceptance of the presidency of Franklin and Marshall in 1855. He was specifically anxious to show that while Gerhart was teaching at Heidelberg in Tiffin, Ohio, from 1851 to 1855 he was not aligned with the views of the Mercersburg professors.<sup>90</sup>

Good offered the following evidence to support his argument. First, a clas-



sis report Gerhart made in 1843 indicated that Gerhart was favorable to the revivalism which the Mercersburg Theology later repudiated.<sup>91</sup> Second, Gerhart was once committed to the Heidelberg Catechism with its "warm and experimental" theology. But under the influence of the Mercersburg movement Gerhart's theology became "hard and dry."<sup>92</sup> Third, student notebooks transcribed from Gerhart's theological lectures at Heidelberg showed no signs of the peculiar features of the Mercersburg Theology, i.e. emphasis on Incarnation, ecclesiology, and the sacraments.<sup>93</sup> Finally, representatives from the Puritan Western College Society who contemplated a financial grant to Heidelberg visited the Tiffin institutions under Gerhart's supervision and found no Romanizing tendencies.<sup>94</sup> The evidence was sufficient for Good. Gerhart had not always been committed to the principles of Mercersburg.

Gerhart's diaries and correspondence with J. H. A. Bomberger, a German Reformed ministerial friend, reveal the following facts about Gerhart's reaction to the Mercersburg Theology during the earlier years of its exposure through the writings of Nevin and Schaff.

First, Gerhart exhibited a guarded acceptance of the views of the Mercersburg professors represented in such works as Nevin's *Anxious Bench* and Schaff's *The Principle of Protestantism*. In response to a letter from Bomberger which expressed misgivings about the views emanating from Mercersburg, Gerhart wrote:

I am not prepared *sincerely* to defend our Professors at all points. These expressions I can by no means always adopt. In the main I concur with them; and do so without materially changing any of my theological opinions. — But I cannot say with you that I have any "perplexing difficulties" . . . You may have thought more on the subject than I . . .<sup>95</sup>

Second, Gerhart became increasingly irritated by the manner in which Nevin began to conduct his debates with his detractors. He said, "Whilst I never did, nor can I now sympathize with the kind of warfare that has been and is waged against him, I can not be blind to his *own* reprehensible manner, which at the same time begets a similar spirit among his opposers."<sup>96</sup>

Third, when Gerhart believed Nevin and Schaff were abandoning Protestant principles as indicated by what appeared to him to be increasingly sympathetic assessment of Roman Catholic doctrine and practice, he stated his disapproval. While he was willing to concede that the views of the professors at Mercersburg had revitalized theological activity within the German Reformed Church, he was troubled by their Romanizing tendencies. He wrote to Bomberger:

Men are beginning to realize that Dr. N. particularly, no longer occupies Protestant ground; but that just as far as his onesided & unfair mode of argumentation has any force, it sweeps away all the foundations of Protestantism. There is consequently a growing determination, firmly to resist these errors and abide by the faith delivered to the saints . . .

In my opinion Dr. S. & Dr. N. particularly, are no longer Protestants. Dr. N. regards Rome with more favor than Protestantism; considers the reigning Theology entirely wrong, stands in doubt of the Reformation; and has been drawn into such a strong current of Romish thought and feeling, that he seems to hang only as by a slender twig to the Protestant shore. I respect him as highly as ever; perhaps more so; he is conscientious and is solemn earnest; & has no inclination to conceal the fact that he has "no position" . . . .

