

Hans Rudolf Guggisberg

### Philip Schaff's Vision of America

Philip Schaff (1819-93) liked to think of himself as a "bridge maker" between Europe and America.<sup>1</sup> He strove hard indeed to explain Europe to Americans by emphasizing its history, religion, theology, and ecclesiastical traditions, topics quite natural for a theologian and church historian. But Schaff also considered it his duty to explain the United States to Europeans. He had a distinctive vision of America which he strove to promulgate in numerous talks and several publications.

Between 1844, when Schaff arrived in the United States, and 1893, the year he died, Schaff crossed the Atlantic fourteen times. On every journey he spent considerable time in Germany, where he was schooled, and in Switzerland, where he was born and had spent the early years of his youth. He gave numerous public talks on his European tours and held many private conversations with people of influence. Although religious issues were foremost on his mind, he also dealt with secular topics, especially as they touched matters of faith.

Schaff's view of the United States underwent several changes. This essay outlines, first, his initial assumptions and their transformation during the first decade after his arrival in the United States. It probes, second, the impact of the Civil War on Schaff's perceptions and, third, his view of the United States when he had reached the height of his career at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. The essay concludes with a brief discussion of the European reaction to Schaff's interpretation of America.

#### I

Even before his emigration to the United States in 1844, Schaff had formed a distinctive view of that nation. In the spirit of Paul, the Apostle, he interpreted the invitation to Mercersburg Seminary as a missionary calling that had been given him by divine providence. He rejoiced in the opportunity "to teach German theology in a land with great creative activity before it, which breathes the fresh air of spring

and where movement can develop unhampered from without.'<sup>2</sup> In his Elberfeld ordination sermon of 12 April 1844 Schaff identified three great dangers threatening American religious life: heathenism, Romanism, and sectarianism. He was prepared to fight these dangers and also, to save Protestant German immigrants from materialism, lawlessness, and the anti-gospel spirit.<sup>3</sup> These goals also shaped Schaff's first American book. Titled *The Principle of Protestantism* and published in 1845, it continued criticizing American sectarianism and divisiveness. Yet a more positive view of America began to emerge: he became convinced that the United States eventually would become the land of a truly Christian catholic union.<sup>4</sup> Although this view was to bring Schaff considerable difficulties, it was to remain a central tenet of his view of the United States.

During his first ten years at Mercersburg, Schaff became more and more sympathetic towards his adopted country. Although not blind to the darker side of American social and political life during the 1840s, he became increasingly fascinated, as George Shriver has pointed out, with the seemingly limitless possibilities of an expanding nation. In the short tract *Anglo-Germanism*, published in 1846, Schaff predicted American world leadership in both the religious and secular realm. Despite personal and professional setbacks, he had become thoroughly Americanized.<sup>5</sup>

Schaff's book, *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social and Religious Character of the United States* (published in 1855), reveals this development.<sup>6</sup> It is his most important and best-known attempt of explaining the United States to Europeans. The work consists of three lectures which he delivered in Berlin and Frankfurt during his sabbatical leave from Mercersburg in 1854. He had already presented parts of them also in other German and Swiss cities, notably in Basel which he visited in August of that year.<sup>7</sup> Perry Miller praises this book highly. He considers it an astute exposition of the fundamental character of American civilization, a document of primary importance that illuminated not only the phenomenon of Americanization, but also persistent problems in the dialogue between Europe and the United States.<sup>8</sup> From a late twentieth-century perspective, however, Miller's judgment, while valid in principle, seems overly positive. Although Schaff's book remains of interest today, it bears no comparison to Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, as Miller implies. It is far less original and reveals a much more limited outlook. Since Schaff was not a visitor, but a scholar who had chosen to pursue his academic career in the United States, his work is important mainly for revealing the Americanization of its author.

