

Donald F. Durnbaugh

The Salas: A German-American Printing Family

The German-born Jakob Sala and his two sons, Salomon and Johann (both born in North America), were active printer-publishers in western Pennsylvania and northeastern Ohio in the early nineteenth century. (Although they often used the Germanic spelling of their first names in the USA, especially in their German-language imprints, they ordinarily used the Americanized versions — Jacob, Solomon, and John.) Though thus far little studied, their publishing activities were related to a wide diversity of themes—medical advice and practice, hymnody, devotional literature, newspapers, *Fraktur* certificates, innovative religious denominations, and ambitious but basically abortive communitarian ventures. The quantity of their imprints was not as extensive as some of their Eastern contemporaries, but, nevertheless, they are avidly sought after by collectors because of their relative rarity. They pose, however, formidable puzzles for bibliographers.

Jacob Sala

The progenitor of this line of printers, Jacob Otto Sala (1770-1858) was born in Germany, according to family tradition near Worms, and stemmed from a family of apothecaries—a trade which he followed in the USA. In 1774 he accompanied his family as a child to North America, shortly before the outbreak of the American Revolution, but exact information on arrival or ship's list has remained undiscovered. The first documentary evidence is of his marriage to Magdalena Mack (or Mark) on September 23, 1798, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, at the Trinity Lutheran Church. According to family tradition, his bride was related to the well-known military figure, Gen. Daniel Morgan (1736-1802). Their oldest child, Solomon, was born in 1800. In the census of that year Jacob Sala was listed as a resident of York Borough, York County, Pennsylvania. It is thought that he affiliated himself with the Brethren (Dunkers) at this time.¹

Sala was evidently living in Frederick, Maryland (Friedrichstaun) by 1803 when he had printed for him in Hagerstown, Maryland, an edition of a much-published German-language booklet of medical advice "for humans and animals." Its title was *Kurtzgefasstes Arznei-Büchlein für Menschen und Vieh*; first issued in America by the

Ephrata Society press in 1790 or 1791, the Hagerstown edition was the ninth in the series.²

In 1810 Sala and his family resided in Rockingham County, Virginia; the census listing places him there with a wife, three sons and three daughters. He seems to have been active as an apothecary; in any case the label on a bottle of tincture of his concoction has been preserved, printed in Harrisonburg, Virginia, during this period.³

He must have moved north to Western Pennsylvania soon after 1810 because in 1812 he arranged there for another (tenth) edition of the booklet of medical advice. This time the printer was Friedrich Goeb (1782-1829) of Somerset, Pennsylvania, best known for his release in 1813 of a German-language Bible, the first published west of the Allegheny Mountains.⁴

In that same year, 1813, Goeb printed for Sala another previously much-published booklet of medical advice, in this case one dedicated specifically to women and midwives. Its short title was the *Kurtzgefasstes Weiber-Büchlein*; this Somerset edition listed no edition number, but the booklet had already reached the tenth (American) edition in 1799. The last page of this 1813 edition contains a brief advertisement for a "complete assortment of good medicines" which were available for inexpensive prices from Sala in Somerset.⁵

The eminent scholar of science George Sarton (1884-1956) came upon this "mean little book" in Harvard University's Houghton Library and published a query in the magazine *Isis* seeking assistance in identifying the book. His assessment was that it "was poorly composed, as by a man of little education." The presence in the text of the square "ROTAS/SATOR" palindrome indicated to him that it was largely based on folklore. This palindrome was often used in faith healing, known among German-Americans as *Brauche* or *Braucherei* (also as *powwowing*). Two scholars subsequently answered Sarton's query without providing substantial additional information.⁶

Another scholar credits Sala and Goeb with a subsequent edition of the *Weiber-Büchlein* in 1814, but that is unknown to bibliographers. The two are known to have issued the booklet again in 1818. As late as 1831 Sala had yet another edition printed for him in Ohio.⁷

Some accounts relate that Jacob Sala moved to Canton, Stark County, Ohio, in 1819 with his family, now composed of his wife, six boys, and three girls. However, the 1820 federal census placed the family in Summerhill Township, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. It may be that the relocation took place in 1820 after the census was taken, because by late 1820, Sala had secured housing at Seventh St. and the Public Square in Canton, and soon became a partner of the printer Eduard Schäffer (Shaeffer) in publishing a newspaper, *Der Westliche Beobachter*. Sala would remain connected with newspaper publishing for more than a decade. In December 1820 he announced to the public the opening of an apothecary shop and book store, sited on the southeast corner of Market Square; he also reported his intention to initiate a German-language newspaper in March 1821. Previously, in February 1820, the editor of *The Ohio Spectator* of Wooster, Ohio, had announced the sale of his Ramage press, related fonts, and other equipment, possibly the source of Sala's printing establishment.⁸

During the 1820s Jacob Sala printed in Canton a number of birth certificates in *Fraktur*, as did his sons Solomon and Johann (in Wooster and Canton). As was customary with this genre of printing, spaces were left on the broadsides for later written insertion of names and dates. This practice also makes difficult the precise dating of the initial printing of the broadsides.⁹ Soon after arriving in Canton, Jacob Sala published, along with a son (evidently Solomon), a book of prayers and hymns for youth, *Das kleine Lust-Gärtlein* (1821), which he reprinted in a slightly expanded version in 1824. Also in 1821, Sala co-published with his partner in Canton, Eduard Schäffer, two Lutheran imprints: *Der Psalter des Königs und Prophet Davids* (1821) and *Das neu eingerichtete Evangelisch-Lutherische Gesangbuch* (1821); then, in the following year, they issued *Der kleine Catechismus des seligen D. Martin Luthers* (1822).¹⁰

In that same year, Jacob Sala and his son Solomon published an extensive and important English-language hymnal for the Brethren (Dunkers)—*The Christian's Duty* (1822). This was the fourth “improved” edition of the first hymnal in English issued by the Brethren (printed in Germantown in 1791, with 352 hymns). According to its title-page, it was “recommended to the serious of all denominations by the Fraternity of [German] Baptists.” A Brethren congregation was organized in Stark County soon after 1804, a branch of which was created at Canton in 1825; there is no extant record, however, of direct connection of the Salas with this body. Because both Solomon and Johann Sala were active in the Masons, it is unlikely that the sons became Brethren, unlike their father, because its strict discipline forbade membership in “secret societies.”¹¹ The Sala press was probably involved in the publication of another Dunker hymnal, this one a pocket-sized compilation (“for the convenience of travelers”) that went through a confusingly large number of editions—*Die kleine Liedersammlung* (1826). The publisher was Heinrich Kurtz (1796-1874), who had a long association with the Salas and later, evidently with their assistance, became himself a printer/publisher in the wider Canton area. Solomon Sala reissued an expanded version of the small hymnbook in 1829. His foreword reads:

The first two editions of this popular little hymnbook went out of print so quickly that it has become necessary to print it again in order to satisfy the still-continuing demand. We have tried to fulfill the often repeated request to improve it by the addition of various songs and a new subject-index without making the book much larger or more expensive.¹²

Solomon Sala

Earlier in 1822 Solomon Sala (1800-66), along with his father, attempted the publication of a newspaper, *The Canton Gazette*, but it died after the first issue. The demise may have been abetted by the criticism of the established Canton newspaper, *The Ohio Repository*, whose editor had this comment about the new periodical: “It is submitted to the people for their approbation—and if it is sufficiently supported, is intended to put down the ‘*Repository*,’ and to do divers other great things. The general appearance and execution of this number, is such as might have been expected from

the persons engaged in it. On reading it over, we discovered no less than *three hundred and sixty-seven errors*—a vast proportion of which, exhibit an unparalleled degree of ignorance, and would disgrace a school boy of 12 years of age.”¹³

Solomon Sala's subsequent printing activity took place in the western part of Virginia, at Buffaloe Creek, Brooke County, in what is now Bethany, West Virginia. He was called there as a master printer by the innovative clergyman, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), co-founder of the Disciples of Christ. (According to family and college traditions, Sala established his press in “Old Bleak House,” still standing near the campus of Bethany College.) At this point, Solomon Sala and his wife Delila Rittenhouse Sala, who were married in Canton in late 1820, were members of the Brush Run Baptists, and later, of the Wellsburgh congregation.

In 1823 Sala, at Campbell's urging, began an ambitious publishing program of secular and sacred works in English, continuing until 1825 when the two men parted company. Among Sala's Virginia imprints, which listed both Sala and Campbell as publishers during this brief but intense period, were J. Heyworth, *Observations on the Principles of Correct Education*, second edition (1823), and the fictional effort by Joseph Doddridge, *Logan, the Last of the Race of Shikellemus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation, a Dramatic Piece . . .* (1823).¹⁴

During the same period, Solomon Sala began publishing Campbell's periodical for Disciples, *The Christian Baptist* (1823ff.), a prospectus (printed by Sala) for which was circulated prior to Volume I, Issue 1. Before the year was out, demand was so great for the journal that Sala published for Campbell a second edition of the first volume, released in 1824. One of their best-known printed efforts was the much-cited and controversial record of a widely-publicized debate between Campbell and the Rev. W. I. M'Calla, a “Presbyterian teacher,” entitled *Debate on Christian Baptism* (1824). (Campbell's most famous debate was with the reformer and free thinker, Robert Owen, who will be mentioned later.) Appended to the printed debate remarks were “Animadversions” by six scholars on the same theme—contention about the validity of infant baptism as opposed to “believer's (adult) baptism.” The publishing team of Campbell and Sala also released the second edition of Joseph Shreeve's textbook, *The Speller's Guide, A Spelling Book on a New Plan* (1824); this was perhaps meant to be used in the school that Campbell erected. In addition, Sala published under his own imprint the *Minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association, Convened at Hubbard, Trumbull County, Ohio* (1824).¹⁵

After leaving his association with Campbell, Solomon Sala remained in the same western provinces of Virginia, doing job printing and attempting to establish other journals in nearby Wellsburgh, Virginia (later West Virginia), including *The True Republican and Wellsburgh Advertiser* (1825ff.) and *The Brooke Republican* (1825ff.). The Wellsburgh office was located on Water Street (now Main Street).¹⁶ During this same period, back in Canton, Ohio, Jacob Sala was continuing to issue imprints in irregular rhythm, in particular, the primer, *Das Hoch-Deutsche ABC* (c. 1824) and another edition of the devotional book, *Das Kleine Lust-Gärtlein* (1824). In 1826 he advertised that he had German books for sale in his apothecary shop, primarily imported literature. A letter has been preserved written to Sala by a publisher of religious materials

in Nuremberg, Bavaria, dated August 2, 1828; it described the contents of two crates of books which he had sent to Sala by way of a merchant firm in the port of Altona, Germany, and a book dealer in Philadelphia. Twenty different titles, ranging from five to fifteen copies each, were included in the shipment. These represented the first installment of what the Nuremberg publisher hoped would become a flourishing business connection.¹⁷

Johann Sala

As did his father, Johann Sala (c. 1801-50), engaged in commercial affairs as well as in printing in Canton and its environs. Soon after arriving he opened a confection and variety store in Canton and began to establish a family. His wife Margaret, whom he married in October 1821, was a daughter of the substantial local citizen George Dunbar, Sr.; Johann and Margaret had four children. He printed a number of items, including *Fraktur* broadsides, with both Canton and Wooster listed as the places of printing. For the Mennonites he printed the classic and much-published prayer book, *Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* (1826). Between 1745 and 1955 some thirty-two editions of this work were published in North America alone, following many editions in Europe after its first appearance in 1739.¹⁸

According to a history of Wayne County, Ohio, Johann Sala attempted to publish a German newspaper in the mid-1820s, the *Wooster Correspondent*, but it "died in the very agonies of its birth." Evidently not discouraged, in 1827 he announced in English the initiation of a German-language newspaper, *The Western Observer*, obviously a revival of his father's paper, *Der Westliche Beobachter*. Its continuations included *Der Westliche Beobachter und Stark und Wayne Caunties Anzeiger*, *Der Vaterlandsfreund und Westliche Beobachter*, and, finally, *Der Vaterlandsfreund und Geist der Zeit*. (There is some indication that the *Vaterlandsfreund* was first referred to as *Der Patriot*). In 1828 Johann Sala announced that he intended to sell the newspaper, but instead of this action he then decided to take on his brother Solomon as a partner and to continue to publish it. When Johann developed other interests, Solomon Sala took over its sole publication.¹⁹

In addition to his journalistic endeavors at this time Solomon Sala used his press to release sought-after imprints. These included *Fraktur* birth certificates, the much-published *Evangelium Nicodemi* (1830) and the *Kurtzgefaßtes Weiber Büchlein* (1831); the number of the edition of the latter work is unknown. He published this edition for his father Jacob, who, it will be recalled, had begun his publishing interests in 1813 in Pennsylvania with the same booklet of medical advice.²⁰