Dr. S. is not far in the rear of Dr. N. He feels free to start every imaginable difficulty against Protestantism, whilst he is not certain that they can be met satisfactorily; at least he does not meet them manfully nor to the satisfaction of the students at Mercersburg, as I judge; on the other hand he extols and magnifies all the advantages and claims of the R. Cath. Ch. . . . I admire his learning, his intellectual ability; and, for different reasons am warmly attached to him personally; yet, holding and teaching views so favorable to Rome & so unfavorable to Prot'm, I can not understand with what propriety he, who has sworn to teach cordially & defend the Heid. Cat., can occupy the chair of Professor in our Theo'l Sem'y.<sup>97</sup>

The degree to which Gerhart had become disenchanted with the drift of the Mercersburg theologians away from Protestantism is disclosed in his words to Bomberger, ". . . I would not send a son or a brother to Mercersburg."<sup>98</sup>

When Gerhart learned in 1853 that Nevin had refused the presidency of the newly formed Franklin and Marshall College he was very pleased. He hoped that Schaff would refuse the position as well. Had either of them accepted the post, Gerhart believed, due to their Romanizing tendencies, there would have been unfavorable consequences for both the college and the church. He viewed his own election to the presidency as an opportunity to vindicate the German Reformed Church of the accusations that it was maneuvering in the direction of Rome. Gerhart had not misread the theological intentions of Nevin during the period from 1851 to 1854. That was a period of theological crisis for Nevin during which he found himself increasingly attracted to Roman Catholicism. He wavered between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism until the end of 1854 when he stated publicly that he intended to remain a Protestant.<sup>99</sup> Gerhart was probably wrong about Schaff's attraction to Roman Catholicism.

It was during Nevin's "dizziness" (1851-1854) that Gerhart had his greatest difficulty with the theological position of his friend and former teacher. During those years he could say with candor, ". . . I have not the least sympathy with any of the later developments of Mercersburg."<sup>100</sup> He was not able to share Nevin's gravitation toward Roman Catholicism. It is doubtful, however, that Good's contention that Gerhart was not supportive of the basic Christological, ecclesiological, and sacramental positions of the Mercersburg Theology prior to assuming the presidency of Franklin and Marshall is capable of substantiation. Indeed, while he occupied his post at Heidelberg, Gerhart wrote:

Whilst my system of philosophizing and my Theology are more *churchly* than they have been at any time, and I must sympathize heartily with all the general principles of what may be called Mercersburg Theology, yet I see so much

on both sides, that I consider very wrong and unchristian, that I am utterly unwilling to take sides with either party as regards the course of conduct pursued during the last six or nine months.<sup>101</sup>

It seems reasonable to conclude that neither the position of Herman, i.e. that Gerhart's theology never changed, nor the position of Good, is acceptable. Gerhart admitted that his views had "undergone material change"<sup>102</sup> and that he concurred with the "general principles" of the Mercersburg Theology before he took up his duties at Franklin and Marshall. While he did not favor all of the methods employed by the proponents and opponents of the Mercersburg movement, and while he decidedly rejected any drift from Protestant principles, he was apparently in agreement with the basic ideas promulgated by Nevin and Schaff.

### *Conclusion*

The creative period of the Mercersburg Theology ended about the year 1863. Schaff moved on to New York in that year and became a prominent teacher at Union Theological Seminary. Meanwhile, Nevin was relatively inactive. After the Civil War he was elected to the presidency of Franklin and Marshall, but the theologically constructive years marked by the Mercersburg controversy were behind him. It was left to men such as Gerhart to consolidate and conserve the Mercersburg heritage.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century new interests captured the theological spotlight in America. "Darwinism, biblical criticism, the social problems of urbanization and industrialism, psychology of religion, and the religious education movement crowded aside Christology, the church, and sacraments."<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, Gerhart was convinced that the major insights developed by Nevin and Schaff were still valid and necessary even at the end of the century when the *Institutes* were published. Since he lived through and participated in the formative and controversial periods of the Mercersburg Theology, he was as qualified as anyone to write the most systematic treatment of its major principles. For that reason, as well as for the important role he played in the general life of the German Reformed Church during the nineteenth century, his life and thought are worthy of continued examination. □

## Abbreviations

<i>GRM</i>	<i>German Reformed Messenger</i>
<i>ICR</i>	Gerhart, <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i>
<i>MR</i>	<i>The Mercersburg Review</i>
<i>RCM</i>	<i>Reformed Church Messenger</i>
<i>RQR</i>	<i>The Reformed Quarterly Review</i>
<i>WM</i>	<i>Weekly Messenger</i>

<sup>1</sup>E.g. in George W. Richards, *History of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania* (Lancaster: Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1952), pp. 578-581.

