



C. J. L. Rye.

# Life and work

of the

# Ernst Gerhard Wilh. Keyl,

late Pastor of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, et al. St.

Submitted to print at the request of his survivors and many others

from

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## Preliminary remark.

The life and work of the then venerable Pastor Keyl was all the more significant because it fell at a time when important and significant events were taking place in the Kingdom of God on earth, and especially in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in which the Blessed One himself took the liveliest part. Therefore, in the history of the church of the 19th century, but especially in the history of the American Lutheran Church, his name will stand and be mentioned among those dear men of God who have taken to heart the words of the Psalm: "Make yourselves round about Zion, compass her, number her towers; put diligence upon her walls, and exalt her palaces, that they may declare to their posterity that this God is our God forever and ever. He leadeth us as the youth." In the course of our story, we will see that the blessed Keyl helped to build the walls of Zion with such diligence and activity - even in miserable times, in tribulations and in hard conflicts - that it is well worth the effort to tell posterity about it and to inspire the servants of the church in particular to emulate his example. Through his faithful service, many were added as living stones to Zion's walls, that is, were converted to Christ. He has

He has instructed many to righteousness. Therefore he has also obtained the promise, where it is written, "But the teachers shall shine as the brightness of heaven; and they that have taught many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

It is true that in our narrative we will also come to a passage in the life of blessed Keyl, which reminds us quite emphatically of the word of Scripture: "All men are liars." that is, subject to error; and of the word of the Lord Jesus: "That they also be deceived into error (where it is possible) the elect." We do not want to hide the fact that Keyl was dangerously mistaken for a while. But we will also hear how sincerely and thoroughly he recognized his error in good opinion, how openly and humbly he confessed it, and how bitterly he repented of it. We have, therefore, no reason to pass by this period of his life in silence; on the contrary, we believe that our true and unvarnished narration of his erring ways in Stephanism must strike out to the glory of God and the joy of all pious hearts.

In so far as our work is taken into consideration in this description of his life, we see ourselves prompted to make the following remarks: It is our firm conviction that it would have been more useful and helpful to the cause if someone had taken on this work who had been closer to Blessed Keyl in his life and had had more personal intercourse with him than was the case with the writer of this. Therefore, we have often only been able to judge some events in his life and work, as well as his praiseworthy and reprehensible peculiarities and the like, as if from afar. However, this has given us

We could not prevent ourselves from complying with the repeated request to describe the life and work of Blessed Keyl in detail and to begin the work in the name of God. We have tried to do this impartially and conscientiously; we have always tried to praise only the grace of God, which is revealed to us in all the descriptions of conditions and events that we encounter in the life of Blessed Keyl. For only that is worthy of praise in the life of a man which grace has worked in him and through him. That he was a sinner is not necessary to tell, because it goes without saying; but to tell what grace has done in a sinner and through a sinner is important and not self-evident. In our work, the entire handwritten legacy of Blessed Keyl has been at our disposal, and especially his extensive diaries have been of great use to us. Nevertheless, we had to seek advice and information from time to time from suitable persons, which we received with thanks. Should it be noticeable to the dear reader that we have been somewhat prolix here and there, then one should not forget that the blessed Keyl was an outstanding personality in our circles, one of the first spiritual pioneers in the West of America, one of the co-founders of our Synod and of Concordia College, etc., and that some of what has been communicated about him will only be of greater interest to posterity. Likewise, some things have been included only for the sake of his dear children. It also seemed necessary to us now and then to characterize times and circumstances in which Keyl lived and worked, in order to best understand and judge his own life and work.

to be able to. Finally, twenty-five and more years ago, the blessed Keyl was often approached by us younger preachers that he would like to publish a description of the Saxon emigration, because he was the most suitable person to do so; however, he never allowed himself to be moved to do so, but always firmly rejected it out of hand. Well, perhaps his *curriculum vitae* can be a weak substitute for it. (And if the interested reader will take our booklet published in 1865: "Emigration of the Saxon Lutherans", he will be able to get an exact idea of the Saxon emigration). - Herewith, the following story is commended to the blessing of the Lord.

**The author.**

# Chapter I.

## Keyl's youth and study years.

Ernst Gerhard Wilhelm Keyl was born as the second son of his parents in the famous commercial and university city of Leipzig, in the Kingdom of Saxony. The day of his birth was the 22nd of May in the year 1804. If we consider for a few moments the time in which our dear Keyl saw the light of day and spent his first years of youth, we find that it was a sad time in all respects. In Christendom there was a very frightening thick spiritual darkness, and in the state it also looked very sad. God's judgments on Germany were near. God had already wrought his scourge, which he wanted to wield over the completely rationalized Germany: Napoleon Bonaparte had ascended the imperial throne in France in 1804, and already in the following year he overran the German lands with his army, which he devastated in a bloody war lasting almost ten years, the sad consequences of which our old fatherland had to feel deeply for a long time to come. These were, as I said, God's judgments on the German people who had fallen away from the faith, and Napoleon was the instrument through which God carried out his judgments. Our Keyl, however, young as he was at that time, could well remember in his later years the impression that those sad events had made on his childish mind. In an old notebook he says: "How deeply special events impress themselves on the mind of a child, I can deduce from this,



that the horrors of the French war from my childhood have remained unforgettable to me."

Only little is known about his parents and his ancestors. His great-grandfather was a chief miner in the "Goldgrund" shaft in Freiberg, Saxony. His father was a royal Saxon tax collector in Leipzig. His mother, of whom we do not even know the baptismal name, died early; her place was later taken by a stepmother. The blessed Keyl himself knew little about his ancestors. He writes in one place: "I know nothing about my ancestors. My father wrote a book on the art of making tables." \*) In another place he mentions that four weeks after his father's death he appeared to him in a dream in his 17th year, which left a deep impression on his youthful mind. \*\*)

We also know little about his education in his father's house. It would be possible to find some information about this in his diaries, if one were to search them for this purpose; but this would take a lot of effort and time, because they are very extensive, and because in some volumes the writing is already very faded. This much we know, however, that his upbringing in the parental home was a very serious and strict one. For the good thing about that time of the stalest rationalism was that a strict paternal discipline prevailed in almost all homes and the youth was accustomed to obedience to all human order. But whether his father gave him a truly Christian education is unknown to us. We do know that his father was a diligent visitor to the house of God and that he also encouraged his son to do so from his youth; from this, however, it is not yet possible to be certain.

\*) Diary, year 1857.

\*\*) Same.

The conclusion is that the father himself was a living Christian, and only as such could he also give his son a truly Christian education. However, that our Keyl must have been a decent, diligent and obedient boy to his father, can probably be inferred with certainty from the fact that his father was devoted to him with very special love and, for the sake of his good behavior, determined and encouraged him early on to the ministry of preaching.

In the diaries of the blessed Keyl there are now and then short remarks about his boyhood. There he writes: "As a boy I liked to read Bauer's and Schröckh's biographies, hence my preference for biographies. And, "I liked to read Gellert's fables and Claudius." "Also, as a boy, I read Mildheimisches Not- und Hilfsbüchlein by Becker. "\*) He gives us information about the religious education he received as a boy when he writes: "I received religious education in the parental home under Robbe according to Dräseke's 'Faith, Love and Hope'. Then in the Nicolai School according to Rosemüller's guide, and in the upper class according to Niemeyer." \*\*) From this, one can draw a conclusion about the nature of the religious education he received in his youth with a fair degree of certainty. Because the authors of the books mentioned were rationalists, and because consequently the content of their so-called religion books is completely rationalistic, the religious instruction that our Keyl received in his youth according to the instructions of these books cannot have been a general Christian, much less a Lutheran, but only a flatly rationalistic one. If we conclude from this that our Keyl had hardly received a clear knowledge of law and gospel, of sin and grace, in his youth, then we will be wrong.

\*) Diary, year 1856.

\*\*) Same.

We are probably not mistaken; for such knowledge cannot be obtained by the shallow doctrine of virtue of the rationalists, but only by a truly Christian instruction based on the small Lutheran catechism.

That he received a very good education in worldly arts and sciences from his youth is undeniable. Because the father himself was an educated man, blessed with earthly goods, he also did not neglect to let his two sons (the other of whom was an excellent painter) learn something capable, for which the best opportunity presented itself in Leipzig. Our Keyl, for example, had received a thorough musical education in his youth. He excelled particularly in playing the violin. Even as a boy, he often had to play under the direction of a conductor in the famous concerts that were performed in the so-called "Gewandhaus" in Leipzig. Once, shortly before the beginning of a concert, the conductor suddenly fell ill, which naturally caused embarrassment. In this embarrassment, the boy Keyl had to play the first violin. But this was no small matter; for he was now to be the leader of the musical art production, and not in a practice lesson, but before the eyes and ears of the audience present, among whom were also educated people and artists in music. And when Keyl came out, holding the violin in his right hand and the bow in his left hand, astonishment was painted on many faces, for one thought: How is it possible that a boy who does not yet know with which hand to hold the violin bow can play the first violin? Therefore, nothing else was expected than that he would spoil the whole concert. But unconcerned about the audience present, our Keyl tuned his violin with his left hand.

hand, made a few fingerings and the concert began. And behold, it all went off splendidly and brilliantly! The young artists were praised with rapturous applause by the crowd present, and everyone was amazed at the dexterity of the boy Keyl, who had not only shown himself to be a skilled player, but who also played the violin bow just as skillfully with his left hand as with his right. But Keyl was also at home on the piano, and he played it with skill. When he came to this country in 1838, he brought a large Viennese grand piano with him, which then found its first resting place here in Frohna, in a poor hut, and was diligently used. Music-loving Americans often came to Keyl's apartment, and he had to play something for them, which he did with pleasure; for at that time the possession of a musical instrument was something rare here in the jungle, and whoever knew how to play such an instrument as masterfully as our Keyl did, was considered by the Americans to be half a miracle. Keyl held the aforementioned grand piano in such high esteem that he always carried it with him when he moved several times, and even today it enjoys the honor of occupying the first place in the parlor at the home of the widowed Mrs. Pastor Keyl, in Monroe, Michigan. Of course, the old fellow, which for nearly half a century has refreshed the hearts and minds of the people with its sweet tones, has become invalid, and is only cherished and kept as a relic in memory of its former dear owner.

That Blessed Keyl had received a fine education from his youth could be perceived at the first meeting with him. There was something aristocratic and distinguished in his whole demeanor, but at the same time he was a humble man from the heart, who was able to get along with the simplest and plainest people in the best way.

As a result of his father's position as a higher civil servant, he had already moved in educated circles in his youth and associated with people from higher classes, and thus he had to acquire their finer customs and manners. In 1827, he tells us himself, \*) he made a journey through a larger part of Germany in company with the pious Count Von der Recke, who is most famously known from history, in order to get to know the country and its people; which we mention here only to show how he had already moved in aristocratic circles in his youth.

Keyl received his scholarly education at the Nicolai Gymnasium in his hometown of Leipzig. We have not been able to determine in which year he entered the Gymnasium and how long he attended it. After he had passed his Abitur examination here, he decided, with the approval and (as he himself often testified) at the urgent urging of his father, to study theology and to prepare himself for the sacred ministry of preaching. At the end he moved to the University of Leipzig. We are not quite sure at what age he was at that time, but it seems from other circumstances that he attended the university quite young.

But he did not know Christ, his Savior, at that time, and he had to get to know Him if he was to become a true scholar of God. However, there was little hope that he would get to know Christ at Leipzig University, for Christ found no shelter there at that time. As at that time the most ordinary rationalism prevailed at all German universities, so also in Leipzig. Most of the professors taught their students

\*) Diary, year 1858.

Not how they could preach the gospel to the people in a salutary way, but how they could tear it out of the people's hearts without noticing it. There were still a few professors who confessed faith in Christ (albeit only weakly), but they were little known and even less sought after; by the way, vulgar rationalism ruled the roost there.

Just as sadly, however, as on the universities, it looked at that time also in the German national churches. Almost in all pulpits, instead of the gospel of Christ crucified, the most miserable religion of reason prevailed under the title of the Enlightenment. God, virtue and immortality were considered the only three fixed articles of faith. The doctrine of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures by the Holy Spirit, of the Holy Trinity, of the eternal deity of Christ, of the reconciliation of the world of sinners by Christ's suffering and death, of the justification of a poor sinner before God by grace through faith, of the effects of the means of grace for regeneration, repentance and conversion of the sinner, of the existence of a devil, of hell and the eternal damnation of all who die in unbelief: All these basic doctrines of Christianity were considered only remnants of a once superstitious time. The Lord Jesus was only praised as the Wise Man of Nazareth and as the most glorious model of virtue, who atoned for his boldness with death.

In his 95 Theses, the pious preacher Claus Harms - on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Reformation in 1817 - very aptly characterized the deep decay of the German church, which still calls itself Lutheran. There he says, Thesis 1: "When our Lord Jesus Christ says: Repent, he wants people to form themselves according to his teaching; but he forms

not the doctrine according to the people, as one does now, according to the changed spirit of the times." Thesis 3: "With the idea of a progressive reformation, one reforms Lutheranism into paganism and Christianity out of the world." Thesis 24: "Two places, O man, you have before you," said the old hymnal. In more modern times, the devil has been struck dead and hell has been dammed up." Thesis 27.: "According to the old faith, God created man; according to the new faith, man creates God, and when he has finished him, he says Hoja! Isa. 44:12-20." Thesis 71: "Reason is running wild in the Lutheran church: tears Christ from the altar, throws God's word from the pulpit, throws excrement into the baptismal water, mixes all kinds of people at the confessional, wipes away the address of the confessional, hisses the priests out and all the people after them and has done so for a long time. Nor do they bind them?" Thesis 75: "As a poor maid, one would now like to make the Lutheran Church rich by copulation" (namely by union with the Reformed Church). "Do not perform the act over Luther's bones! It will come alive from it and then - woe to you!"

In such a time of general unbelief and apostasy from God and His Word, the high school graduate Keyl went to university to study godliness and to become a servant of Christ in His church. If we now transport ourselves in spirit to that time, we must accompany him to the university with an anxious heart. For if he takes into his heart the anti-Christ teaching that prevails there, he will become an apostle of Satan instead of a servant of Jesus Christ. - But the Lord has graciously prevented it. He, who has "the way of all things", also knew ways and means to protect the soul of the young, easy-going student from the fierce wolves and their poisonous teachings, and on the other hand to fill it with heavenly light.

During his university years, Keyl came to the knowledge of his Savior Jesus Christ. The tool for this was a believing candidate living in deep seclusion in Leipzig, named Kühn, an earnest and zealous Christian, with a friendly and engaging nature, to whom a group of students, who loved the Lord Jesus, had attached themselves; he was considered an example to them and they sought edification for their souls from him. However, Keyl does not seem to have found support in the knowledge of the pure doctrine of the Lutheran church even in these circles. When he mentions his revival through the ministry of the candidate Kühn and his contact with him and his friends, he says: "In this pietistic environment, there was never any talk about the difference of doctrine, but only about piety. That I got to know the Lutheran doctrine, I owe first of all to the pious shoemaker Götsching in Leipzig. The contact with this old experienced man was of great use to me during my university years. He knew the doctrine of the Lutheran Church well, had read much in Luther's writings and in the symbolic books, had beautiful parables, rejected the Herrnhuter, etc. I also got to know a similar man in Frohna, namely Father Schneider from Oberfrohna, who was of much use to me." \*)

An old friend and fellow student of the blessed Keyl, Pastor Bürger, writes the following about Keyl's revival and his Christian direction: "Keyl and his friends demanded a deep and thorough conversion, and especially the necessary experience of repentance in the narrower sense. Just as at that time there was a more pietistic-synergistic-legal direction among the souls eager for salvation, influenced by pietistic writings, than an evangelical

\*) Diary, year 1853 and 1856.



It was the same with Keyl and his Christian friends in Leipzig. But in spite of all pietistic and synergistic leaven, this lay at the deepest bottom with them, that free will is nothing. Jesus Christ, the Savior crucified for all sinners and resurrected to righteousness, and that we are saved by grace through faith without any merit, was the sun and the light with which the Holy Spirit shone through their hearts more and more and introduced them the longer the deeper into the full enjoyment of the Gospel. It would be desirable if we had many pastors, students and church members who had had a similar deep experience in repentance, and who had thus become completely null and void in their own eyes, to whom the gospel would then also be quite palatable and tasty."

If we now take a look back at Keyl's youth and study years, we must exclaim: How wonderfully God leads men to the knowledge of Christ, and how wonderfully he preserves his church and the orthodox preaching ministry in it! In those times of deepest decay of the church and the ecclesiastical teaching institutions, God always preserved his little group of believing, yes, orthodox Christians and preachers and did not let his church perish. It was already thought that the old Christianity had long since been overcome, that it would soon disappear completely from the face of the earth, and that a new enlightened age would dawn in which only the religion of common sense would prevail: then God also raised up here and there in the German lands individual faithful witnesses in the ministry of preaching, who preached the gospel of Christ again with proof of the Spirit and power, and brought about great revivals in the spiritually dead congregations. Among these faithful witnesses, whom God awakened in the first half of this century, who worked spiritual life again through the preaching of the gospel, were

Our blessed Keyl also belongs to it, as we will hear with pleasure in the next chapter.

Even among the laity at that time, God raised up pious people who had to bear witness to the truth, as we heard above from the old shoemaker Götsching. When the public teachers at the University of Leipzig had not only become mute dogs who were silent about the truth, but also denied and blasphemed it, God used a lowly shoemaker as his instrument; a whole number of students eager for salvation not only sought and found encouragement in godliness from him, but also learned to know and love their mother, the Lutheran Church, and its scriptural teachings through him, and were thus prepared for their future ministry through a lowly layman. O miracle!

## Chapter II.

### **Keyl's appointment to the preaching ministry and his nine years of blessed activity in the same in the Saxon National Church.**

It was in 1829, a year before the 300th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, that Keyl was unexpectedly called to the sacred preaching ministry, having taken his candidate examination not long before. One of his old friends writes that he had hesitated for a long time to take the candidate exam, although his friends had often encouraged him to do so. The reason for this hesitation was not his concern that he would not be able to pass the exam; for he had bought his years of study faithfully and diligently, had always, even in the years when he had not yet found his Savior, kept away from the wild life and hustle and bustle that was so frequent among the

students was kept away from him. He himself said that his natural love and esteem for his father, who had shown so much love and care for him, had saved him from committing gross sins in his youth and had spurred him on to study hard. Thus, it is easy to consider that such a gifted young man as Keyl was, who was especially equipped with an enormous memory and with a considerable eloquence, and who had diligently bought his time, had certainly collected a rich treasure of knowledge and sciences, so that he did not need to be afraid of an exam. That he nevertheless hesitated for so long was probably due to the fact that he had the means to devote himself to his studies longer without worrying about food.

After he had hardly taken his exams, as already mentioned, he was quite unexpectedly called to the preaching ministry. When we say: quite unexpectedly, this happens for the following reasons: firstly, because at that time the number of candidates for the preaching ministry waiting for an appointment was so large that some were probably 40 years old, and even older, before only one pastorate was open for them; so naturally the young candidate Keyl could not yet hope for an early appointment; secondly, because at that time of the full reign of rationalism it was not at all easy for a believing candidate to get a pastorate. And why not? Because Christ and his gospel had become completely unknown to most of the national church congregations, so no believing preachers were desired and sought by them (and of course, if a congregation had desired one, it would hardly have received it, because they were also deprived of the right to vote); and because in the church regiments there were mostly only enemies of Christ and his gospel, so no preachers were sought by them.

The believing candidates were disdainfully passed over and put back. They were considered dangerous people who made people crazy, because they were still awakening souls to repentance through their preaching. But the Lord of the church, Christ, knew well how to find his servants and ministers and, in spite of all enemies' cunning and mischievousness, to bring them into office; for he is and remains the arch-shepherd of his church, who sets faithful shepherds and teachers when and where he wills.

The pious candidate Keyl was also able to experience this to strengthen his faith when, contrary to all expectations, he was quickly called to the preaching ministry. This call must have been all the more welcome to him because it came from a man who was not only a person of high standing in the state, but also a resolute Christian and a fearless confessor of his Savior. This was the then living Royal Saxon Secret Cabinet Minister Count Detlev von Einsiedel. This pious count, who also practiced his faith by trying to fill the congregations of his patronage with lively believing preachers, had also been made aware of the candidate Keyl, and sent him an invitation at the first available opportunity to hold a test sermon in a vacant congregation. This was the pastorate in Niederfrohna near Penig (in the Mulde valley. in the Erzgebirge district of the Kingdom of Saxony), with a branch in Mittelfrohna, a parish with 1340 souls at that time. On the 9th Sunday after Trinity in 1829, he held his trial sermon there in the presence of Count v. Einsiedel on the words of the Savior prescribed to him by the Count: "When you pray, go into your closet and shut the door and pray to your Father in secret; and your Father, who is in the

The one who sees the hidden will repay you publicly. Immediately thereafter, he received his vocations, and already on the 14th Sunday after Trinity of that year, he preached his inaugural sermon there.

Recently, one of his first confirmands, a respectable Christian woman who had already been awakened by Keyl in her childhood, told us the following about his entrance into Frohna: "When Pastor Keyl made his entrance into our congregation in Germany, we school children went out to meet and greet him. He was deeply moved by this, and he gave a heartfelt address to us children, which also deeply moved us. Among other things, he also said: Dear children! I am an orphan; I am lonely and alone in the world. My dear mother died 20 years ago (when he was only 5 years old) and my unforgettable father 10 years ago. Oh, if my dear parents were present here, and could see how I am so kindly received and greeted by you, how they would rejoice and be glad with me, their son!"

But no sooner had Keyl taken up his office in Frohna than the news spread like wildfire through the surrounding area: an arch-mystic (i.e., a mystery-monger) and a pietist (i.e., a bigot) had come to Frohna. At that time, such names were given to all preachers who still awakened souls to repentance and who, despite all mockery and scorn of the educated and uneducated rabble, were not ashamed of the despised Jesus and his Gospel. So our dear Keyl had to bear the reproach of Christ abundantly from the very beginning of his preaching ministry, and the hardest part of it was probably that it was partly inflicted on him by his own church members. A very special tool of the devil was Keyl's school teacher in Niederfrohna, who, filled with hatred and fury against Christ, did not rest from blaspheming Keyl, calling Pasquille and the other names.

Keyl's superintendent was an equally vicious enemy, who tried to make his life sour and difficult in every way. Keyl was considered to be a dangerous person who could do it to people who came into close contact with him, so that they could no longer get away from him. It was said that anyone who went to him in church even once would be so enchanted by him that he would become a mucker and a head-hanger from the very beginning, would consider the most innocent pleasures of the world to be sin, and would now lead an indrawn, miserable life. The most gruesome stories were invented about rapturous events that were supposed to have taken place as a result of the mystical treatment of the soul, and they were reported as truth in public newspapers.

True, there were strange and peculiar things going on in Keyl's congregation, reminiscent of the times of the visitations of grace in the early church; Christ was on the scene there, and that is why the devil did not celebrate. Satan sought in all sorts of ways to make an obstacle to the gospel of Christ; for he well perceived that in that place of his kingdom dominion was to be destroyed and many souls imprisoned in its bonds were to be rescued from the same. He was not unaware that in the pious, zealous young preacher in Niederfrohna a stronger man, Christ, had come upon him, who wanted to take away his armor; but against this he wanted to defend himself by poisonous blasphemous tongues, and therefore he had Christ's instrument pelted with the excrement of slander. This was nothing new, of course, but it only confirmed the experience made at all times, namely that Satan's main weapon against Christ's servant is blasphemy. Our Savior himself had to be called a sorcerer, because he converted people from the devil's service to God's kingdom and put a stop to Satan.

However, such fictitious slander does not harm the kingdom of Christ, but must rather serve to promote it according to God's wise counsel.

This experience was also made by our blessed Keyl in his first congregation in Niederfrohna. To him, the slander through no fault of his own had to be a spur and impetus to cast the net of the gospel all the more diligently, the more Satan tried to prevent it, and to lay the sickle all the more diligently on the ripe harvest, the more Satan threatened to destroy it. Also, the intemperate blasphemies of the unbelievers must have served to make his name known far and wide, and consequently his efficacy extended far beyond the boundaries of his parish; for the rumor spread about him led many people, curious and eager for salvation, believers and unbelievers, scoffers and worshippers of Christ, from far away to him in the church. At that time the churches were almost everywhere empty on Sundays, so that the miserable rationalists had to recite their spiritless and spirit-killing sermon in front of the sexton and an old woman, but otherwise in front of empty pews: so Keyl, on the other hand, had a crowded church at all services, and the people crowded to him to hear the word of God; and so it happened that the more Satan tried to blaspheme the work of the Lord, the more the kingdom of God spread.

It cannot be denied that the great disgrace which the young preacher Keyl had to endure there in Muldenthal contributed not a little to the fact that during his nine years of preaching ministry in Niederfrohna, and especially in the first years of his effectiveness, he developed such a tremendous and blessed ministerial activity in preaching and pastoral care that even today the mouths of his formerly and here (in Perry County, Missouri) now still living confessors are full of it. Before us lies a

a letter dated 1871 and addressed to Blessed Keyl, written by one of his former confessors, a pious old man, now almost eighty years old, and concluding with the following words:

"Well, dear Pastor, I still often remember the beautiful time when I and others walked from Burgstädt to Niederfrohna to the house of God. There you were the instrument in the hand of God to put the first spark of right Christian knowledge according to the order of salvation into our hearts. For at that time, although we were awakened from the sleep of sin by God's grace, we had a very deficient knowledge of the way of salvation, and had taken into our hearts many silly things: but through you we were led onto the right path; for you led us into the catechism and into the symbolic books; there we also became acquainted with our mother, the dear Lutheran Church. Oh, this has been of indescribable benefit to me and many others. Where would we have ended up if God had not led us to you and, through you, guided us out of many an aberration onto the right path? We might have drifted around in our conventicles for a while and then, one by one, we would have fallen back into the world. Therefore, even today, after the passage of forty years, I must praise it for a great unspeakable good deed, and I confess that I am indebted to you indelibly."

When we say that Keyl's effectiveness in Niederfrohna in Saxony was so blessed that soon hundreds came to a true life of faith through his faithful service, we are not saying too much. Because, as has already been mentioned, through the blasphemies of the unbelievers, his name became known far and wide as that of one who was not ashamed of the Gospel, it happened that from all sides whole crowds of people came to him.