Communitarian Ventures

It was in the late 1820s that the younger Salas, Johann and Solomon, became actively involved in several communitarian ventures. These were more obscure and not nearly as successful, though related to the well-known Harmony Society, led by "Father" Johann Georg Rapp (1757-1847) and to the Separatist Society of Zoar, led

by Joseph Michael Bimeler (1778-1853). Both of these spiritually and economically prosperous colonies emerged from the Radical Pietist movement in the duchy of Württemberg in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. Members of both groups had been suppressed in their homeland because of their stubborn refusal to attend the state-sponsored Protestant church and take communion, to baptize their children and send them to church-sponsored schools, and (for male members) to serve in the military. They sought (after 1803 for the Harmonists and after 1817 for the Separatists) and found shelter in the new American republic as they awaited the imminent, as they saw it, Second Coming of Jesus Christ.²¹

Heinrich Kurtz, mentioned above in connection with the printing endeavors of the Salas, was the protagonist of the first of the abortive American experiments in the later 1820s. After arriving as a young man in Pennsylvania in 1817 as an immigrant from Württemberg, Kurtz became a Lutheran pastor in Eastern Pennsylvania, where he showed such promise that he was called in 1823 to a large, if troubled, parish in Pittsburgh of mixed Reformed and Lutheran membership. He began his tenure with great energy and early success, only to run into militant opposition from influential and wealthy members of the church council. This was occasioned by his zealous attempts to introduce meaningful church discipline into parish life.²²

These troubles were enlarged by Kurtz's growing enchantment with the principles of communalism, sparked by a visit to Pittsburgh by the acclaimed social reformer from New Lanark, Scotland, the Welshman Robert Owen (1771-1858); Kurtz attended Owen's lecture in Pittsburgh, the first of many in the United States by the charismatic speaker. Encouraged by Owen in private conversation, Kurtz and some colleagues visited the nearby Harmonist colony of Economy (present-day Ambridge), where they were impressed by the spirituality and orderly community life flourishing there.

After 1825 Kurtz threw his abundant energies into promoting the creation of a religious community for German-Americans, which he referred to as the "German Christian Industrial Community," and later as "Concordia." Although turned on by the Owenite gospel of co-operative economic organization, Kurtz had been turned off by Owen's thorough-going critique of organized religion. The pastor began to itinerate among German populations in the Eastern states; to further propagate his cause, he introduced in September, 1825, a monthly periodical, *Das Wiedergefundene Paradies*. His aims for the journal, though never fully realized, were two-fold: to recruit potential communitarians and to raise money for the cause. Nonetheless, he did attract some fifty families who expressed their willingness to join the projected community and collected nearly four hundred dollars.²³

In the meantime, his position in the Pittsburgh parish became untenable, and in the early fall of 1826 he resigned and moved his family to Stark County in northeastern Ohio, near the projected site of his new community. He continued his journal, now in its second volume; he re-titled it *Der Friedensbote von Concordia* (1827) and engaged Johann Sala in Canton as printer. Among the subscribers to the periodical were listed Jacob Sala and Samuel Sala (1806-66), another of Jacob's sons.

The periodical and Kurtz's communal project caught the attention of Alexander Campbell, who published this favorable reaction in September, 1827: "I receive a

German paper, edited by Henry Kurtz, a teacher of christianity, in Canton, Ohio, denominated "*The Messenger of Concord*," devoted to primitive christianity An infant association of some pious and intelligent Germans already exists, whose constitution contemplates a community perfectly social, and devoted to the religion of the first congregation in Jerusalem. As far as I understand the genius and spirit of their system of co-operation and their views of christianity, I can cheerfully bid them *God Speed*." Campbell appended a contrasting critique of Owen's society in southern Indiana: "But not so our friends at New Harmony. Their system of skepticism must inevitably render their co-operative system a system of disorder."²⁴

Despite this praise, as one reads through the monthly episodes of *Der Friedensbote*, it becomes clear that Kurtz was slowly recognizing that his communal dream was unrealistic. In the last issue (December 1827), Kurtz reported that all of the books and funds that he had collected for Concordia were being turned over to another community in process of formation named "Teutonia." He was eager to dispel any thought that he had ever sought personal profit from the communal venture, despite his own straitened circumstances.²⁵

Kurtz remained close to members of the Sala family and most probably was aided in his own incipient publishing activities by them. After several unsuccessful attempts, in 1851 he became the pioneer periodical publisher for the Brethren with his *Gospel Visiter* (an acceptable spelling of the time but it was soon altered to *Visitor*), along with its German-language counterpart, *Der Evangelische Besuch*. Despite early resistance from some church leaders, the journal later became the official mouthpiece for the Brethren, and continues today under the title *Messenger*.²⁶

Teutonia was the brainchild of the fascinating figure Peter Kaufmann (1800-69), another German immigrant, in his case in 1820. He quickly found benefactors, allowing him to begin active business enterprises, first in Philadelphia and then in Reading, Pennsylvania. A hugely talented man, Kaufman eventually emerged as a power in Ohio and national politics; he became a confidant of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) because of his prolific and popular writings on natural philosophy and attracted the attention and friendship of William H. McGuffey (1800-83) with his treatises on education. (Kaufmann had functioned for a time as a teacher in the Rappite colony of Economy.)

The foundational tenets of Teutonia can be traced in a number of broadsides, all published in 1827 for Kaufmann by Johann Sala in Canton, Ohio. These include (in German and English) the *Proposals for Publishing a Weekly Periodical, entitled: 'The Herald of a Better Time'*; the bilingual *Constitution der Gesellschaft der 'Vereinigten Teutschen' zu Teutonia*; and the proceedings, *Circular. Bei einer Versammlung der Vereinigten Teutschen zu Teutonia*. . . . It is not clear if *The Herald* ever actually appeared in print; there are no known extant issues.²⁷

Participants in Teutonia included former members of the Harmonist colony of Economy and some who had been attracted to Kurtz's venture. Although an actual start was made for Teutonia in Springfield Township, Columbiana (later Mahoning) County, it never flourished, despite the eloquent and detailed published announcements and energetic promotion by Kaufmann. This was largely because he had so many

continuing business interests in the East, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, and because he itinerated so often to further the Teutonia cause, that he was scarcely ever on the scene in Ohio in order to give direction to the pioneer venture. (This failure reminds one of the fate of Robert Owen's New Harmony, Indiana, for some of the same reasons.) Kaufmann did, however, place his wife and children in that setting, and rather neglected them. Some surviving correspondence from his wife with him reveals the struggles that she faced in trying to wrest a livelihood from the heavily forested area in the absence of her husband. The foundation of the community was also intertwined with an attempt by former members of the Harmony Society to win a financial judgment against it by petitions to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but this failed. Teutonia was amicably dissolved in 1831 with community assets divided among its members.²⁸