<sup>2</sup>James I. Good, *Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D. as Professor of Theology at Tiffin, Ohio*, (n.p., 1920), and Theodore F. Herman, "The Theology of Professor E. V. Gerhart," *RCR*, XXIII (April, 1918), pp. 211-238.

<sup>3</sup>D. Y. Heisler, *The Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America*, IV (Lancaster: J. M. Westhaeffer, 1872), pp. 94-105.

<sup>4</sup>George W. Richards, "Emanuel Vogel Gerhart, D.D." in *Ole Mercersburg* (New York, The Journal of American History, 1912), p. 102-

<sup>5</sup>H. M. J. Klein, *A Century of Education at Mercersburg* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, Inc., 1936), pp. 23, 32-39, 50-81. This volume also includes a description of the curriculum of the Classical School, pp. 25-30.

<sup>6</sup>G. W. Willard, "The Student Life of Dr. Gerhart," *RCM*, 10 June 1897, pp. 2-3. There are four unpublished notebooks in Gerhart's own handwriting in the Historical Society and Archives, Philip Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster Pennsylvania.

<sup>7</sup>Howard J. B. Ziegler, *Frederick Augustus Rauch: American Hegelian* (Manheim: Sentinel Printing House, 1953), pp. 1-34.

<sup>8</sup>Emanuel V. Gerhart. "Dr. Murdoch on Rauch's Psychology," *MR*, VIII (April, 1856), pp. 235-254.

<sup>9</sup>Richards, *History of the Theological Seminary*, pp. 206-211, and James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the U. S. in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1911), p. 34.

<sup>10</sup>Luther J. Binkley, *The Mercersburg Theology* (Manheim: Sentinel Printing House, 1953), pp. 13, 16-17,

<sup>11</sup>Gerhart, "John Williamson Nevin: His Godliness," *RQR*, XXXIV (January, 1887), p. 19.

<sup>12</sup>"Ordination and Installation," *WM*, 31 August 1842, p. 1447.

<sup>13</sup>"Ecclesiastical," *WM*, 20 July 1842, p. 1442.

<sup>14</sup>"Hymenial," *WM*, 11 January 1843, p. 1523.

<sup>15</sup>Gerhart, Unpublished diary, 1 May 1843. Gerhart's diaries for the years 1843 through 1850, 1854 through 1857, and 1859 through 1864 are available in the Historical Society and Archives, Philip Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

<sup>16</sup>Gerhart, Unpublished diary, 9 April 1849, 16 April 1849, and 29 April 1849.

<sup>17</sup>A. S. Zerbe, "The First Seventy-five Years, 1824-1899," in *Souvenir Booklet - Centennial, One Hundred Years of Reformed Church History in Ohio and Adjacent States* (No place, no publisher, 1923), pp. 29-45.

<sup>18</sup>Zerbe, p. 43.

<sup>19</sup>Good, *History of the Reformed Church*, p. 297.

<sup>20</sup>Gerhart, Unpublished diary, 1 August 1854, 14 September 1854. The latter entry is particularly important because it contains the substance of Gerhart's reasons for accepting the presidency.

<sup>21</sup>Gerhart, *Franklin and Marshall College and the New Endowment Scheme* (Chambersburg: M. Kieffer and Co., 1856).

<sup>22</sup>*The Inner Life of the Christian* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1856).

<sup>23</sup>(Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857).

<sup>24</sup>"Mercersburg Quarterly Review," *GRM*, 22 July 1857, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>H. M. J. Klein, *History of Franklin and Marshall College, 1787-1948* (Lancaster: Intelligencer Printing Company, 1952), pp. 93-96.