If one compares Schaff's views of American religious life as presented in *America* with those in *Principle of Protestantism*, one observes at once that his stance had changed from one of criticism to one of complete identification. In the earlier book he had castigated American sectarianism and religious discord; now he presented a thoroughly positive view of American religious pluralism. After ten years of intense professional effort, Schaff discarded the fundamental assumptions of the European state church environment and assessed American re-

ligious voluntarism not as corroding deviance leading to anarchy, but as a dawn of genuine ecumenical denominationalism. The United States was to become the land of true Christian union:

America seems destined to be the Phenix grave not only of all European nationalities . . . but also of all European churches and sects, of Protestantism and Romanism. I cannot think that any one of the present confessions and sects . . . will ever become exclusively dominant there, but rather, that out of the mutual conflict of all, something wholly new will gradually arise.<sup>9</sup>

This then was Schaff's main goal for his book: He wanted to show that the fate not only of the Reformation, but of Christendom as a whole would eventually be decided in the United States.<sup>10</sup>

In his later writings Schaff was to become more outspoken on the issue of the separation of church and state. It was in *America*, however, where he began explicitly to defend it,<sup>11</sup> a sign of his transition to an Americanized view of Christianity's place in the world. This work is also noteworthy for its conservatism. When featuring the past of the United States, Schaff never missed an opportunity to deride radical ideas and people. The American Revolution, for instance, he judged to have been radically different from revolutions in Europe. It had been led, he claimed, by pious and pragmatic men who did not succumb to radicalism and therefore reached their own aims. The only radical thinker of revolutionary America had been Tom Paine. His success was but brief, however, and he soon lost influence; right-thinking Americans had always rejected his ideas.<sup>12</sup> Schaff was equally impatient with the mid-nineteenth-century revolutionary movements. He deplored the refugees of the 1848 revolutions who sought asylum in the United States. In his view, they imported pernicious materialism, secularism, and radicalism into the United States.<sup>13</sup>

Other targets of Schaff's conservative criticism were feminism and abolitionism.<sup>14</sup> On slavery he spoke as a moderate in 1854, purporting that it would die out by itself eventually and that abolitionist propaganda was only hindering this process.<sup>15</sup> He remained indifferent to the sad situation of the American Indians, and Asian immigration he regarded with unabashedly racist scorn.<sup>16</sup> Among Christian denominations he denounced Roman Catholicism as un-American and Mormonism as outright non-Christian.<sup>17</sup> The American mind, in his opinion, had been essentially shaped by Anglo-Saxon and Germanic traditions.<sup>18</sup> Here Schaff appears as a forerunner of late nineteenth-century American Teutonism. His nationalism is most optimistically expressed in the confidence that America was on the way to become not only the leading Christian nation, but also one of the great world powers.<sup>19</sup>

While these ideas are only marginally developed in *America*, they become central in Schaff's work, *American Nationality*, which he published in 1856. It is a thoroughly nationalistic tract that assigns to the United States a truly global mission. In his view it was no idle dream or vain conceit to look

forward to a time when North America will be, in some sense, the centre of the world, the middle Kingdom between Europe and Asia, the great beating heart of humanity itself, sending out the life blood of nations to the extremities of the earth and gathering them into one vast brotherhood of interest of love.<sup>20</sup>

All this would happen under the sign of divine providence. Christianity would spread from America over the whole world and establish universal peace.

Yet in truly American fashion, Schaff joined this lofty claim to a humility that derived from the Reformed view of God's radical lordship when he declared:

Such high views on the history of our nation, so far from nourishing the spirit of vanity and self-glorification, ought rather to humble and fill us with a deep sense of our responsibility to the God of Nations who entrusted us with a great mission for the world and the Church, not from any superior excellency of our own, but from free choice and an inscrutable decree of infinite wisdom.<sup>21</sup>

Here again the immigrant scholar completely identified with the traditional American self-view as it had been shaped by seventeenth-century Puritanism. Yet as in his previous writings, Schaff remained keenly aware of what he viewed as the mortal dangers of American society: worldliness, materialism, radicalism, and corruption. Now he identified a further threat, the emergence of "that contemptible mushroom aristocracy whose only boast is glittering gold, unable to conceal the native vulgarity."<sup>22</sup> This anticipates Henry Adams's critique of the Gilded Age and also Jacob Burckhardt's comments on New York's plutocrats in his reflections on world history, published in English under the title *Force and Freedom*. Yet Schaff castigated one more evil, the emerging American imperialism, "the practical schemes of our manifest-destinarians, who would swallow, in one meal, Cuba, all Central America, Mexico and Canada in the bargain."<sup>23</sup> On the surface this seems to contradict Schaff's previous claim that the United States was destined for world leadership. Yet to him, the distinction was crucial: The advocates of Manifest Destiny were not guided by religious or moral concerns. As a theologian who believed in a Christian America, he rejected purely secular imperialist ambitions.