The result was that a large number of souls eager for salvation from parishes where miserable rationalists held the pulpits flocked to Frohna church to quench the thirst of their souls in the genuinely evangelical sermons of the much-maligned young preacher.

Among these little people there were not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty and noble ones, but foolish, weak, ignoble and despised people in the eyes of the world; They were mostly poor linen weavers and hosiery weavers, who, after working all week long, day after day, until the sinking night, like a draft animal under its yoke, at their work chairs, in order to be able to eke out a meager living, set out early on Sunday morning to enjoy and gather the bread of life in Frohna, miles away, and to strengthen their souls in God. And oh! how cheerfully they went along their road, carrying on godly conversations, singing lovely spiritual songs, without paying any attention, much less complaining that their feet were getting tired, as if they were being carried on eagles' wings!

And for the sake of this godly zeal, they were not praised, but were showered with ridicule and scorn, partly by their family members, partly by other acquaintances; indeed, in some places, because they withdrew and had to withdraw from their anti-Christ preachers for the sake of conscience, they were sued as separatists and involved in costly lawsuits. But all these tribulations were not able to keep the dear people from going on pilgrimage to Frohna to their shepherd of souls, but only made them all the more zealous. In vain the devil tried to dampen the work, partly through the godless world, partly through the rationalistic preachers, partly through the hostile church regiment, and even through the secular authorities.

The fire had been lit by the Lord, so they were not able to dampen it. The words of the Psalm were fulfilled: "Why do the nations rage, and the people speak in vain?" For the more they raged against it, the more it spread, and the more souls were seized and inflamed by it.

Even a whole crowd of awakened students made a pilgrimage from Leipzig to Niederfrohna in the Muldenthal from time to time to hear the so richly blessed preacher Keyl and to see the picture of real Christian pastoral care and greater living faithful fellowship. Dr. Walther, who wrote a short biography of the blessed Keyl in the 1871 edition of the "Lutheraner", says: "The writer of this book still remembers vividly that when he, a young student who had recently come to a better understanding, heard Keyl preach and bless the confirmands for the first time in 1830, it seemed as if the whole crowded church was swimming in tears, and he himself experienced such a deep impression from the lectures as no sermon had ever made on him before.

We cannot help but share a few more things about Keyl's effectiveness in Niederfrohna from a letter written by Pastor Bürger. He says: "About half a year after I had become assistant preacher with my father, Keyl was called to Niederfrohna, about three and a half German miles from my home, so that I could observe his effectiveness. I visited him often, and his company, his words and his good books in his rich library were of great use to me. As often as I had been with him, I went home strengthened, encouraged and refreshed. His sermons and his work brought about a great movement in his mother and daughter parish, yes, also in other parishes. From distant places, souls eager for salvation flocked to his sermons on Sundays, and their belly-serving and rationalistic

The preachers were served poison and empty straw instead of the Word of God. In addition to the Sunday services, our Keyl also held edification hours during the week, which were diligently attended; this was something quite strange and offensive in the eyes of the unbelieving, secure, dead children of the world and preachers, so that mockery and nicknames were not long in coming. Keyl's work was a thorn in the side of the devil. Hatred, ridicule and persecution came upon him in abundance. He was repeatedly sued, namely because of his evening services, which were called conventicles and which one did not want to suffer. He was accused, for example, of picturing hell in the evening services. A witty old man who had attended the evening services diligently was once summoned to court to testify about them. Asked if it was true that Pastor Keyl held conventicles, he replied with the counter-question, 'How? Perpenticles?' And with an equally comical answer he is also said to have rejected the accusation of a pictorial representation of hell. But although nothing improper could be proven against dear Keyl, he still had to pay fines over and over again, just as if he had been found guilty. It is true that his salary in Niederfrohna was very small, since he had to give the greater part of the income to his emeritus predecessor; but he had inherited a considerable fortune from his father, so that in spite of all the unjust penalties to be paid, he suffered no lack, but could have a well-established household, which was administered for several years by an old matron, as long as he was unmarried."

From what has been told so far, it is enough to assume that the blessed Keyl worked during his effectiveness in Germany in such a great blessing as is rarely bestowed on a preacher. This was, of course, God's work, for which alone glory and honor are due; but insofar as men

While we may consider Keyl as an instrument of God, we must also say that it has been a fruit of Keyl's tireless and amazing ministry. In particular, however, his work has been of such great and lasting blessing because he himself stood with his teaching, with his faith and with his confession on the foundation and ground of the orthodox Evangelical Lutheran Church and remained unchanged, and sought to lead all his listeners and confessors only to this foundation and to fortify them on it. Keyl educated his confessionals to a genuinely biblical Christianity, thoroughly healthy in its innermost core, as preached by the orthodox Lutheran Church. He did not take any new human measures in order to cause revivals; but he remained simple and faithful to the old proven means of grace, introduced his listeners to the small catechism and through it to the Holy Scriptures, and sought above all to promote and strengthen them in every way in the knowledge of salvation and in pure doctrine; and this has been the reason for the lasting blessing of his work.

It is known from history that in the first half of this century, here and there, greater spiritual revivals occurred, for example, in Würtemberg, Prussia and Hanover; but what finally became of them? They have, as they say, come to nothing, so that hardly a trace of them has remained, or they have finally degenerated into raptures. This was because they did not spring from the soil of the orthodox church, or because the revived ones were not nourished and nurtured at the spiritual breasts of the orthodox church. Just compare, for example, the revival in Muldenthal, Saxony, which was caused by Keyl's effectiveness, and the revival in Wupperthal, Prussia, especially in the cities of Elberfeld and Barmen.

one can easily perceive the tremendous difference. And even the revival brought about by Ludwig Harms in Hanover cannot be compared with the one in Saxony, because it did not originate and was not founded on the sound foundation of the Lutheran Church. But what a blessing the revival in Muldenthal brought to the Lutheran Church! Through what struggles did not the Saxon Lutherans also have to pass, and were proven in them and kept faith and loyalty! This made them stand on the firm confessional foundation of the Lutheran Church.

Keyl spared no effort to establish it ever more firmly on this basis; for not only on Sundays was he undauntedly active from morning until late in the evening with preaching, catechizing, repeating sermons, Bible expositions, pastoral discussions, etc.; but also on weekdays, when he held hours of edification in addition to his many official duties, he was much occupied by souls seeking advice and consolation, who often came from far away. A time of seeking home and revival had come over the Muldenthal, and it was primarily granted to our Keyl to collect the blessings arising from it.

He was not the only one who held up the flag of the Gospel in Muldenthal at that time. He was assisted a little later by his brothers Otto Hermann and C. F. W. Walther, who were related to him by marriage. F. W. Walther, who worked in one spirit with him and also in great blessing, but were also hated just as much by the unbelieving church regiment. Not long after Keyl took office in Frohna, his friend Kühn, through whose ministry he had been converted, as we have already heard, was also called near him to Lunzenau. Kühn, too, stirred up a great movement in his congregation and surrounding area. But

He had hardly administered his office with fidelity for a year when he already laid down his shepherd's staff and died suddenly. There was a belief among the people that he had been poisoned by his enemies. When Keyl heard of his death, he wept and said, "Alas, the heroes in Israel are fallen." Yes, all the Christians in Muldenthal were greatly alarmed and deeply grieved at the early passing of Kühn, in whom they loved and honored a chosen armor of God. As Kühn's successor our pastor Bürger was appointed, who also preached Christ. In addition, the pastors Pöschke and Kranichfeld and Dr. Rudelbach also preached the gospel in Muldenthal; but none of these men was so richly blessed as our blessed Keyl. None of them had to endure so much shame and persecution for the sake of the gospel as Keyl. But none of them had such a deep knowledge of Christ, such a lively life of faith, such a burning zeal to snatch souls from Satan's kingdom and bring them into Christ's kingdom, such a fearless courage as a witness, such a willingness to bear Christ's shame, such a divine power to awaken souls to repentance, such self-denial and sacrifice in the service of the Lord, as Keyl. In short, he was a highly pardoned servant of the Lord, and therefore the wrath of the devil was great against him. He could say with the apostle, "A great door is opened unto me, which bringeth forth much fruit; and there are many abominable ones." 1 Cor. 16:9.

Unfortunately, we must also mention here that his so richly blessed - because genuinely evangelical - effectiveness was later noticeably inhibited by the fact that - as a result of his closer association with Pastor Stephan in Dresden and his almost slavish dependence on the same - he became more and more involved in a - particularly in private - pastoral care.

The result was that the blessing that had flowed so richly until then (but which only the Gospel ever works) was hindered. We will hear more about this in the next chapter from Keyl's own pen; we will hear how much he had gone astray through his carnal attachment to Stephen and through his almost blind trust in his advice and example; but we will also hear how deeply he humbled himself before God and man. Far be it from us, therefore, to want to judge him uncharitably! He may have erred through his own fault, but in ignorance and good opinion, and he did not know about Stephen's evil cause. As a still young and inexperienced preacher, Keyl was looking for a father in Christ, a pillar to lean on, and such a man seemed to be Pastor Stephan in Dresden and was considered to be such by many others.

For a number of years already, Stephen had freely and publicly confessed Christ with a determination that was almost unprecedented at that time, and had testified with great zeal not only against the unbelief that boldly raised its head, but also against any falsification and mixing of the faith. Many, perhaps hundreds, yes, thousands, confessed that through him they had been saved from ruin and had come to believe in their Savior, and at the same time to the realization that the Evangelical Lutheran Church was the Church of the pure Word and the unadulterated sacraments. As time went by, more and more people became aware of Stephan, and not only awakened laymen, but also young preachers and candidates joined him and made him their council of conscience. In this way, our blessed Keyl also came into contact with Stephan in his time, which, however, cost him dearly. We will hear more about this in the next chapter.

## Chapter III.

### **Keyl's communion with Stephan and its consequences.**

In 1841, our dear Keyl published a letter in the Rudelbach-Guericke journal in Germany, which bears the heading: "Open confessions of the former pastor Keyl in Niederfrohna about his fellowship with Stephan and the sins committed therein." From this confession we want to give some information, as far as it seems necessary to us, in order to present the reader a clear picture of the life and work of the blessed Keyl. However, we do not want to conceal the fact that in this confession there are also some false things which Keyl himself later recognized as false. In it, he confesses some things as sins that were not sins, and he repents of some actions for which he did not have to repent. In this, he suffered the same fate as many a sinner who is frightened in repentance, who easily makes himself conscience-stricken about something that is not against his conscience, or allows others to make something a sin that is not a sin. This is what happened to our dear Keyl when he lost his eyes over his aberrations in Stephanism. The pain that seized his soul influenced his judgment in such a way that he considered something evil that had been good and pleasing to God. But this circumstance gives us testimony of his tender conscientiousness; for a tender conscience, properly sharpened with God's word, is of such a nature that it will easily do too much rather than too little in a good cause.

It will be interesting for your dear reader to learn how our Keyl first became acquainted with Pastor Stephan and in what way he was drawn into his closer community.



has been. He tells this himself with the following words:

"I met Stephan in Leipzig in 1828. And because I considered him to be an experienced servant of the divine word, I used his advice in some matters relating to the preparation for the ministry. When I was entrusted with the pastorate of Niederfrohna in the following year, I was still far from any attachment to his person. At that time I submitted to his assertions and his obstinacy so little that I openly contradicted him. This happened especially during a longer meeting with him in 1831, where I got into a dispute with him myself because of a dangerous error in the doctrine of authority and then also with one of his followers because of a violent outburst of Stephan's anger over an insignificant trifle. When I was punished very severely in several letters because of this, at Stephen's instigation, and yet I could not convince myself that I had done wrong, the consequence was that I kept myself at a complete distance from Stephen for almost two years.

"But I was reproached more and more severely by some of Stephen's followers that by such separation from him I was depriving myself and my congregation of great spiritual advantages, disturbing the unity of the true church, causing grave annoyance to the members of it, leading them by my example to similar separation, and making those who could still be won (namely, for Stephen) suspicious of association with him; It is only out of pride that I, as a young inexperienced man, do not want to submit to such a venerable and experienced man, to whom none of the servants of the divine word in our time can be compared.

"Through such and similar ideas I let myself be lured back into the net, to which I had already been happily

and when I had occasion to travel to Dresden in 1834, I resumed the earlier connection with Stephan, without first having come to terms with the points at issue; indeed, I committed the folly of asking him for forgiveness in the most humble terms. From this time on, my trust in him increased more and more; for I believed to find in him, as in no other of the teachers known to me, much that was praiseworthy.

"Stephan possessed, as far as I could judge at that time, an exact knowledge of the pure doctrine of the Lutheran Church, a comprehensive insight into the ever-increasing decay of the same, a sharp power of discrimination in judging false and true Lutheranism, a great zeal to hold fast to the latter, especially in opposition to the ever-increasing lukewarmness and against the tendency to abolish all confessional differences for the sake of love, but at the expense of truth. I had to give his printed sermons preference over all the newer ones in terms of pure doctrine and popular presentation. Stephan possessed a broad knowledge of the world, and from the experiences of a Christian in the most diverse circumstances he could often speak very aptly and give many good pieces of advice. I considered the opposition that manifested itself in various ways against Stephan as a suffering for the sake of Christ, and therefore honored him all the more, especially since the adversaries did not usually blame his teachings, but his way of life, in which he knew how to deceive many, even the authorities, so that he always came out of many investigations as innocent. Therefore, I gave all the more room to the thought that the evil rumors about Stephen's secret sins were nothing but slander, arising only from reluctance against his teaching. I can affirm before the face of the all-knowing God that throughout my ten years of acquaintance with

him not the slightest trace of these works of darkness which he did. yea, that I never even suspected such a thing!

"Stephan strongly and repeatedly recommended to me the reading of the Holy Scriptures, the symbolic books, the writings of Dr. Luther and other Lutheran teachers: but he accustomed me more and more to accept his interpretation as the only correct one when explaining the Holy Scriptures, and to look at the writings of Lutheran teachers through a glass colored by him; so that I unfortunately sometimes misused the sayings of Luther and other theologians to strengthen Stephanism. Stephan knew how to induce his followers in a gradual and unnoticed way to a certain distrust of those teachers by occasionally pointing out such and such defects in their writings, which was also sometimes done not without all reason. He used to say of Luther's writings, as often as they contradicted his assertions: this must be understood differently: for Luther had explained himself more clearly about it in other places, or: it does not suit our time; for a special thieving grip, by which he stole Luther's writings from the hearts of his blinded followers, although he gave them into their hands, was that he always asserted: Luther must be translated from his time into ours. But he made such statements with a feigned deep humility, as if he considered himself the least disciple of Luther; yes, he even said several times: If it were allowed to worship saints, he would fall down before Luther. ..

"So I fell more and more into the most disgraceful human bondage to Stephen. . . I considered him - oh, it seems unbelievable to me now - as a chosen piece of God's armor, as the last light in this time, as an

Pillar of the Church. ... I was also foolish enough to inform him of most of the events, especially in my office, and to ask for his advice, which I immediately followed. . . All this was done with the intention of behaving only quite exactly according to the word of God and according to the insights of such an experienced man."

From this open, unvarnished confession, friend and foe alike can now clearly recognize the motives that guided Keyl when he joined Pastor Stephan in Dresden. Even the most sharp-eyed enemy will not be able to discover even the slightest dishonest intention in it; on the contrary, he will have to confess that his intentions were only good and praiseworthy. What guided him in his closer association with Stephan and his community was the thought that Christians should seek and cultivate unity in the spirit with their brothers and fellow believers, and that to this end they should also diligently seek outward fellowship and association, because this promotes unity in the spirit all the more. In addition to this, Stephan was considered an experienced man in the ways of God, even a pillar of the orthodox church; therefore Keyl considered himself all the more obliged to join such a man in order to be able to learn from him. If one wanted to say, however, that he should have taken into account the bad rumors that had been circulated about Stephan, it must be replied that he had not heard anything about them at that time. And when he heard about it later through a good friend, he first became completely silent, then after a while he said: "I cannot believe the rumor: but if it is nevertheless true that Stephen had fallen into such sins, he will also have repented of his sins, like David. Just as God did not reject the penitent David, but gave him the opportunity to repent."

I will not reject Stephen, but learn from him, as long as God has not revealed him to be a hypocrite. This strange and quite correct statement of Keyl's should be remembered, because it is suitable to reconcile us with him about his fellowship with Stephen.

But what consequences our blessed friend's connection with Stephan had, especially with regard to his official conduct, he lets himself be heard about:

"This idolatrous veneration of Stephen now exerted a corrupting influence, as on myself, so also on my whole conduct of office. . . I have often aroused suspicion against myself, especially in my teaching, as if true Christianity consisted in an outward monastic seclusion from the world and in certain forms of public and private worship; as if I only considered those to be true Christians who adopted this way and joined me more closely. I have, unfortunately, thereby led some to all sorts of harmful prejudices against true Christianity. I have often, by untimely and exaggerated sharpness and harshness in my expressions, embittered rather than convinced the hearers; more often thundered down with the law than raised up with the gospel; more often made to feel the burden of sin than awakened the desire for the grace of God. I have not always presented repentance toward God, faith in Christ, new obedience, steadfastness to the end in the proper connection, not clearly enough as the sole fruit of grace, and often in such a way that the thought could easily arise that it is impossible to live this way. Oh, how many beneficial fruits of the Word of God I have hindered in such and similar ways!

"Furthermore, in my behavior toward others, and especially toward my congregation, I have been guilty of many reprehensible things

from Stephan. In my dealings with others, I often proved to be very unkind, hard and repulsive, impatient and unloving. . Through this behavior of mine, unfortunately, the love and trust in me of a large part of the congregation was weakened more and more, and thus the blessing of my office was reduced. . . I do not speak here of God's work on their souls, for I am convinced that God's grace was not in vain on some of them, as well as on some others of my listeners who came closer to me, and I also hope that many of them will have preserved this grace; I speak only of my wrong doings and activities. That which at the beginning and in certain cases was a need for some to seek special and further instruction, advice and comfort for their souls from God's Word, became more and more a habit, which in the end almost took on the force of law. The more frequent or less frequent coming to me was taken as a standard by which the individual was to be judged; for the delusion became more and more prevalent that no one could find the right way to heaven and stay on it without special advice from his pastor. What the pastor said was usually not first examined according to the infallible word of God, as is the duty of all Christians, but was accepted as true without such examination, which was already considered a sign of distrust, and this because the one who said it had received the preaching ministry from God, and because such passages of the Bible, where obedience to the teachers is mentioned, were applied without any restriction. In such and similar ways, unfortunately, the hearts of many were seduced into a sinful, sectarian attachment to my person and to Stephen, and joined in such mutual fellowship as may have done them more harm than good."

Let us stop here for a while and take a look back at the above and ask: What was it that actually brought our dear Key! into such a crooked, unevangelical position through his fellowship with Stephan? He says so himself with the words: "The delusion became more and more prevalent that no one could find the right way to heaven and stay there without special advice from his pastor." In this place we want to draw attention to the error underlying this delusion, because, as we believe, a hint about it will serve to enlighten us about the so-called Stephanism and its history.

Stephan had by no means recognized the pure and truthful doctrine of the Lutheran Church in its full clarity, nor did he teach it; but neither could he be shown to have committed even one conspicuous error. In his book of sermons one will search in vain for a sharply pronounced error. He was, for example, a chiliast, but the chiliastic error finds, as far as we know, only in one sermon, in the sermon at the Ascension feast, and there also only so distantly, a hint. We say confidently: Stephen's sermons could still be read today, as far as their content is concerned, by our Lutheran Christian people without offense, to their benefit and piety. We confidently say: Stephen's sermons could still serve as a model for all Lutheran preachers today, how to preach the law and the gospel, repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ to the Christian people in an instructive and edifying, simple and straightforward manner. It is absolutely true what Stephan says in his preface to his book of sermons: "My honest intention in all these sermons was . . . thereby to lead my listeners to true faith in Jesus Christ, to righteous Christian life, to comfort in suffering and to blessed dying."

And further: "I am firmly convinced that only the Bible can be a source of pure Christian doctrine. Our pious fathers drew from it and preserved the pure doctrine for us in the confessional writings of our Lutheran church. To spread this pure doctrine is also my honest endeavor in this writing." Likewise: "In these sermons I have spoken more of faith in Jesus Christ than of morals; for I am convinced that this faith is the source of all true holiness, of all good works, and of all true consolation." And finally, "I will show no other way to salvation than that of true faith in JEsus Christ." All of this is completely true and is confirmed from every page of the aforementioned book.

But what was actually wrong in the so-called Stephanism? The wrong direction in Stephanism had its origin in a wrong view of the office of preaching. The office of preaching was made into a kind of means of grace, not the office of preaching in the broader sense, in so far as, according to Article V of the Augsburg Confession, "gospel and sacrament" are understood by it; but the office of preaching in the narrower sense, in so far as the parish office, the special pastoral office, is understood by it: namely, that without this office no one can find the way to heaven and walk on it. This was the root of the error in Stephanism, from which other errors grew, such as the spiritual priesthood of all Christians, Christian freedom, etc., through which the doctrine of justification itself had to be damaged. From this error arose the unevangelical, legal practice, as Keyl himself described it to us in the preceding passage, and the consequences of which he so bitterly lamented and regretted. But we



can learn from this that the false doctrine of the preaching ministry is very dangerous for the Christian life, that it is capable of plunging a Christian back under the servile yoke of the law, that he loses the gospel completely again and falls from grace.

So he lets himself be heard about his co-promotion of the emigration of the Saxon Lutherans to America, in 1838:

"What I said to those around me concerning emigration was mainly as follows: Whoever wants to be saved must have not only the Word of God itself, but also the public preaching of it, and not only the right baptism and the ecclesiastical absolution, but also the Holy Communion pure and unadulterated. Since the Lutheran Church is the only one among the visible churches that has the Word of God and the sacraments pure and unadulterated, everyone who knows this true church must adhere to it, if only to a certain extent possible. The Lutheran Church in Saxony has indeed retained the symbolic books in name; in fact, however, in most churches and schools, the symbolic books invoked by the teachers are taught obviously and unpunished, and the sacraments are also falsified in many places. Those teachers who still firmly adhered to the symbolic books would therefore have to put up with obvious reproaches, and rightly fear that if they continued to adhere to them, harsher measures would be taken against them and they might even be removed from office. Since, moreover, it had already been variously and publicly discussed and desired that the vow to the symbolic books be abolished and thus the partition between Lutherans and Reformed be abolished, and also that so-called contemporary changes be made with respect to the agendas, the hymn books and the school books, he said.

In this state and the almost general hatred of the Word of God, nothing more could be hoped for the Lutheran Church and it would not be able to survive much longer. It was our duty, however, to take all possible care for the preservation of the same for ourselves and our descendants, and this could be done in no other way than if we ... transplanted it from Europe to America and sought to restore its former purity in doctrine, constitution and life, for which purpose the introduction of strict church discipline and the episcopal constitution after the model of the Swedish Lutheran Church and the establishment of Christian teaching and educational institutions should serve..... Following Stephen's process, I compared the emigration with Noah's entry into the ark, with Lot's escape from Sodom, with Israel's exodus from the house of service in Egypt, using the words of Ruth to Naomi: "Where you go, I will also go; where you stay, I will also stay," as a motto, and especially the passages about the flight at the abomination of desolation, about shaking off the dust when one no longer wants to hear the word of God, about the departure from Babylon were interpreted to mean the emigration."

If Keyl in the following confesses that his departure from the national church and his co-sponsorship of emigration was something sinful, one must not forget that he later changed his mind about it and passed a contrary judgment. When he wrote his confession, he had awakened with fright from his aberrations in Stephanism; but it had not yet become clear to him what was actually sinful about so-called Stephanism and everything connected with it, and what was not sinful but pleasing to God. When he published his confession, that strange disputation that was held here in Altenburg (and to which we will refer in the

next chapter), had not yet taken place, through which the great confusion among the immigrants was the cause of many serious errors and doubts of conscience were lifted with God's Word and a great clarity in the teaching was brought about, through which Keyl was also first led to better knowledge. In his confession, he had only been guided by the painful feeling about his errors, and so it happened that he fell from one extreme into the other; as is so easily the case for sinners in repentance, because, as Scripture says, the heart of man is a defiant and desponding thing. Keyl had recognized that there was much that was human and sinful in the whole course of events, and especially Stephen's exposure had made a terribly devastating impression on him; thus, in his sadness and gloom, he was carried away to throw out the baby with the bathwater, as the saying goes, and to declare as sin even that which, because it was tainted with human weaknesses, was in itself good and pleasing to God. It was therefore not surprising that the publication of his confession caused a great stir among the emigrants, who thanked God from the bottom of their hearts that they had happily escaped the tyranny of the state church that had fallen away from the faith.

When Keyl declared his resignation from the Saxon regional church, he took this step, as he himself says, "not with fear and trembling," not in doubt of his conscience, but "in the firm conviction that he was doing God a service by doing so. If he later thought in the challenge that it had been a sinful step, then this was the voice of an erring conscience. Leaving a national church can never be a sinful step in itself, even if the national church is still orthodox. A national church as such is not a divine

institution, is not founded by Christ. A national church or rather a state church exists through the state, depends on the state, is governed by the state (even if by consistories as instruments of the state) and is forced to obey the state according to the fourth commandment. A national church, or rather a state church as such, is thus a purely state institution, which exists only as long as the arm of the state lifts it up, cares for it and protects it. Assuming, then, that such a state church were orthodox, and that Christians in it enjoyed complete freedom of conscience (as was the case, for instance, at the time of the Reformation), it would not be against the conscience of a Christian to live under a state-church constitution; but under certain circumstances it would not be possible to make it a sin for him to leave the association of a state church. The bond which holds the state churches together as such was not made by Christ; for it is not the bond of "unity in the spirit": but it is the bonds of men which the arm of the worldly authorities has wrapped around them. But if such a state church has also quite obviously fallen away from the faith, if in its pulpits and universities the deity of Jesus Christ is impudently denied, his miracles denied, the fact of redemption eliminated, and Christ is made only a teacher of wisdom, who has atoned for his impudence with death; when the Holy Spirit of God is made a mere enthusiasm in man, the Holy Trinity is denied, and the Bible is degraded to a - still venerable - book of fables; when, finally, the highest authorities of the national church show their hatred for the faithful preachers and Christians in every conceivable way and let them feel it - trying to make their office and their Christian status more difficult, considering them to be the most dangerous and harmful people in the country, who are to be fought with all means possible.

