

THE UNION SEMINARY REVIEW

Vol. LVI.

NOVEMBER, 1944.

No. 1

BENJAMIN MOSBY SMITH IN EARLY MANHOOD

BY FRANCIS R. FLOURNOY, A. M., Ph. D.,
*Professor of History and Political Science,
The College of Emporia,
Emporia, Kansas.*

In the REVIEW for November, 1943, an account was given of the early life of the Rev. Dr. B. M. Smith, Professor of Oriental Literature in Union Seminary from 1854 to 1889. The narrative ended with his graduation from college in 1829 at the age of eighteen. In this article an account is given of his life from this date until his return from Europe in the summer of 1837.

As the theme of the first article was the spiritual and intellectual development of Dr. Smith during his boyhood and youth, as affording an understanding of his character during his maturity, so this article is intended to show the growth of his interests, his mental powers and his spiritual convictions during a no less critical period of his life. That most of the narrative is concerned with his European experiences is due to the accidental circumstance that among the few private papers of Dr. Smith that have been preserved is a full and rather carefully prepared diary which begins at the time when he left his home to go to Germany. Thus it has been possible to introduce into the story certain impressions which Mr. Smith obtained of the contemporary conditions in Europe and especially in Germany. These may serve to remind us of the fact that there was once a Germany very different from that of Hitler and William II and may afford us ground for hoping that this Germany may be some day reborn.

After his graduation from college Mr. Smith remained at his home, Montrose, for several months. During this time he went to Richmond with his cousin, the Rev. Drury Lacy. While there he visited the famous Constitutional Convention in which the question of democratizing the suffrage laws was debated by some of

the leading Virginians of the day, including Madison, Monroe, Marshall and John Randolph.

In the course of the summer he made several attempts to obtain a teaching position, but he did not succeed in doing so until at the close of the year he was appointed teacher in charge of the Academy at Milton, North Carolina, between the Virginia line and Hillsboro. Of this service he writes:

Rev. D. A. Penick, who had been Pastor in Powhatan, had recently settled in Milton and got me the place. He was the first and only minister who ever spoke to me about my religious interests while I was a boy in Powhatan and I felt specially attached to him, and cousin Agnes (step cousin), his wife, was one to whom we all felt as near as if she had been really a blood relation. There was something rather abashing to me in the thought at 18 years of age of taking charge of an Academy. But I accepted. Leaving my Mother was a memorable day. I was now cutting loose from home for good and all, going, a beardless boy, among strangers, excepting Mr. and Mrs. Penick. . . .

I went to live with Mr. Penick, where I had a pleasant home for a year. . . . I soon found friends. The elders of the church . . . associated me with themselves in a weekly prayer meeting held in the church and immediately initiated me in participating actively in its exercises. I was a frequent and welcome visitor at their homes. . . . I had some scholars sufficiently advanced to keep me busy studying ahead in Latin, Greek and Mathematics. . . . I got on quite well, had concluded in the fall to give up my school and come to the Seminary, or teach elsewhere. Had a fine examination, and as I was giving my pupils a farewell address, I became overpowered with my feelings and burst into tears, in which all joined. As I had been earnestly solicited to teach another year, I at once changed my plan and the scholars all went home expressing delight that I would teach again. . . .

In the summer of 1831 I went to Hillsboro and to Chapel Hill at the commencement and got up the first Educational Association ever formed in the South. I interested Mr. William J. Bingham of the Hillsboro Hall Academy, Judge Nash of Hillsboro and John Hewitt, Editor of the Hillsboro paper, and the President, Dr. Caldwell, and Professors in the University, and the Association I have no doubt did good. It was a bold presumption in a boy just 20 years old to go forward as leader in the enterprise but the gentlemen were pleased to overlook all that and heartily gave me their aid.

In the excerpts which have been quoted from Dr. Smith's reminiscences he refers to a decision which he made while at Milton and which determined the course of his subsequent life. Before this time his religious convictions had been, in his opinion, "feeble," and his "course of life not decidedly Christian." But under the influence of the associations formed during his work as a teacher with Mr. Penick and others in Milton, he "became much more satisfied" and decided to enter the ministry. Consequently he gave up his school work towards the end of the year 1831.

made a visit to his mother, who was in poor health, and on December 28, 1831, after the prescribed examinations, he was admitted to Union Seminary.