## II

In his book, *America*, Schaff had expressed relatively moderate views on slavery and was critical of radical abolitionism although he considered "the peculiar institution" a great evil and a flagrant contradiction to American ideals of humanity and equality. Although he understood slavery's historical origins, he thought that it could never be excused. It was the Achilles' heel of the United States and could, in his view, lead to national catastrophe. In both books Schaff spoke of "the terrible prospects of civil war and dissolution of the union."<sup>24</sup> The danger of civil strife apparently shocked him even more deeply than the existence

of slavery. Commenting on the 1856 crisis of "Bleeding Kansas" he declared that "the barbarous outrages . . . , no matter where the greatest guilt lies, must excite the just indignation of all friends of order and liberty."<sup>25</sup>

In 1861 Schaff again commented on slavery in a way that revealed him as a true conservative. In the last pages of his tract on *Slavery and the Bible*, he argued that no scriptural commandment existed demanding the sudden abolition of slavery. The American government was bound, therefore, to leave matters to the slave states, "in the hands of Christian philanthropy and of an all-wise Providence."<sup>26</sup> He stressed, further, that emancipation alone would be inadequate in integrating the black community into American society. Schaff's stand seems to contradict his later views of Abraham Lincoln whom he called the "martyr president." For quite different reasons the preservation of the Union was for both men more important than the abolition of slavery.

In the summer of 1865 Schaff returned to Europe for the second time. He traveled mainly in Germany and Switzerland where he spoke above all about the American Civil War. In 1866 he published his lectures under the title *Der Bürgerkrieg und das christliche Leben in Nordamerika*.<sup>27</sup> The message to his eager audiences was simple and optimistic: God had unleashed the war on the American people both as a punishment and as a purification. Ante-bellum America had failed to live up to its God-given mission, but the hour of trial had become the hour of self-discovery and signaled a new beginning. The nation had passed the test and its religious institutions had survived. After punishing his people, God had shown mercy and brought the crisis to a good end. Americans were still his people and engaged again in fulfilling their historical mission.<sup>28</sup>

### III

During the last twenty-three years of his life Schaff visited Europe regularly. He undertook most of his trips in connection with his work for the Evangelical Alliance, the international ecumenical organization founded in 1846 and revived in the United States after the Civil War.<sup>29</sup>

Although he still spoke to European audiences quite often, Schaff's activities as an interpreter of America decreased. Among his main concerns were now the propagation of religious freedom and the improvement of mutual understanding between theologians and Christian laymen from any countries. He played an important part in the organization of the international conferences of the Evangelical Alliance which convened in New York in 1873 and in Basel six years later. It was in connection with the New York conference that Schaff spoke of himself as a "bridge maker" and, "more ambitiously," even as a "servus servorum Dei" and "pontifex." In addition to the numerous scholarly works which he produced during those years he still wrote many short tracts on religious problems of the day.<sup>30</sup>

Only one among these minor writings is exclusively devoted to American problems and explicitly addressed to a European audience. It

is a small book published in New York under the title *Christianity in the United States* and containing the lengthy address Schaff gave to the seventh general conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Basel in September 1879. Here Schaff offers his vision of America once more in a concise version. It does not contain many new ideas and is on the whole disappointingly repetitious. Only the first pages supplement the by now familiar picture. Schaff begins by setting forth his idea of the westward course of history and human progress. He compares the relationship between Europe and America with that between "prime of manhood" and "fresh youth." Culturally, he assures his European listeners and readers, America was wholly dependent upon the Old World; as a Christian nation America was only "a new edition" of Europe: "Human nature and divine grace are the same in all ages and countries, and the great antagonist of God is as busy in the new world as in the old."<sup>31</sup> Soon, however, Schaff reverted to his familiar idea of the uniqueness of America's historical and moral progress and of its mission in the world. He emphasized once more the significance of the Civil War as a process of national purification and viewed the future in entirely optimistic terms.<sup>32</sup>