Solomon Sala was a leading figure in the failed attempt to found a viable German colony at Teutonia, as is evident from both the remaining published sources and Kaufmann's correspondence. At the same time, Sala continued to be active as a printer and publisher of the German language paper, *Der Vaterlandsfreund und Westliche Beobachter* in Canton. When in the early 1830s he published in it materials critical of Rapp's community at Economy written by a former member, Sala was taken to task by Rapp's lieutenant, Frederick Reichert Rapp (1775-1834), Economy's business manager and main liaison with the outside world. Despite Frederick Rapp's complaints and demands for corrections, Sala staunchly maintained his principle of editorial independence.²⁹

In 1831 Solomon Sala contracted with Peter Kaufmann to take over the editorial and translating responsibilities of the *Beobachter* for one year. Late spring of that year found the two in a bitter dispute carried out in the columns of regional newspapers. The June 24 issue of *The Ohio Repository* carried a malicious and violently-worded critique of Sala and Kaufmann signed by a "Censor." This may have been penned by the newspaper's editor, John Saxton, who had written so scathingly of the Sala's first attempt in journalism nearly a decade previously. This antagonism may have been based on political differences, for in September 1831 Sala was announced as a candidate for the office of county recorder; election results published in October listed him as placing fourth in a field of five with some 200 votes.³⁰

In September 1831 Kaufmann purchased the journal and print shop from Sala. In the latter's valedictory comment to his readers (September 21, 1831), he apologized to them for his inadequate German, explaining that he had always needed the services of an editor with skills in the German language to publish the journal. (It was said that Sala had been educated by his mother, who knew no German but spoke only English.) Once Kaufmann had full possession of *Der Vaterlandsfreund* and the print shop, he made them the foundation of his political influence, which, as already stated, became major among the very numerous German residents of Ohio and even attained national significance. A particular success was his German almanac, of which he published as many as 80,000 dozen annually.³¹

Despite Solomon Sala's disappointments with Teutonia, he continued his interest in communal life. This he soon evidenced later in 1831 by his relocation with his family to Zoar (in Tuscarawas County) to associate himself with the Society of

Separatists. He was received in late December 1831, as a probationary member. His abilities soon brought him to a leadership position, demonstrated by the fact that during the next year, 1832, he was one of the signatories to Zoar's act of incorporation under Ohio state law.³²

This notwithstanding, Solomon Sala's stay at Zoar was short-lived. Already in November 1834, Sala sent a letter of resignation to the Zoar leadership, after physically removing himself from the Separatist locale and arranging for his family to leave. He gave as his reasons for leaving his own bad health and the dissatisfaction of his wife. The sojourn of the Sala family at Zoar had unfortunately coincided with an outbreak of cholera, which led to extensive loss of life among the membership. It was reported that three of the Sala children were among those who died during the epidemic. The outbreak was connected with the involvement by Zoar members in the construction of the Sandy and Beaver Canal, the course of which passed by the colony, and the increased contact this brought with canal passengers. Work on the canal had provided much-needed income for the colony but the epidemic and subsequent tragic loss of life was caused by an ill passenger cared for by colonists.³³

A committee resolution to the Ohio legislature published in *The Ohio Repository* of Canton in January 1834, had petitioned for permission to establish a stock company with the objective of completing the canal; it listed Sala as a member of the committee and as a co-secretary for the venture. In September 1834 Sala published a clarification in the same periodical "to avoid misrepresentations" concerning the extent of deaths involved in the epidemic. He reported 35 deaths in Zoar itself and 15 among residents on the other side of the canal. Fourteen of the deaths were of children, all but one under the age of five.³⁴

Later Events

It is reported that Solomon Sala attempted to publish another newspaper, *The Buckeye* in Dover Township, Tuscarawas County, in the mid-1830s, but it failed after a brief existence. He seems to have remained interested in politics, because in an appeal published in the Canton, Ohio, newspaper for a meeting of those desiring to support the nomination of William Henry Harrison as the Republican Democrat candidate for the US presidency, Sala was one of those invited to attend. Perhaps in the 1840s, Solomon Sala moved to the Pittsburgh, PA, area, where he died on November 5, 1866.³⁵

As for the other members of the Jacob Sala family, some records have been preserved. Using a recipe derived from an old medical book of his father, Johann Sala developed a patent medicine in the 1830s—"Sala's Vegetable Elixir"—and became wealthy as "Dr. John Sala." He died in the mid-1850s in Western Star, Medina County, Ohio.

Jacob Sala continued his activities as a merchant in the 1830s, advertising extensively in the local newspaper. Goods offered ranged from drugs and medicines ("Anti-billious Ague Drops"), to tobacco and snuff, rum and whiskey, paints and putty, powder and shot, and German and English books. He gave up his apothecary business

in 1837. Later in life Jacob Sala moved to West Point, Iowa, where he died in 1858 "in the 89th year of his age" at the home of his son, Eli, a physician. Quite a few members of the wider Sala family were connected with the Brethren in the Midwest in the nineteenth century.³⁶

While still in Canton, Jacob Sala figured in a very obscure yet intriguing event. In 1835 he published in German a booklet entitled *Ein Brief aus der Schweiz an einen Freund [Jacob Sala] in Canton, Ohio* on millennial themes. His correspondent was a noted Swiss scholar from Basel, Prof. Dr. Friedrich Lachenal (1772-1854). He is noted in Swiss academic and religious history as a well-placed and respected academic and clergyman who gave up his prestigious positions to become a follower of the charismatic figure, Barbara Juliana, Baroness von Krüdener (1764-1824).³⁷

Born in the Baltic area, then under Russian sovereignty, the mystic and chiliast is known in general world history for her powerful influence upon the Russian Czar Alexander I (reigned 1801-25). She is credited with influencing his initiative in forming the so-called Holy Alliance of 1815; the unusual pact condemned violence, upheld international order, and bound its signatories to uphold the Christian qualities of charity and peace. (Both the Sultan and the Pope refused to sign.) The Holy Alliance became notorious as the grand alliance of conservative European powers dedicated to the suppression of any and all revolutionary tendencies. In addition to her impact on the highest political levels, Baroness von Krüdener preached her millennial gospel widely, after being converted to this view by a Moravian shoemaker.³⁸