What, we ask, should a Christian do in such a state of affairs? Should he then still fearfully ask whether it is not sinful to flee from such a Babel, to escape from such streams of Belial with his wife and children, so that he may save his and his souls? - And the Saxon Lutherans found themselves in such a situation when they broke away from the national church in 1838. In doing so, they not only acted rightly, but also fulfilled a sacred Christian duty. Their deed was a confessional act, which is inscribed on them in heaven. The conditions of the Saxon regional church were already as bleak then as they are today, and the reasons for leaving it were already as compelling for Christians at that time as they are in our day. It may well be that in the course of that separation from the state church many a human and sinful thing was lost (and this was actually what weighed on our dear Keyl), but the good thing was not made evil by it; it was and remained a work pleasing to God, even in spite of all the human weaknesses that clung to it.

But as far as emigration to America is concerned, which Keyl also declared to be sinful in the temptation (although later he also changed his mind about it), we would like to remark the following: In general, emigration to another region or country is in itself a free thing, that is, it is not a matter of conscience, but is left to the judgment of reason. A Christian, however, begins everything with God, and his main concern in everything he undertakes remains that he suffer no harm to his soul. If he now finds himself compelled to seek a new home, he sees above all that he remains with the church and school, and this is a matter of conscience for him. But what now the

As far as the emigration of the Saxon Lutherans is concerned, with which we are actually dealing here, one could ask: Why did they not stay in the old fatherland and found a free church, as was later done in Saxony, which at that time would perhaps have justified greater hopes than is the case in our time? We answer: That would have been easier to say than to do at that time. We believe that the founding of a free church in Saxony at that time would have been an impossibility. Do not forget: it was only in 1838 that the Saxon Lutherans left the State Church, it was not yet the year **1848!** Since the last-mentioned year, it has only become possible for free churches to come into being in Germany that are completely independent of the state. This right, of course, was not a gift of grace from the modern state or the secularized state churches - oh no! The evil Democrats and revolutionaries wrested it from the state and fought for it. But even they did not fight for this freedom out of love for the Christians - beware! but Christ, the Lord, has given this freedom to the Christians in the regional churches who are groaning in anguish of conscience, so that now the police arm of the regional church can no longer hold them by force, but that they may now build their own prayer houses and found Christian schools and thus serve God according to the pious way of the fathers. However, the Saxon Lutherans would not have gained this freedom in their fatherland in 1838. Only one way was open to them - emigration to America. And that they took this path, they acted quite rightly. They did only what their conscience had long since commanded them to do, and they had allowed themselves to be compelled all too long to do many things against their conscience, and yet they had not the slightest prospect of ever being freed from this pressure of conscience by any other means than emigration. They did not seek

earthly goods, but freedom of faith and conscience and the salvation of their souls. And that they therefore left fatherland and friendship, for this they had the word of Christ for themselves, since he says: "Whoever leaves houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, he will take it a hundredfold and inherit eternal life." [Matt. 19:29]

But that God also had his wise intentions in this emigration is clear before everyone's eyes. We do not want to deny that some human and sinful things were also attached to the emigration, but God nevertheless led his wise intentions out through it. He, who also directs what is evil and wrong, and who makes even human foolishness serve His kingdom, also directed the sin-stained emigration out of wonderful grace to great blessing. For after many days of deep humiliation, which he caused to come upon the emigrants in order to free them from all human idolatry and other foolishness, he also caused his sun of grace to shine upon them again, and made them a fruitful spiritual mother in this distant Occident, as it is now in the day.

Of this wonderful and gracious working of God, Keyl writes the following:

"We have been brought to the knowledge of Stephen, to which, according to the highest probability, neither the most urgent conceptions nor the severest persecutions, if it had come to that,' could have brought us in our old fatherland, without the sad experiences made here; - and then we have been driven most emphatically to seek the answer to many important questions with renewed zeal and with a sincere eagerness in the Holy Scriptures themselves and in the unsuspected testimonies of the fathers of our Church, above all Luther himself.

"Thanks and praise be to the faithful, merciful God that he bore me with such great patience and longsuffering and did not let me die in my sins; that he awakened me from my deep sleep of sin and opened my eyes to learn both the great power of my sins and the even greater power of his grace. Yes, it is dear to me that he has humbled me, that I learn his rights. The bitter but salutary remembrance of my sins will indeed accompany me to my end, but my comfort shall be the word of the Lord: "I will forgive their iniquity, and remember their sins no more?"

## Chapter IV.

### **Keyl's emigration to America and his first congregation there in Frohna, Perry County, Missouri.**

The emigration of the Saxon Lutherans to America, under Stephen's leadership, in which our blessed Keyl also participated, took place in 1838, as is well known. It had been secretly planned and prepared long before, but only a few of Stephan's faithful had known about it earlier. Already in the twenties Stephan had talked with Professor Benjamin Kurz from Gettysburg, when he traveled through Germany and also visited Stephan, about the possibility of having to emigrate soon because of his conscience, and later he exchanged letters with him in this matter. In 1830, as Keyl relates, Stephan had informed people closer to him of his emigration plan and tried to convince them of the necessity of emigration that might soon occur. He had pointed out to them primarily the sad ecclesiastical conditions in Germany, in which



In particular, however, he had introduced them to the fact that the unbelieving church regime was in the process of abolishing the oath of allegiance to the church confessions and thus abolishing the last remnants of Lutheranism, indeed of Christianity as a whole. Thus it could soon come about that no one in Germany could be saved. With such and similar descriptions, which were essentially quite correct, although the conclusions drawn from them were exaggerated, he could easily win over the Christians, who felt the pressure of conscience in the national church only too much, for his emigration plans.

Around Pentecost of the year 1836, as Keyl further relates, a special meeting took place at Stephen's event in Dresden, at which the conditions of the Lutheran state church at that time were discussed in particular detail, and were found to be so hopeless that the decision was finally made: The departure to another country, where the church enjoyed full religious freedom, had become an urgent necessity. Initially, Stephan had his eyes set on Australia; but at that meeting, on his advice, it was decided to consider America as the destination of emigration; and finally the state of Missouri was chosen as the most suitable for a larger emigration society. So all the necessary arrangements for emigration were now quietly made, and the secret threads spun out wherever confidants dwelt; it required but a jerk, and the whole society was ready for the journey. They were only waiting, as they said, for a sign from God to set out. Therefore, when Stephan was suspended by the police in the late fall of 1838 and soon thereafter suspended from office, and a trial against him was initiated, he shortly thereafter sent word to all those who were connected with him:

The hour of departure had struck; the time to flee from Babylon had come; whoever wanted to save his soul should prepare for the exodus. And behold, hundreds were soon ready to answer Stephen's call. Of course, the people thought that Stephen's well-deserved suspension was a sign of his martyrdom, because he had not been convicted of a single evil deed, despite the grave suspicions against him and the frequent accusations by the police. We must not lose sight of this fact if we do not want to do injustice to the Saxon emigrants and falsify the historical truth, as has often been done by malicious people, orally and in writing. For the sake of the evil deeds of Stephen, which became apparent only later, they have put the stamp of immorality on the whole society and tried to make it dishonorable in the eyes of the world.

Among those who were immediately ready to follow Stephen's call to leave for a foreign country was also our blessed Keyl with 109 souls, some of whom were from his parish of Niederfrohna, some from the surrounding area, but the latter had been attending his sermon for some time. The whole company, however, consisted of a little over 700 souls. Among them were six preachers, eight candidates for the office of preacher, one school teacher, three candidates for the office of school official, two physicians, one student of medicine, one doctor of law, one lawyer, two painters and several former civil servants and merchants; the majority, however, consisted of craftsmen and farmers. Before the start of the journey, a so-called emigration order had been drafted, which all independent male persons involved had to sign. Now, in order to show that the society had really established and drafted wise and Christian principles and plans

Here we let the essentials follow from that order. It says there:

§Confession of Faith: The undersigned confess with sincere hearts the pure Lutheran faith as contained in the Word of God in the Old and New Testaments and as presented and known in the symbolic writings of the Lutheran Church.

§ 2. emigration, its cause, purpose and goal: After careful consideration, the undersigned see the human impossibility of keeping this faith pure and unadulterated in their present homeland, of confessing it and of propagating it to their descendants. They are therefore urged by their conscience to emigrate and to seek a country where this Lutheran faith is not endangered and where they can therefore serve God undisturbed in the order of grace revealed and established by Him, and enjoy undisturbed the means of grace which God has ordained for the blessedness of all men, in their completeness and purity, and preserve them for themselves and their descendants. These means of grace include, first of all: the ministry of reconciliation (preaching ministry?) in its full scope and with undiminished freedom; pure and free worship; complete and pure preaching of the divine word; complete and pure sacraments; pastoral care and soul care without disturbance and hindrance. Such a country as they seek is the United States of North America, where, as nowhere else in the world, there is perfect ecclesiastical and civil liberty, and vigorous and effective protection of the same against foreign countries.

§ 3. ecclesiastical and civil order: The undersigned pledge to submit with Christian sincerity and willingness to the ecclesiastical and civil order to be established, as well as to the school regulations and especially to the church discipline to be established.

§ 4. The place of settlement in the United States of North America shall be chosen in one of the western states, Missouri, Illinois, or Indiana.

§ 5. itinerary: Therefore, the city of St. Louis in the Missouri state, which lies in the center of all these states and is their main trading center, shall be the next destination of the journey. The embarkation point in Europe should be Hamburg or Bremen, the disembarkation point New Orleans, from where St. Louis should be reached by river navigation on the Mississippi.

§ 6. purchase of land: from St. Louis, by a committee of all emigrants, a line of contiguous lands shall be purchased and after deduction of what must remain for church, school and community, individual pieces shall be let off to each according to his needs. These lands shall together make up the village or town area. Outside the village, everyone is free to buy as much land as he likes.

§ 7. assumption of all ecclesiastical and municipal burdens for 5 years.

§ 8. mutual support (not community of property).

§ Credit Fund: An advance or credit fund shall be established for the temporary payment of necessary expenses for church, school and municipal needs, for the support of impecunious emigrants by means of advances, and for the purchase of the above-mentioned area of land. The deposits depend on everyone's free will.

§ In all business, in all promises and assurances, Christian simplicity, honesty and truthfulness must prevail, and therefore all formalities and prolixities that are not unavoidably necessary should be avoided.

§ The undersigned declare that each of them has been left completely free to choose whether to go with them or to stay at home.

When the Saxon Lutherans prepared to emigrate, they suffered the same fate as Noah when he prepared the ark: they had to be honestly mocked by the children of the world. But even well-meaning and pious people shook their heads apprehensively at their plans. Some did not trust Pastor Stephan; others were offended by the way in which the emigration was carried out; and still others did not think it was time to leave the so terribly dilapidated national church already now, and to seek a spiritual refuge in another country, where one could serve God without state-church obstacles. Among the latter was, for example, the dear Dr. Rudelbach. Our Keyl had formerly been in brotherly faith contact with him, had belonged to a conference with him, from which, however, he (Keyl) later renounced due to conscience concerns; nevertheless, a friendly relationship had continued between the two even after that. When the emigration, which had been planned for a long time, was to become a fact, Rudelbach turned to Keyl in well-meant, heartfelt letters and tried to pull him away from the Stephan community, and warned him against leaving the national church and against emigration, which he declared to be a sin. Although he could not deny the sad conditions in the national church, he still considered leaving and emigration premature. And what did this dear man himself do later? To save his conscience, he too resigned in 1845. In his printed farewell sermon, he explains what had moved him to resign his office as superintendent, consistorial councilor and examiner within the Saxon regional church, to leave Saxony and return to Denmark. He writes: "Not alone

Heaven-shattering abuses in our church are tolerated here (what Protestant teacher's heart would not have bled when he saw such a lack of discipline before his eyes, which even touched the Word and the sacraments without restraint! My hand would have withered if I had signed only the slightest letter of such measures, which will unfold with lightning speed, and I would have been called by virtue of my position to carry them out. I was bound by a sacred, inviolable oath to protect the confession of our church with word and deed, with life and limb, with property and blood. There was only one protest left to me; the protest is - my resignation from office."

The journey across the ocean was accomplished by the emigration company in five ships hired for the purpose, the first of which left Bremerhafen on November 3 and the last on November 18, 1838, and set sail. But only four of these ships reached America's shores, the fifth is completely lost. The name of the ship on which Keyl came over was "Johann Georg". It left the German port on November 3, and arrived safely in the port of New Orleans on January 5, 1839. According to Stephan's order, Keyl had to perform all official duties on this ship, as if he were the appointed pastor of the ship's company. On February 9, he and the other passengers arrived in St. Louis, Mo. after a happy trip down the Mississippi.

Here the entire emigration society met again. The prevailing mood among them, however, was by no means an uplifted one, but a depressed and dejected one, although no one was able to give himself an answer about the actual cause of it. That a

Many felt that there was a spell among them, but the actual cause was still hidden from them; their eyes were still held so that they did not yet perceive the already threatening collapse of their castles in the air. While some were already filled with suspicion against Stephan, no one dared to reveal his heart to the other. Just consider the following incident, which our blessed Keyl himself related: While sailing on the Mississippi, a young man discovered his heart to Pastor Keyl in private, namely that he feared Pastor Stephan was living in secret sins of the flesh. What did our dear Keyl do? In the highest indignation, as if he had heard a blasphemy, he struck the young man in the face. Then he showed him what a grave sin it was to let such a horrible thought arise in his heart against such a holy man, who had endured so much for the sake of Christ, and so on.

However, Stephen's imperiousness, love of ostentation, wastefulness and careless disposal of other people's property had become more and more evident during the voyage. Thus, during the voyage, he had persuaded his ship's company to elect him bishop. He testified that he did not want to be a bishop in America, but only its advisor. For the time being, it was only a matter of having someone at the helm when he arrived in America who would take the reins with a strong hand, who would keep the company in check; therefore, it was advisable that he be clothed with the episcopal dignity for the time being. During the journey from New Orleans to St. Louis, he had a document drawn up which all the members of the Society had to sign and in which they had to commit themselves heart and life to "His Reverend" (?), their God-given (?) bishop. Unfortunately, our blessed Keyl eagerly helped to carry out these and other hierarchical plans of Stephen. He confesses this himself with the following words:

"I not only agreed to Stephen's election as bishop on my own behalf, in the firm conviction that this election would bring great salvation to the Church of God, indeed that it was absolutely necessary for it; but I also induced my traveling companions to agree to this election by my urgent ideas. But - what was even more annoying - I also persuaded them to take that blasphemous and outrageous oath demanded by Stephen, in which they not only pledged to Stephen an unconditional obedience in all ecclesiastical and communal matters, not only such unlimited confidence that they themselves would seriously guard against all suspicious thoughts rising against Stephen; but also pledged themselves to want to live, suffer and die by the episcopal constitution initiated by Stephen."

In St. Louis, the whole company stayed for a while, until they found a place to settle according to Stephen's wishes. During this time, Keyl administered the preaching ministry among the emigrants there and received his salary for it. However, he did not dare to preach a sermon there that he had not first presented to "His Reverend" for review, who then also knew how to masterfully use our dear Keyl's thoroughness for his ever deeper subjugation and humiliation. Keyl also took no offense to use a public church prayer, in which the "bishop" Stephan was commemorated in a blasphemous way, according to a prescribed formula. Admittedly, all this was done in ignorance; but one can see from this the enchantment in which the whole society, with a few exceptions, preachers and laymen, was caught. But let it not be forgotten that all these sins and follies had their deepest cause in a false, hierarchical doctrine of the church and of the office of preaching, or in a false Romanizing theory of the office.



In the month of April 1839, a large number of the emigrants, and among them our blessed Keyl, moved to Perry County, in southeast Missouri, a little over a hundred miles downriver from St. Louis, where, directly on the Mississippi River, several thousand acres of land had been acquired for a settlement by purchase and the purchase price to be paid for it had been financed from the credit fund existing among the emigrants. Stephan also arrived with them at the settlement to dictate and direct the course of events there.

But his reign was not to last long; his secret sins were discovered, and he was consequently removed from the settlement. Things became apparent that made it necessary to remove him from the settlement as soon as possible for the sake of God's glory and the salvation of many souls.

But do not think that Stephanism or the Stephanistic spirit had already been removed from the settlement - oh, no! It still took serious struggles, which lasted year and day, before the dark, unevangelical spirit was subdued and before the Stephanistic ideas were abandoned. As long as the false, unevangelical doctrine was not out of the hearts, the practice remained a legal one. Therefore, a doctrinal battle had first to be fought among the emigrants, so that the root from which all previous aberrations had grown among them could be cut down; only then could a new one be plowed and the sowing under the hedges cease. This doctrinal dispute was not long in coming, but our dear Keyl was initially still on the wrong side. He writes about it thus:

"With Stephen's person, Stephanism was by no means removed from our midst. Ltoo held in

I still clung to most of the Stephanist ideas in my perpetual blindness. The protestation written by three members of our society therefore also failed to serve its purpose on me, indeed, I entered into open opposition against it, since I could have gained light on many important points already at that time, which unfortunately became clear to me only later. I realize how shameful it is for me that I, who should have been able to give light to others myself, had to receive the light from others first, and that I unfortunately resisted the same all too long. I must be all the more ashamed of this long delusion of mine, since I recognize more and more clearly how God, out of unfathomable mercy and for the salvation of all of us, first began, through the aforementioned Protestation writing, to put a stop to the construction of a new Babylonian tower that was unconsciously continuing among us, to tear down the un-Lutheran foundation of the same along with everything that was built on it, and to bring the old proven foundation back to light."

That our dear Keyl held on to some Stephanist ideas for a long time, and even defended them, had its main reason, as has already been mentioned, in the false doctrine of the office of preacher; but also in the fact that some persons of high standing in the settlement, who had been close to Stephen and had been his advisors, took a most unwise, even unjust course of action, in that they tried to lay all the blame for their failed hopes on the preachers and otherwise caused great confusion among the Christians. The behavior of these people was not suitable to tear our dear Keyl out of his bias and to lead him to a better understanding. But the Lord, who allows the sincere to succeed, finally helped him out of all the confusion and led him to the right light, so that he could rejoice again with a happy mouth.

After Stephen's removal from the settlement, the people soon realized that a communal economy, as it had existed among them until then, could no longer continue. Thus, a lottery and distribution of the land purchased from the credit kaffe took place. The whole society (with the exception of those who had settled in St. Louis) now divided into several congregations, and Pastor Keyl founded the congregation of Frohna with a part of those who had emigrated with him from the Muldenthal. They named their settlement Frohna in memory of their old fatherland, which they could not yet forget, even though they had left it for the sake of their faith. This name could also have been interpreted as a prophecy of their hard fate, which they initially met here; for "Frohna" is reminiscent of Fröhen, Frondienst: but their hard work was not Frondienst for them, but a pleasure; for they rejoiced that they had happily escaped the Frondienst of the German state church, and now lived in a land where they enjoyed complete freedom of faith and conscience, and could serve God according to the old pious fathers' ways.

Their number was only small, almost all young, still unmarried people, and, as has been said, their beginning was meager in every respect. It is easy to see that the external circumstances of our dear Keyl could not have been brilliant at the beginning. When the lands purchased by the Society were distributed to him, he was given a piece of land on which, fortunately, there was still a small habitable house in which he and his small family could find shelter against wind and weather. In the early days, church services had to be held here. Before each service, a pulpit and an altar were built in the narrow room and everything was prepared in an ecclesiastical and solemn manner, so that when one entered it, one was completely reverent.

was tuned. The pulpit and the altar were made of three artfully assembled boxes, one of which formed the pedestal, the other the parapet of the pulpit, and the third the altar, all of which was decorated with an ecclesiastically decent covering. Under such poor circumstances, there could be hardly any question of a parish salary at the beginning, because some parishioners often lacked even the most basic necessities, and money was an almost completely unknown article here at that time.

Fortunately, our Keyl still had some of his paternal inheritance left over from Germany, so that he and his family were protected from real deprivation. He had lost a large part of his inherited property during the emigration; he had paid a sum of 5360 Thalers into the loan fund, but in return he only received back the value of about K600, consisting of a piece of land; from which it is clear enough that he did not seek his own during the emigration, still less find it.

However poor the situation of pastor and congregation in Frohna was in the early days, they were not despondent and despondent, but were soon anxious to build and complete a building equipped for holding church services. Of course, there was no money for this, and wealthier sister congregations, which could have been approached for help (as has almost become the fashion nowadays), did not exist at that time. So they were completely dependent on their own hands to build the church, and besides that they had to work literally every day for the daily bread for "today". But the Lord helped them from one day to the next, and the desire and love for the intended work did not let them tire. Soon a small church built of hewn blocks was ready, and oh! how

The people were happy when they could gather there to praise God. Of course, it could easily have been called "the little church of Christ's crib in Frohna"; for it was without any external decoration: it had no ceiling above and no floor below; the seats were made of hewn blocks, which were supposed to represent boards and rested on indented poles, so that one could safely sit down on them. In short, it was obvious that poverty had built it.

But for that very reason, the place was all the more dear to them. They had the main ornament of a place of worship in their little church - the dear Word of God, which Pastor Keyl preached to them abundantly and effusively, with proof of the Spirit and power, on Sundays, feast days and weekdays; and the people heard it diligently, yes, so diligently that the surrounding Americans prophesied that they would not soon become poor (for they were already poor), but would starve. But their prophecy proved to be wrong. True, most of the old immigrants have already died blessedly, as we may hope, but not because they starved to death, but because death also kept the old covenant with them: "You must die." But their children and descendants still live there, and their number has grown, and they also still, thank God! And they still, thank God, diligently hear God's word, to which the beautiful and spacious church built in the last few years (the third since the first beginnings) testifies; and they do not starve, but still have something left for Christ, who is poor in his members. Those Americans, however, who proclaimed the certain death of starvation to the dear people of Frohna, have almost all disappeared from the surrounding area.

Keyl's sphere of activity in Frohna, however, was a very small and limited one, and the congregation multiplied into

of his time only very little, because no material was available for it. At that time, the western states of America were still very little populated. This was especially the case with the southeastern part of Missouri, where the Saxon immigrants had settled. Also, the area was not very suitable for attracting new immigrants, because there was little good farmland to be found there; therefore, there was little opportunity to do missionary work, although the Saxon preachers did not lack the desire and love for it. Keyl's zeal for inner mission can be clearly seen from the fact that he preached to some German families living there, about thirty miles from Frohna, in the small town of Cape Girardeau and the surrounding area; and the interest with which he worked the small mission field can be seen from the fact that he described his work there in detail in a long essay. A number of later Lutheran congregations there testify to the fact that his work in the Lord was not without fruit.

Keyl lived in lovely harmony with his congregation in Frohna. The majority of them had already been in spiritual contact with him in Germany, so they met him here all the more trustingly, which strengthened the inner and outer unity in the congregation. From the outside, the community was little disturbed. The surrounding Americans were mostly still Christian-minded people, Presbyterians, from whom they were not challenged because of their faith, and from the other sects of this country they remained almost completely unmolested. There is hardly a corner of this vast country that has been so neglected by the proselytizing hawks as Perry County, Missouri, and especially the Saxon settlement. They may have tried to prey on them here and there, but they soon saw

that they could not fish in the mud here, and that therefore their effort and work would also be lost. Because here, from the very beginning, not only was the Gospel of Jesus Christ preached in general by truly faithful preachers with proof of the Spirit and power, but also the difference of doctrine was diligently practiced: thus the sect emissaries had a bar put in front of them, which they were not able to break through; they could not resist the spirit that spoke from the Lutheran Christians, who were clearly and firmly grounded in doctrine.

Thus our Keyl was spared from serious fights during his activity in Frohna - after the doctrinal disputes among the immigrants themselves had been settled happily and to the glory of God. He therefore used the time all the more to establish himself ever more deeply and firmly in the truth through diligent study and to build up his congregation in its most holy faith. Here he began with the study of Luther's writings, which we will discuss in more detail in the 8th chapter of our story.

His official activity in the community has been deeply effective. Schreiber is well able to make a correct judgment about Keyl's effectiveness in Frohna, since he served the parish as a branch for 13 years. He must confess that after many years he still clearly perceived the traces of Keyl's blessed effectiveness; indeed, that the congregation even today has not denied the character expressed by its first founder.

If you think back to the time when Keyl was working in Frohna, and consider how small and poor the congregation was, you might think that the pastor and the congregation were not concerned about the building of the Kingdom of God, because they had enough to do with their own congregational budget. In our

At this time, there are many congregations that are not as poor as that congregation was, but who are generally not concerned about the building of the Kingdom of God, and who use poverty as an excuse. But Pastor Keyl and his congregation did not think and act like that; they were also active for the expansion of the Kingdom of God. When in 1839 the Concordia College was founded in Altenburg, 2 miles away from Frohna, and the education of 7 boys began, they also took an active part in it. The poor congregation supported it as much as they could, and Pastor Keyl was active for a long time with giving hours. And when in 1847, on the initiative of the Saxon preachers, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states came into being and held its first meetings in Chicago in April of the same year, Pastor Keyl was also among the fifteen preachers and his congregation was among the ten congregations that made up the entire body of the synod at that time.

One can see from this that the Stephanist spirit, which wanted to live only for itself and to close itself off in a monastery, had disappeared from the Saxon congregations, and that they had rightly grasped their Christian calling, namely, "to proclaim the virtues of Him who had called them from darkness to His marvelous light. It cannot be denied that as long as Stephen's spirit ruled and governed them, they pursued a different goal and strove to remain separate and form a church for themselves alone; but God led them by his grace to a better understanding that they now also considered that they should be the salt of the earth.

We now come to the end of this chapter. After nine years of activity in Frohna, our blessed Keyl received in June of 1847 a vocation from the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Freistadt and from the Evangelical Lutheran



Trinity Parish in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. There he was promised a much larger and more important field of work than he had in Frohna, and this circumstance must have been one of the main reasons for his acceptance of the profession he had received. - In that place, too, his rich gifts and knowledge could probably be more and best utilized for the furtherance of the kingdom of God in general than was the case here in Perry County; and this had to be a second main reason for accepting the vocations that had come to him unsought. - Here, in Frohna, he was little challenged from the outside, by unbelievers and false believers, and he had to work more merely with the trowel, without always standing ready for battle with the sword in the other hand; but in Wisconsin God wanted to place him on a battlefield, where he not only had to teach, but also always to defend, not only to work with the trowel, but also to wield the sword; and this had to be a third main reason for accepting the vocation received. And because now also learned and pious men, who knew the conditions in those places, advised him to follow the call; and because his conscience told him that he had to go; and because finally his congregation could not invalidate these reasons by more important counter-reasons, and thus could not release his conscience from the obligation to follow the new call: so it could no longer be doubtful to him for a moment that he had to recognize in the received vocation a divine call, which he had to follow as his Lord's servant.