As has been pointed out in the previous article on Dr. Smith's early life, the Seminary had been reorganized and reopened in 1824 under the vigorous leadership of Dr. John Holt Rice, with a separate faculty of its own, with its own building and with a fairly adequate endowment. In 1828 the Rev. Hiram P. Goodrich was added to the faculty, and in 1831 the Rev. Elisha Ballentine became tutor. In this latter year, however, an irreparable loss was experienced in the death of Dr. Rice, with whom Mr. Smith had lived during his four years in Hampden-Sidney College. The Rev. Dr. George A. Baxter, the President of Washington College, was thereupon added to the Faculty and in 1835 the Rev. Dr. Stephen Taylor was appointed the first Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity.

Unfortunately little is known about Mr. Smith's life at the Seminary during this period. It would seem that the experience he had gained through cataloguing the library of his college literary society was utilized in the preparation of a catalogue of the Seminary library, of which 500 copies by order of the faculty were printed under his direction. The interest which he had developed in public education during his teaching at Milton was manifested during his Seminary days by his active participation in the founding of an Educational Association at Hampden-Sidney in 1832. Upon graduation in April, 1834, he was appointed an assistant teacher in the Seminary, was admitted to the meetings of the Faculty and became its clerk, the minutes during the period of his service in this capacity being written in his excellent diction and handwriting. Having been licensed to preach upon his graduation from the Seminary, he became in 1835 a Stated Supply at the Guinea Church in the neighborhood of Hampden-Sidney. In September, 1835, his position on the Seminary Faculty was designated as "assistant teacher in the department of Oriental Literature," and his salary was increased. At the same date it is indicated that he was serving as Librarian, a position which he had probably then held for several years.

The next step in Mr. Smith's life, his journey to Europe in the summer of 1836, is better understood in the light of certain developments in American life during this period. The principal cultural and intellectual influences during colonial times had come to this country from Great Britain. This was due in large part to the political tie established through the French Alliance, the prestige of French thought in the latter eighteenth century and the immense

influence of Thomas Jefferson, who stood for the French intellectual dominance.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, however, French influence was beginning to give way to that of Germany. This was in large part due to the growing attraction of the German universities. One reason for this attraction was that the universities of England and France failed at this period to draw any considerable number of Americans to their doors. Oxford and Cambridge admitted no students who would not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. The only French university which was well and favorably known in this country, that of Paris, was located in a city which was not considered a fit residence for a young American. France indeed was thought to be a country of infidelity and loose living; moreover, the esthetic qualities and the lucidity of thought and language which characterized French culture made little appeal to Americans of that age. On the other hand, the German universities welcomed American students without inquiring into their theological beliefs; German professors had become better known in this country than those of any other country; the universities seemed to provide the training in research which these students believed they needed; and the life of the students was relatively wholesome. Hence, shortly after the war of 1812, American students began to go for their advanced education to Germany. In 1815 and the immediately following years, four American students, Everett, Ticknor, Bancroft and Cogswell, went to Göttingen. They performed prodigies of labor at the University. Bancroft, for example, was accustomed to work from five in the morning to eleven at night, with two hours for meals. After their return they became outstanding leaders in the intellectual life of this country. Their example was soon followed by many of their fellow countrymen.

A good many of the young Americans who went to Germany were theological students. There was among such students at this period a reaching out for new knowledge and inspiration. Thus Professor Thwing:

The fourth decade of the last century was an era of intellectual and theological quickening. . . . Theological thought was tense, theological bitterness deep, theological contention critical.

Might not Germany, it was asked, which was becoming the educational center of western civilization, have something to impart to the coming theologians of this country? And indeed Germany was producing, if not the greatest theologians, certainly the greatest scholars in the fields ancillary to theology.

These tendencies in our cultural history help to explain, there-

fore, Mr. Smith's decision to go to Germany for university study. Such, however, were not the only reasons for this decision. He was interested in buying books which were unobtainable in this country, for himself and for certain of his friends. He had also developed great interest, as has been seen, in educational problems. Obviously Germany, which in many ways stood foremost among the larger countries in this field, would have much to offer with regard to educational organization and methods. Finally, the cultural and intellectual advantages for a young minister of residence in Europe was probably greater in the early nineteenth century than in later periods.