The booklet containing Lachenal's extensive letter is better known among Brethren scholars for an appended letter in English written by Sarah Righter Major (1808-84), the first woman among the Dunkers to become active as a preacher. Her letter to Sala is a spirited defense of the rights of women to speak in public. At a later date, the Brethren leadership sent a committee to Major asking her to cease and desist from her preaching, which, however, failed in its purpose. When a committee member was later asked why the committee did not enforce the church's ruling, he wryly admitted: "I could not give my voice to silence someone who can out preach me."³⁹

Conclusion

Although many aspects of their lives and activities are left in obscurity, enough is known about the Salas, father and sons, to justify their recognition as significant players in the publishing history among German-Americans in Pennsylvania and especially in Ohio in the early nineteenth century. Of especial interest was the close involvement of family members in the burgeoning communitarian movement among German-speaking residents of the USA during this period. The intent of this essay is to bring into focus scattered data on the family, so that their undeniable contributions can be better known.

Juniata College
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Notes

¹ A brief obituary notice was published in the Brethren periodical, *The Gospel Visitor* 9 (July, 1859): 224; it read: "Died at the residence of his son, Dr. E[li] M. Sala in West point, Lee co., Iowa some time ago Brother JACOB SALA, formerly of Rockingham co. Va. and later for many years of Canton, O. He was a native of Germany, but his father migrated to America, when he was only 4 years old, two years before the declaration of Independence. He was a brother known by a great many members, to which it may be a satisfaction to know that his long and weary pilgrimage is ended, after living to an age of 88 years and 2 months." His gravestone gives the date of death as September 26, 1858.

There are only scattered published references to members of the Sala family. Among the most informative are: Lew Slusser, "A Once Prominent Family of Canton," in *Old Landmarks of Canton and Stark County, Ohio*, ed. John Danner (Logansport, IN: B. F. Bowen, 1904), 149-51; Johann Räber, "Rückerinnerungen an die frühe Ge[s]chichte von Stark County und seine ältesten grösseren Städte," *Der deutsche Pionier* 3 (September, 1871), and Robert E. Cazden, "The German Book Trade in Ohio Before 1848," *Ohio History* 84 (Winter/Spring, 1975): 57-77. See also D. F. Durnbaugh, "Sala, Jakob," "Sala, Johann," and "Sala, Solomon," *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Oak Brook, IL: Brethren Encyclopedia Inc., 1983-1984), 2:1136; Nancy Beaumont, "Jacob Sala of York County, PA," *Fellowship of Brethren Genealogists Newsletter* 27 (Winter, 1995): 79; and William R. Eberly, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of Henry Kurtz," *Brethren Life and Thought* 8 (Winter, 1963): 19-34.

Bibliographical data on Sala imprints are found in: Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America: Volume 2 (1808-1830)*, comps. G.-J. Bötte and W. Tannhoff (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1989), which replaces in most respects Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1930* (Philadelphia: Schaefer & Koradi, 1893); Charles Evans, *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary . . . 1639 - 1820* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941-1959); Roger P. Bristol, *Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1970); Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801-1819* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958); Richard H. Shoemaker and others, *A Checklist of American Imprints, 1820-1829* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1967); Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800: The Short-Title Evans*, two vols. (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1969); Charles David Missar, "A Checklist of Ohio Imprints from 1821 to 1825 with a Historical Introduction," (MS thesis, Catholic University, 1960); and D. F. Durnbaugh and L. W. Shultz, eds., "A Brethren Bibliography, 1713-1963," *Brethren Life and Thought* 9 (Winter/Spring, 1974): 3-177.

There is some uncertainty on the birth dates of Solomon and Johann; some accounts place Johann as the oldest son, born in 1799. Because Jacob Sala first employed Solomon in his print shop, it seems a fair assumption that Solomon was the first born; a Sala family tree compiled by descendants also places Solomon first. Census listings are conveniently seen at the website, Ancestry.com.

² The first American edition has been attributed to the press of the Ephrata Society in 1791; some bibliographers assert that the year of the first imprint was 1790, but no copy is extant. The location on the title-page of the earliest extant edition reads "Wien, gedruckt, Ephrata nachgedruckt, Im Jahr 1791." There were two versions of the 1791 imprint, differing only in that in one case the number of recipes is printed in Roman numerals on the title-page, in the other in Arabic numerals. For bibliographic references and imprint date, see: Arndt/Eck #794, #795 (1791); Evans #22604 (1790), #23483 (1791); Seidensticker, p. 125 (1790); Bristol #B7738 (1791), #B7739 (1791); Shipton/Mooney #22604 (1790), #23483 (1791). The ninth Gruber edition is listed in Arndt/Eck #1343; Shaw/Shoemaker #4496.

³ The label read: "Brust=Elixir oder Elixir Penegoric. DIESES Elixir ist die beste Arznei für alle Brustbeschwerung in Aufzehrung oder Lungen=Sucht, wie auch in Verkältung und Husten. Wird verfertigt bey Jacob Sala in Harrisonburg, Rockingham Caunty, Virginia." It is found in the archives of Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, VA.

⁴ *Kurtzgefaßtes Arznei-Büchlein*, tenth edition (Somerset [PA]: Gedruckt bey Friedrich Goeb, für Jacob Sala, 1812); see Arndt/Eck #1941. Information on Goeb is found in Gerald C. Studer, *Friedrich Goeb, Master Printer* (Somerset, PA: Goeb Bible Sesquicentennial, 1963).

⁵ *Kurtzgefasstes Weiber-Büchlein* (Somerset, [PA]: Gedruckt [bey Friedrich Goeb] für Jacob Sala, 1813); see Arndt/Eck #2006; Shaw/Shoemaker #28896.

⁶ See George Sarton, "Query No. 107: Jacob Sala of Somerset, 1813?" *Isis* 35.2 (1944): 177-78; Conway Zirkle, "Answer to Query No. 107," *Isis* 35.4 (1945-46): 331; Genevieve Miller, "Answer to No. 107," *Isis* 35.4 (1945-46): 331. See also H. Austin Cooper, *Two Centuries of Brothersvalley Church of the Brethren, 1762-1962* (Westminster, MD: The Times, Inc., for the author, 1962), 250-51. Cooper claimed, inaccurately, that Sala and his sons moved to Pittsburgh in mid-century, where he continued his pharmacy practice and publishing of medical books. Solomon Sala did move to that area about that time, but his activities are unknown. Cooper provided English translations for a few of the book's recipes (pp. 437-38).