The negative aspects of American life such as racial injustice, discrimination of minorities, poverty, materialism, and corruption were not passed over in silence, but Schaff assessed them in religious terms only. He claimed that the surest means to improve the situation of the Indians and the black population were better schools and intensified missionary work.<sup>33</sup> The social conflicts of the time were mentioned only briefly. He called railroad strikes of 1877 "a fearful outbreak of communistic violence." The general improvement of education did not suffice to alleviate such tensions. Schaff spoke here, too, as a missionary and stressed that "intellectual education is worth little without virtue, and virtue must be supported and fed by piety, which binds men to God . . . . Our safety and ultimate success depends upon the maintenance and spread of the Christian religion."<sup>34</sup>

Schaff repeatedly explained America to Europeans because he knew them well and considered the task a personal responsibility. When speaking to European audiences about political institutions, traditions, and ideals of the United States, he was quite aware that most of his listeners came from different backgrounds, could not easily understand many things he told them, and were generally ill informed about America. Schaff also knew that besides giving public speeches he had to maintain personal contacts with many individuals which he did with unflagging energy. Although he talked mostly with theologians and Christian laymen, he established contact also with statesmen, princes, politicians, and scholars in disciplines different from his own. He enjoyed meeting important people and was often unduly impressed by the etiquette which surrounded them. He met or corresponded with dignitaries such as Gladstone, Metternich, then in retirement, with Bismarck and King Frederick William IV of Prussia.<sup>35</sup> In 1890, while on a brief visit to Rome, he attended an audience with Pope Leo XIII.<sup>36</sup> One of his most exciting experiences was the audience with Emperor William I in 1873.

In his diary Schaff described the Emperor as a "real Heldenkaiser" and happily noted that His Majesty had expressed sympathy with the Evangelical Alliance.<sup>37</sup> In 1884 Schaff visited Leopold von Ranke who was then eighty-nine years old and working on his *World History*. An entry in his diary described the great German historian as a "little old man, shrunk together but full of vitality and vigor." Ranke was very affable and communicative. He talked about religion and even revealed his own standpoint. Schaff again very happily took down the great man's words verbatim: "Ich habe eine christliche Anschauung nach meiner Façon, jawohl eine evangelisch-christliche, ja, das kann man sagen."<sup>38</sup>

On his trips to Europe Schaff also visited Switzerland. Although he had left his native country at a very early age, he remained attached to it. He regularly visited his mother and maintained his friendship with the religious poetess Meta Heusser, the mother of Johanna Spyri of Heidi's fame, who lived in the village of Hirzel near Zurich. Both women died in 1876, but Schaff kept returning to Switzerland as often as he could. Important as these relationships were to him,<sup>39</sup> Schaff also maintained contacts with several Swiss scholars, religious leaders and businessmen.

The city of Basel always exerted a particular attraction on Schaff. He often expressed admiration not only for its historical significance as a center of the Reformation, of Humanism and of sixteenth-century book-printing, but also for its cultural and religious importance in his own time. Already in 1854 he had written: "There is more Christian life and activity in Basel than anywhere else in Switzerland."<sup>40</sup> He meant "das fromme Basel," i.e., the pietistic circles to which many members of the leading families belonged. Among Schaff's Basel correspondents were the pastor and Reformation scholar Bernhard Riggenbach and the industrialist and "Ratsherr" Karl Sarasin who acted as president of the general conference of the Evangelical Alliance in 1879. Schaff visited Basel at least five times. On 23 August 1854 he lectured on America before the Society of Swiss Reformed Ministers.<sup>41</sup> In August 1865 he gave his lecture on the Civil War before a large audience in the "Christliches Vereinshaus";<sup>42</sup> four years later he was in Basel again for a meeting of ministers and laymen,<sup>43</sup> and in September 1879 he attended the general conference of the Evangelical Alliance.<sup>44</sup> His last visit to Basel occurred in the summer of 1890 during his last trip to Europe. He participated in a missionary conference and spent some time studying the manuscripts of Erasmus in the university library. He also visited the theologian Franz Overbeck and the historian Jacob Burckhardt whose famous book on the Italian Renaissance he had read with admiration.<sup>45</sup>