Mr. Smith left his home on June 2, 1836. He went to Richmond by stage, and then by train and boat to Alexandria, where he spent Sunday and preached. He travelled to Washington by boat, was "whirled with tremendous velocity" by train to Baltimore, and went thence, by train and boat, to Philadelphia and New York, meeting many friends on the way and making many new ones. On June 14 he took a sailing ship at New York on which the crew and passengers were all German. The voyage in rough weather was uncomfortable and irksome, since his health at this period of his life gave him a great deal of trouble. Since reading was frequently almost impossible, he employed himself at times in "scheming . . . for old Virginia," i. e., evolving a plan for "raising a fund to help poor young men" by giving them training for the profession of teaching. As the boat approached the English channel, the weather improved and he enjoyed the sight of the English shores and of the many vessels on the water. Finally on July 12 the boat entered the estuary of the Weser on its way to the port of Bremen. Taking a small boat from his steamer to the shore, he reached Bremen at nightfall, and there put up at "a splendid house with everything in style, even servants dressed as gentlemen." The next day was a busy one: "Never had a day so full of interest," he wrote, "walked around the market, vegetables of the first quality, cherries as large as plums." He now set out by coach for Hanover in the evening, traveling all night and most of the succeeding day. On this part of his journey he was much impressed by the poverty of the people:

We passed through numerous villages all nearly alike and all about as mean in appearance. Have not seen a beautiful house. Meet women laboring under vast loads piled in baskets, or suspended from the shoulders by a cross piece fitted to the back of the neck. Extreme poverty alike with mouldering age is marked on all around. Mud walls crumbling, broken windows, moss-covered or rotten straw roofs, broken tiles and rotten door sills or stones worn an inch or two deep met the eye at every place. The streets of all the villages are very roughly paved.

He was pleased with many of the people whom he met. On his stage coach journey he had pleasant chat with "a young lady of quite good appearance" and later with a young gentleman who was planning to go to Baltimore within a few months. In the towns he was treated with great courtesy:

These Germans are remarkably civil and polite. One in the stage, a newcomer (our party having been increased by the young lady and gentleman) bowed to me on entering as if he were an old acquaintance, so that I asked him whether I had seen him before. I have in walking the streets of Brunswick or Hanover or Bremen or Halle, met persons who on being asked to show me to a place would immediately turn off and go with me.

After another long stage journey, in which he was delighted with the "enchancing scenery" of the mountainous country through which he passed, the beautiful avenues approaching the cities and the views of ruined castles and monasteries on distant eminences, he arrived at his destination, the university city of Halle.

The University of Halle was established in 1694 and at once achieved a high place in the academic world of Germany. Shortly after its foundation, the new university's theological faculty came to be composed very largely of men who were under the influence of the founder of German Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener, and Halle became the principal center for the propagation of Pietist doctrines throughout Germany. Spener emphasized the need of a more vital, earnest faith, to be nourished by devotional exercises and to be made active and manifest in positive Christian conduct. The moving spirit in Pietism at Halle after Spener's death was Professor August Hermann Francke, a Lutheran pastor, who established in the city a great system of institutions, partly for poor children, which came to be intimately connected with the University. Under these conditions a steady increase took place in the number of theological students at Halle, and thereafter it remained in many respects the most important center for such students in Germany.

Mr. Smith upon his arrival at Halle immediately sought out the famous Professor Tholuck. This eminent scholar had already acquired a world reputation. In early youth he had adopted what was known as "rationalism," i. e., the materialistic and mechanistic philosophical theories that had become fashionable in the eighteenth century. But while a student at the University of Berlin his whole outlook changed. At this period there was a strong reaction in German religious life against "rationalism," and there took place an evangelical movement which involved the revival of many features of Spener's Pietism. With one of the evangelical leaders, Baron von Kottwitz, a Moravian, Tholuck came into close contact,

and chiefly through his influence, but also through the lectures of Schleiermacher and Neander, he was, in the words of Professor Stearns, "brought by a profound and genuine experience to the acceptance of the gospel of the crucified Saviour in its simplicity and power." Becoming an instructor at the University of Berlin, he published two books, one an account of his own spiritual experience and the other a commentary on Romans, which were of great influence in the growth of the evangelical movement and the decline of rationalism.

At this point Tholuck was vested with a great responsibility. The theological faculty of Halle in the early nineteenth century had come under the domination of some of the most brilliant leaders of the rationalists in the German church, such as Gesenius, Wegscheider and Niemeyer, so that the spiritual life of the University appears to have reached a low point. To remedy this situation, the Prussian Minister of Education transferred Tholuck from Berlin to Halle. When he went to his new post he "was received with contempt and riotous demonstrations by the students and with ill-concealed aversion" by the leading members of the theological faculty. With the exception of a few of the citizens of the town, "all the rest, with the whole university," remarks Mr. Smith in his diary, "were against him, often scoffing, and hissing in public worship." Yet he bore it all and in a few years he succeeded in overcoming the influence of his opponents and stimulating the religious life of the students. The diary continues:

He . . . is, now, reaping his earthly reward in the affection of a hundred young men who are attached to him individually and of many citizens who will attend his preaching, tho: designed mainly for the students.