It is true that his congregation in Frohna, which highly honored and esteemed him and loved him as a father, did not like to see him leave their midst; and it was very difficult for our dear Keyl himself to have to part from his dear people, with whom, according to the majority, he had already been intimately associated in Germany for nine years, and with whom

He had been sharing joy and sorrow, good and bad days, room and adversity, with his pastor for just as long, and the pastor had been as faithful to him as only righteous Christians can be to their pastor in sincere love. However, as difficult as the outward separation was for both parties, they both recognized that they had to make this sacrifice because the Lord demanded it of them. An old parishioner from Frohna recently said to us: "We let Pastor Keyl go with joy; not because we wanted him to leave, but out of gratitude to God, who had left him with us for so long and who had given us so many spiritual blessings through him. We also rejoiced that he now had a larger and more respectable position, which he well deserved and which we gladly granted him."

On the 16th Sunday after Trinity in 1847 Keyl preached his farewell sermon in Frohna, and in the same week he left. In the 4th volume of the "Lutheraner", No. 3, the following was reported from the Frohna congregation:

"Our pastor, Pastor Keyl, honorable, much beloved in Christ Jesus, accepted the call of the Lutheran congregations in Milwaukee and Freistadt, and preached his last sermons here on the 16th Sunday after Trinity. This took place in front of a large congregation, since many also came from neighboring congregations who wanted to hear the Word of God once again from his mouth, so that our small church building was too small to hold the crowd. The sermon in the morning, about the raising of the young man from the dead at Nain, touched our hearts all the more deeply in our situation, since we were already deeply moved by the departure of our pastor; but it was also very comforting for us, because we learned from it how our Lord Christ still speaks to us in all distress: 'Do not weep.' Thereupon

He distributed Holy Communion and held a congregational meeting after the service, where he bid farewell to everyone with deep emotion. In the afternoon sermon he continued in the explanation of the first book of Moses, which he had interpreted in the weekly services. In this sermon - on the 35th chapter - he talked, among other things, about how with the holy patriarch Jacob always came one cross after the other, but also consolation of the divine word alternated with it. Finally, he gave us several important exhortations that we should faithfully keep the abundantly received Word of God, and explained that he did not preach a formal farewell sermon because he believed that melancholy would take hold of him and us in such a way that weeping would be a disturbing obstacle to teaching and listening. ..

Now, our thanks follow in the distance,  
O dear teacher, after you,  
Since your mouth spoke unswervingly  
and so gladly to our hearts  
Of what could only promote our bliss in this time.

Because we are now unable to reward your effort and diligence,  
we wish God's blessing in your new sphere of activity: that God  
may increase your far-away little group and destroy Satan's  
kingdom and power.

Now, you churches, welcome with joy your soul shepherd, who  
will surely lead you to green pastures of the Word of God;  
Yes, happy are you praised by us, that God points you to this  
man.

So let God make all things prosperous, That one day in bliss, The  
shepherd with the flocks, Sing from eternity to eternity: The Lord  
has well thought of everything And made everything, everything  
right. Amen."

## Chapter V.

### Keyl's effectiveness in Wisconsin.

Of Keyl's calling to Wisconsin, and of the motives which made him glad to accept this calling, we have already said something in the preceding chapter. But it is also important and interesting to know under what circumstances and conditions he was called there; for this reminds us of a period in the history of the American Lutheran Church and its doctrinal disputes, which have been of quite significant consequences.

Until Keyl's appointment, the congregations of Freistadt and Milwaukee had belonged to the Buffalo Synod, which liked to call itself "the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the Church emigrated from Prussia". This name already expressed the hopeful, dissenting, papist spirit of this synod, which then also appeared quite clearly in its false doctrine and in its priestly practice from the very beginning. The above-mentioned congregations had been served by a preacher of this synod, named L. E. E. Krause. However, they had recently felt compelled to remove their preacher and sever their connection with the Buffalo Synod. As a reason for the removal of their preacher, the congregation in Freistadt gives the following in their letter of evocation: "We have now renounced the pastoral care of Pastor Krause for almost a year, for the reason that said Pastor Krause led false doctrine and an annoying life, and did not heed the admonitions of the congregation and the ministry."

Whether or not this raised accusation is now also

We must briefly examine here whether Keyl really behaved in this way, because it will depend on whether he had a legitimate profession in Freistadt and Milwaukee, or whether he was a Rotten preacher, as the Buffalo Synod liked to dub him. But for this it will be necessary for us to go back to the beginning of the controversy which broke out in 1840 between the Buffalo Synod and the Saxon preachers in Perry County, Missouri.

The beginning of this dispute was as follows: It was, as already mentioned, in the year 1840, when Pastor A. Grabau in Buffalo sent out a so-called "pastoral letter" addressed to the Christians who had emigrated with him from Prussia, which he sent to the Saxon preachers Keyl, Löber, Gruber and Walther living in Missouri for their review. When these men, on reading Grabau's product, were shocked and saddened to find that the same erroneous, hierarchical doctrinal principles which they themselves had previously held in Stephanism (and to great detriment) were set forth and defended as purely divine truths, they humbly drew Pastor Grabau's attention to this and informed him of their misgivings in writing in a thoroughly Christian brotherly manner. In particular, they showed him that his doctrine of the church, of the office of preaching, of the calling to the office of preaching, of the power of office, of ordination, of the spiritual priesthood of all true Christians, of Christian liberty, and of excommunication was not according to the model of wholesome doctrine. They asked him urgently to examine his doctrinal principles again carefully according to God's word and according to the symbols of our church; thus he would - they confidently hoped - come to the conviction that in some points a correction was necessary.

But how much these men were deceived in their good opinion with regard to Grabau's attitude! It

it soon turned out that Grabau was an incorrigible misguided spirit, who did not want to accept even the most respectful and friendly reminder concerning his hierarchical doctrinal principles, much less improve them; but in a dictatorial manner demanded unconditional acceptance and approval of his papist principles from the Saxon preachers. But because they had to reject such an excessive request for conscience' sake, Grabau, enraged by it, dragged the hitherto hidden dispute out into the open, and he and his little synod, consisting of about three preachers, began to publicly heresy and curse the Saxon preachers, and finally to formally banish them.

The Buffalo congregations in Wisconsin had now received word of this dispute. Not only had Grabau made the congregations aware of it through printed matter, but also their own preachers, who professed Grabau's false doctrine and condemned the doctrine of the Saxon preachers as heretical, had brought this dispute into their congregations. Almost in every sermon, even in funeral sermons, they tried to drag this dispute by the hair, so that the congregations, which were initially on Grabau's side, became fed up with it.

In this way it happened that a part of the parishioners, because they saw the fruit of the false teachings of their preachers and had to feel the consequences of the same in the tyrannical treatment, came to a better understanding, and that they consequently also opposed the false teachings and the priestly behavior of their preachers. Thus it came about that the congregations in Freistadt and Milwaukee (the former was the mother congregation, the latter a branch) removed their pastor Krause from office for the sake of false teachings and objectionable conduct. Also in the neighboring parish Kirchhayn, where the Buffalo pastor

G. A. Kindermann, a number of members had also renounced their false preacher.

It was obvious that these people could not and should not seek a remedy for their plight in the Buffalo Synod. So they turned to the first-ever Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states, which met in Chicago in April 1847.

As is well known, the Saxon preachers in Missouri were among the founders of this synod, who until then had led the momentous doctrinal dispute with the Synod of Buffalo alone. Pastor Grabau and his fellow ministers had also been kindly invited to this synod in Chicago; for it was hoped that an oral discussion might still lead to an agreement in doctrine. Pastor Grabau and his comrades had also promised to come; but they did not come, but soon afterward appeared in public with a synodal letter, in which they twisted and distorted the controversy hitherto conducted in a quite impudent and shameless manner, and defended their false doctrine and ungodly practice.

The congregations of Freistadt and Milwaukee had each sent a delegate to the Synod of Missouri, etc., assembled in Chicago, in order to have their matter brought forward and investigated there. Since Pastor Grabau and his comrades had not appeared, the synod could not enter into a closer investigation of this matter, but it could testify to the congregations in Wisconsin that their former pastor Krause was a manifest heretic who had confessed to all of Pastor Grabau's errors and defended them, and that they had therefore been right to remove such a soul murderer from his office. But because these congregations asked for a true-believing preacher, they were advised to appoint Pastor Keyl from Frohna.

which they did, and, as it says in the beautiful letter of the vocation, "in the good hope that Your Reverence will, by God's grace, remain faithful in doctrine and life to the Evangelical Lutheran Church". Also, we already know from the previous chapter that Keyl recognized a divine call in this vocation and followed the same.

But before we speak of our blessed friend's effectiveness in Wisconsin, we must become a little more familiar with the ecclesiastical conditions as he found them there. At that time the now so flourishing state of Wisconsin was still a territory, and its now fertile fields were for the most part still in the impenetrable primeval forest in which the wild beasts dwelt. The city of Milwaukee, which is described by all who visit it as the most beautiful city of the West of America because of its magnificent location, its cleanliness, etc. (and the writer of this agrees with this judgment from his own experience), and which at present already counts in the second hundred thousand inhabitants, had at that time only nine thousand inhabitants, and its trade and traffic was still very insignificant. From that time on, however, immigration to Wisconsin increased greatly, and the population of Milwaukee increased significantly from year to year. Among those immigrating from Germany, the Pomeranians were particularly well represented. As is well known, most of them are (or used to be) church-minded by nature, and although they come from the Prussian-United Church, they have not yet forgotten that they are the children of Lutheran fathers, so that it is easier for them to be won over to the Lutheran Church in this country than, for example, the peoples of southern Germany. In this way it has happened that Wisconsin, and especially Wisconsin's most beautiful and largest city, Milwaukee, has become a rich field of work for the Lutheran Church.



When Blessed Keyl took up his post in Milwaukee, he was confronted with a picture of terrible ecclesiastical disunity. There were quite a number of parties there, all claiming the name "Lutheran" for themselves. And indeed, as far as the name is concerned, Milwaukee has long been a stronghold and foundation of Lutheranism. Besides Keyl's congregation, there was also a Buffalo congregation, "the rest of the Lord," as Grabau liked to call it in his fatherly way; furthermore, the congregation of the eccentric Pastor Klügel, the congregation of Pastor Mühlhäuser, the founder of the Wisconsin Synod, the congregation of Pastor Dulitz, the congregation of Pastor Romanowski, the party of Roggenbuck and a few others, who called themselves the Silesian Lutherans. Even though some of these parties knew very little of true Lutheranism and possessed even less of it, they had written it on their banner and were not ashamed of the Lutheran name; therefore, one could at least draw hope for the future from it. And in fact, as we will hear later, everything turned out quite differently.

After a 14-day journey, Keyl and his family arrived in Milwaukee on October 7, 1847. Under this date his diary says: "Today (Thursday) early at 9 o'clock I arrived here with my family under God's protection on the steamship Saratoga from Chicago and found my interim residence with the churchwarden M. Bruß." Here, in Milwaukee, Keyl took up residence, from where he helped serve the Freistadt congregation, as well as those in Kirchhayn who had broken away from Pastor Kindermann.

On the 19th Sunday after Trinity he preached his first sermons in Milwaukee on the Sunday pericopes.

Both services were attended by so many people that the church could not hold all the listeners for a long time. In the morning sermon, he testified before the congregation that he took up his office among them with joy, because he was sure that they had rightly deposed his predecessor as an obvious false teacher, and that therefore his vocation was a divine one. He repeated this also on the following Sunday in the entrance to his sermon in Freistadt. When he was preparing for his first sermons after his arrival in Milwaukee, and was very zealous in doing so, his landlord, who had been watching him, said to him, "Our former pastor did not prepare much for his sermons; with him everything went as if from a bootstrap, but it was also afterward."

Since Keyl could not be officially introduced to his congregations, because in the territory of Wisconsin at that time there was no brother minister in brotherhood with him, Grabau wrote to the world that Keyl had been ordained by a deposed schoolmaster and by a ship's carpenter. The occasion for this tasteless slander gave him the following: According to the laws of Wisconsin, no preacher was allowed to perform a marriage ceremony, unless he had previously deposited with the Clerk of the Circuit Court a certificate of his lawful calling and appointment to the preaching office. Now Keyl could have presented his ordination certificate in Latin, which he possessed from Germany, and his diploma of vocations from his congregations in Wisconsin in German; but because all legal documents had to be in English, a letter was drawn up in English by a man who knew the law, in which it was attested that Pastor Keyl was an ordained and duly appointed preacher, which letter was then formally signed by the clerk of the circuit court.

of the right was recognized by a community assembly called for this purpose and was credibly signed by the chairman and secretary of the same. And because the chairman of the assembly in question was the ship's carpenter M. Bruß and the secretary a schoolmaster deposed by Grabau, Grabau based his tasteless slander that Keyl had been ordained by a ship's carpenter and a deposed schoolteacher on this event. Of course, Keyl himself did not reply to this lame tirade; later, however, Pastor Lochner found the occasion to denounce this and many other Münchhausiades of Grabau as pure inventions taken out of the air and to pillory them in the "Lutheraner" and in the fine "Notwehrblatt". We communicate this event here only for the amusement of our readers; besides, however, one can also take from it what a mean, angry spirit towards the Missouri Synod once animated the pastor Grabau.

During his effectiveness in Milwaukee, Keyl lived outwardly in fairly good peace. Most of all, he was troubled by Pastor Klügel. This eccentric came to this country as a candidate with the Saxon emigrants, where he stayed with his parents and siblings in Perry County until after Stephen's exposure, but fell out with everyone. He was one of those who, after Stephen's removal from the settlement, now sought wholly to destroy everything; who, with insolent, crude hand, rooted about in the deep-set wounds of the poor, deceived immigrants, instead of helping to heal them; who sought wholly to trample into the dust the preachers, already so deeply humiliated and crushed, instead of raising them up again. When Klügel saw that his insolent and hopeful spirit found no place here, he left Perry County for Wisconsin, where he gathered a small congregation on his own in and near Milwaukee, but which was later destroyed because of his

false teachings and because of his frivolous change separated from him and joined other churches.

Klügel taught falsely about conversion and election by grace, and in order to give his false teaching a semblance, he misused Luther's writings against Erasmus and the doctrine of Christian freedom, and pretended that he alone led the true Lutheran doctrine, thereby profusely scolding the Missourians and causing much confusion. Because Keyl, as a false teacher and frivolous man, resolutely resisted him, he was hated by Klügel and ridiculed in all ways. Once the two met on a walk. It was at the time when Keyl had just introduced a new community order, which had also been unanimously accepted by his community. When it was to be signed by every single member of the community, unexpected difficulties arose because a number of them refused to sign. The reason for their refusal was not that they found fault with the new constitution, but that they were afraid of signing it. While the dear people had been under Grabau's church regiment, they had often been treated badly because of their signature, so they were afraid of it, like a burned child of the fire; and since dear Keyl, in his zeal, might have insisted a little too strongly on signing, the matter seemed all the more dubious to them. Klügel, however, had heard of Keyl's embarrassment and, as a true Ishmael, was pleased about it, and had his mockery of him and the Missourians, as those who wanted to govern the church with laws; for in Klügel's community everything could live without law. When both of them met once and Klügel immediately began to ride his hobbyhorse, namely, to argue about the election of grace, he said

Keyl said to him, "You want to work everything out," to which Klügel replied, "And you want to wedge everything out." With that, they parted company.

There is enough evidence that Keyl's effectiveness in Milwaukee has been blessed. Outwardly, the congregation under his leadership grew and expanded little, but inwardly it grew very strong. The foundation in Lutheran doctrine and the expansion of the congregation clearly showed the traces of the blessed effectiveness. Pastor F. Lochner, who succeeded Keyl in 1850, writes to us in response to the question addressed to him: "Did Blessed Keyl work in Milwaukee in blessing?

"Certainly, in great blessing. His gift, however, did not consist in gathering, but rather in founding and organizing. The congregation, which at that time numbered some 50 members who were able to vote, hardly grew noticeably outwardly in the three years of his effectiveness there, but all the more inwardly in the knowledge of the truth. It was only through Pastor Keyl that the congregation became acquainted with Luther's writings and learned to understand and appreciate them. One of Luther's postils was in pretty much every home. With particular diligence, Keyl also promoted the catechism in the sermons, in the catechizations and in the private pastoral care. In the same way, the congregation was set up by him in the best possible way, as far as the order of the service and the regiment were concerned. When I therefore took up my office in Milwaukee in 1850, I was left with a well-established and supported congregation of Keyl, whose greatest treasure was its pure doctrine, and in which I could be sure of victory in any disputes that arose in matters of doctrine and life, if I could only prove that it was so and so in the Word of God, in the symbols and in Luther. When I took leave of dear Professor Walther on the way to Milwaukee, he said: 'Go on, cultivate this congregation, without going to

expect that it will still grow. Your sole task will be to take care of it. But God's advice was different. Already in the first months of my existence, the congregation began to grow in number of members and has increased ever since. But this congregation would never have become what it became by God's grace, had not Pastor Keyl laid such a foundation and left me such a well-tended tribe.

Thirty-five years have passed since Keyl moved to Milwaukee, and during this time great changes have taken place there. Milwaukee itself has become a large city, and the ecclesiastical conditions there have taken on a different form. At that time the Trinity congregation had only a poor, wooden church building, which, however, was considerably enlarged in Pastor Lochner's time; now, however, it has a large, splendid brick church, which is an ornament to the city, but even more an ornament to the Lutherans of Milwaukee. The congregation currently numbers 400 voting members. In addition, it has 4 large sister congregations, some of which are its daughters and belong to the Missouri Synod. If we add to this the fact that the Wisconsin Synod, which is connected with the Synodical Conference, also has just as many and just as large congregations in Milwaukee, we must confess that this city has become a stronghold of true Lutheranism. And if we now claim a small part of this blessing for our blessed Keyl and put it on his account, we will not be allowed to call out to him: What are you doing? but it will have to be admitted that we are right to do so. But to the Lord and Head of the Church, to Christ alone be the glory!

Keyl's effectiveness in Milwaukee is not of long

Duration been. On December 7, 1849, he received a call from St. Paul's Lutheran congregation in Baltimore, Maryland, which had become vacant due to the removal of its pastor, Wyneken, to St. Louis. In this matter, Pastor Keyl and his congregation in Milwaukee approached the then ministry in St. Louis for an opinion, which they received. It read as follows: "Since Pastor Wyneken and his congregation expressly desire Pastor Keyl as their successor, so that he may establish the Baltimore congregation in the doctrine and set up in the constitution as he had succeeded in Milwaukee; and since the sphere of activity in Baltimore is also larger than in Milwaukee, the latter congregation is to be induced to let its pastor go." As difficult as it was for the congregation in Milwaukee to dismiss their dearly beloved pastor, they finally gave their consent on the condition that he should not leave until a successor had been elected and would soon arrive.

As a result, Keyl's move to Baltimore was delayed until the middle of the next year, since Pastor F. Lochner, who had been chosen as his successor, could not decide for a long time to accept the job he had received, nor could he obtain the consent of his congregation. It was not until the 4th Sunday after Trinity, June 23, 1850, that Keyl was able to preach his farewell sermon in Milwaukee. He spoke on 1 Cor. 1, 4-9 and his voice was often choked with tears. On June 27, deeply moved, he took his leave of Milwaukee. An old Christian comforted him and spoke hopeful words with regard to his new sphere of activity - Baltimore.

## Chapter VI.

### **Keyl's effectiveness in Baltimore, Maryland.**

St. Paul's Lutheran congregation in Baltimore was no longer a new congregation that had just come into being when Blessed Keyl was called by it; several preachers of various ecclesiastical persuasions had already worked at it, and Keyl's immediate predecessor had been Blessed Pastor Wyneken, who had served the congregation since the year 1845. Pastor Wyneken and his congregation were at that time still in ecclesiastical connection with the old Lutheran General Synod; but the former had long since recognized that the old General Synod was nothing less than Lutheran, but rather thoroughly rationalist-Methodist-Union, and that he could no longer remain in its association with a clear conscience if it did not abandon its unconfessional standpoint in doctrine and practice. After he had given a decisive testimony against the united position of the synod at several synodal meetings, but had only been ridiculed with it, he finally saw that there was no hope for improvement in this rotten body, and there was nothing left for him but to leave it to its fate and go out from it.

However, it was to be expected that the individual congregations connected with the General Synod would have the same ecclesiastical character as the synodal body as a whole. The St. Paul congregation in Baltimore, too, when Wyneken took office there, was a Lutheran congregation, but in reality a completely united congregation; for in addition to those who were Lutheran-minded, it also counted lodge brothers, Uniates and



Reformed as such to its members, and it gave public expression to this united position at the celebration of the Lord's Supper by distributing bread to the Reformed and hosts to the Lutherans. Since the use of hosts at the Lord's Supper has become a confessional ceremony in the Lutheran church, it is a denial of the Lutheran faith and confession on the part of a congregation that wants to be Lutheran, if it distributes bread at its altar in addition to the hosts; quite apart from the fact that it is a grave sin on the part of a Lutheran congregation if it holds communion with Reformed people as such. Since Pastor Wyneken could not possibly justify it in the eyes of his Lutheran conscience to remain silent about such an atrocious unionism as he found in the St. Paul congregation, it could not fail that as a result of his decisive testimony an expulsion from the congregation took place, whereby of course it was not without hard fights.

When Pastor Wyneken received a call to the Trinity Lutheran congregation in St. Louis in 1849 and followed it, the hardest battles in Baltimore had already been overcome; a good foundation had been laid and the congregation could now continue to build on this foundation in peace. What it needed above all was to be more firmly grounded in the pure doctrine of the Lutheran Church. Therefore, Pastor Wyneken's main concern when he left Baltimore was to obtain a successor who would understand how to continue to build on the foundation that had been laid and to promote the growth of the congregation in the knowledge of pure doctrine. He had chosen our dear Keyl for this purpose and urgently recommended him to his congregation for appointment. But Keyl was the right person to fulfill such a task,

is quite undeniable; for this was one of his most excellent gifts, nay, his chief gift, to promote a church in knowledge, and to make it rich in all things by the preaching of the gospel. This was confirmed by his effectiveness in Baltimore. Although he did not influence the mass of the people there either (which was partly in his peculiarity and for which he was not given the gift), he formed there in the congregation a nucleus and trunk which was healthy and viable, and which only later became a fruitful tree and spread its branches far beyond the St. Paul congregation.

It has already been mentioned at the end of the previous chapter that Keyl had recognized a divine call in the vocations of St. Paul's congregation in Baltimore and had followed it with the approval of his congregation in Milwaukee. However, since his move to Baltimore dragged on for more than half a year, Pastor Schaller (who had only recently come to this country) officiated in Baltimore during this time. It was not until July 6, 1850, that Keyl made his entrance. In his diary from that time he testifies that he was received and welcomed by the congregation with great love and esteem, yes, like an angel of the Lord of hosts. The spacious parsonage purchased by the congregation was finely furnished and equipped with all the necessary necessities. On the day of his inauguration, the church was decked out in festive decorations. The congregation had done everything to make this day a true celebration of joy. Keyl was so deeply moved by all these expressions of love and honor that he could not help but publicly express to the congregation, with tears in his eyes, his deepest gratitude for all the good deeds of which he considered himself quite unworthy. On the 7th Sunday after Trinity, July 14, he preached his inaugural sermon there. He had chosen Ephesians 4:7-14 as the text. His

The subject was, "The vigorous preservation and blessed destiny of the holy office of preaching." After the sermon, the congregation sang a hymn specially printed for the occasion, which we have included here. (The author of this hymn is Joh. Daniel Karl Bickel, born June 24, 1737, since 1792 Konsistorialrat and Superintendent at Nassau-Usingen, died as such on June 28, 1809.) The hymn reads thus:

1. O JEsu, Lord of Glory!  
King of your Christendom!  
You shepherd of your flock!  
You are looking at the redeemed world,  
Rule them as you please,  
See to it that she is blessed.  
From you we are  
Also mentioned, added to the redeemed,  
Whom you want to bless and comfort.
2. Blessed are thy people, that thou lovest them, that thou givest them  
shepherds according to thy purpose, Who lead them to heaven, And  
who, full of zeal, spirit and strength, Full of divine-deep knowledge,  
Touch the heart of sinners. Faithful shepherds Let the souls never lack  
And the flocks with the shepherds be blessed.
3. We take here from your hand the teacher you have sent us; Lord, bless  
his work. The souls that trust in him. By teaching and life to edify, Give  
him wisdom and strength. Teach him, help him to do and suffer, To  
endure, to fight, to pray, to watch, To make himself and us blessed.
4. O Lord, let thy spirit rest upon him; Let him do his office with joy;  
Nothing be that deceiveth him. When he teaches us thy truth, Give us  
a heart that hears obediently, A heart full of faithful love. Teacher,  
listener  
Let stand firm in friendship and fellowship, And walk the path to  
heaven.

5. when your great day appears, let our teacher, our friend, lead us  
towards you!  
Thou givest him under his hand The souls as a pledge; Let none  
lose him!  
JEsu! help you,  
Join hands so that in the end shepherd and flock may be found  
faithful before you.
6. Bless us, servant of the Lord, who comes in the name of our Lord,  
in the name of Jesus Christ!  
O shepherd, take us by the hand! Lead us to the eternal fatherland!  
God with you! Amen, amen With you we go  
Through the sufferings of these times to the life that our God wants  
to give us.