#### IV

What was Switzerland's role in shaping Schaff's vision of America? His Swiss origins were undoubtedly important to him and he mentioned them often. In his "Autobiographical Reminiscences," which he began in 1871 and finished in 1890, he began with the famous and often quoted phrase: "I am a Swiss by birth, a German by education, and an

American by adoption." He continued with a remark that is less well-known but more suggestive: "I always loved Switzerland as my fatherland and love it all the better for having left it." Schaff's sentence could have been written by other emigrants, even by some who did not leave Switzerland permanently: "I would rather visit my native home occasionally than live there permanently. It is like Scotland and New England, a good land to emigrate from and to cleave to in fond recollection." In spite of these reservations, Schaff does not hesitate to call his native country "the freest in Europe and the most beautiful in the world."<sup>46</sup>

Alluding to the political radicalism of the German forty-eighters, Schaff commented:

In many respects America is an extended Switzerland. I found it much easier to fall in with American institutions and to feel at home in this country than the immigrants from monarchical Germany, who are either apt to retain a preference for a more centralized form of government, or more frequently to run into an excess of democracy . . . . Restraint of individual freedom, regard for law and custom, self-government and discipline are indispensable to the permanency and prosperity of a Republic.<sup>47</sup>

The American system of government as established by the constitution of 1787 had shaped the Swiss constitution. He was also aware that religious liberty was less acknowledged in Switzerland than in the United States.<sup>48</sup> But he was convinced that the two nations were closely related and believed that the United States had inherited several traditions from Switzerland, a view he emphasized on the last pages of his 1879 essay on *Christianity in the United States*.

His remarks reveal romantic idealization and simplification, but they uncover also some of the ideological foundations of his view of the United States. After praising the city of Basel, Schaff commented:

The Reformation of Oecolampadius . . . , of Zwingli . . . , and of Calvin . . . produced those ideas and principles on which all the Reformed churches are founded. Swiss Calvinism, as modified in Holland, England, and Scotland, is (as Bancroft in his History of the United States has elaborately shown) the chief source of the national character and free institutions of North America. From Switzerland we borrowed in the formation period of our history the idea of a self-governing federal Union of the States.<sup>49</sup>

Schaff's notion that the eighteenth-century Swiss Confederation served as a model to the shapers of the American Republic is not only simplistic, but quite wrong. It fitted well, however, into his general view of history as a westward movement and of America as "an extended Switzerland." That country, he claimed, gave America not only "thousands of industrious farmers," but also illustrious statesmen and scientists.

The most important tradition, however, which was transplanted



from Switzerland to America was the "reformed Reformation." It was, in Schaff's view, the most important development in modern history and had reached the United States via Switzerland. He concluded his comments on his native country with these words:

If I may express any wish in the name of the American Christians, it is that your noble country may ever remain the home of bravery and freedom, and, receiving a new pentecostal baptism as in the days of the Reformation, may again bless the world with the everlasting truths of the Gospel.<sup>50</sup>

If there existed in nineteenth-century America a "myth of the Alpine sister republic," this was Schaff's most eloquent contribution to it. That he made it in theological terms is not surprising. His identification with the American nation had not diminished his identification with Switzerland. His view of America drew much of its vigor and idealism from a nostalgic admiration of his nation of origin.