When Mr. Smith called on Tholuck, the latter, he says, "immediately and kindly interested himself in all my affairs and insisted that I should dine with him, after sending to procure lodgings for me."

For the next day, Sunday, there is the following entry in the diary:

This morning according to agreement my new friend [one of the German students] called to take me to the Cathedral to hear Professor Tholuck. We entered with the gathering crowds of small parties. Although it was Sabbath I could not easily divert my attention from the novel scenes around me. As each individual entered he held his hat or cap before his face and stood for a few moments in a devotional attitude. The Cathedral has a high gallery all around. It is tolerably well filled with comfortable seats and literally adorned with sculpture and painting of a Scripture character. While musing on the transient nature of all earthly things as developed by the numerous

monuments to the dead and the mouldering elegance of many parts of the Cathedral, my attention was suddenly arrested by the introductory music. It rose from the organ in deepening and still deepening peals thro' the vast building and was echoed from the vaulted ceiling in tones of mingled softness and power. Then by one simultaneous movement, the whole congregation of 700 or 800 joined in the words of the Hymn . . . which I may thus freely render in English—

Within this heart of mine
King of all the Saints descend,
Pardon, peace and love divine,
Thy rich Heavenly blessings send.
Bright on my soul, I pray
That the sun of Grace may beam
Thus thy House this Holy Day
To me a Heaven on Earth may seem.

As the mingled voice of the congregation and choir with the notes of the organ and other instruments swelled in the utterance of the last petition, it is impossible to describe my emotions. I had never heard music with such effect. It thrilled through me, and ere I was aware, I was using my handkerchief to screen myself from the observation of those around me. We all arose for prayer. I had looked in vain for some time to see the Professor enter the pulpit, which was nearly opposite me on the other side of the house. I now observed his head and part of his bust slightly elevated above the crowd—as he rose to read. The light from above rested on his broad and smooth forehead—while his peculiarly mild features imparted to the expression of his countenance much of that which we imagine belonged to the Evangelist whose writings he has loved to explain. His whole manner was peculiarly impressive and devotional and his voice combined the strength of a deep intonation with the softness of a female alto. His sermon followed after a most beautiful Hymn invoking the fatherly love and goodness of God. It was on the Lord's prayer and although I caught but few expressions, I discovered in his manner so much of the best style of Virginia oratory I could but like the discourse. As the services closed all arose and after a few moments of silent prayer retired 'decently and in order'—no noise, crowding or bustle.

On the next day Mr. Smith attended Tholuck's lecture, of which he gives the following account:

The lecture rooms are large and commodious, will accommodate perhaps 300. I had already been shewn a seat, and observed the students as they entered, each with a portfolio and horn inkstand, and as they came in it was with much of a school boy's air and manner, often getting on the benches and even writing desks to reach their seats. As they collected and prepared to write there was the same hum that you hear in an old field schoolhouse in Virginia when the Master is out. At once this ceased. Professor T. entered, walking rapidly and bent as in private—took his place in the *Cathedral* and in half a minute began his lecture, partly extempore and partly written. He speaks slowly and distinctly, and there is mute attention but for the motion of a hundred pens over rough German paper. One man I saw nodding; so, thought I, [Virginia] students are not the only ones who feel drowsy

on an afternoon. Generally they are not as well looking as American students—more shabby—less taste, or rather none in dress, and by no means so intelligent in appearance. The Professor appeared grave and threw into his manner much of his peculiar animation and power of expression by his countenance.

The young Virginian also attended some of the lectures of the distinguished historian of early Christianity, Gesenius. Mr. Smith perceived the Professor's genius and his ability as a lecturer, but was repelled by his flippant manner in the classroom, his *penchant* for joking about sacred things, and his "rationalistic" attitude towards religion.