A recent article on powwowing, with a selective bibliography, is David W. Kriebel, "Powwowing: A Persistent Healing Tradition," *Pennsylvania German Review* 1 (Fall, 2001): 14-24, derived from his "Belief, Power, and Identity in Pennsylvania Dutch Brauche, or Powwowing," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2000. See also Graydon F. Snyder, *Health and Medicine in the Anabaptist Tradition* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 22-26, and Richard E. Wentz, ed., *Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 16-17, 109-10, 149.

⁷ The 1814 edition is listed in Studer, *Goeb* (1963), [6]. Goeb's 1818 imprint was (Somerset, PA: [Friedrich Goeb für Jacob Sala], 1818); Shaw/Shoemaker #44532, not in Arndt/Eck; these bibliographers also list an 1818 imprint as probably issued at Ephrata for the same year — Shaw/Shoemaker #44531, but this is no doubt better attributed to Reading = ([Reading, PA: Heinrich B. Sage], 1818); Arndt/Eck #2318.

⁸ Information on the Salas in Canton is found in Danner, *Old Landmarks* (1904), 149-51, and Räber, "Rückerinnerungen" (1871): 219. See issues of *The [Canton] Ohio Repository* (March 8, 1820), (December 8, 1820). Cazden, "Geman Book Trade," (1975) 63, has Sala in Canton as a bookbinder already in 1812 or 1813, but that is much too early.

⁹ Information and illustrations of the Salas' production of *Fraktur* certificates (*Taufscheine*) are found in Klaus Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans: Volume V* (Mainz/East Berlin, PA: the author, 1999), 112-25 (#845-849), 200 (#897). See also Donald A. Shelley, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Allentown, PA: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1961), 182, 186. A *Taufschein* attributed to Johann Sala in Wooster, OH, in 1817, was listed as #89 in "The Broadside Collection of the Menno Simons Historical Society," *Eastern Mennonite College Bulletin* (January, 1967): 10, but it is not now in the collection and the date seems to be too early for Sala's printing activity in Wooster.

¹⁰ For bibliographical listings, see Arndt/Eck #2478, #2479, #2480, #2530, #2632; Shoemaker #4697, #5775, #6186, #9308, #16817; Missar, #13, #37, #44, #97.

¹¹ *The Christian's Duty, Exhibited in a Series of Hymns, Collected from Various Authors, Designed for the Worship of God . . . Fourth Edition Improved* (Canton, (OH): Printed by Jacob & Solom[o]n, Sala, 1822); a variant edition with Solomon first name printed correctly also exists; Durnbaugh/Shultz #40, 56, 64, 76. The hymnal was given definitive analysis in Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, "1791: A Watershed Year in Brethren Hymnody," *Brethren Life and Thought* 45 (Summer, 2000): 98-119. See also: Donald R. Hinks, *Brethren Hymn Books and Hymnals, 1720-1884* (Gettysburg, PA: Brethren Heritage Press, 1986), 39-45, and Nancy R. Faus, "Christian's Duty, The," *Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-1984): 1: 288. These supplant the earlier discussion in Nevin W. Fisher, *The History of Brethren Hymnbooks* (Bridgewater, VA: Beacon Press, 1950), 21-31. The songbook is missing from most appropriate bibliographies.

Information on the Brethren in the Stark County area is provided in T. S. Moherman, ed., *A History of the Church of the Brethren—Northeastern Ohio* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1914), 18-22. Solomon Sala announced, as a member of an arrangements committee, a meeting of the Canton lodge to be held on Dec. 27, 1826—*The Ohio Repository* (Dec. 14, 21, 1826). His brother Johann published a comparable announcement dated March 20, 1835—*The Ohio Repository* (April 7, 1835).

¹² (Osnaburgh, OH: Heinrich Kurtz, 1826), Seidensticker, p. 230; Durnbaugh/Shultz #92, as well as the third, enlarged edition (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt bey Solomon Sala, 1829); Arndt/Eck #2999, Shoemaker #39221; Durnbaugh/Shultz #100. See the discussion in Eberly, "Printing and Publishing Activities" (1963): 19-34; in Emmert F. Bittinger, "More on Brethren Hymnology," *Brethren Life and Thought* 8 (Summer, 1963): 11-16; in Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, *The German Hymnody of the Brethren, 1720-1903* (Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1986), 68-91; and in Hinks, *Brethren Hymnbooks* (1986), 47-53.

¹³ *The Ohio Repository* (Jan. 17, 1822).

¹⁴ For information on this stage of Solomon Sala's career, consult: Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1975): 65; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of Printing in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: Charleston High School, 1935), 16-17; Charles Carpenter, "The First Book of West Virginia," *The West Virginia Review* 12 (April, 1935): 212-14, 222, and J. H. Newton, ed., *History of the Pan Handle; Being Historical Collections of the Counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall, and Hancock, West Virginia* (Wheeling, WV: J. A. Caldwell, 1874), 329. Bibliographical listings are found in Delf Norona, *West Virginia Imprints, 1790-1863: A Checklist of Books, Newspapers, Periodicals, and Broad-sides* (Moundsville, WV: West Virginia Library Association, 1958) and *American Imprint Inventory. No. 14. A Check List of West Virginia Imprints, 1791-1830* (Chicago: WPA Historical Records Survey Project, 1940). On the Sala family tradition, see the letter from James Warren Sala to D. F. Durnbaugh, May 28, 1968.

The first fifteen pages of Sala's "Day Book" cover his collaboration with Campbell at Buffalo Creek; the manuscript is currently held by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, and is described in *Midland Notes No. 98* (1966), #86.

The imprints and their bibliographical listings are: 1) J. Heyworth, *Observations on the Principles of Correct Education* (Buffalo, VA: Published by the Author, Campbell & Sala, Printers, 1823); Shoemaker #12821, Norona #444, WPA #53; 2) Joseph Doddridge, *Logan, the Last of the Race of Shikellemus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation* (Buffalo Creek, VA: For the author by Solomon Sala, 1823); Shoemaker #12385, Norona #374, WPA #52.

¹⁵ See Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870), 2: 49ff.; *Prospectus of the Christian Baptist* ([Buffalo Creek, VA: Solomon Sala], 1823); Norona #305 [no copy known]; *The Christian Baptist*, ed. Alexander Campbell (Buffalo Creek, Brooke County, [VA]: Printed by Solomon Sala at the Buffalo Printing Office, 1823); Norona #306. The second edition of the first volume was published in 1824; Norona #314. Following the issue of December, 1824, Sala's name does not appear on the journal as printer.