As far as Keyl's effectiveness in Baltimore is concerned, it was a richly blessed one, insofar as his congregation is concerned. He served a large congregation there with great diligence and was held in high esteem by the community. Here he developed an activity in his ministries that is downright astonishing. On Sundays he usually preached twice for one hour. Before the morning service he often had to hold private confessions for hours, and he had to be quite tired when the main work of the day began. In addition, between and after the services, he often had to perform christenings, baptisms, copulations, funerals, and so on. On Monday evenings he held a repetition of the Sunday sermons in the schoolhouse. He had already practiced this salutary exercise diligently during his preaching ministry in Germany and perceived a great blessing from it; for the participants in these repetitions were not only greatly promoted in salutary knowledge, but they were also thereby instructed to listen to and understand a sermon with better understanding, to commit it to memory, and to understand it better.

and to draw nourishment for their souls from it. On Tuesday evenings there was a consultation hour. It consisted in answering and discussing questions written down on slips of paper by members of the congregation and placed in a certain place, in which action those present could also participate in speech and counter-speech. We have still found a handful of such notes among his papers; they contain partly biblical, partly church-historical, partly concerning congregational affairs, partly finally questions of conscience, and always excite the highest interest. We are firmly convinced that the so-called consultation hours have been a great blessing and cannot suppress the wish that they be introduced in many places. Of course, objections can also be raised against them. That they can actually become fodder for the forward and puffed-up cannot be denied, because they virtually challenge the spirit of curiosity and inquisitiveness that clings to all of us. However, if one can restrain and suppress this forwardness, then they are certainly of great use. On Wednesday evenings there was a church service, where he regularly preached on whole biblical books or larger biblical passages, sometimes also on the Small Catechism and on the Augsburg Confession. On Thursday evening there was a meeting of the overseers, on Friday evening perhaps a congregational meeting, or something else that the congregation's affairs entailed. Saturday was private confession. In short, every evening of the week - Sundays excepted - Keyl was in his church, even if he had to be led there and back because of bad weather or physical indisposition. In addition to all this work, there were also the confirmation classes, the classes for those who wanted to be accepted into the congregation, the home and sick visits, a strong correspondence, the various business that his presidency entailed, and the many other things that he had to do.

The first part of the program was the preparation for his sermons and mass speeches, and so on.

That Kehl, with such tireless activity and faithfulness in his office, also attracted a well-trained, knowledgeable congregation, is not to be thought otherwise. Of course, this is not to say that every single member of the congregation has become and has been a knowledgeable Christian; we only want to say that the opportunity to become a supported Christian was abundantly offered to everyone, and that it was only the individual's own fault if, despite all spiritual wealth, they nevertheless remained poor and meager in Christian wisdom and knowledge. For it was not only the great diligence of our dear Keyl, rarely surpassed, that gave his congregation the opportunity to learn; but it was especially the content and the solidity of his spiritual speeches, since they, far from all empty unctuousness, were filled with teaching and consolation to the point of exuberance. And this was again due to the fact that he studied Luther's writings so diligently and took Luther's words into his memory, and recited them to his listeners, and in this way gave them the means to grow in knowledge and to get the delicious thing, "a firm heart". There have been many pious preachers who have served their ministry with the same zeal and diligence, but who have not achieved the goal of educating a congregation rich in knowledge, firm in faith and active in good works, as Keyl succeeded in doing; for this depends on the listeners also being offered wholesome, strong food, by which they are enabled to grow and increase in all aspects of Christianity.

On September 17, 1854, on the 14th Sunday after Trinity, Keyl was allowed to celebrate his 25th anniversary in office. It had not been his intention to celebrate a public

The church council had made secret arrangements some time before to surprise their dear pastor and the congregation with a celebration. The church council of the Baltimore congregation had already made secret arrangements some time before to surprise their dear pastor and the congregation with a festive joy on this day. He had in fact kindly invited Keyl's five nearest neighbors in office to Baltimore on that Sunday, but only two of them, Pastors Nordmann and Sommer, appeared. These two, together with the church council, went to the unsuspecting jubilarian in the early morning of the aforementioned day to offer him greetings, thanks and congratulations. Now Keyl could not avoid to talk about the event of this day also in front of his congregation, which he did. In the early service he held a deeply moving sermon, in which he also mentioned in which places and for how long he had administered the preaching ministry in each place for the past 25 years; and finally he concluded with a heartfelt fervent prayer, in which he thanked God for the grace so richly shown to him so far and implored for further assistance. This was followed by the celebration of Holy Communion, which concluded the morning service. In the afternoon service Pastor Nordmann preached and in the evening service Pastor Sommer, both of whom took the event of the day into consideration in their sermons. The church was festively decorated that day, beautiful music and singing were performed, and in all three services the church was filled with listeners. It was a real celebration, and because the congregation was also surprised, the joy was all the greater. In an announcement in the "Lutheraner" the sender says: "The Lord Jubilar did not want to allow a public announcement of it, but one will not blame the writer of this to have announced it briefly. For it is fitting that God's works and

To boast of miraculous deeds in the church of God and before all the world! And is it not a miracle of God when he sustains a human child for 25 long years in his grace and in his holy work? Yes, if he graciously allows it to happen that much fruit is produced through such spiritual work, as is the case here and as loud testimonies from Germany and America testify? Oh how many sermons have been preached by this servant of Jesus Christ during these 25 years. how many a blow has been given to the devil and his kingdom. how many a soul has been called to Christ and comforted! Would we not have enough cause to offer the works of the second commandment. 'Praise and thanksgiving'. to God?"

As beneficial as Keyl's work has been within his congregation in Baltimore, he has not been spared many reproaches. And this cannot surprise us very much, because among the imperfect people on earth there is no perfect one, and the blessed Keyl was not one either.

He has been reproached for his insignificant effectiveness in spreading and growing the Lutheran Church in Baltimore, and even for hindering it. It is true that he was not particularly gifted in missionary work. But even under him the congregation increased in number. Already in the first year of his work in Baltimore, he remarks in a letter addressed to a brother minister that 33 new members were accepted in a congregational meeting and that already 7 persons were taking part in the instruction for acceptance into the congregation. Nevertheless, it is a fact that his gift is not that of gathering, but rather that of building.



and nurturing. It is also undeniable that under his leadership the congregation was very cautious in accepting new members, which is not to be blamed but to be praised. However, we are not in a position to judge from a distance to what extent he was reproached later for being too legalistic and narrow-minded in this respect. But we take the liberty of making the following remark: It has been the practice of our synod and its congregations from the very beginning to take it very carefully with the acceptance of new members, both in the synodal and in the congregational association, both with regard to doctrine and with regard to change. This was a matter of conscience for her; and although she was often ridiculed and attacked for it, she did not allow herself to be misled in her godly practice. Because it saw before its eyes how indifferently most of the other synods and congregations of this country proceeded in this respect, accepting almost everything that came to them without examination, as a result of which they got into a union with the world and with false believers that was displeasing to God, thereby becoming more and more de-Christianized, the fathers of our synod let this serve as a warning and needed all the more caution in this matter, so that they might keep a good conscience for themselves and not give others an evil example. We do not want to deny that here and there by individuals (perhaps also by Keyl) in anxious conscientiousness the right measure has been exceeded, nor do we want to approve of it, insofar as it has happened, but we ask that time, circumstances and intentions not be disregarded.

Furthermore, dear Keyl has been accused of having erected a little church in the church in Baltimore. That he did not intend to do this is irrefutable; but that it nevertheless happened, we deny. It is true that in his time there was a good nucleus in the Baltimore congregation.

This is understood to mean those who are ahead of the others in knowledge and who, according to their knowledge, go ahead and serve as examples for the others. Such a nucleus is formed in every congregation where the word is not preached fruitlessly. This is by no means a bad sign, but a good one. It should be a preacher's most earnest endeavor to lead all his listeners toward perfect manhood in Christ; but no preacher will ever succeed in reaching this goal with all his listeners, but he will thank God if he can lead some of them ever closer to this goal. And when these people (in the good sense of the word) stand out, place themselves in the gap, stand on the side of truth, and seek and promote the welfare of the congregation with all their strength, it may well appear (and the accusation is easily raised against them) as if they wanted to form a special power in the congregation, a little church within the church, as if they wanted to rule and be more important than the others. However, this cannot be changed, because in a congregation it will never happen that all are brought to the same level of knowledge, although all are offered the same opportunity to do so. For partly they do not use the opportunity offered to them faithfully, partly they lack talent, and the like. If these people complain that they are set back and dominated by a part of the congregation (which complaints can be heard in almost all congregations), this must not be taken at face value, for on closer examination it will often turn out that their complaint is only a self-accusation, by which they show their weak knowledge, if not their bad disposition. On the other hand, we do not want to deny that the supported part of the congregation, together with the preacher, can easily go astray,

and - without wanting to and without noticing it - get into a position of moral dominance over the others, which can easily become very dangerous. If, however, Keyl has been guilty of a sham in this respect - which is certainly possible - then the reason for this is to be found solely in the fact that he lacked a good gift of government.

Keyl has also been accused of persistently opposing the formation of an English Lutheran congregation in Baltimore. In order to understand this accusation correctly, we must immediately note that the establishment of an English Lutheran congregation in Baltimore was about Keyl's congregation dismissing some of its members who were to form the tribe of an English congregation. Keyl did not object to the establishment of as many English Lutheran congregations as possible in Baltimore, but he refused to dismiss from his congregation members who did not need to join an English congregation because of the language. He feared that if his congregation first granted permission to some to leave their association and found an English congregation, then soon others would ask for relief, and for unfair reasons, to be able to join the English congregation. The writer of this well remembers that in 1860, in a conference held on the occasion of a synodal meeting in St. Louis, an accusation was made against our dear Keyl in regard to this matter; at that time he spoke out against the accusation made against him in an unseemly manner by a young preacher in a quite calm and Christian manner to the effect that he had no objection to the formation of English Lutheran congregations; only this was his opinion, that they should be formed from the English population, but not from the German. And therein

the conference agreed with him completely and the case was settled. We will readily admit here, however, that Keyl may have been a little too exclusive in this matter. Yes, we admit that something human happened to him here and there in the discussion of this matter. When in a community meeting a member of the community threw around "German Michel", Keyl got carried away and replied with "English Michel". But here again we must point out and call attention to the fact that Keyl took the same position in this matter as our synod has taken from the very beginning toward the English-church (or unchurch) being. It is true that our Synod was far from thinking that the Gospel could not be preached in English and that the pure doctrine of the Lutheran Church could not be preached; but it also well recognized how much depended for the Lutheran Church of this country on cultivating and preserving the German language and German nature and not letting them perish indifferently. In this, too, she had before her eyes the warning example of the many old German synods of this country, which had neglected the German language and German essence, had their children educated in the religionless state schools, as a result of which the youth was not only weaned from the mother tongue, but also alienated from the Lutheran church and fell into the hands of the American sects. The fathers of our synod also considered what a rich treasure of Christian writings the Lutheran church possessed in German, which were not accessible to English speakers, and that this alone was reason enough to work diligently to preserve the German language for the German-Lutheran congregations. If this endeavor does not appear as sharply in us now as it did in the past, do not forget that time and circumstances have changed; the German language has become more and more important in this

It has become a power that will not be easily defeated. Nevertheless, we do not idly lay our hands in our laps, but cultivate the German language and customs, all as a means to an end, namely, to pass on the pure Lutheran teachings to our children and to preserve them in the process.

We now have to investigate another accusation that was made against our dear Keyl at his departure from Baltimore, namely that he led his congregation to perform false bans. He himself confessed that he had sometimes rejected souls whom he might have won, and was greatly distressed by this. That this matter has also been exaggerated by some ill-minded people cannot be denied either. Among Keyl's papers, we have found a confession about this matter, written by him and signed by him, which unfortunately, to our great sorrow, has been lost, so that we cannot carry out our intention to have it printed. He says two things in the confession mentioned: First, that he recognizes with bitter remorse and pain that he and his congregation have rejected people for certain reasons, for the sake of which they should have carried them in love. This, of course, was done out of an erroneous opinion and not out of malice; nevertheless, it was a grave sin for which they had to seek God's forgiveness in Christ. Secondly, he says that he is not aware of a single case in which they have pronounced anathema on such a person; God's gracious hand has protected them from it, for which they are indebted to Him. This confession can only do honor to our dear Keyl. We can see from it that he was and remained a poor, erring, sinful man together with all the fallen children of Adam;

but also that by God's grace a pure, pious and humble soul dwelt in him, because he was not ashamed to publicly confess his wrong actions with deep sorrow and as a poor sinner to seek forgiveness in the blood of Jesus Christ.

We now come to the end of Keyl's effectiveness in Baltimore. For nineteen years here (and forty years in all) he had cast out the net of the gospel with burning zeal and pulled at it with untiring diligence, and he had grown old and gray over it; one could clearly perceive that his powers were diminishing and were no longer sufficient to cultivate a field of work such as Baltimore offered, in short, that he was no longer equal to the needs there. The old tireless zeal in the performance of his duties was still evident in him, but the necessary strength was no longer available, and old age demanded its due from him as well. The community therefore saw that the time had come to lighten his load and to relieve him of some of his work. It was not their intention to retire him completely, much less to oust him; but by hiring a second preacher, they wanted to relieve him primarily of such official duties, for the performance of which an even greater activity and sprightliness was required than he was able to develop with his already very diminished powers. In short, they wanted to take the leadership of the congregation, and in a word, the entire responsibility of the office from him and place it on other shoulders; but he was to remain *Pastor Primarius*, enter the pulpit as often as he pleased, and be active in private pastoral care insofar as people would seek his advice.

If our dear Keyl had been able to send himself into this change of things with joy, it would all have been right and proper.

He would have done well, and both he and the congregation would have been spared a mutual disgruntlement; but he was not able to do so; whether he did not yet see the necessity of this change, or whether he thought himself still a greater worker than he in reality still possessed - enough, when nevertheless the change was made, he preferred to leave Baltimore and to obey another call made to him. With a depressed, shattered, and severely challenged spirit, he left the community he held so dear, feeling that he had outlived himself in Baltimore and was left there.

We are firmly convinced (as far as we have been able to gain insight into this matter) that he was mistaken in his assumption. The fact that some unfavorable people on this occasion showed their long hidden resentment could not be laid at the door of the whole congregation, which as such had always had great confidence in their dear pastor Keyl and had shown him the highest respect. We cannot but declare (for we want to give honor to the truth) that it was a human weakness on the part of our dear Keyl that he could not adapt himself to the new state of things, and still more that he left Baltimore, and indeed left with a disposition against the congregation, for which he had no well-founded causes. We hold this weakness all the more readily to his credit, however, because we are firmly convinced that it was not due to dishonest, sinful motives, but to an overestimation of his already very wavering powers. As is well known, it is a weakness of old age that it easily overestimates its strength, and the example of our dear Keyl proves that even elderly preachers make no exception to this weakness. Therefore, if our dear young brothers in the ministry want to learn something from this example with us, it should not be that they want a stone

but this, that they remember - as a warning for the future - their own glass roof, so that they may escape the same danger.

Finally, it should not go unmentioned that the Baltimore congregation showed its gratitude to Pastor Keyl by providing him (until his end) with a very significant annual grant for his maintenance. We mention this only because it shows that this congregation had learned something, that the Word of God had not been preached to them fruitlessly. What they did to their old faithful pastor was only Christian duty; but they had also recognized their Christian duty and practiced it. For this we pay her love and respect, and respectfully take off our hats to her and wish her Godspeed!

## Chapter VII.

### **Keyls effectiveness in the congregation near Willshire, Van Wert County, Ohio.**

We now come to the last field of work, which the blessed Keyl cultivated with God's word. Here he was granted only a short time to work; then the Lord said to him: "That is enough" and he had to lay down his shepherd's staff. But even on this last station his activity was not without blessing, although he could only work with the remains of his already broken strength. Let us get to know the last place of his activity a little better. Even if we do not have much to report from there, we would like to pass by it all the less with silence, since Schreiber is so fortunate to have seen Keyl's last sphere of activity from his own perspective thirty years ago.



During this time he experienced much love and kindness from several families and also had the honor to testify about Christ in several sermons before the congregation there.

The little town of Willshire, in the state of Ohio, is about thirty miles from Fort Wayne, Indiana, and four miles to the north we find a German settlement, whose present post-office bears the name of Schumm. There lived many years ago several brothers named Schumm with their families, who belonged to the first settlers of that region, were very respectable people, and in whom the most to be praised was that they loved God's word and that they sought first the kingdom of God and his righteousness. As far as we know, none of the brothers is still alive, but some of their descendants still live in that region. Two of their descendants serve the Lutheran Church within the Missouri Synod, one in the preaching ministry and the other in the school ministry. That settlement was formerly part of the wide mission field which Blessed Pastor Wyneken cultivated while he still resided in Fort Wayne. At that time the Schumm brothers and several other families with them founded the Lutheran Zion congregation near Willshire, which is one of the oldest congregations in our synod. Its first settled preacher was the blessed pastor J. G. Burger, who was introduced there on July 12, 1846, but died a blessed death on March 17, 1847, after having served faithfully in the ministry for five years. After him, the blessed pastor Streckfuß served the congregation for a while, and after his departure, the pastors Werfelmann and Kühn.

The latter's successor was our blessed Keyl, who died on the 18th Sunday after Trinity, September 26.

1869, was introduced there by Dr. Sihler with the assistance of the blessed Pastor Östermeyer. When he took over, the congregation numbered only about thirty voting members; but it was strong through unity and built itself up in peace. Thus it was indeed a suitable field of work for an already aged servant of the Lord, who had already spent his best energies in the service of God's house, but who still wanted to serve with the last remnants of his strength. Whether it was nevertheless wise, humanly speaking, to call dear Key! to this place, and whether it was wise on his part to follow the call, we will leave that to one side. In the beginning, despite his already very noticeable physical weakness, he was still able to perform his duties sufficiently, although he often did more than his strength allowed and he should actually do. Of course, he could not preside over the school, which was taken care of by his daughter Martha, who also helped and served her father in other ways as far as she was able. The congregation therefore had nothing to complain about, because they were provided with church and school, and otherwise they were on good terms with their pastor, showed him all love and respect, and he worked among them in blessing.

But his activity could no longer be of long duration; his already broken strength finally had to succumb completely to the constant overexertion, and he had to submit to the inevitable and withdraw from the scene of his activity. One saw how his strength dwindled more and more from day to day. In addition, he was plagued with gout. His right hand was so shaky that he could hardly write a legible letter. For this reason he could not answer the many letters of comfort he received from friends. He often had to be led to church. His mind was still very active, but his frail body was not able to cope.

Leib no longer wanted to obey the spirit. His voice became weaker and weaker, so that finally older people could no longer understand him, although the church was not large. Yes, he had pulled himself wearily on the chariot of God and now had to let himself be unhitched, however wistful it was to his heart; for he saw well that it was no longer possible. Good friends also advised him to retire now. In particular, it was Dr. Walther, his dearest friend and brother-in-law, who admonished him in a letter of comfort to lay down his shepherd's crook and called out to him: "That's enough! He also promised him, if it pleased God, that he would visit him next. Thus, in the late fall of 1871, in the presence of Dr. Walther, who had fulfilled his promise to visit him, our dear Keyl voluntarily resigned his position at Zion Parish near Willshire, after having administered it there for a little over two years, and after having served in the vineyard of the Lord with all faithfulness and with the sacrifice of all his strength for a total of over forty-two years.

After his resignation, Keyl continued to reside in his community for some time because the question of where he should reside henceforth had to be decided. On the advice of his friends, he chose Monroe, Michigan. Here he had a modest dwelling built for him, in which he lived out his last days and blessedly completed his course in this world. The widowed Mrs. Pastor still lives there with her still unmarried children, where she leads a quiet life, in all godliness and respectability. The Lord also remember her in the best! May he be her help and comfort in all distress, and do not let her fall away from the right comfort of faith. But one day, when her earthly house of this tabernacle is broken up, may the Lord bring her to the eternal dwellings of peace, where she will be with her blessedly departed husband with the Lord always.

## Chapter VIII.

### Keyl as a preacher and his theology.

It is true that we have already spoken of Keyl's effectiveness as a preacher in the preceding chapters, and know that he has worked in great blessing. But if we were to leave it at that, we would still not really get to know the untiring zeal and diligence of this dear man in learning and teaching, in receiving and giving, in collecting and distributing; nor would we really know whether he was a truly orthodox, a genuinely Lutheran preacher and theologian. Therefore, our purpose in this chapter is to show from which sources Keyl drew his theology and of what nature it was. For the quality of the sources from which a preacher draws his theology is also the quality of his teaching. The blessed Keyl wrote the following words to a brother preacher, which are worth taking to heart:

"If we want to have pure doctrine again, we must also study it diligently, and that from pure sources, not from turbid waters; only then can we also preach it rightly in churches and schools, and at all functions of our ministry. Pure doctrine is a leaven that permeates every grain of Scripture interpretation and catechism explanation and all functions of the preaching ministry. We would once make a test with a gospel and with a piece of the catechism, there it would show how it would stand, whether we, as our confession says, in *Rebus* like *Phrasibus* (in the matter, as in the expression) would have the pure doctrine or not? The pure doctrine is similar to the *temple of God* with its foundation, construction and extension, and inner adornment and equipment - everything according to

the model that God Himself gave; if one stone were taken out, the whole building would collapse. The pure doctrine is like a ring, like a golden chain of grace; no link can be taken out without harming the whole." \*)

If we now want to find out whether Keyl was a pure and orthodox theologian, we must, according to his own words, search for the sources from which he drew his theology. Now it is an incontrovertible fact that he drew it, next to the Holy Scriptures, from the incomparable spiritual treasures of Luther. The study of Luther became his life's work. For a whole thirty years he spent every moment he could spare on the study of Luther; and he never left his camp, even when it was well past midnight, until he had read a few pages of Luther. But he did not merely read Luther; but what he found in the writings of the same on any point of. But he did not just read Luther, but what he found in his writings on any point of doctrine, administration, history, etc., he "registered", so that he had gradually compiled a whole series of large quarto volumes full of strictly ordered excerpts from Luther's writings.

But do not think that the study of Luther was his so-called hobbyhorse, which he rode out of purely natural preference - oh no! One learns to judge quite differently when one considers that he was driven into Luther's writings by severe spiritual temptations. The thoughtful reader will have perceived something of the severity of his temptations when reading through the 3rd and 4th chapters of our story. They were, as it were, the aftermath of his sinful devotion.

\*) Letter dated July 1, 1852.

to Stephan and its sad consequences. Frightened by Stephen's fall, Keyl saw what dangerous wrong ways he had taken, following Stephen's advice and example, and that he had also plunged his own confessors into the greatest danger of their souls. Seized by heavy temptations, he sank into deep melancholy. Fierce battles stormed through his soul. He became mad about himself and about his entire ministry. He felt as if he had been abandoned by the Spirit of God, as if he had been cast out by God; he did not know what he should preach more; it was as if he had preached himself completely empty. As clearly as this anguish of soul testified to the fact that he had remained a child of God in spite of all his aberrations - since God only allows His dear children to get into such heat of tribulation in order to purify them - it also became the reason for him to take refuge in Luther's writings from then on, next to the Holy Scriptures, and to make them the main subject of his studies.

It is true that he had read something by Luther earlier, but without having any noticeable benefit from it. He writes about it: "Already as a student I made excerpts from Freilinghausen's *Grundlegung der Theologie* (namely from the citations from Luther's writings given by Freilinghausen), I also got to know Salzmann's speeches of Luther. I also got Luther's works, Walch's edition, needed them too, but not as later. Luther's treasures remained hidden from me, although I had them in my hands in his books." \*)

Of that time, when Keyl was driven into Luther's writings by inner temptations, he writes in another place: "I will also never forget the impression that a passage from Cölius's funeral sermon made on me.

\*) Diary, year 1856.

lius' made on me. After he said of Luther that he had walked in the spirit and power of Elijah, and proclaimed over him the words of Elisha: 'My father, my father, chariot of Israel and its riders', he then continues: 'But we should also not refrain from reaching with Elisha for the mantle of this Elijah, which are his books, which he wrote by inspiration of God's spirit and left behind him, so that we also receive his spirit from them. For though he died according to the body, yet he lives according to his spirit and in his books; he will also, God willing, be the death of the pope with his writings after his death, as he was his pestilence when alive, and so may we now hold to the same books, hold them dear and worthy, which point us to the holy Scriptures, and thank God for them.'" And soon thereafter Keyl writes further: "At that time God also put a heavy house cross on me, so that I should also practice in the third requirement of a theologian, namely, apart from oratio (prayer) and *meditatio* (study) also in *tentatio* (contestation). There I learned how true the dear Elector John Frederick spoke during his imprisonment when he said to his court preacher Aurifaber, as often happened, that Dr. Luther's books were hearty, went through marrow and bone and had rich spirit in them. For if he read a sheet of other theologians' writings and held only one leaf of Luther's against it, he would find more juice and strength, and also more consolation in it, than in whole sheets of other scribes." \*)

If our dear Keyl, caught in a great deception, had previously thought that he was teaching and acting in a genuinely Lutheran way when he scrupulously followed Stephan's process, he now made the saying of the old Altorf theologian Sonntag his motto: "The closer Luther,

\*) Lutherophilus, 1854, p. 6.

a theologian all the better." He not only said with the Superintendent Catenhusen: "We have to go back to Luther", but: "We have to go back into Luther, through Luther") He practiced this literally; he not only went back to Luther, but he also worked his way into and through Luther's writings as only very few before him (perhaps Anton Corvin, Veit Dietrich, Hieronymus Weller and several others) did, and as probably even fewer will do after him.

One can have different opinions about the way of studying Luther, as Keyl practiced it, who not only appropriated Luther's thoughts, but also kept exactly to Luther's words in his sermons. Quite apart from the fact that not every preacher would be able to use Luther in Keyl's way, because he lacks the gifts, strength, time and whatever else is necessary for this: it could also be debated whether Keyl's way is the most suitable, the most appropriate, the most fruitful and therefore the most recommendable. Well understood: we speak only of the way of Luther's study; for if one spoke of Luther's study itself, we would say, without thinking for a moment, that it is, next to the Holy Scriptures, the most necessary, useful, fruitful and blessed study. But since we are only talking about Keyl's way of studying Luther, it does not occur to us to pass judgment on it, because we have no profession to do so and because the purpose of our work does not require it. Our task is only to report what our blessed friend has done in this respect, and there we say the following after careful consideration:

It is irrefutably certain that in regard to the

\*) Letter from the year 1853.



The work is astonishingly large in view of the fact that it is a study of Luther Keyl. Only he who has taken a look at the whole batch of large quarto volumes filled with quotations from Luther's writings and has looked around in them a little can get some idea of the size of this work. They can be compared to a well-equipped apothecary, for in them one finds something from Luther's writings for all cases occurring in the preaching ministry and for all conceivable subjects in theology, and in such an arrangement that it can be found with ease. We will leave here only a small sample from his written citations. However, we omit the numbers that indicate the volume and pages in Luther and make a dash instead. The volume from which we take this sample is headed, "Pastoral Theology." It reads:

Preaching office at all. Its establishment - glory - necessity - benefit

-.