One of Mr. Smith's major interests in Halle was its group of schools. Among the most widely known were those established by the great Pietist leader, August Hermann Francke, who, as has been mentioned, was active in the promotion of religious life at the University of Halle in its early days. Francke had first organized a school for pauper children of the city and at about the same time an Orphan House, where needy orphans were cared for and educated. At a later time there were added other schools, some preparatory to the University. All were conducted on Pietistic principles and were supported by the private benevolence of Christian people. Much of the teaching was done by poor students who were thus enabled to work their way through the University. Of Mr. Smith's visits to two of Francke's institutions, we have the following accounts:

With Jahn [a German friend] went into the precincts of the Orphan House, and found the pupils at their Military exercises, all in uniform and commanded by a real soldier. They acted with wonderful precision and adroitness—quite amusing to see them equipped and marching, turning and performing all the military evolutions in soldier style. Really it would seem that this is a kingdom of soldiers. In passing out to the play park or place, for gymnastics, I unexpectedly found myself standing before the monument erected to the memory of Francke, . . . a statue in black on a block of white marble with a clerical drapery represents the immortal founder of the asylum. He stands with a hand on the head of one child with the other pointed toward heaven while his head leans slightly over to another child on his right. I never saw a more venerable figure—nor did I ever feel before anything of what might be called a disposition to worship a man. . . .

This morning attended the Orphan House and heard several classes in the *Töchter* school—on Church History, Bible lessons, . . . and *Real Kenntniss* or Knowledge of Common Things to prepare for entering the *Real Schule* where the children are taught what will enable them to pursue the ordinary business of life. The chronological accuracy and knowledge of events in Church History displayed by girls from 9 to 13 was really surprising. . . . I promised myself much pleasure in revisiting the place when the next semester begins.

In the recess between the summer and autumn session of the University Mr. Smith went upon pleasant excursions with Professor Tholuck, his sister and other friends to the neighboring cities of Merseburg and Leipzig. In the course of these excursions he had many talks with Professor Tholuck in which he endeavored to inform himself on the state of religion in Europe. Tholuck told him of the decline of religious feeling in Germany through the growth of "rationalism," and also of the work of the evangelicals, of whom he himself was one of the most eminent, in bringing about a revival of genuine zeal and real understanding of Christianity. From English and Scotch visitors to Halle, whom Mr. Smith met chiefly through the agency of Tholuck, he learned also of the religious situation in Great Britain.

At times in his residence in Halle, Mr. Smith received visits from fellow Americans. One of the most interesting of these is described as follows, under date of September 10, 1836:

While busily engaged this morning reading in my book of German synonyms, a rap at my door was followed by the entrance of three gentlemen. I did not at first look up and when I did was rather surprised to see so many strange visitors. One advanced to the table—a short, thickset German—and addressing me in that language introduced me to Prof. Stowe . . . He introduced me then to Rev. Mr. Stern of old South Church, Boston, a delicate, interesting looking young man apparently about my age. I afterward found him to be 34—but a year younger than Prof. Stowe. . . .

"Professor Stowe" was of course Calvin E. Stowe, who had gone in 1833 to serve as professor in Lane Seminary near Cincinnati. This had been founded in 1831 by the Rev. Lyman Beecher, who had observed the lack of adequate provision for the education of ministers for service in the rapidly growing states of the Ohio Valley area. In 1836 Professor Stowe had married as his second wife Dr. Beecher's talented daughter Harriet. A few months afterwards he had been commissioned by the Ohio legislature for the purpose of making a study of the public school systems there, especially that of Prussia. This of course explains his presence in Halle when he visited Mr. Smith. His report on European schools was widely circulated in Ohio, Pennsylvania and other States. It was used by Mr. Smith in preparing his own study of Prussian education to which reference is made on a later page. In addition, Professor Stowe, like Mr. Smith, was interested in buying books, as he had obtained from certain friends of Lane Seminary a fund to make additions to the meagre collection in the Library of that institution.

Mr. Smith took great interest in his new acquaintances:

Have found Stern a very interesting and pious companion. . . .
Went to see my new friends and we enjoyed a short and pleasant season of prayer together. . . .

With my American friends went this evening to walk around the grave-yard and thence out on the Leipzig road. Am better and better pleased with Sterne but do not think Mr. Stowe entirely free from my besetting sin of vanity. . . .

Upon the reopening of the University in October Mr. Smith derived greater profit from the university lectures than in the summer term because of his increased proficiency in German. Thus he tells of hearing a lecture on Anglo-Saxon which he thought "quite interesting." Regarding another lecture he makes the following note:

Went to the University and at last Pott began his Sanscrit Lectures. Was hard to understand in his introductory remarks—quite pleasant in his appearance and a good lecturer. The language presents a host of difficulties and its characters are not the least so. General information on language will however repay me for the lecture time.