Two books explaining Campbell's role in the origin of the Disciples are: Alfred T. DeGroot, *The Restoration Principle* (St. Louis, MO: Bethany Press, 1960) and C. Leonard Allen and Richard T. Hughes, *Discovering Our Roots: The Ancestry of Churches of Christ* (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University, 1988).

The debate was Alexander Campbell, *Debate on Christian Baptism, Between the Rev. W. L. MacCalla [M'Calla], a Presbyterian Teacher, and Alexander Campbell . . . To Which Are Added Animadversions on Different Treatises on the Same Subject . . .* (Buffalo, [VA]: Published by [Alexander] Campbell and [Solomon] Sala, 1824); Shoemaker #15630, Norona #244, WPA #61, *Midland Notes 98 #106*, M'Calla responded with a rebuttal two years later, protesting that Campbell's version was spurious—*The Unitarian Baptist of the Robinson School Exposed* (Philadelphia: author, 1826); *Midland Notes 98 #116*.

Minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association, Convened at Hubbard, Trumbull County, Ohio (Buffalo, VA: Solomon Sala, 1824); *Midland Notes 98 #118*. The schoolbook was: Joseph Shreeve, *The Speller's Guide, A Spelling Book on a New Plan, with Reading Lessons* (Buffalo, Va.: Jackson & Harvey. Pr[inter]ed by Campbell and Sala, 1824); Shoemaker #17980, Norona #721, WPA #64; *Midland Notes 98 #87*

¹⁶ See Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1975), 65. *The True Republican and Wellsburgh Advertiser* was published from 1825 to 1832, with Sala listed as publisher for the first two years; Norona #1390. The first issue was printed on Sept. 10, 1825.

¹⁷ *Das Hoch-Deutsche ABC und Namen-Büchlein, für Kinder, welche Anfängen zu Lernen* (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt bey Jacob Sala, [1824?]; the date of printing may actually be later; Arndt/Eck #2631. *Das Kleine Lust-Gärtlein, oder, Schöne auserlesener Gebeter und Lieder* (Canton, [OH]: Gedruckt bey Jacob Sala, 1824); Arndt/Eck #2632, Shoemaker #16817; Missar #235.

The list of books for sale is provided in Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1974), 65-66, taken from Sala's newspaper, *Der Westliche Beobachter und Stark und Wayne Caunties Anzeiger* (December 6, 1826). The letter is found in the Peter Kaufmann Papers, MSS 136, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

¹⁸ *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht, Darinnen schöne geistreiche Gebäter, Womit sich fromme Christen-Herzen zu allen Zeiten und in allen Nöthen trösten können* (Wooster, [OH]: Johann Sala, 1826); Arndt/Eck #2837, Shoemaker #24438; *Midland Notes 98 #386*. The prayer book is described in Robert Friedmann, "Ernsthafte Christenpflicht," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1956), 2: 244-45, and listed in Harold S. Bender, ed., *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (Goshen, IN: Mennonite Historical Society, 1929), 13.

¹⁹ Benjamin Douglas, *History of Wayne County, Ohio* (Indianapolis, [IN]: 1878), 358. The complicated history of the Canton newspapers with varied ownership, editorship, and change in titles is reviewed in

Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olsen, eds., *The German-Language Press of the Americas. Volume I: History and Bibliography, 1732-1968*, 3rd rev. ed. (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 432; originally published as *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals* (1961). See also: Lew Slusser, "Early Newspaper Press of Stark County, Ohio," in Danner, *Old Landmarks* (1904), 144-45, William H. Perrin, *History of Stark County* (Chicago: Baskin and Battes, 1881), 347, Daniel Miller, *Early German-American Newspapers* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1910), 100-1 (Vol. 19), reprinted (Bowie, MD: 2001), and Edward T. Heald, *The Stark County Story: Volume 1* (Canton, OH: Stark County Historical Society, 1949), 307.

²⁰ *Evangelium Nicodemi, oder Historische Bericht von dem Leben Jesu Christi, welches Nicodemi, Ein Rabbi und Oberster der Juden, beschrieben* (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt bey Solomon Sala, 1830); Arndt/Eck #3073; Shoemaker #47344. *Kurtzgefasstes Weiber-Büchlein* (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt für Jacob Sala [bey Solomon Sala], 1831).

²¹ There is an extensive literature on both Harmony and Zoar. Books and articles published before 1990 can be found in Philip N. Dare, comp., *American Communes to 1860: A Bibliography* (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1990), 93-104, 197-98. For some more recent important literature, consult the following on Harmony: Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp's Harmony Society," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald R. Pitzer (Chapel Hill/London: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 57-87, and their book, *George Rapp's Disciples, Pioneers, and Heirs: A Register of the Harmonists in America* (Evansville, IN: University of Southern Indiana Press, 1993). On Zoar, see: D. F. Durnbaugh, "'Strangers and Exiles': Assistance Given by the Religious Society of Friends to the Separatist Society of Zoar in 1817-1818," *Ohio History* 109 (Winter/Spring 2000): 71-92; Eberhard Fritz, "Roots of Zoar, Part One," *Communal Societies* 22 (2002): 27-44, and "Roots of Zoar, Part Two," *Communal Societies* 23 (2003): 29-44; these articles are translated from his article, "Separatisten und Separatistinnen in Rottenacker: Eine örtliche Gruppe als Zentrum eines 'Netzwerke' in frühen 19. Jahrhundert," *Blätter für württembergischen Kirchengeschichte* 98 (1998): 66-158. See also Kathleen M. Fernandez, *A Singular People: Images of Zoar* (Kent, OH/London: Kent State University Press, 2003). The religious background of both communities is provided in D. F. Durnbaugh, "Radical Pietism as the Foundation of German-American Communitarian Settlements," in *Emigration and Settlement Patterns of German Communities in North America*, eds. Eberhard Reichmann and others (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1995), 31-54.

²² On Kurtz's life and communal proposals, see Wilbur H. Oda, "The Reverend Henry Kurtz and His Communal Plans," *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3.21 (April 1, 1952): 1, 5-7; and D. F. Durnbaugh, "Henry Kurtz: Man of the Book," *Ohio History* 76 (Summer, 1967): 114-31, 173-76.

²³ *Das Wiedergefundene Paradies: Kein Gedicht, Eine Zeitschrift, für Christen in allen Benennungen* ([Pittsburgh]: H. Kurtz, 1825); Seidenticker, p. 227; Durnbaugh/Shultz #82; Arndt/Olsen, *German-Language Press* (1976), 585.