Best management of the same in terms of teaching - Various offices belonging to it, as: Teaching - Admonishing - Nurturing - Wearing

About teaching in general - namely what and how should be taught - preservation and defense of the right doctrine -

Of doctrine in particular - Of the right division of the word - Law and gospel - Repentance and grace -

Of the law and gospel in particular - individual pieces of doctrine that are to be practiced - namely according to the main pieces of the catechism -.

Of the penal office and its exercise -

Of the right way of teaching and what belongs to it - parables - examples - polemics -

Individual things to do and avoid -

Which biblical books are to be taught in particular - About the behavior against all kinds of persons - persistently erring - seducers - with the less wanton - weak - strong - with the challenged - afflicted in general - with those plagued by the devil - possessed - with the sick in general - especially in times of plague - preparation for death - especially criminals. -

So much as a sample. Unfortunately, we must confess that the manuscript is such that it gives one a lot of headaches. But as far as the work itself is concerned, which Keyl has done with regard to the study of Luther, we must confess that we would rather shrink back from it a hundred times before we would dare to lay our hands on it only once. It is indeed heroic work, which therefore not everyone can and should imitate in the way and to the extent that Keyl has done it, unless he felt a special urge and drive for it in himself and was equipped with the gift and strength necessary for such work. What iron diligence and what untiring perseverance was required to accomplish such an astonishing and almost unprecedented work, besides the many official duties such as Keyl had to perform in Milwaukee and Baltimore! It required an energetic character, a strong will, a good physical constitution, and a talent for order such as is seldom bestowed upon anyone.

Furthermore, it cannot be denied that it was a very good and excellent move that our dear Keyl made when, after those sad experiences in Stephanism and after the temptations that followed, in which he had become misguided about himself and about his whole conduct of his ministry, he reached for Luther's writings and not only sought comfort for his burdened soul in them, but from then on also drew his theology from them, and in his sermons and speeches he gave his

He told his listeners about it. If he had bitterly regretted that in his earlier inexperience he had entrusted himself to an untested leader, how could he now, as someone who had become wise through harm, have taken a safer path than by choosing Luther as his leader and role model, whom he could everywhere support and trust without concern? It is true that even Luther may have erred once; but then his whole confession proves that such error does not violate the beatific truth, that it is not connected with any danger to the soul. For in Luther all is sound in regard to doctrine. Nothing but the full original gospel lives in his writings. Even where he has demonstrably erred in judging certain cases or in chronological matters, he has always been guided only by the guiding principles of faith and godliness. And this remains eternally true: a Christian who makes Luther his pastor receives that delicious thing, a firm heart, and experiences something of the divine comfort with which Luther was comforted and with which he was able to comfort others so incomparably and inexpressibly; and a preacher who draws his theology from Luther in Christian simplicity receives a clarity, certainty, and firmness in doctrine such as is not attained by the study of other human books, even those that are tested. Also in private pastoral care, in the evaluation of difficult cases, etc., a diligent student of Luther will gain such practice that he will not easily stray from the guide of faith and godliness. For none of all godly teachers understands how to divide the word of truth, law and gospel, as Luther does, and it is precisely this holy art that makes him so adept at getting it right in all matters. Is it therefore not to be highly praised that the blessed Keyl of his time chose the thousandfold tried and tested heroic leader Luther as his teacher, advisor and guide?

chosen as a role model? Oh certainly! He could do this all the more, because the words of old Eberlen also apply to him, who says: "If you are led by God into the hell of temptation and out again to heaven, and the world, even the devil, finds God's power in you, then you may act like Luther and others. \*) Our blessed Keyl was also led by God into the hell of temptation and out again to heaven, that is why he could also "give utterance", that is, speak like the dear Luther.

Furthermore, it must not be concealed that Keyl's approach to the study of Luther provoked many preachers to emulate him. His essays published in the earlier volumes of the "Lutheraner" and the "Lehre und Wehre", the publication of his "Katechismuserklärung aus Dr. Luthers Schriften und den symbolischen Büchern", his "Predigt-Entwürfe über die Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien aus Dr. Luthers Predigten und Auslegungen", and his "Lutherophilus", a journal published in 1854, - have also been of great blessing in this respect, that thereby many have been kindled to the diligent study of Luther. Likewise, in many letters addressed to fellow ministers, of which a large number of copies are in our hands, he encouraged the diligent study of Luther with very warm words, and tried to show them in what way one could begin and cultivate a fruitful study of Luther even with less talent and sparse time. For example, he wrote to a young preacher:

"I am glad to hear that people are now again encouraging the diligent study of Luther. It does not satisfy me, however, if one only (that I say so) so all over the place, only so quite generally, the study of Luther

\*Löhe, Evangel. Geistl., vol. 2, p. 30.

and places the chosen equipment of God only at most before, but not above, all later teachers. I can only recommend a detailed study of Luther. I would like to assume three degrees: 1. that Luther's sermons, of which there are so many, are studied and used exclusively; 2. that individual writings of Luther are studied; and 3. that the whole of Luther is studied. You can soon reach the first degree. For the second you have no time now, because you have to keep school; but something can be done if you read daily from Luther's writings in your home devotions, e.g. from the excellent Sermon on the Mount and the like. The third degree is reached by dividing all of Luther's writings into three or more courses, the first of which contains the shortest and yet the most complete writings, the second the more extensive, and the third the still more extensive. In this way, and especially if one first takes the catechetical, then the exegetical, and finally the polemical writings, one gets something whole in each course, one works with greater pleasure and eagerness to learn, and learns to understand, use, and love Luther better and better. The word of the Savior also applies to the study of Luther: 'He who is faithful in the least is faithful also in the greatest', and: 'He who has (namely, uses), to him it is given that he may have the fullness.' But do not forget to diligently collect notes on everything that occurs, as I have now done for years with much benefit." \*)

As much as Keyl rejoiced when he found someone who was serious about the study of Luther, he was deeply saddened that the importance of this cause was not recognized more and more generally. He often expressed his regret that the incomparable knowledge accumulated in Luther's works was not being used in a more general way.

\*) Letter dated July 19, 1852.

He says in one place: "The Lutheran preachers themselves exploited the treasures more diligently and used them for the benefit and good of the Christian people. He says about this in one place:

"One feels well that things are not right, but one does not resort to the right means. Many want purity in doctrine and fortification in the same, but one fishes out of the mud and does not go to the purest source, to Luther's works. It would seem wonderful to many if one said to him: "Go back to Luther, learn theology from his works! For many think: Well, Luther has already written good things, but others also write good things, and especially in recent times theology is beginning to flourish. Luther is too ordinary for many, they want something special; for others Luther is not learned enough, and the like. Thus Satan cheats Christians out of the delicious treasures that God has placed in their laps." \*)

Also as president, Keyl took every opportunity to recommend the study of Luther with warm and urgent words. Pastor Groß of Fort Wayne, who took over the presidency of the Eastern District after Keyl's death, writes to us:

"As president, Keyl offered all his eloquence to make the pastors of his district, and especially the younger ones, understand how they could also, like him, study Luther (namely, register) and, like him, preach Luther. Some succeeded, others could not do it at all. However, he did not let up; they had to make a rehearsal in his presence according to a presented scheme and promise to continue to work diligently in this way. In any case, Keyl's urgent and necessary zeal had the effect of making the young pastors work hard.

\*) From an old notebook of Keyl without year.

Luther studied, although each in his own way that suited him best. The main thing was achieved with that.

One of the most faithful disciples of Keyl in his time was the oh! too early deceased, witty, faithful and fiery Pastor Kalb. In a letter addressed to several younger ministers 25 years ago, he recommends the study of Luther according to Keyl's example, with good reasons and warm words; then he says of himself: "I want to remain Keyl's successor as long as I live and as far as my weak forces reach. One may think what one likes of Keyl's way; this much is certain: If we get many Keylians (that is, those who study Luther like he does), the salading in the pulpit will cease."

From all this we see that our Keyl was a true "Lutherophilus", that is, a great lover of Luther, and that through his love for the incomparable spiritual treasures of Luther he also inspired many others to love them, although only a few may have accepted and followed his way of studying Luther. Even in Germany, his voice has reached out and his example has been widely applauded and imitated. In a review of his "Lutherophilus", a Lutheran newspaper wrote: "In our days, no one has studied Luther's writings more thoroughly and comprehensively than Keyl. We would like to have the booklet in the hands of all students of theology, but especially of all Lutheran pastors who still live with Luther and learn from him." - We can only agree with this wish. Whoever does not yet possess the booklet, should try to obtain it. With glowing enthusiasm, pointing out the great benefit and blessing, the author seeks to encourage the study of Luther. Truly, we know of no means that would be more suitable to awaken love for Luther's writings than this booklet.

That the blessed Keyl, as a faithful imitator and follower of Luther, as we have come to know him, must also have been an excellent preacher, who could only have preached good sermons, we would assume with certainty, even if we did not have a single testimony from people, because it cannot be otherwise. Whoever, like him, manages to study the whole of Luther, and especially his sermons, also knows how to preach the gospel as the church preaches it, which rightly bears Luther's name.

A good sermon is the one that feeds and nourishes a Christian soul hungry for the bread of life; whether the golden apples are served in silver or in earthen dishes, that is essentially irrelevant. A sermon, however, which satisfies a hungry soul, is also in any case capable of awakening a dead soul, of giving a salutary fright to a soul that has become secure, of comforting a contested soul, of raising up and strengthening a stupid and despondent soul, of bandaging and healing a wounded soul, and so on. A preacher who, as was the case with Keyl, enters the pulpit with a heart and memory filled with the incomparable treasures of Luther, can only preach a good sermon that hits all listeners, even without being equipped with brilliant gifts. And why is that? Because Luther understood so incomparably how to preach in a popular way, to make the Word of God bite-sized for the people, to separate law and gospel correctly and to apply them to the heart needs and conditions of his listeners. That is why his sermons, which spring from living experience and are equipped with spirit and power, strike the hearts of the listeners and readers, and discover their naturally unhappy condition, in order to lead them to the joyful certainty of their sonship to God.

That now the sermons of Keyl worked after Luther



The fact that the people of the world were also of a similar nature is attested to by enough testimonies. The writer of this article was also once fortunate enough to hear the blessed Keyl preach. It was this in the year 1854, in the Emanuel Church in St. Louis, on the occasion of a synodal meeting. How much he longed to hear the interesting Luther preacher may be gathered from the fact that, in spite of violent attacks of hemorrhage, he went to the house of God and listened with rapt attention to the enthusiastic Lutherophilus. The sermon was in every respect appealing and well done. According to its content it was an instructive and edifying sermon, that is, it instructed the mind and moved the spirit. Although it was only short, it was long enough; it was also written in such a style that it could have been heard in a German university church as well as in an American bush church. The method followed in it was quite the same as that which he recommended in his "Sermon Outlines" to preachers working after Luther. The lecture took place with real liveliness, with great warmth of spirit and in an eloquent manner; and the imposing figure of the speaker, as well as the quite appropriate gesticulations, increased the pleasant impression. One could tell from every sentence of the sermon that it contained Luther's thoughts and words, but nevertheless everything was completely adapted to the syntax and use of language of our time. For therein consisted Keyl's so rare art, that he composed his sermons from nothing but sentences and paragraphs, really copied from Luther, in such a way that one could hear Luther speak according to our usage of language. In short, the sermon we heard was not a stormy awakening for the spiritually dead and asleep, but all the more so a sermon that promoted true Christians in knowledge and founded and strengthened them in faith. Even today, the writer of this sermon in

With reference to that sermon, he confesses what he said at that time to his fellow ministers, namely: "Whoever can preach Luther as Keyl did today is a happy preacher for himself and a blessed one for his congregation. If I were able to imitate Keyl, I would want to start right away; but I cannot. But this I will do; from now on I will study Luther's writings more diligently, absorb Luther's spirit and thoughts more and more into my soul, and in this way become more and more like Luther's model, especially in his genuinely evangelical way of preaching, namely, in the right division of the law and the gospel."

What we have now said about a single sermon that Keyl himself heard, will in general be applicable to all his sermons that he worked out and preached after Luther. People who were closer to the blessed Keyl than the writer of this report all testify that since the time when he began to study Luther primarily, he no longer had the wonderful gift of awakening the spiritually dead and sleeping as before; but all the more his sermons were intended to promote true Christians in every respect. We shall probably be correct in saying that Luther's study and mature experience brought about the perceived change in his sermons and in his whole conduct of ministry. Similar changes, though not so obvious as in Keyl, probably occur in the life of every preacher who grows in the knowledge of God and increases in the inward man; far from being therefore an evil sign, they are rather a mark of a fruitful life of faith which is in the preacher. And this was also the case with Keyl.

One could easily get the idea that because Keyl worked all his sermons and speeches after Luther, so

He would never have been embarrassed in working them out; but this is not so. He has always kept one and the same way in his sermons, that he treats one or two parts in more detail, and the rest only summarily; as he also gives instructions for this in his printed "Sermon Drafts"; but the preparation for his sermons has sometimes caused him a lot of heartache and headaches, as other preachers also tend to encounter. Only one example of this. He wrote to a brother preacher: "I thought about yesterday's Gospel (on Sunday Judica) for a whole day, but could not come up with anything. Perplexed, I walked around in my study, like a "crying" pastor, as dear old Brandt once said. The next day, however, the ice suddenly broke, and I could not conceive (write down) fast enough, so now the thoughts flowed to me. My disposition was this: "Christ's refutation of his blaspheming enemies: 1. from reason, 2. by the example of their children, 3. by their own experience, and 4. by his divine testimony." \*)

In this disposition we also have an example of how genuinely biblical, plain and simple Keyl preached. The following dispositions may also prove this. On the Feast of the Epiphany he preached two sermons on one subject. In the morning: "The grace of God to the wise men from the east and their behavior against it: 1. God let the star rise for them and they set out unhesitatingly on the way to Christ; 2. he had patience with them when they went astray, and they let themselves be encouraged by it to ask all the more eagerly for Christ; 3. he preserved them in the midst of secret enemies and they let themselves be misled by nothing." Afternoon, same subject and following parts: "1. He

\*) Letter from the year 1858.

guided them by his word and the star, and they followed with great joy; 2. he made them find Jesus, and they brought him worship and gifts; 3. he warned them not to return by the former way, and they obeyed his voice." On the Feast of the Purification of Mary, his theme is "Simeon's Blessed Death." Morning: "Simeon's preparation for a blessed death: 1. He was pious and God-fearing; 2. He waited for the consolation of Israel; 3. The Holy Spirit was in him and he was guided by the same." Afternoon: "Simeon's assurance of his blessed death: 1. wherewith he expresses his assurance (Lord, now let thou, etc.); 2. whereon he bases it (for mine eyes have, etc.)."

It is also interesting what Keyl himself judged of his sermons. He writes: "I am coming more and more to the realization that I am too wordy in my sermons and speeches since I have studied Luther's writings. Had I studied Weller's writings more, I would have acquired more of his brevity." \*) The Hieronymus Weller mentioned here had been a disciple of Luther in his youth and remained so throughout his life, not only insofar as he remained faithful to Luther's teaching, but also insofar as he made Luther's writings his main study and drew his theology from them. Keyl now thinks that Weller was more fortunate in his study of Luther because he was more concerned with brevity and therefore did not become as verbose and prolix as he did. It seems to us that he was right in this judgment about himself.

It is also interesting what he says about the amount of sermons he preached. He writes: "The number of sermons I have preached from the 14th Sunday after Trinity in Germany in 1829 until 1857, in 28 years, is as follows: If I count the number of sermons I have preached as follows

\*) Diary, year 1857.

If I calculate an average of two Sunday sermons, one weekly sermon and one confession every week - that is, four sermons a week - the result is 5824. If I also calculate an average of twenty-five funeral sermons per year, the result is 700 - a total of 6524. This does not take into account the festive sermons, which can also be calculated at twenty-five per year, and the funeral sermons; so that at least another 700 are added in 28 years. Therefore, the sum of the sermons preached in the 28 years would amount to at least 7224. - Glory to God alone for all his grace to teach." \*)

If we now consider that he continued to preach tirelessly for thirteen years afterwards, and almost the entire time in Baltimore, where there were many opportunities for preaching, it will hardly be too high a figure to estimate the number of sermons preached during his 42 years of activity at 10,000. Truly, a beautiful sum of testimonies that he publicly bore of Christ and His salvation! For this is certainly the most beautiful testimony we can give to blessed Keyl, that he testified of Christ from his first sermon to his last. For even during his aberrations in Stephanism he did not stop for a moment to proclaim Christ as the only reason of salvation and blessedness and to praise him to his listeners. This is not to deny, however, that during his association with Stephan he did not sometimes build wood, hay and stubble on the golden foundation; but since the right foundation remained untouched, it happened that when the challenge came, all the accessories burned, but the right foundation came to light all the more gloriously. Keyl's motto was and remained the apostle's word to the end:

\*) Diary, year 1857.

"Not that I know anything among you, except Jesus Christ crucified."

It will soon be time to hurry to the end of this chapter. But we still have to touch on a few things briefly. How our blessed Keyl conceived of his preaching and pastoral ministry, the reader can well get an idea from what has been told so far. However, we cannot help but share one more piece of evidence from his written legacy. It is a meditation (spiritual reflection) in prayer form on the Gospel on the first Sunday of Advent. It says: "Open my ear, Jesus, that I may hear, as Your disciples did, that I may make myself blessed before all, and then that those who hear me may do what You command me, according to Your word, without delay, trusting in Your heart-directing power. ('The disciples went and did as Jesus commanded them.') Your word cannot return empty. Put Your word in my mouth. ('The Lord has need of them.') Accompany it with Your blessing. ('As soon as He will let you have them.') Guide me, Jesus, in all my ministry Thy ways, and teach me Thy paths. Let me, like Moses, be faithful in all Thy house, that I count no step in my office small, but take every step in Thy name. For he who is unfaithful in the least is unfaithful also in the greatest. (There it was only a matter of bringing an ass and a colt; 'You will find an ass tied and a colt with her; untie her and bring her to me'; but it still served to fulfill the prophetic word: 'Tell the daughter of Zion, Behold, your King comes to you meekly, riding on an ass and on a colt of the burthen donkey'; also it served to glorify Christ: 'The LORD has need of her'). Grant that I also exhort my hearers to leave some of their temporal goods to You and Yours. ('The Lord needs

their'; the disciples put their garments on the ass for the Lord's comfortable seat, and the people spread their garments on the road).

"Grant, O Jesus, that I may dissolve and lead to Thee the poor, burdened souls who groan under the weight of the law or are in danger of taking it upon themselves. ('Loose them and bring them to me.') Let me look to this for my encouragement and comfort, that, in right obedience to You and Your word, I may also find everything as You have said (the disciples found it all as the Lord had told them), and that I may know what to answer each one. ('The Lord has need of them.')

"Bless, O JEsus, my going out and my coming in. (The disciples went and came again.) Let me go out in Thy power and come to Thee with Thy bestowed blessing. ('The disciples brought the ass and the colt.') Let me in all my labors, in preaching, catechizing, exhorting to confession, visiting the sick, conversing, always have a definite end in view, and strive to attain such. (There, that man left the donkey to the Lord.) But if You lead me to something I did not think of and give me the opportunity to work on the souls, then grant that I use such opportunity well and direct everything to it, so that You are recognized and praised. (That man heard from the Lord, others sang Hosanna to him.) Help me to offer and sanctify my garments and all that I have to You, and to put on the garment of righteousness for it, that the unclean garments of sin may be removed from me, as with Joshua the high priest, Zechariah 3; that I may be an example to others in all good works, lest I preach to others and be reprobate myself. Let me prove my love and reverence for You, my Jesus, on every occasion, that I exalt You and humble myself ("and set him on it"), that You might

you could say: Here it pleases me well, here is my rest forever. Help me to sanctify myself, the least of these, through You, and to do everything I do, in word or deed, for Your glory, being filled with holy thoughts.

"Let my sermon, O Jesus, be a demonstration of the Spirit and of power, so that the listeners will be moved by it. (There the people went to meet Jesus.) Let the main content of my sermon be to show You to the people, to announce Your arrival, to prepare the way for You, to proclaim about You that You are a merciful, almighty, just and gentle King, that all may fast one heart to You, go to meet You and shout: Hosanna, You are also my King. Help me to diligently paint before everyone's eyes Your fourfold coming, for redemption in Your incarnation, into their hearts through Word and Sacrament, so that You may come to their salvation in death and they may go to meet You with joy in Your final return.

"Help, O Jesus, that I may encourage all to hasten toward Thee in the time of grace, to serve Thee, to surround Thee, and to follow Thee. But let me not look at the multitude of the hearers (there was a great people going forward and following), nor at temporary stirrings (that people was very stirred); but at the lasting blessing and at the constant walk in the fear of God. (But that people helped crucify Jesus a few days afterward.)" -

This spiritual reflection not only gives us a deep insight into Keyl's pious and God-fearing heart, but also shows us how deeply he grasped the meaning of his preaching ministry; and that he was not a mere preacher, but a priest of God, who carried on his heart all the spiritual needs of his Christian people entrusted to him, and sought to satisfy them with all fidelity and conscientiousness.

We can not close this chapter without also



to have commemorated Keyl's activity as district president with a few words. But it should be done very briefly. If we wanted to go into more detail, we would have to take the synodal reports of the Eastern District of our synod from the fifties and sixties; and we must confess that we would gladly and gladly do so, if only the space allowed it; for this would give our picture of Keyl's life and work its proper splendor and adornment.

As president, Keyl has shown that he has been a thoroughly practical theologian. Therefore, during his fourteen years of presidency, the most important negotiations of the Eastern District were all directed towards practical Christianity in the congregations. Keyl's entire activity as a preacher and pastor is reflected in the Eastern Synodal Reports. What he did as a preacher and pastor in his congregation, he wanted the preachers of his district to do as well. This is indeed the case.

There are three main things he aimed at as president: first, to introduce the preachers to Luther's writings and to make the study of Luther exceedingly important, expensive and valuable to them. From Luther they were to draw their theology. From Luther they should learn how to interpret the Scriptures, how to preach in a genuinely Lutheran way, how to practice the catechism correctly, how to practice private pastoral care, and so on. The second thing Keyl strove for as president was to bring a lively spiritual life into the congregations and into every house in the congregations, and to cultivate and promote it. Of course, he was far away from all fanatical activity. He wanted to achieve this goal only by the time-tested, God-given means. He therefore demanded diligent preaching, exposition of Scripture, catechizing, not only on Sundays, but

He also demanded that the services be held during the week, even in rural communities, and that they be held in private homes, where at least a small number of people could gather. In addition, however, he also demanded to strive to make the public services fully liturgical and - as much as possible - uniform. In order to awaken and promote spiritual life in homes and families, he demanded the distribution of good, proven books of edification, especially the writings of Luther, because through them, as through no other writings, the people would be led to love the Word and to understand it. Finally, the third thing Keyl strove for as president was to stimulate and encourage the preachers of his district, especially the younger ones among them, with his own example to diligence in their studies and to activity in their ministry.

We have already said: What he did, he also demanded of others, and what he demanded of others, he did himself. Now we readily admit that this was perhaps a little too much to ask of some, especially of a young and inexperienced preacher. To a young preacher whom he ordained, he gave his workload immediately after ordination, as follows: Every Sunday morning sermon on the evangelical or epistolary pericope; every Sunday afternoon catechism sermon, connected with examination; every Wednesday evening continuous Bible explanation. The poor man, however, also had to hold school five days a week and, of course, also had to practice private pastoral care, and therefore often did not know where to go or where not to go because of fear, until little by little the practice gave him some relief. Keyl, however, thought that this was not too much for the beginning. As an old practitioner, he had probably long forgotten how he had felt at the beginning of his ministry.

And now, finally, a few words about Keyl as a theologian. If we already said above that he was a theologian who was

If he was a practical theologian through and through, it is not to be denied that he did not also show great zeal to penetrate ever deeper into doctrine with all the scholarly means at his disposal; it is only to be said that his work in the Kingdom of God was more devoted to practical than to scientific theology. This is not only evidenced by his literary works, but also by his entire ministry, which we have outlined to the reader. Keyl was not a productive, creative theologian, as the scholars would express themselves; on the other hand, he possessed an eminent gift for absorbing the spiritual work of others, processing it and utilizing it for the benefit of the church. His essays published in our journals, his printed books, and his handwritten works that he left behind bear witness to this. The most grandiose plan of Keyl's, which unfortunately did not come to fruition, was his "Proposal for the Elaboration of a Bible Commentary from the Writings of Dr. Luther and the Lutheran Theologians of the Reformation Era".) Of course, it would not have been the work of one man alone to bring about such a gigantic work, even if he had spent his entire life time on it; but Keyl would have been the man to lead the production of such a work with prudence and to support it energetically, as he has indeed already collected much material for it.

Furthermore, Keyl was not a particularly sharp thinker, and he would hardly have suited himself to a professor of systematic theology; on the other hand, however, he was a man of clear mind and sound theological

\*) "Lehre und Wehre," Jahrg. 10, pp. 353-367.

He was not a great dialectician, i.e., he did not have the gift of publicly defending pure doctrine against attacks from astute enemies. Keyl was also not a great dialectician, i.e., the gift of conducting a public doctrinal dispute, of publicly defending pure doctrine against the attacks of astute enemies, was not particularly bestowed upon him; nevertheless, he was well able to meet even the objections of learned enemies always glibly, and to reject them with their attacks in his humorous manner, with effervescent wit and with a laughing face. Keyl's German Royal Saxon Superintendent often made acquaintance with the latter gift when, as a poisonous rationalist, he attacked Keyl's theology, but was dispatched by the latter in such a witty manner that, although full of inner fury, he had to leave in a huff.

Finally, Keyl did not have a special gift of government, but this lack was not much felt in his congregations. In the congregational meetings he himself did not speak much, but the great respect he enjoyed in his congregations, in addition to his whole appearance, which was awe-inspiring, as well as his dignified, measured, tactful demeanor and appearance, caused everything to proceed honestly and properly in the congregational meetings. Keyl was a pastor from the top of his head to the bottom of his feet. As it is said of one born to rule, "Every inch a king." so it could be said of Keyl, "Every inch a pastor." This then also replaced to a good part what he lacked in regency.

On the other hand, he possessed a fine pastoral gift to guide the individual souls who trustingly discovered their hearts to him and confidently abandoned themselves to his spiritual guidance, to promote them in knowledge and to make them joyful and certain in their faith.