Besides lecturing, the German professors of this period were accustomed to hold what was known as a *Seminarium*, i. e., a course of meetings, generally held in the evening, at which the more advanced students would have opportunity for informal discussion with the Professor. Mr. Smith's diary contains the following account of one of these meetings:

Went tonight to Tholuck's Seminarium. It was quite interesting and the mode of giving instruction very much like that of Professor Goodrich [Professor in Union Seminary from 1828 to 1838] in his daily exercises. Refreshments consisting of bread and butter and beer were brought in and handed round. Tholuck himself distributed the glasses. At the close he read a sermon of Misella on the nature of the priest's office of a highly solemn and impressive character, and it was indeed interesting to see him impressing on these young men the solemn nature of the duties they expected to undertake.

Mr. Smith continued to enjoy frequent personal conversation with Tholuck. Thus he notes in his diary:

This evening had a very pleasant visit from Professor Tholuck. He sat three-quarters of an hour and conversed first about Americans not learning Latin. Then the conversation turned on his lectures on morals respecting which he remarked that he grounded his whole system of Ethics on the Bible and especially the New Testament.

As Christmas approached, Mr. Smith had an opportunity to take part in the German celebrations of that season, which were of especial interest to him since he had never been accustomed to such festivities in his own home. Thus we find the following entries in his diary in December, 1836:

23rd . . . Walked out and found everything in preparation for Christmas, large collections of evergreens and every possible form of children's playthings.

24th . . . Today "our folks" have been pretty busy getting ready for Christmas. Everyone seems to take part. . . . Went down at six to see Christmas tree . . . On a long table neatly covered was placed the tree with its apples, nuts and cakes dangling from the limbs. At one end a mock tower was decked with evergreens and lighted with tapers—and the whole table covered with apples, nuts, and the children's toys, clothes and the like. The girls came in one after another and as each with Freiberg's children (the two families celebrating together) appeared, its present was pointed out and acknowledged by a kiss. I could but notice a little boy of Freiberg's whose joy was too full for utterance and who stood the whole evening with a broad grin inspecting his affairs. We took our tea below but had to send up for our sugar. At half after seven went to Tholuck's who was apparently delighted as he said to see me *with my feet*. [Mr. Smith had been suffering from risings on his feet.] After some conversation we were invited into the room where I found a similar table and where we all received our presents from him. I had sent him a portrait of Dr. Rice . . . He closed by reading in a very impressive manner the Annunciation and a very beautiful German hymn—but no prayer.

25th—A fine Christmas present. Two letters from home—Oh my rich blessings—how unworthy.

30th— . . . This morning Freyberg's little daughter made her appearance with a magisterial card warning against all assemblages on New Year's eve.

Early in the year 1837 Mr. Smith went to Berlin for a stay of two months. Upon arriving there, he soon made the acquaintance of Baron von Kottwitz, Tholuck's "spiritual father." This remarkable man had served as a page at the court of Frederick the Great, had thereafter inherited the extensive estates of his father, had become a Free Mason, and had then become converted, apparently under the influence of the Moravians, who took an active part in the Pietist movement which had been led by Spener and Francke in the early eighteenth century. Kottwitz believed that the physical needs of the poor and downtrodden masses must be met before they could really profit by spiritual teaching. He accordingly used his energies, his influence and his fortune in promoting the material as well as the religious welfare of the poor. When Mr. Smith visited the Baron, now an old man, he was "received in a truly Christian manner" in the institution where von Kottwitz lived. Of the institution and the Baron Mr. Smith says:

It is a poorhouse on an excellent plant. He only designed to give poor people without a home a covering and opportunity to work. They then carry on their several trades and support themselves, only having in sickness free doctors and medicines. If their children are numerous, they are also in part supported to prevent their affording any occasion to the parents to keep them from school. The institution now num-

bers 600 persons in all, about 200 of whom are children and youth at school, and the government now patronizes it.

The reference in the last sentence is to the fact that Baron von Kottwitz had sunk all his fortune in his "poorhouse," which had nevertheless fallen into bankruptcy, so that he was forced to turn it over to the city. It was by the permission of the city government, therefore, that he had retained his own quarters among the poor people whom he loved, and that he remained the Director of the organization which he had founded. This functioned not only as a social agency but also as a center of religious work. Thus we read in the diary:

This evening went to Baron von Kottwitz's where we found quite an assemblage of people and among them the preacher of the evening. We sat a short time and then went below where we found a large congregation of the poorer sort assembled, who crowded from the doors to the stand and above the door. The singing seemed to be with the heart and was altogether very good. The prayer sounded more as though it were from the heart than anything I have heard. A lecture on Hebrews 11:22 followed in which the preacher dwelt on the character of Jephtha and told his history, . . . deducing a solemn warning from it that we should be judged by our words. I suspected he was versed in the old English theology and asked him afterwards. He said he had translated four volumes of Baxter. He seemed indeed to deserve the name of a practical preacher. After the sermon we returned to Baron von Kottwitz's Parlour and took a cup of tea.