## V

It is not possible to describe comprehensively how Europeans reacted to Schaff's message about the United States. A few personal glimpses must suffice. One of his most faithful correspondents was Frédéric Godet, a professor of theology in Neuchâtel and founder of the "église libre" of that canton. He and Schaff had known each other since their student days, and they met regularly in Switzerland in later years. In his letters Godet repeatedly praised Schaff's ecumenical zeal, his scholarship and his piety. He recommended promising students, discussed new American books which his friend had sent him, and reported on his many scholarly and ecclesiastical activities. Godet evidently saw in Schaff an ally in his struggle against Protestant liberalism and rationalist tendencies in Biblical studies.<sup>51</sup>

Another European admirer of Schaff was Emilio Comba, the noted Italian Protestant theologian and church historian who held a professorship at the Waldensian seminary in Florence during the last decades of the nineteenth century. He respected Schaff first of all as a historical scholar whose many works he had studied with great enthusiasm. Comba was rather well informed about the professionalization of historical studies which took place in the United States in the 1880s.<sup>52</sup>

Only few letters from Basel colleagues to Schaff are available, and these are of little interest.<sup>53</sup> But Basel newspapers did comment on his talks. These did not find unanimous applause, particularly in the case of his 1854 visit when he talked to the conference of the Swiss Reformed ministers. The correspondent of the *National-Zeitung* thought that "Pfar-  
rer Schaff aus Amerika" talked a little too much and too eloquently about how dearly he loved his native country.<sup>54</sup>

The *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Basel* commented similarly on Schaff's address at the opening of that meeting:

In his speech the well-known Professor Schaff from Mercersburg talked

about the impressions he had gathered about the religious and ecclesiastical life in Switzerland, his native country. . . . He also talked about the increasing significance of European emigration, about the growth of the United States and about the state of the Reformed Church in that country.<sup>55</sup>

Between these reporting sentences was the remark: "He is undoubtedly an experienced, well-informed and eloquent man, but if he continues like this, he may well outtalk himself before too long."

On Schaff's opening address to the 1879 conference of the Evangelical Alliance, the *Basler Nachrichten* published a lengthy review which is mainly a summary of the glorification of Switzerland. The correspondent did not comment on Schaff's idealized image of the historical relationship between Switzerland and the United States, but observed that British and American delegates showed more enthusiasm for Schaff's presentation than the Swiss listeners who should have felt particularly honored. Either they felt that Schaff had exaggerated or they did not understand what he had said.<sup>56</sup> Whether this skepticism was typical for Schaff's impression on European audiences is uncertain; yet the journalistic comments show that at least in Basel he was not unanimously admired.

To sum up, Schaff's writings reveal a vision of America that evolved from initial criticism to complete identification. It remained unshaken, furthermore, by events such as the Civil War or the social upheavals in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. Philip Schaff, the tireless theologian, church historian, and ecumenical leader believed that divine providence guided history, that the center of history was moving westward, that the United States was destined to become the foremost Christian power and, finally, that he personally had made the right choice in moving to the United States.

Universität Basel  
Basel, Switzerland

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Philip Schaff, *Diary 1873*, 28 September, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary, New York; George H. Shriver, *Philip Schaff, Christian Scholar and Ecumenical Prophet* (Macon, GA: 1987), 57; Gary Pranger, "Philip Schaff (1819-1893), Portrait of an Immigrant Theologian," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 1987, 270ff. On Schaff's youth see also Ulrich Gäbler, "Philip Schaff in Chur," *Zwingliana* 18 (1989): 143-65.

<sup>2</sup> Shriver, *Philip Schaff*, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Schaff, *Das Prinzip des Protestantismus* (Chambersburg, 1845), 157.

<sup>5</sup> Shriver, *Philip Schaff*, 30; Philip Schaff, *Anglo-Germanism or the Significance of the German Nationality in the United States* (Chambersburg, 1846).

<sup>6</sup> Philip Schaff, *Amerika: Die politischen, sozialen und kirchlich-religiösen Zustände der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Berlin, 1854); *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social, and Religious Character of the United States of North America* (New York, 1855). There was also a Dutch edition. See J. J. van Oosterzee to Philip Schaff, Rotterdam, 24 November 1855, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

<sup>7</sup> Perry Miller, ed., "Introduction," in *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character*, by Philip Schaff (Cambridge, MA: 1961), xxvii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *America: A Sketch* (1855), 97; cf. *Amerika* (1854), 64.

<sup>10</sup> Miller, "Introduction," xxviii.