However, the most praiseworthy thing von Keyl did with regard to his

The only thing that can be said about God's gifts is that he has worked faithfully with his pounds and gifts. God distributed the gifts differently; he did not give all the gifts to one person, but to each his measure, as he willed and saw fit. As unequal as the stars in the sky are according to their size, brilliance and effect, so unequal are the ministers of the church according to their gifts, offices and powers; which inequality God, the giver of all good gifts, has made for the good of his church himself. Therefore, it is only important that each one recognize the gift that God has given him to serve others in the church, so that he awakens and strengthens this gift through diligent prayer and contemplation of the divine word, and through faithful practice of it in heartfelt humility without complacency and craving for honor. Keyl speaks beautifully of the use of the gifts in a synodal speech of 1858. We cannot deny ourselves to let a passage from that speech follow here and to conclude this chapter with it. It says there:

"The apostle shows that every member of Christianity has been given one of the various gifts in the parable of the members of the human body: how one member serves another and thus the whole body, and how none of them can be dispensed with without harming the others, and how those who seem to be the weakest are the most necessary: So every Christian is adorned with some gift from God; none, even the apparently least, can be dispensed with for the good of the other members and of all Christendom; indeed, they are often the most necessary. That is why Dr. Luther says: There is no one who is otherwise a Christian who is not useful for something after God has distributed it. Even if someone is weak, sick and in bed, he is still useful for me to practice my work on him; he is useful to me when I need his help;

I am talking about the gifts now. Some people are considered useless, but when they die they think, "Oh, if we had such a man now, who could advise us and help us in our affairs! So after death it is found that there is no one so small who does not have something to serve others, though it may be obscured by some infirmities, but after death it is seen.

"But when St. Paul says: When St. Paul says, 'In each one the gifts of the Spirit are manifested for the common good,' he undoubtedly means not only the gifts of those who are still alive, but also of those who have departed from this life, but have left us their writings as treasuries of their various gifts, and so still speak to us, even though they have long since died; as this is true of the holy apostles and all pure teachers, and especially also of Dr. Luther, to whom God bestowed a particularly rich measure of all gifts for the common good, and among them especially the gift of interpreting Scripture.

"This is the art of Christians, which distinguishes them from the world, that they know and recognize that all such gifts come from above, from the Father of light, from the Lord Jesus Christ, who, exalted to the right hand of God, has received gifts even for the apostates, from the Holy Spirit, who works all these things; For where there is such knowledge, a Christian does not deny such gifts, but neither does he exalt himself, but exalts the Lord who bestowed them on him, and gives glory to him alone; nor is he fainthearted if he has not received particularly brilliant gifts, or only a small measure of a gift that seems small, but he deals with it so faithfully that he seeks to profit by it as much as he knows and can.

"This leads us to the answer to the question of how the various gifts of the Spirit are shown to be of common benefit.

shall. All our doctrinal and life practices are for the betterment and edification of the body of Christ, as Christ said: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16); and Peter: "You are the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the people of the possession, that you may proclaim the virtues of Him who called you from darkness to His marvelous light. (1 Peter 2:9.) Now this is done first of all by the appointed ministers of Christ, as the stewards of God's secret, who by teaching, chastisement, consolation, and exhortation, as well as by administering the holy sacraments, help that those who are in God's kingdom may abide in it and increase daily, and that it may come to others who have it not yet, so that we may all abide in his kingdom, begun here, forever. The more faithful they are in this for the benefit of the congregations, the more their entrusted pound will also grow among their co-workers in all kinds of ways and thus their gifts, if they are recognized and used by others, will also benefit other congregations.

"But every member of a Christian congregation should be mindful of this duty, for St. Paul says that in each one the gifts of the Spirit are manifested, and St. Peter exhorts all Christians to serve one another, each with the gift he has received, as good stewards of God's varied grace (1 Pet. 4:10).) Then each one should ask himself before God what is the gift entrusted to him by God to serve others with it; he should awaken and strengthen this gift by diligent prayer and contemplation of the word of God, especially by faithful exercise of it in heartfelt humility without self-satisfaction and egotism, first in his professional circle which God has assigned to him, then in dealings with others, in

The layman can also speak at congregational and synodical meetings or wherever he is given the opportunity to do so. I will give two examples of how Christian laymen can also benefit in this way. At the church meeting at Nicaea, the Christian bishops had talked for a long time, but in vain, with a pagan worldly-wise man in order to bring him from unbelief to faith. Finally a pious man, a layman, appeared and, having received permission to speak, addressed him with the words: "In the name of Jesus, hear the things that are true," whereupon he made a short confession of the Christian faith, as contained in the second article, and then asked the other, "Do you believe that all this is true? When the wise man fell silent because of the man's strong speech and was not able to contradict him, he admonished him and said, "Well, if you believe that this is true, then follow me to do so and receive the seal of faith, holy baptism; and behold, the wise man, who rejoiced to be overcome, became a Christian that very day. (Euseb. X, 4.) The other example is that of Joseph Schaitberger, a Lutheran from Salzburg, who through his writings, especially through his well-known epistle, strengthened his fellow believers to leave their homeland for the sake of the faith, and who, even in his 74th year, admonished a train of emigrants with many tears, the parents calling out to their children: "Behold, this is the Joseph of whom we have told you so often and to whom we owe so many good things.

"God help all his servants and all Christians, that in each one the gift given to him may be shown to be of common use, and that God may thus also be praised by us in word and deed through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."



## Chapter IX.

### **Keyl's personal and family life.**

As we are about to write a chapter - even if only a short one - about the private and family life of Blessed Keyl, we cannot help but notice that we feel here quite vividly what we have already said in the preliminary remarks to these sheets, namely: that we have had too little personal intercourse and contact in life with Keyl to be able to draw up a very accurate picture of his life in detail. We have certainly had so much contact with him that we have gained a general impression of him, and we are also well able to express it; for the rest, however, we must follow the descriptions of his former confessionals and other friends, as well as the notes in his diaries, which give us a deep look into his private and family life. These records are often very short, but we can still get to know the man whose life and work we are describing here, and can thereby get a glimpse into the pious and faithful soul of Nathanael, which dwelled in the man by God's grace. Since we can only give our impressions, we want to repeat for our safekeeping what we said a few years ago in the biography of the blessed Pastor Böse, where we wrote: "To describe the life and work of a man is under all circumstances not such an easy thing as some might think. The greatest difficulty here lies in correctly drawing and judging the character and qualities of a person whose life one wants to describe. Here, one easily runs the risk of being misunderstood by some readers, who perhaps have in some respects a

If you have a deviating judgment about the person in question, you will be condemned either as a pessimist or as a whitewasher, at least as a distortionist. Nor is it to be denied that one can very easily deviate from the factual truth in drawing up a picture of a person's life without intending to do so; be it out of preference for the person in question, or out of lack of knowledge of human nature, or out of lack of gifts of judgment and the like. Dr. Albert Bengel has already said that all humanly written biographies are very dissimilar to those written by the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures. A truth that cannot be disputed." We ask you to take the above words to heart if our description of Keyl's private life does not exactly correspond in all respects with the judgment of this or that reader.

If one wants to judge a person's life correctly, one must not overlook and disregard his origin, upbringing and youth education; for these circumstances exert a great lasting influence on the whole life of a person. It can be said that the conditions under which a person grows up in his youth give him his character. Even if this character is later sanctified by grace, it is never completely lost in him. We must also observe this here in our description. Blessed Keyl had enjoyed a fine education in his youth, as we have already noted in the first chapter, and this could still be easily perceived in him in his later years. There was something aristocratic and measured in his manners, which a peasant, who did not know him closely, might at first take for pride. But at the same time he was the simplest, simplest and most humble Christian man there could be. This testimony is still given to him today by the

Frohna farmers and peasants, as many of them as are still alive from that time, who were his confessionals for eighteen years and were in the most intimate contact with him. They had come to know him through and through; for in the first eighteen years of his ministry he had much intercourse with his parishioners and visited them in their homes, but later, for reasons easily explained, this had to be more omitted; for in Milwaukee and Baltimore his official business took up much time, so that he had to confine his house calls to visits to the sick and such necessary visits. It may also be that his literary labors later also kept him from frequent intercourse with his parishioners and gave him the air of a parlor scholar. He divided his time of day exactly for certain works. When he sat at his study table, he did not like to be disturbed. If someone stopped him by talking too much, he used to look at the clock hanging above his desk and shake hands with him, saying: "Go with God! Farewell and come back some other time." By the way, he was not of a conclusive nature.

Keyl was a man of sanguine-choleric temperament, but the sanguine was predominant in him. This temperament is usually associated with a good memory, eloquence, much disposition, natural soft-heartedness, and similar dispositions and abilities. On the other hand, such a temperament is also accompanied by much heat, easy temper and other vices. In particular, people with a sanguine temperament are humorous, witty, lively, cheerful, in a good mood, joking, sociable, entertaining, can easily overcome obstacles, bear adversities, do not bother with many worries, do not easily die of heartache, as they say, and so on. A

Sanguine is the opposite of a melancholic: if the latter cannot easily get over it when a hen croaks on him, the former speaks when his wheat is spoiled: Well, what does not grow this year will grow next year. From this, however, it does not yet follow that the latter is a stronger Christian than the former; but we are speaking here only of the natural dispositions of a man, from which one can draw a conclusion about his temperament.

Anyone who has ever kept company with Blessed Keyl knows that his memory was filled with a great store of anecdotes, stories, and incidents both jocular and serious, and that it was easy for him to keep a company in the most cheerful mood for hours without overstepping the bounds of Christianity in the least. He was full of effervescent wit. It was especially delightful to listen to him when he drew out the rationalist professors he had heard in his youth at the university, and imitated them in voice, gesture and mien on the lectern, when they chewed the dry heather of their homespun intellect, that is, of their vulgar rationalism to their students. One was involuntarily reminded of the words of the "Wandsbecker Boten" (Matthias Claudius), where he says: "I have also been to Unverstädten, and have also studied. No, I didn't study, but I have been to Unverstädten, and I know about everything. I got acquainted with some students by chance, and they showed me the whole Unverstadt, and took me everywhere, even to the college. There, the students all sit next to each other on benches, like in church, and at the window there is a chair, on which a professor or something like that sits and makes all kinds of speeches about this and that, and that's what they call lecturing. When I was there, the one sitting on the chair was a magister, and he had a big curly parouque on his head, and the students said that his

He said that his erudition was much greater and curlier, and that he was such a capital free spirit than anyone in France and England. That might be true, because it came out of his mouth as if it had come out of a cider hose; and he could demonstrate like the wind. When he did something, he just started a little bit, and before you knew it, it was demonstrated. For example, he demonstrated that a student is a student and not a rhinoceros. For, he said, a student is either a student or a rhinoceros; but now a student is not a rhinoceros, because otherwise a rhinoceros would also have to be a student; but a rhinoceros is not a student; so a student is a student. One would think that goes without saying, but our one doesn't know any better. He said the thing about 'n student not being a rhinoceros but 'n student was a mainstay of the whole philosophy, and the magisters couldn't brace its back hard enough to keep it from toppling over."

What a good sense of humor and wit Keyl possessed, for this we will pick out and share only a few examples from his life. - During his preaching ministry in Frohna, Perry County, Mo., he had in the first time also a preaching place in Wittenberg, 6 miles away from Frohna, where he often used to preach on Sunday afternoons in the small store of a man, named Böhlau. Because he was already so rich that he could call a horse, a black horse (for he considered only a black color worthy of a preacher), his property, which at that time of the first primitive states here was almost considered something princely; so he always made his preaching trips on horseback, of course, in the most cheerful mood and atmosphere, as that of a sanguine, as Keyl was, cannot be imagined otherwise. When his first-born son, Stephanus by name, had grown up so far that he was able to ride a horse.

could join in, his father sometimes took him on his horse when he rode to his preaching place, teaching him the rhyme as he went:

"Now we ride to Böhlau's store,  
He sets almonds and raisins before us."

Whether the man really had almonds and raisins for sale, we cannot say; but we must doubt it, because at that time almonds and raisins were still sour grapes for the poor settlers, which hung too high for them. But enough, little Stephen had to learn the rhyme, regardless of whether he got almonds and raisins or not. He was content to sit proudly on horseback with his father, although he would not have spurned the almonds and raisins as a bonus if fortune had given them to him. The pious and cheerful father, however, took pleasure in it, if he could give his firstborn such innocent joy.

Once an apothecary came to Keyl, who was very surprised about the many books that Keyl's library contained, and who could not understand what a preacher was doing with so many books. Keyl said to him: "As it is with my library, so it is with your pharmacy; when I see the many glasses and jars, tins and boxes, then I also cannot understand what you are doing with them and what they are good for. The apothecary replied, "Yes, you see, dear pastor, there are many ailments and diseases in the world, and for each disease science has invented special remedies, with which a fully equipped apothecary must be provided; hence the many jars and boxes, all of which have their useful purpose." Thereupon Keyl said to the apothecary: "You see, in the same way I also explain to you the usefulness of my large library. A preacher is, after all, a spiritual physician,

and his library is his spiritual pharmacy. Just as there are many bodily ailments and diseases, there are also many ailments and damages to the soul, which arise from the same cause as the bodily ailments, namely from sin, but for which God has also provided remedies just as for the bodily ailments. And for this very purpose a preacher uses his library, that he may draw wisdom from it, in order to be able to advise and help in all occurring cases, which are often of a very peculiar kind and which often bring him very peculiar patients."

Another time a baker came to Keyl in a matter, whom he asked in the course of the conversation whether he also belonged to a congregation, since he still wanted to be a Christian. The baker replied that he had once belonged to a congregation, but that he had been shamefully deceived by the preacher of the congregation, and that since then he no longer trusted any preacher. Keyl answered and said: "As it happened to you with the preachers, so it happened to me with the bakers. Once I sent to a baker to demand a fresh loaf of bread; but when the messenger returned with it, I found that the baker had given him a loaf as hard as a bone, and since then I have lost all confidence in bakers." To this the baker replied, "But, Pastor, not all bakers are like that either!" Keyl replied, "So, sir! not all preachers are either, like the one who deceived you. Therefore, you have no reason to stay away from a Christian congregation for the reason given, and you will not be able to excuse yourself before God one day with the wicked preacher."

Although Blessed Keyl also had his dear cross in his life, he was very spared with physical ailments and serious diseases. He had a strong physical constitution and especially a healthy nervous system,

and therefore also a persevering work force. For although a preacher's work does not involve the muscles of the body, but rather the nerves, it is for this very reason that his work is all the more strenuous and exhausting. A woodcutter or a blacksmith may think that his work is much more strenuous than that of a preacher who works with the mind; and this is true in so far as the muscles are involved: and yet, as is asserted by discerning physicians, two hours' strenuous study is more invasive and exhausting than a whole day's wielding of an axe or a blacksmith's hammer, because here the nerves are little engaged. Therefore, if a strong physical constitution and a healthy nervous system are necessary for any worker, they are especially necessary for a preacher who has to work primarily with the spirit. Blessed Keyl was endowed with these powers, and he did not let them lie idle, but used them up in the service of the church. Just as a light consumes itself by shining on others, so he also sacrificed his bodily and spiritual powers in the service of the Kingdom of God.

However, he did not remain without all physical ailments, but also had his brest, which had to remind him of his mortality. For many years he was afflicted with a stomach cramp, which often attacked him suddenly and violently. This also occurred on Sundays; then he could not preach, from which the severity of it can probably be deduced; for he did not let a minor ailment keep him from his dear church. According to a remark in a letter from 1853, he was not completely spared stomach cramps on any Sunday. It says there: "Here everything goes its usual course also with regard to my usual suffering, of which I feel more or less almost every Sunday."



Later, he also developed a stomach ailment, which was probably a result of his many efforts and especially of his much preaching. It was strange, however, that as a result he was freed from the stomach cramp with which he had been plagued for so long. He mentions this in passing in a letter to a brother minister, where he writes: "The damage I suffered has not only been good for my soul, but also for my body, in that since then my previous illness, namely the stomach cramp, and everything that was connected with it, has almost completely disappeared. The damage itself does not cause me any pain. Well, I will sing:

"Yet to Thee I ever abide, When all things alike are repugnant  
to me, No gloom depresses in me The hope I've grasped, That  
when all things break and fall. Still Thy hand holds me."

Blessed Keyl was a very soulful man, therefore all events in his community and in his family moved him very deeply. His diaries, which he kept very carefully for more than thirty years, give much evidence of this, and one can get a deep insight into his pious heart. His mind is especially moved in the evening of such a day when he has had sad experiences in his community or when he has negotiated uselessly with an impenitent person; pleading sighs rise up from his soul to God. On the other hand, in the evening of Sundays and feast days, when he has preached the precious Word of God before a crowded church with a joyful opening of his mouth, his soul is full of praise and thanksgiving to God for the grace shown to him. In the same way he shows himself to us in the incidents in his family. We will only take a few examples from his diaries.

When he had brought his firstborn son, his little Stephanus, to school, he wrote in the evening of the same day: "Today, with many tears and prayers, I brought my Stephanus to Mr. Kantor Winter in Altenburg to school. God bless him and let him learn to recognize and love his Savior more and more." When he had buried his second-born child, he wrote: "Today I buried my dear Anna Maria, 19 weeks and 6 days old. The poor child had to suffer much in the few days of its life. It was my second child on earth and is now my first in heaven. God grant a blessed afterlife! I made a speech about the words of Jesus: 'Do not think, for the little girl is not dead, but sleeps'. But I could not complete my speech without tears and melancholy." On his birthday in 1840, he wrote: "Today, by God's mercy, I entered my 37th year. My dear wife wished me this morning 'a gracious year of the Lord'. May God grant this brief but weighty wish, and give me above all the justifying grace that all my former sins may be buried forever; the sanctifying grace that I may begin a new life and especially faithfully use the knowledge and experience gathered in previous years; and the chastening grace that I may abandon myself entirely to the discipline of the Holy Spirit and conscientiously follow His leading." On this day he then also makes a quite delicious meditation on the high priest Joshua, Zech. 3, 3-8. It is easy to see what his thoughts were, if one considers that it was just at the time when God had opened his eyes about his aberrations in Stephanism.

Our blessed Keyl also had to taste the dear marriage cross abundantly. As a householder, he stood eight times in his life at the grave of a dear family member.

Death took away two wives and six children. He was married three times and eighteen children were born to him, twelve of whom survived their father.

He entered into marriage for the first time on November 15, 1836, in the thirty-third year of his age and in the seventh year of his preaching ministry. The chosen one was the virgin Ernestine Amalia Walther, born on July 4, 1815, a daughter from the parsonage of Langenchursdorf, near Waldenburg in Saxony, and sister of the former honorable pastor Otto Hermann Walther in St. Louis and of Dr. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, professor of theology at Concordia Seminary and pastor of the four parish districts in St. Louis. With this his first wife Keyl begat four children, two sons and two daughters, but the youngest three died soon after their natural birth and only the firstborn survived his father. This is the Rev. Stephanus Keyl, for a number of years in the service of the Missouri Synod as an emigrant missionary in New York, and as such well known here and in Germany far and wide, formerly pastor for several years at the Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia belonging to the Missouri Synod. He was born in Niederfrohna, Saxony, June 27, 1838, and came to this country with his parents as a half year old child. This lovely marriage, in which two hearts were intimately united in the grace and love of the Lord Jesus, was, however, to the great sorrow of our dear Keyl, all too soon dissolved by death tearing his dear, noble wife from his side. This was a bitter loss for him, for she was not only a beautiful and well-educated lady, but also a sincerely humble disciple of Jesus, tried and tested by severe inward temptations, purified by outward sufferings and tribulations, gentle in her dealings, sympathetic and

Compassionate towards the suffering, content in all situations, patient in her heavy cross, grateful to God and man even for the smallest benefit, and truly a mirror of noble parish women. This is how she was described to us only a short time ago by old, proven Christians in Frohna, who had known her since her marriage and had had much contact with her. Her husband himself bears witness to her heartfelt piety when he relates in the first issue of his "Lutherophilus" (page 6) with regard to his study of Luther: "I perceived with joyful amazement how a beloved sick person (he means his dear wife), in her unspeakable pain, was especially comforted by Luther's words, especially his comforting instruction on how to counter and control the pusillanimity and other temptations of the devil in weakness of body; And when I read to her his sermon on preparation for dying, in which he speaks as one who has already passed through bodily death to eternal life, she put aside with a joyful look a bodily refreshment that had been offered to her and exclaimed: O Luther, you make me want to die! After a few weeks, God took her to the heavenly Canaan; but he comforted and strengthened me in my separation from her, especially through Luther's words full of experience, and thus strengthened me anew in my resolution to study and use him more diligently from then on. The salutary fruit of righteousness from this affliction, in which God had exercised me, showed itself in the increased gift of comforting others, and some of my hearers wished me happiness that I had had such experience for my salvation and theirs."

The ailment of Keyl's first wife, from which she also died, consisted of the so-called white knee tumor, which is cured only in very rare cases. A very young doctor who treated her at that time told her,

that he knew of only one possibly successful means of alleviating her suffering, namely burning with red-hot iron; only her husband flatly refused to give his consent to such operations. When her suffering worsened more and more and the pain became unbearable, it was decided to bring her to St. Louis in order to seek there, if not a cure, at least relief from her pain. \*) Lying on a stretcher bed, she was carried the seven miles from Frohna to Wittenberg, where a steamboat picked her up and brought her to St. Louis. As she passed through Altenburg on her way here, Blessed Pastor Löber accompanied her a distance and spoke comfort to her from God's Word. When he finally said goodbye to her, she declared most definitely that she would not see her homeland again, but that the Lord Jesus would soon deliver his poor maid from all evil and bring her into the eternal blessed homeland. In this hope she did not become a disgrace. She lived only a short time in St. Louis, although no means were left untried to preserve her dear life. Her dissolution took place in the apartment of her brother, the aforementioned Prof. Walther, on May 23, 1842, after she had given birth the day before (on the birthday of her husband) to a baby, who received the name Christian Ernst in the baptism. On May 24, her unburied body was gently laid to rest with God's word and prayer in the cemetery of the Lutheran congregation in St. Louis, and already on May 30, her child of pain, Christian Ernst, was carried to his final resting place and laid in his coffin on his mother's coffin in consecrated ground.

So now Keyl stood alone in the world. His

\*) Her brother, Prof. Walther, came down to the St. Louis end to take her up with him.

The ornament of his house and the crown of his head, he lamented in his diary, had been taken away from him, and his house seemed desolate and empty. But he also comforted himself with God's word, as befits Christians who should not mourn their dead, like the pagans and unbelievers who have no hope of eternal life. He had the joyful certainty that his "unforgettable Malchen," as he calls her in his diaries, "was snatched from all fear, that her soul was freed from death and her eye from tears, that she walked before the Lord in the land of the living; that she sang a new song with the elect, and in the midst of the angels praised God the Lord. Therefore, although he has lost this treasure in time, it is still preserved in heaven, and he will one day find it again and never lose it again. But this tribulation must serve him for the best. Therefore let his soul praise the Lord.

In 1843, Keyl married for the second time to Katharina Popp, a virgin from Grebsreuthin, in Franconia, Kingdom of Bavaria, from where she, born on February 9, 1825, had come to this country with her siblings not long before and had settled not far from Frohna. This marriage was blessed by the honorable pastor Löber in Altenburg. She bore him two children, a son and a daughter. But already after two years and eight months he had to carry her to the grave. A hot fever put her on the sickbed in the month of September 1845, and on September 30 she passed away, after she (as well as Keyl's first wife) had given birth to a baby boy the day before, who was baptized with the name Benjamin. But the baby survived the mother only by a few hours. On October 2, the double solemn funeral took place. They rest in the graveyard of the Lutheran congregation in Frohna in a

Sarge, little Benjamin in his mother's arms. The only daughter conceived in this marriage, Anna Dorothea, survived her father. She married Andreas Heisser in Baltimore in 1863, and soon after moved with him to Frohna, Perry County, Mo., where she died blessedly in 1879, leaving behind her husband and 6 children as a devout Christian, having given birth to a baby daughter a few hours before her death.

For the third time our dear Key! made a marriage covenant in 1846 with virgin Sophia Amalia Vogel, from Ebersbach, in the Saxon Upper Lusatia, where she was born on August 8, 1827. This union was also blessed by the Honorable Pastor Löber in Altenburg, in the church at Frohna. In this marriage, richly blessed with children, he lived for more than 26 years, until his death in 1872; however, it was not spared with crosses and sufferings of many kinds for wife and children. Of the twelve children born in this marriage, two preceded their father into eternity. The first, Helene Wilhelmine, born in Baltimore on October 28, 1855, died on July 12, 1856. The other, Bertha Susanna, born in Baltimore on December 18, 1861, died at the age of 5 from burns. The other ten children born of this marriage and still living are as follows:

1. Mary, born in Frohna, Perry County, Missouri, June 10, 1847 (on the day the father received a vocation to Milwaukee and Freistadt, Wisconsin). On the 5th of November in the year 1867 she entered into matrimony with Mr. Rev. F. T. Körner in Williamsburgh, New York, which marriage was blessed by Mr. Rev. Stürken in Baltimore, as the father was unable to do so from deep emotion.

2. Martha Constantia, born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 20, 1848. she entered matrimony in.

Year 1874 with Mr. Jakob Theobald in Peru, Ind. where they still reside.

3. Karoline Emilie, born in Baltimore February 20, 1851, married in 1874 to Rev. P. F. Germann in Fort Smith, Ark.

4. Hermann Wilhelm, twin brother of the above, of his trade an upholsterer, residing in Peru, Ind. and already married.

5. Agnes Magdalena, born at Baltimore February 27, 1853, entered into matrimony with Rev. C. A. Germann in Peru, Indiana, in 1873.

Daniel Ernst, born August 14, 1857 in Baltimore. He graduated from the school teachers' seminary in Addison, Ill., and after passing his examinations followed the call of the congregation in Altenburg to a newly founded school in Wittenberg, where he served for three years with blessed success, after which he was called by the Zion congregation in New Orleans, La. to teach in the first class of their congregational school, which he has presided over for the past two years. He is at present unmarried, but is already engaged to a maiden in St. Louis, whom he intends soon to lead home.

Emma Amalia, born in Baltimore on September 10, 1859. She is currently still living with her mother in Monroe.

Clara, born in Baltimore on September 3, 1864, also still lives with her mother.