Of von Kottwitz at this period of his life, Tholuck wrote:

This venerable Saint has been . . . enjoying a perpetual Sabbath of the soul, akin to that of the spirits of the just above, uniting a blissful repose with an equally blissful activity of love. . . . The dwellings of misery and sorrow have seen him most frequently, for his highest gratification has been to dry up the tears of the afflicted. He has travelled far and wide. Where his influence and power have been the greatest, he has improved the hospitals and jails; where his effort for doing good on a larger scale met with opposition, he betook himself to the relief of solitary wretchedness. He seemed to be a special representative of heaven and to impart to all consolation and relief.

At the University of Berlin, now at height of its greatness and of its influence, Mr. Smith attended the lectures of some of the most distinguished professors, including Neander ("a real specimen of a German student," "with fine, piercing black eyes"), Marheineke, Ganz, Ritter and Savigny.

Though Mr. Smith was chiefly interested in the University professors who dealt directly or indirectly with religious matters, he also found profitable the lectures of Professor Ganz, the great liberal historian, whose works were prohibited from publication in

Prussia because of their supposedly subversive tendencies. Mr. Smith listened with much interest to Ganz's lectures on Chinese institutions and on European political organization at the opening of the modern age. Regarding his discussion of the absolute monarchy in China, Mr. Smith makes this interesting comment:

The lecture described Prussia, I thought, when he dwelt on that despotism which is the characteristic of the infancy of man.

Mr. Smith called on Ganz upon his invitation and found him exceedingly pleasant and interested in America, which he desired to visit.

Mr. Smith's strong interest in educational and social problems and the measures carried on in Germany to solve them caused him to continue the systematic investigation of the schools which he had begun at Halle and which resulted in a large collection of notes, most of which unfortunately have been lost. It was on the basis of these notes and on the contemporary studies of Cousin, Stowe, and Julius that he wrote his report in 1839 to the Governor of Virginia on the Prussian school system, a report that has been pronounced as "perhaps the most significant document of the period" and deserving "to rank with the early American reports on the European school system."¹

In Berlin Mr. Smith found an orphan house, apparently one of those established in various parts of Germany on the model of the institution founded by Francke in Halle. He also visited an institute for the training of the blind and a school for Jewish children. He gives a full account of a visit which he paid to an institution for the support and education of vagabond, unmanageable and delinquent children. He records:

Here they are instructed not only in religion and literacy, but are taught useful hand-trades and unitedly work in a garden. The profits of labor defray about one-half of the expenses. It is on the whole a good institution. Religion is front and foremost, and with the systematic military precise way which is common to all Prussian schools and institutions, this unites a bit of English or American Utilitarianism which helps the matter much.

"Determined to . . . get a sight of the Prussian people in a new *Zustand* and from a new *Standpunkt*," Mr. Smith mingled with

¹The quotations are from William A. Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia* (p. 130). The report of Mr. Smith was prepared in response to a letter to him from Governor Campbell of Virginia dated September 4, 1838. It was submitted to the Legislature and published as a State document in 1839. It will be reviewed more fully in an article which I intend to prepare in the near future on Dr. Smith's work in the field of public education.

a great crowd watching the execution of a murderess, and the subsequent breaking of her body on the wheel. He observed especially two popular characteristics. One was the callous indifference to the barbaric proceedings. The other was the subservience to authority :

Soldiers under arms . . . preëminent by the cocked hat or feathered cap, reminded us that all must be quiet and orderly . . . I now and then heard a faint laugh or a loud voice. Generally, however, there was but a low indistinct humming, not that the power of sympathy for the unfortunate victim of her passions led to seriousness or silence, but the people here are the ruled and silence and order are enforced by the sword and the bayonet.

When Mr. Smith prepared to leave Berlin, he bade farewell to many who had become his warm friends. "Old Baron von Kottwitz," he wrote, "almost made me cry as he gave me his parting blessing and three kisses—peace to his golden old age."

Mr. Smith's wish regarding the old saint was fulfilled. Dr. Philip Schaff writes :

I had the pleasure of frequently seeing and conversing with this John-like disciple of the Lord in his extreme old age in the years 1840 and 1842, having been introduced to him by the kindness of Tholuck, and I have never met a man who seemed so nearly to approach the ideal of an evangelical saint . . . He seemed to be transformed into the holy image of Jesus. His whole life was a course of unostentatious, disinterested benevolence, an imitation of him who went about doing good and sacrificed himself for the salvation of the world.