<sup>11</sup> Schaff, *Amerika*, 56ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 13–14.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 21ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 25–26.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 141ff., 157ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 27ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Philip Schaff, *American Nationality* (Chambersburg, 1856), 20.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 20–21.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. On Burckhardt's judgment see Jacob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom*, ed. by J. H. Nichols (New York, 1943), 85–86.

<sup>24</sup> *Amerika*, 12; *American Nationality*, 23.

<sup>25</sup> *American Nationality*, 23.

<sup>26</sup> Philip Schaff, *Slavery and the Bible* (Chambersburg, 1861), 32.

<sup>27</sup> The German version was published in Berlin in 1866, the English translation appeared in New York in the same year. See William A. Clebsch, "Christian Interpretations of the Civil War," *Church History* 30 (1961): 212–22.

<sup>28</sup> Philip Schaff, *Der Bürgerkrieg und das christliche Leben in Nordamerika*. (Berlin, 1866), 7–17. On letters of Schaff to Meta Heusser concerning God and the American Civil War see David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York, 1897), 209–10.

<sup>29</sup> On the beginnings and early history of the Evangelical Alliance see Hans Hauzenberger, *Einheit auf evangelischer Grundlage: Vom Werden und Wesen der Evangelischen Allianz* (Gießen and Zurich, 1986).

<sup>30</sup> See note 1. On several occasions Schaff wrote on the history of religious freedom. See *The Toleration Act of 1689* (London, 1888); "The Progress of Religious Freedom," in *Historical Essays* (New York, 1889; repr. from *The Papers of the American Society of Church History*, vol. 1, 1889). These publications were not based on original research. The essay on *The English Language* (Nashville, 1887) is Schaff's most outspoken endorsement of Anglo-Saxonism.

<sup>31</sup> Philip Schaff, *Christianity in the United States* (New York, 1879), 6.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 58ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>35</sup> Shriver, *Philip Schaff*, 56; Philip Schaff, Letter to his wife, Carlsbad, 20 May 1854, Schaff Papers, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society Archives [ERHS], Lancaster Theological Seminary; Diary 1879, 10 August, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>36</sup> Diary 1890, 8 May, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>37</sup> Diary 1873, 9–10 August, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>38</sup> Diary 1884, 23 August, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>39</sup> Shriver, *Philip Schaff*, 62–63; David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff*, passim.

<sup>40</sup> David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff*, 189.

<sup>41</sup> "Versammlung der schweizerischen reformierten Prediger-Gesellschaft, den 22. und 23. August 1854 in Basel," Program in Schaff Papers, ERHS Archives.

<sup>42</sup> Memoranda 1865, August, Schaff Papers, ERHS Archives.

<sup>43</sup> "Protokoll der Konferenz von 50 Geistlichen und Laien, Basel, 29. August 1869, mit Herrn Prof. Dr. Schaff aus Newyork," Papers of the Evangelical Alliance for the USA, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>44</sup> Diary 1879, 31 August ff., Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>45</sup> Diary 1890, 8 April, 2 July ff., Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary. For a more detailed discussion of Schaff's relations to Basel pietism see the German version of this essay, *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 91 (1991), forthcoming.

<sup>46</sup> "Autobiographical Reminiscences," Ms and Ms copy, Schaff Papers, ERHS Archives, 13/20.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 14/24f.

<sup>48</sup> "Church and States in the United States," in *Historical Essays* (New York, 1889), 87ff.

<sup>49</sup> Philip Schaff, *Christianity*, 66.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>51</sup> See Frédéric Godet to Philip Schaff, Neuchâtel, 1 July 1874 and 7, 27 May 1887, Ms, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>52</sup> Emilio Comba to Philip Schaff, Florence, 13 March 1886, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

<sup>53</sup> The Basel correspondents in the Schaff Papers at Union Theological Seminary are Bernhard Riggenbach and Karl Sarasin.

<sup>54</sup> *National-Zeitung*, 23 August 1854.

<sup>55</sup> *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Basel*, 26 August 1854.

<sup>56</sup> *Basler Nachrichten*, 3 September 1879.