<sup>26</sup>Gerhart, Unpublished document in Historical Society and Archives, Philip Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

<sup>27</sup>Klein, *History of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States* (Lancaster: Rudisill and Smith Company, 1943), pp. 253-254.

<sup>28</sup>Gerhart, "The Historical Element in Theology," *MR*, XVI (January, 1869), p. 146.

<sup>29</sup>Richards, *History of the Theological Seminary*, pp. 345-355.

<sup>30</sup>Good, *History of the Reformed Church*, pp. 495-496.

<sup>31</sup>(New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co.)

<sup>32</sup>The most recent attempts to provide a comprehensive description of the Mercersburg Theology have been made by Luther J. Binkley, *The Mercersburg Theology* and James H. Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961).

<sup>33</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," *Bibliotheca Sacra and Biblical Repository*, XX (January, 1863), p. 34.

<sup>34</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," p. 59.

<sup>35</sup>Gerhart, "Rationalistic Tendencies of Modern Theology," *MR*, XIV (October, 1867), p. 621.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Philip Schaff, *The Principle of Protestantism*, ed. Bard Thompson and George H. Bricker, Lancaster Series on the Mercersburg Theology, No. 1 (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1964), pp. 129-155.

<sup>37</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church in America," *MR*, XIV April, 1867), p. 275.

<sup>38</sup>Gerhart, "Rationalistic Tendencies in Modern Theology," p. 612.

<sup>39</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," p. 73.

<sup>40</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," p. 65.

<sup>41</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," p. 67.

<sup>42</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," p. 73.

<sup>43</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," p. 74.

<sup>44</sup>Gerhart, "The German Reformed Church," p. 75.

<sup>45</sup>Thomas G. Apple, "The Crown of Dr. Gerhart's Life," *RCM*, 10 June 1897, p.2.

<sup>46</sup>Richards, *History of the Theological Seminary*, pp. 517-518.

<sup>47</sup>Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "Theology in American: A Historical Survey," in *The Shaping of American Religion*, ed. James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 271n.

<sup>48</sup>Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology*, p. 140.

<sup>49</sup>Gerhart, *ICR*, I, pp. 69, 71.

<sup>50</sup>Gerhart, *ICR*, I, pp. 4-5.

- <sup>51</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, viii. Cf. Schaff, *The Principle of Protestantism*, pp. 223-225.
- <sup>52</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, pp. 24-32.
- <sup>53</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, p. 33.
- <sup>54</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, p. 78.
- <sup>55</sup> Gerhart, "The Interpretation of the Parable," *MR*, X (October, 1858), p. 583.
- <sup>56</sup> Gerhart, *An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*, p. 99, and Gerhart, "The Nature of Philosophy," *MR*, IX (April, 1857), p. 285.
- <sup>57</sup> Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology*, p. 140.
- <sup>58</sup> Gerhart, "The Creed and Dogmatic Theology," *MR*, XVIII (April, 1871), pp. 220-221.
- <sup>59</sup> Gerhart, *Christ the Source of Salvation* (Lancaster: Inquirer Printing and Publishing Co., 1875), p. 10.
- <sup>60</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, p. 154.
- <sup>61</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, p. 158.
- <sup>62</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, p. 158.
- <sup>63</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, p. 179.
- <sup>64</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, p. 180.
- <sup>65</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, I, pp. 180-181.
- <sup>66</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 426.
- <sup>67</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, pp. 670-671.
- <sup>68</sup> John Williamson Nevin, *The Mystical Presence and other Writings on the Eucharist*, ed. Bard Thompson and George H. Bricker, Lancaster Series on the Mercersburg Theology, No. 4 (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1966), p. 201.
- <sup>69</sup> Nevin, *The Mystical Presence*, pp. 213-219.
- <sup>70</sup> Nevin, *The Mystical Presence*, p. 222.
- <sup>71</sup> Nevin, *The Mystical Presence*, pp. 173-179.
- <sup>72</sup> Binkley, *The Mercersburg Theology*, pp. 50-51.
- <sup>73</sup> Gerhart, "Cantate Domino," *MR*, XII (January, 1860), p. 145.
- <sup>74</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 464.
- <sup>75</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 450.
- <sup>76</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 650.
- <sup>77</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 454.
- <sup>78</sup> Cf. James H. Nichols, ed., *The Mercersburg Theology*, A Library of Protestant Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 60.
- <sup>79</sup> Quoted in Nichols, ed., *The Mercersburg Theology*, p. 49.
- <sup>80</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 555.
- <sup>81</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 563.
- <sup>82</sup> Nevin, *The Mystical Presence*, p. 108.
- <sup>83</sup> Gerhart, "The Efficacy of Baptism," *MR*, I (January, 1858), pp. 1-44, "Holy Baptism," *MR*, XV (April, 1868), pp. 180-228, and "The Doctrine of Baptism as Taught in the Heidelberg Catechism," *MR*, XX (October, 1873), pp. 537-572.
- <sup>84</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, 559.
- <sup>85</sup> Gerhart, "Holy Baptism," p. 223.
- <sup>86</sup> Gerhart, "The Doctrine of Baptism," p. 571.
- <sup>87</sup> Gerhart, *ICR*, II, p. 607.
- <sup>88</sup> Nevin, *The Mystical Presence*, pp. 177-183.