Leaving Berlin on March 9, Mr. Smith made his way back to Halle. Here he renewed and extended his acquaintanceship, made additional visits to the Orphan House of which he gives a full description, and visited a Sunday School class,—which he thought was conducted much like those in this country. He had many interesting conversations with the University professors. After taking leave of Tholuck and his other friends in Halle, he left that city on March 31. At Eisleben, he examined the memorials of Luther. At the village of Artern he found the "neatest" school he had yet seen in Germany. At Erfurt he found more memorials of Luther, as was the case at the Wartburg and at Eisenach. He then made his way to the Rhine Valley, and up that valley towards Switzerland. In a great Roman Catholic Church at Colmar (in Alsace) he was much impressed by "the figures of the kneeling devotees in the dim dusk of twilight":

The Catholic religion has only given body and force to the poetry of Christianity which one hears from Protestant pulpits in the high wrought descriptions of kneeling at the Cross, sitting at the feet of Jesus, bowing at the altar.

Yet he thought that these values were counterbalanced by the superstitious practice of the Catholics.

On leaving Colmar, he came to Bern and finally through the magnificent scenery along the northern shore of Lake Geneva to the city of that name. He then went on to Paris, where he spent much time in the great collections of pictures, in the museums of antiquities and in the national library. His interest in social problems, however, led him to visit the hospital for old women, the asylum for foundlings, and the public clinic at the General Hospital.

From Paris he came to London, where he again carried on the most vigorous sightseeing. He visited both houses of Parliament, where he saw among others Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and the bishops in their robes. He visited, as at Paris and Berlin, the great national libraries and collections of antiquities, especially those included as at present within the walls of the British Museum. His chief interest was in the *orientalia* and the ancient manuscripts. He saw the crowds watching the bulletins announcing the death of the Sailor King, William IV, and heard the Lord Mayor read the announcement of the accession of Queen Victoria. He talked with merchants complaining of their prospective losses because of the preference for black clothes during the season of mourning for the King, and saw the Duke of Wellington in procession returning from a proclamation of the Queen in Tower Hamlets. He heard sermons preached on the duty of loyalty to the new queen. "Never certainly has a crowned head," he wrote, "come to a throne with such prospects of being happy and beloved."

One experience in London he records in very considerable detail. He sought out a city missionary in his rather miserable quarters in the slums of Westminster and accompanied him on his daily rounds. At the first house at which they called they were denied admittance with abusive insults. Other wretched people, some with criminal records, listened and accepted tracts but seemed little affected. A man who "sat in a passage doing nothing" met the appeals with insulting ridicule. To some, however, living in almost incredible squalor, the visitors were able to bring a measure of comfort and hope.

The time had now come for the young traveller to return home. He left England on July 21 and on August 30 he arrived in New York harbor. After visits to friends in New York, Philadelphia and Richmond, he reached his home on September 7.

What had his foreign experiences meant to his development? His primary interest while abroad had been religion. He had

made it one of his chief aims to obtain command of the linguistic, archæological and historical knowledge through which a fuller understanding might be gained of the Scriptures as originally written. He had increased his comprehension of modern religious thought, especially in Germany, where it was particularly active and challenging. He had learned of the views not only of those within the orthodox fold, in which he believed the truth alone could be found, but also of those whose ideas appeared to him destructive and dangerous. He had learned that within the confines of orthodoxy there were varieties of religious thought and emotion which deserved respect even if not always admiration. He had come into intimate contact with great religious souls, true saints of the modern church. He had caught a vision of the vast complexity and the baffling difficulty of those social problems which presented so stern a challenge to the church in his days as they do in ours. One of these, the education of youth, he had studied with assiduity and penetration. He had gained a fuller knowledge of the world of men to which the church ministers. He had learned more of its boundless aspirations, of its hideous evils, and of its immense vitality. With his mind and spirit thus refreshed and enlarged, he set about the work of a busy pastor and public-spirited citizen in Virginia (at Danville, at Tinkling Springs and Waynesboro and at Staunton) until in his early middle age there came the call to the Seminary to a work which was to occupy most of his active life.

This article, like the first on the life of Dr. Smith, has been prepared with the assistance of his only surviving daughter, Mrs. A. J. McKelway, Sr., and is based on manuscript material, especially Dr. Smith's diary, collected and preserved by her. She wishes to obtain or to have access to any other material which may be in existence concerning her father's life. Any readers of the REVIEW who can furnish or may know of such material are therefore requested to correspond with Mrs. McKelway at 2701 Park Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.