9. Gerhard, born September 4, 1866 in Baltimore. He is presently in a store, learning bookkeeping, but has his home with his mother.

10. Juliana, born December 27, 1868 in Baltimore, who also still lives with her mother in Monroe.

Finally, we note that if we ask about the still living family members of the blessed Key of all nearer



On the contrary, it would be considered, and rightly so, indiscreet, imprudent, and even reckless, if we were to speak in more detail about any living person, whether in a praising or censuring manner. But that is what we want to do and say in this place: We wish the whole family, also the members of the same who are unknown to us from face to face, God's grace and blessing for time and eternity. May the dear children keep the memory of their pious and venerable father in blessing and honor among themselves and their descendants to many generations.

## Chapter X.

### **Keyl's last days and his blessed end.**

We already know from the seventh chapter of our narrative that Keyl, after resigning his office, took up his residence in Monroe, Michigan, where he passed his last days with his own and awaited the call of the Lord for his return home.

When he took up his last abode in this world, he was already so weak in body and spirit that it could be predicted with a fair degree of certainty that his years would not be many. He had already died to this world; he lived only as a dying man in this world. His family did everything they could to brighten up his last days and to cheer up his mind, and often asked him to take a walk, to look at the beauty of nature, the splendor of the flowers in the garden, etc., but then he would say: "There is no flower left for me in this world. And because he was already so stiff and weak physically that he could no longer walk outside without a guide, he would not allow himself to go on any walk but only

to the house of God. However, he visited the house of God as often as he was able to be led there. He often had Holy Communion served in the house. Often dark hours came over him, when he was afraid for comfort and had to sigh with David and say: "My heart trembles, my strength has left me, and the light of my eyes is not with me. (That is, my countenance is not light and glad.) "Forsake me not, O Lord my God; be not far from me. Make haste to stand by me, O LORD, my help." In such hours of trial he was heard to say, "How could I comfort others, and now I cannot comfort myself!" Then he spoke again, "O Lord, before thee is all my desire, and my groaning is not hid from thee." "Hear my prayer, O LORD, and hear my crying, and be not silent over my tears; for I am both thy pilgrim and thy citizen, as are all my fathers. Depart from me, that I may be refreshed, ere I depart, and be no more." (That is, let me not be tempted above ability, but make the temptation gain such an end that I can endure it).

These temptations were the most unmistakable sign of his state of grace and of his sonship to God; for spiritual temptations are a sanctuary which God does not throw at the feet of unbelievers, but with which he only graces his dearest children, and thereby designates them as his elect. Paul says, "For whom he hath before ordained to be conformed to the image of his Son," that is, he ordained them to be conformed to the image of his Son here on earth, as they will be in eternal glory, in suffering, in tribulation, in trial and temptation.

The Son of God. Just as the Son of God, during his walk on earth, had such hours when he mourned, trembled and wavered, when his soul was grieved to the point of death, when he wriggled and writhed in his anguish like a worm in the dust, and when he cried aloud in lamentation, saying, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? - So also such hours and times come to the chosen children of God, when all feeling of divine grace departs from them, and in its place comes the feeling of divine wrath, and that in such a way that they tremble and shake with fear of soul. However, such hours of high spiritual temptations do not come from nowhere, but from the good and gracious hand of God, which directs everything for the best, and which thereby expresses to the believers the seal of divine filiation. Nor does God leave his elect in such anguish of soul unconsolated, but holds up to them the example of his Son, who was tempted in every place, that he might help and comfort all who are tempted. But much less does he leave them in it and perish; but says to them, as once to the apostle, "Be content with my grace: for my power is mighty in the weak."

Even our dear Keyl did not remain without consolation in his great temptations. For no matter how deep his gloom and sadness often took hold of him, the Lord did not let him sink into it, but raised him up again so that he could confidently say: "But I still believe that I will see the good of the Lord in the land of the living"; and: "Nevertheless I abide always with thee, because thou holdest me by my right hand" (namely, that I fall not in temptation, and be drawn away from thee); "thou guideest me according to thy counsel, and receivest me at last with honor."

In such times, when deep melancholy lay on his soul, he especially liked it when his pastor, Mr. Pastor Hattstädt, and Christian church members visited him and talked to him from God's Word and about Christian experiences in God's ways, which put him in a joyful mood again. He often came to his children in the living room and asked them to sing spiritual songs, which noticeably refreshed and strengthened him. He read a lot, but he did not read heavy spiritual things, such as theological journals and the like, because he was too weak and his mind could not cope with them. He preferred to read writings that offered light spiritual food for the soul, e.g. pious stories for children and young Christians from a Christian public library and the like.

Thus this great, richly gifted man, who in his life, in addition to his many official duties, had accomplished an enormous amount of work with regard to the study of Luther, had again become a child in the noblest sense of the word, a child in the sense of the words of our Savior: "Unless you become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven". O a lovely picture, which in this comes before our soul of our blessed Key! Of course, this image can only be understood by those who have made their own experiences in the ways of God and have recognized that the Lord not only leads His saints in a wonderful way, but that they themselves are a miracle of God. The beautiful song of the pious singer Woltersdorf comes to mind, in which he sings of the church of Christ as a miracle, of which the first verse reads:

Who is like the bride of the Lamb?

Who is so poor, and who is so rich?

Who is so ugly and so beautiful?

Who can be so well and so badly off?

Lamb of God, you and your blessed flock

Are people and also angels wonderful.

Our dear Keyl also belonged to this wonderful blessed crowd in this world, as his last days clearly proved. As high as the waves of challenge often rose, he was still able to continue singing with Woltersdorf:

By grace I also know of it, I am a part of your reward, So miserable as one hardly sees it, So glorious that the enemy is frightened, So godless that all are probably better, And so righteous as you, the Father's child.

So now almost three quarters of a year had passed since Keyl had resigned his office, and his strength had become less and less - when suddenly an event occurred which shortened his days and set a goal for his life.

On Sunday, July 28, the year of his death, he visited the church for the last time. He had been so weak in the preceding days that he had rarely been able to leave his bed. But when on Sunday morning the church bell called for the first time to the service, he straightened up on his bed and said: "Today I will go with the congregation to the house of God, and see the beautiful services of the Lord and visit his temple. When his companions kindly said that it would hardly be possible for him to walk several blocks to the church, he replied firmly: "I will go with God's help; it may well be the last time. Thereupon he let himself be dressed like a little child and was escorted to the church by strong arms. And when he had happily returned to his home after the service, he was very cheerful and happy, talked about the sermon, chatted with his family and was in good spirits. On the following Tuesday, he was sitting in his room with his wife and his eldest daughter (Pastor Körner) when he heard the sermon.

He said that he would like to have a warm soup prepared for him, with which he would like to strengthen himself a little. While his wife went to fulfill his wish, he got up from his chair and grabbed a book from his library, and when he wanted to sit down again, he missed the seat, fell backwards to the floor and hit his head on a hard object, without suffering any further damage. But this incident caused a change in his condition; a nervous fever set in, as a result of which he now fantasized and talked crazy more often than before. But even in the midst of his fantasies, one could perceive what was still occupying his mind: he was preaching, talking about school, baptizing, confirming, and so on. In between, there were also light moments, in which he clearly showed that he was well aware of his life-threatening condition, by saying: "Now it ends"; "The grave is there"; "I am satisfied"; "As the Lord wills". In full consciousness he now exhorted all his children gathered around him to hold fast to the pure doctrine, to listen diligently to God's Word and to go to Holy Communion. To his grieving wife he called out for her comfort: "Command the Lord your ways, and hope in him; he will do it well." And:

"O sweet word that JEsus speaks To the poor widow: 'Do not weep!' It does not leave my mind, especially when I am sad."

Then he had the last half of the 73rd Psalm read to him, which concludes with the confident words: "If I have only you, I ask nothing of heaven and earth. Though my body and soul languish, yet thou, O God, art ever the consolation of my heart, and my portion. For behold, they that depart from thee shall perish; thou destroyest all them that fornicate against thee. But this is my joy,

That I may cleave unto God, and put my trust in the Lord GOD, to declare all thy doings."

Although there was no hope of recovery before human eyes, and although nothing better than eternal rest could be wished for the tired worker, everything was nevertheless done to preserve his dear life even longer. He was carefully cared for and watched over by his family, and the members of the congregation were always ready to help. Pastor Hattstädt sat at his bedside for hours every day, giving him encouragement and comfort from God's Word and praying with him. If it happened once that the pastor did not arrive at the appointed hour, the sick man immediately asked: "Where is Pastor Hattstädt today? Yesterday at this time he was already there! Have I offended him?"

On Wednesday, at his request, he was given Holy Communion, which he received with silent heartfelt devotion. He spoke only in the affirmation of what was held before him. Only once, when his confessor spoke to him of the glory of eternal life, did he say: "I want to go there too."

On Saturday he fell into a deep sleep from which he did not awake. Except for two, all the Blessed's children were present at his deathbed. Under the prayers of his eldest son, the emigrant missionary, Pastor Stephanus Keyl, who had been summoned by telegraphic dispatch to the deathbed of his beloved father, and under the tears and sighs of all of his own who knelt around his bed, he finally surrendered his spirit into the hands of his father, reconciled by Christ, without agony, on Sunday morning, August 4, 1872, at the age of 68 years, 2 months and 13 days.

The funeral of the remains of the dear servant of God took place on August 6 in a most solemn manner. The

The large funeral procession was preceded on foot by the teachers of Monroe's parish schools with all the school children, the girls dressed in white and carrying bouquets of flowers, which they finally threw on the coffin when it was lowered into the grave. Lovely funeral songs, performed by a mixed and a male choir, contributed not a little to the elevation of the funeral ceremony. Pastor Hattstädt preached the funeral sermon in the church on Psalm 37:5, on the basis of which he primarily offered words of comfort to strengthen the faith of the grieving family. At the graveside, Pastor Bauer spoke about Dan. 12, 3: "But the teachers shall shine like the brightness of heaven; and they, as many as are wise in righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever."

May the memory of this faithful servant, who in his 42 years of untiring service to the Church has directed many to righteousness, remain in blessing not only among his children and descendants (to whom these sheets are first dedicated), but also among our entire Synod and its preachers, so that many may follow his shining example, as it is written: "Remember your teachers who have told you the word of God, which end look upon, and follow their faith." May God also accompany our meager election with his blessing.

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Belatedly, we take the liberty of adding a brief description of the resting place of our blessed Key! His weary bones rest in the cemetery of Trinity Lutheran Parish in Monroe, Michigan. If one goes eastward on Fourth Street from the center of this friendly little town, one comes at the end of the town to the spacious graveyard located on the south side of the street, which was acquired by the congregation by purchase, and which, with its friendly and peaceful location, has a soothing



impression on the mind of the visitor. When we enter the cemetery, a flat area about 150 feet wide spreads out in front of us, on which beautiful grounds have been made, and once we have passed through these grounds, we have to climb a hill rising several feet, and only here do the resting places begin. The whole extended hill is intersected by a path that runs through it and is divided into two equal halves. Immediately upon entering the hill, to the right of the path, our blessed Keyl rests among other children of God who died in faith in Jesus, in the immediate vicinity of a fellow minister and comrade-in-arms who preceded him, the blessed Pastor Flessa. The grave, carefully tended by loving hands, has a lovely location here in the fresh greenery, near several fir trees and ornamental plants. Above the grave rises a monument erected by his survivors and by the Baltimore congregation, which announces to foreign visitors whose earthly body rests beneath this mound. The same is a monument made of white Italian marble, simple but very tasteful, which ends in a cross at the top. It bears the following simple inscription:

"Here rests in God Pastor Ernst Gerhard Wilhelm Keyl. Born May 22, 1804, died  
Aug. 4, 1872.

Hebr. 13, 7: "Remember your teachers and so on".

But we add:

Amen! it shall come to pass, We shall see Christ Coming in  
the clouds to take us away, Amen.

Amen! no death shall frighten, Christ will awaken us. He himself  
was buried before, and lives forever, amen.

# Writings of the late Pastor E. G. W. Keyl.

**Draft Sermons on the Sunday and Feast Day Gospels** from Dr. Luther's Sermons and Interpretations. Compiled by E. G. W. Keyl, pastor at the Second German Lutheran Church in Baltimore. Bound in half-fr. Price \$1.50.

"This homiletic auxiliary book," it says in "Lehre und Wehre" (XII, 183 f.), "is the mature fruit of many years of unremitting study of what Luther left in writing about all the Protestant pericopes of the Sundays and feast days of the church year, as well as the result of many years of tried and tested practice of his own. We Lutherans all have no doubt that Luther was a model preacher to whom no other theologian can be compared. Luther's sermons, however, have such a peculiar shape, and the golden thread running through them is often so difficult to recognize for untrained eyes that not a few, when they want to exploit them for sermons to be held now, often find such great difficulties that they refrain from doing so, and prefer to recover in sermons of other lesser theologians of counsel, whose form is closer to that now in use, and whose content therefore seems to be easier to consume now. How much purified gold of pure sound doctrine and scriptural treatment, which our church possesses in Luther's Postillen, namely in the inestimable Kirchenpostille, lies so unearthed, is therefore impossible to say and not enough to lament. Our dear brother, Pastor Keyl Sr. in Baltimore, who has devoted almost the whole of his life to digging into the cache of Luther's writings with unparalleled diligence and untiring perseverance, has therefore rendered a praiseworthy service to all Lutheran preachers who care to feed their hearers abundantly with wholesome, substantial food, and thus to our entire church. In this work, all of Luther's sermons on the usual Protestant texts of the church year are found, with the use of the relevant commentaries by Luther, so arranged and prepared in all branches of the main thought that the old Luther appears as if in the garb of our time, without having lost his old graininess, strength, purity and fullness. It is true that everything Luther gave in his various sermons and commentaries on each of the Gospels is here worked into one sermon, but in such a way that, according to the instructions given in the preface, each scheme gives content and form to a whole series of

The sermons are available in the different years. Even those who are not inclined to adopt these sermons from Luther cannot, in our opinion, undertake a more fruitful homiletic exercise than if they take the trouble to write down and study the sentences given here only in quotations to form a continuous sermon. Every beginner, however, will be glad to find here everything necessary for the composition of a thorough sermon according to Luther in such a way that, depending on his time, he can add more or less (without embarrassing fear of not being able to carry out his plan) from his own treasure of knowledge and experience. We must confess it, we wish with all our hearts to have had such a tool in our hands in our younger years, in which case we would have learned to cover the blackboard for our listeners quite differently than it has happened due to a complete lack of instruction, advice and help. Many will be pleased to hear that the citations are given both according to Walch's and Erlangen's editions, so that everyone, no matter whether he possesses one or the other edition, can use the book with equal ease.

Another reviewer writes ("Lehre und Wehre" XII, 250 f.): "The purpose of the 'Sermon Drafts' indicated is to present in a practical manner and good order the rich treasure of doctrine and consolation laid down in Luther's writings. Most readers of the "Lehre und Wehre" will remember that already in 1855 a part, the third issue, of the "Entwürfe" appeared in print. At present, with the help of God, the complete work has appeared in print. That booklet came into my possession soon after its appearance. For almost nine years I have used it to prepare for the sermons it contains. A development out of myself, an 'own creation' was not to be thought of with me..... Even the old I was not able to publish anew from myself; so I thought it best to stay with the old, in order to be able to do it right, the 'sermon drafts' were supposed to serve me, and so far I have never regretted that I took them in hand. Admittedly, what is presented here is not such a light commodity as one so often finds laid out in the catalogs and on the sales tables of booksellers. Thus, the use of the "drafts" also had its difficulties for me, since I, although prepared for it, was nevertheless untrained and Walch's edition of Luther's works was not at hand, especially when I saw a disposition of about six printed pages, such as that of the eighth Sunday after Trinity, which is composed of five sermons and an interpretation. Involuntarily the thought rose in me: If the disposition already contains six pages, how long does the sermon want to be? I also readily confess that I was quite clumsy at the beginning, and that I was guilty of many a violation, which I am now conscious of, and probably of several more unconsciously. Patience and perseverance, however, have, next to the good hand of God, led me into the right track, so that I could later always comply with my principles regarding the length of the sermon. The quantity of quotations was no longer disturbing to me; I followed the advice that also here

is given in the preface. I either put together a literal excerpt of the main pieces, or I gave a summary sermon, for which I especially used the passages marked 'Summa', 'short' and 'in general'; this is how I worked my way into it, and it got better with time. That it is not dishonorable to follow in Luther's footsteps, everyone among us will agree with pleasure; so the drafts are also not intended to save the preachers any work. But where do we find the time for such a laborious task? If this should be someone's concern, then I do not ask you to consider it vain self-glory when I say here that among my brothers in the ministry not the smallest amount of work has fallen to me, and I have been able to do it, and others have even more work than I, and have also been able to do it. Just make good use of your time, and many things will be possible; the benefit you get from this work is worth some effort.

**Catechism interpretation** from Dr. Luther's writings and the symbolic books, compiled by Ernst Gerh. Wilh. Keyl, pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran congregation in Baltimore. 4 vols. Bound in Hlbfrz. price \$4.00. Each volume is also available separately. Price \$1.00.

When it was announced in 1880 that the work was once again available in its entirety, a reviewer in the "Lutheran" wrote as follows: "We are pleased to announce that this formerly much bought and used work is again to be had in full. The first part, published in Germany in 1853, and the second part, published in New York in 1857, have been reissued by our 'Concordia-Verlag'. To the older readers of the 'Lutheran' the work is sufficiently known. To the new readers we would like to say that they are offered here a work of a quite unique kind. The blessed author says in the preface: 'Until the year 1726, at least such an explanation of the Catechism was not yet available; otherwise, a theologian, such as Dr. Löscher was, would undoubtedly have known it, and would not have expressed the wish that everything to be read in Luther's writings about the Catechism (as of which he had the most glorious thoughts) be compiled'. In this work, not only what is found in Luther's catechetical writings, but also what is found in his other writings related to the catechism, is compiled in question and answer. There is no better book to prepare for the Catechism. All pastors and teachers who purchase it will not regret it. Even those who own Luther's writings can only be pleased to have a book in which Luther's sayings on the catechism doctrines are compiled in order to be spared the time-consuming search for them. The fathers of the house, who are to diligently practice the catechism with their own, cannot do without it.

be recommended urgently enough for reading aloud at home devotions. "The work best praises its master," says an earlier recommendation of this work. 'We venture boldly to pronounce it, in lively conviction of the truth of what we say, that in more recent times no more useful, wholesome, and necessary work has been undertaken.' It goes without saying that no man can better interpret the Catechism and more fully bring to light the immense treasures of heavenly wisdom that lie therein than Luther, the author of the Catechism. In addition, Pastor Keyl has so richly exploited Luther's writings for the further execution of the Catechism that the work may well replace a complete Lutheran Dogmatics, that is, an entire Christian doctrinal edifice from Luther. Also, the content is introduced by such happily posed questions that instead of hindering the understanding of the answer, as is often the case elsewhere, the questions often serve to shed a desirable light on Luther's following words.' ('Luth.' XII. p. 54.) - (Cf. "Lutherans" 36, 184.)

When the first volume, containing the first main piece, was published, one reviewer wrote: "We can only say this much, after having oriented ourselves in the book: You preachers, you school teachers, you house fathers and all you already confirmed, buy, read and read again, and you will praise God for this precious incomparable gift." (Cf. "Lutherans" 10, 40.) - Another reviewer writes: "The layout of the book is most simple. It begins with an introduction, which shows in four different parts what the Catechism is, what especially the Small Catechism of Luther is, how and in what way preachers, teachers and parishioners, each according to the measure of his profession, should practice the Catechism, and what benefit the diligent practice of the Catechism brings..... As an introduction to the holy Ten Commandments, there follows a section dealing with the two tables of the Ten Commandments in general. Apart from the usual teachings which the consideration of the division into two tables entails, there is here an excellent exposition of the relationship of the two tables, namely, that the second table must give way to the first, and the sins against the second arise from the sins against the first: that ignorance and reversal of this relationship, which is ordered by God, is the cause and reason of the atrocious and destructive vice of sanctity, is as clear from this exposition as it is seldom known and heeded by few. From there, after the contents of both tables have been recently indicated, we are led to the individual commandments themselves. It struck me at first that the superscription of the holy Ten Commandments, "I am the Lord thy God," was not interpreted before the individual commandments themselves; for the sake of these words, the interpretation of all the commandments, except the first, evidently begins with the confession, "We shall fear God" (because he is the Lord) "and love him" (because he is our God). However, I soon found that in the explanation of the text of the first commandment, the meaning of those words is proved, and in the second commandment, the "We shall fear and love God" is shown as a consequence of the "I the Lord thy God". Also

This arrangement must serve to prepare a special place for the first commandment, as is already evident from the form of interpretation, which is so different from that of the other commandments. Thus, after a brief overview of the content of the first commandment, it will be shown how it encompasses all the other commandments, indeed, how all wisdom flows from it as from the chief commandment, how the core of it is faith, and from the keeping of this one commandment comes all righteousness, and from the transgression of it all sin. The form of the first commandment is justified against all those who reproach us for separating both the threat and the promise from it, and for omitting the prohibition of images. After this, the interpretation in the Catechism gives the subject according to which the transgression and fulfillment of the first commandment is carried out, but this is an evangelical interpretation; for although in the passage which treats of the transgression, unbelief against Christ is not pointed out from the outset as the chief sin and summit of transgression, precisely because it is the apex in which all the sins of idolatry converge: Yet these mighty speeches, which sound the thunder of God at Sinai, are pervaded by the shattering thought of melancholy, that by the transgression God is grieved, who has not spared even His only begotten Son. The doctrine of the fulfillment of the first commandment, however, proceeds from the outset from the evangelical truth that only through faith in Christ can the commandment really be kept; and as little as law and gospel are ever mixed together, so little is the sweet, sweet evangelical refreshment missing in the answers, which gives us an inkling of why John speaks: "His commandments are not difficult. The interpretation of the other commandments always proceeds in such a way that first of all the individual commandment in general, namely the connection of the same with the preceding one and its position within all, then the transgression and fulfillment of the commandment, then the promise which God has made of obedience, and in the case of the second commandment also the special threat against the transgressors, are dealt with, and each time at the end an instruction is given for the fourfold use of the commandment. Not easily would a question arise from the commandment.

The question of the Christian way of life, which would not find a concise and clear answer here, can be found in the following pages. The conclusion of the holy Ten Commandments, the threat and promise, is interpreted first in the relationship of these words to the first commandment, then in their relationship to all commandments. Here, too, we admire the tremendous earnestness with which Luther wields the sword of the Spirit against the secure and the slumbering, and how, on the other hand, he teaches the fainthearted and the failed so sweetly and sweetly to taste and to see how kind the Lord is..., while never forgetting to point from the promises of the law to the promises of the gospel, as which alone may satisfy our hearts before God.... Without being particularly mentioned, the law is used in the whole book for its threefold purpose, to be a bar against the wickedness of crude and unruly people, a rule in which we may recognize our sins, and a rule,

according to which we may walk in the power of the Holy Spirit. - The book is for everyone, not only for preachers and teachers; househusbands and mothers will be able to teach their children and servants fruitfully, as it is their duty to do; if only God would bring about the proper practice of the catechism in the home once again. ("Lutherans" 10, 60 ff.)

In the review of the second volume, dealing with the second main piece, it says among other things: "It is not an ordinary catechism with interpretation for school instruction; but a collection of all the profound thoughts, hints, explanations and remarks which the indisputably greatest theologian after the apostles, our dear Luther, has written down about the words and truths of the Catechism. Here we have not only what Luther gives in the writings that directly interpret the Catechism or some parts of it, but also those statements that Luther made in his various other writings about important parts of the Catechism, and that in an admirable selection, precisely calculated for the needs of our time; So that even he who has the complete works of Luther and is no stranger to them will be surprised again and again by the light which Luther's words throw on the catechism text, which are often borrowed from such writings of Luther, in which one has looked for nothing less than keys to the catechism and has not found them in one's own reading. The book serves partly as a supplement, partly as a correction of any other interpreted catechism, is excellently suited for lecturing during the preparation of a family service \*) and at the same time contains a treasury, in which one can easily find advice on the most important theological truths for the most diverse purposes. This second volume is probably the most important of all, since it contains the entire Gospel marrow. It forms a whole; even he who does not possess the first volume on the principal pieces and cannot buy it because of poverty, has with it not a fragment, but a complete work." ("Lutherans" 13, 149.)

In the announcement of the third volume, which contains the third and fourth major pieces, it says: "We heartily welcome this interpretation of the Catechism and wish it the widest possible distribution. Every writer is his own reliable interpreter. Who understands Dr. Luther's catechism more correctly than Luther himself? Here the diligent hand of Pastor Keyl, like a bee, has collected the most beautiful, clearest, pithiest, strongest, most striking passages from Luther's various writings. Whoever knows and has diligently read the first and second volumes of the same work will have good reason to expect something excellent in the third volume. We do not wish to diminish other orthodox explanations of the catechism; but the fact that these are the

\*) In the morning, a householder might use the Altenburg Bible... in the evening the Lutheran interpretation of the Catechism would be the most appropriate.

best and most proven must be, is self-evident." ("Lutherans" 16, 181.)

Finally, it bites in an assessment of the fourth volume: "It contains the fifth and sixth main pieces, the house prayers, the house table and the Christian question pieces, and thus concludes the whole delicious work. Shall we add one more word of commendation? Well, a work which so excellently recommends itself certainly does not need our insufficient recommendation. But I want to say what every Lutheran has known for a long time, but which one often does not think of just when it is important to act according to one's knowledge. What the Catechism is, namely a summary of the entire doctrine of salvation for the simple, and how it is to be acted upon best and most fruitfully, no one knows and understands like Luther since the days of the apostles. This is irrefutably shown by his two catechisms and everything he has said in his writings from time to time and which is masterfully compiled in Keyl's work. Therefore, if anyone thirsts for the pure milk of the Gospel, let him, if he already has the other volumes, buy this one as well, or if he does not yet have those, let him buy them all together. But let him buy them to use them diligently and faithfully, and let them be his daily pasture. The sweet fruit of a mature, well-grounded knowledge of the pure, wholesome doctrine will then certainly not be lacking; and such a firm, clear knowledge is so very necessary to us in the turmoil of this very last time and here in the land of enthusiasts, if we do not want to be carried away in the wild whirlpool of erroneous and harmful opinions. ("Lutherans" 24, 159.)

Orders for one or the other of the above works or individual parts may be addressed to

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