<sup>89</sup> Herman, "The Theology of Professor E. V. Gerhart," p. 214.

<sup>90</sup> James I. Good, "Dr. Gerhart's New Theology," *The Reformed Church Monthly*, II (May, 1869), pp. 220-231, "Factiousness Once More," *The Reformed Church Monthly*, II (August, 1869), pp. 401-407, and *Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D.*

<sup>91</sup> Good, *Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>92</sup> Good, *Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D.*, p. 9.

<sup>93</sup> Good, *Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D.*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>94</sup> Good, *Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D.D.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>95</sup> Gerhart, Unpublished letter to J. H. A. Bomberger, 31 December 1845. The correspondence with Bomberger is available in the Historical Society and Archives.

<sup>96</sup> Gerhart, Unpublished letter to J. H. A. Bomberger, 17 January 1851.

<sup>97</sup> Gerhart, Unpublished letter to J. H. A. Bomberger, 14 October 1852. Cf. Gerhart, Unpublished diary, 14 September 1854.

<sup>98</sup> Gerhart, Unpublished letter to J. H. A. Bomberger, 14 October 1852.

<sup>99</sup> Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology*, pp. 211, 233-234.

<sup>100</sup> Gerhart, Unpublished letter to J. H. A. Bomberger, 20 July 1853.

<sup>101</sup> Gerhart, Unpublished letter to J. H. A. Bomberger, 21 October 1853.

<sup>102</sup> Gerhart, Unpublished letter to J. H. A. Bomberger, 2 March 1847.

<sup>103</sup> Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology*, p. 309.

### *About the Contributor*

Charles Yrigoyen, Jr. was born in Philadelphia in 1937, and received his B.S. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1959. Three years later he earned his B.D. from the Lancaster Theological Seminary, and in 1964 a Th.M. from Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary. In 1973 he received the Doctor of Philosophy degree from Temple University.

His pastoral charges have included Gap Methodist Church and Lancaster Avenue Methodist Church, both in Lancaster County; and Falls Methodist Church and United Methodist Church, both in Philadelphia. At present he is Associate Professor of Religion and serves as Chaplain at Albright College, at Reading.

He is married to the former Jeanette Brittingham, and they are the parents of two children, Debra Jean and Charles III.

Dr. Yrigoyen (pronounced Your' e ghen) has been recognized widely in the scholarly community, and he has a number of articles published to his credit.

Another article on Emanuel V. Gerhart: Churchman, Theologian and First President of Franklin and Marshall College, appeared in the *JOURNAL*, Volume 78 No. 1, 1974. □