²⁴ Editor, "Deism and the Social System - No. IV," *The Christian Baptist* 5 (Sept. 3, 1827): 27-31.

²⁵ *Der Friedensbote von Concordia. (Fortsetzung des "Wiedergefundene Paradies"): Eine Zeitschrift, für Christen von allen Benennungen. . . . Jahrgang 1827* (Canton, Ohio: Gedruckt von Johann Sala, 1827); Seidenticker, p. 231; Durnbaugh/Shultz #94; Arndt/Olsen, *German-Language Press* (1976), 585.

²⁶ Kermon Thomasson, "Messenger," *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-1984), 2:818-19; see also the prefatory material in James H. Lehman, *For This Day: 100 Years of Publishing in the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997).

²⁷ For descriptions of Teutonia and Peter Kaufmann, see Karl J. R. Arndt, "Teutonia, Ohio: Quintessence of German-American Idealism," in *The Harold Jantz Collection*, ed. Leland R. Phelps (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1981), 13-29, and Max Gard, "The Long Lost Story of Teutonia," [*Salem, OH*] *Farm and Dairy* (Dec. 12 and 19, 1956). The connections between Kurtz's Concordia and Teutonia are traced in George Swetnam, "The Disharmony Societies," *The Pittsburgh Press* (Feb. 9, 1958): 8-9. See also the catalogs of Ernest Wessen, the Mansfield, OH, book dealer who discovered and dispersed the Kaufmann papers, most of which were acquired by the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, especially his booklet, *The Peter Kaufmann Collection* (Mansfield, OH: Midland Rare Book Co., [ca. 1966]). See also Robert E. Cazden, *Some Memories of Travel and Research in German-American Studies* (Cincinnati, OH: Max Kade Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, 2001), 6-7. More on Kaufmann is found in Loyd D. Easton, *Hegel's First American Followers* (Athens: OH: University Press, 1966), 95-122, and Karl J. R. Arndt, *Teutonic Visions of Social Perfection in Emerson: Verheissung und Erfüllung: A Documentary History*

of Peter Kaufmann's *Quest for Social Perfection from George Rapp to Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Worcester, MA: Harmony Press, 1988).

The broadsides are: *Circular* ([Canton: Johann Sala], 1827); *Ankündigung zur Herausgabe einer wöchentlichen Zeitschrift, betitelt: "Der Herold einer bessern Zeit."* Herausgegeben von Freunden der Wahrheit und der Menschheit zu Teutonia ([Canton: Johann Sala], 1827); *Midland Notes* 96, #173). *Proposals For publishing a weekly periodical, entitled: "The Herald of a Better Time."* Edited by a Society of Friends of Truth and Humanity at Teutonia (Canton: [Johann Sala], 1827). These are all to be found in the Peter Kaufmann Papers, MSS 136, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus. See also the bilingual *Constitution der Gesellschaft der "Vereinigten Teutschen" zu Teutonia. Constitution of the Society of the "United Germans" at Teutonia* ([Canton: Johann Sala], 1827), four pages, with German and English text in parallel columns; Arndt/Eck #2848; *Midland Notes* 96, #172. The correspondence between Emerson and Kaufmann is presented in Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson . . . Volume Five* (New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1939; second printing, 1966), 66-67, 73-74, and 77.

²⁸ The controversial connection of Teutonia members with the Harmony Society is presented in detail in Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 358-78.

²⁹ See the discussion and documents in K. J. R. Arndt, ed., *Economy on the Ohio, 1826-1834: Oekonomie am Ohio: The Harmony Society During the Period of its Greatest Power and Influence and its Messianic Crisis* (Worcester, MA: Harmony Society Press, 1984), 468-73, 726-41, 755-56

³⁰ *The Ohio Repository* (June 24, 1831), (Sept. 9, 16, 23, 1831), (Oct. 14, 1831).

³¹ On the contract between Solomon Sala and Peter Kaufmann, see Arndt, *Economy* (1984), 567-68; Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1975), 67-68.

³² George B. Landis, "The Separatists of Zoar," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1898-1899), 219; E. O. Randall, "The Separatist Society of Zoar: An Experiment in Communism—from its Commencement to its Conclusion," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications* 8 (July, 1899): 84-85, later published as *History of the Zoar Society (from its Commencement to its Conclusion: A Sociological Study on Communism*, 3rd ed. (Columbus: F. J. Heer, 1904); Edgar B. Nixon, "The Society of Separatists at Zoar," (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1933), 185.

³³ Two documents involving Sala exist; 1) a letter from Sala to J. M. Bimeler, written on November 24, 1834, and a membership document annotated with his departure, dated November 27, 1834. They are found in Folder 39, Box 2, Subseries III: Individual Membership Contracts, 1831, and Folder 54, Box 2, Subseries V, both in Series II, Society Membership Records, MSS 110 AV, Society of Separatists of Zoar Records, 1811-1846, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

In the membership document, dated December 24, 1831, the family is listed as: Solomon Sala (aged 32), Delila [Rittenhouse] Sala (34), Rebec[c]a Ann Sala (7), Jacob Rittenhouse Sala (5), Sophie Sala (3), Necissa (Narcissia) Sala (3 months), and Mary Jane Cross, evidently a ward (12). According to Zoar records, both Rebecca and Narcissia died on Aug. 26, 1834, and another daughter (age not known but evidently an infant) died on Sept. 19, 1834. I am indebted to Kathleen M. Fernandez, site manager of the Zoar Village State Memorial, for information about the deaths of the Sala children.

³⁴ *The Ohio Repository* (Sept. 5, 1834)

³⁵ *The Ohio Repository* (Aug. 20, 1835).

³⁶ Danner, *Old Landmarks* (1904), 149-51; Otho Winger, *History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1917), 42, 119; 211; Jesse O. Garst, ed., *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Southern District of Ohio*, 2nd ed. (Dayton, OH: Otterbein Press, 1921), 87; James H. Morris, ed., *Thirty-Three Years of Organized Church Work in Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Louisiana* (Butler, IN: Highly Printing Co., 1922), 174, 184, 359; Walter M. Young, *The History of the Church of the Brethren in Michigan* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1946), 281. In an obituary index of the Brethren periodical, *The Gospel Messenger*, covering the years 1883-1964, twenty-three members of the Sala family are listed.

³⁷ *Ein Brief aus der Schweiz an einen Freund in Canton, Ohio. To which is added a LETTER from East-Pennsylvania to the same* ([Canton, OH: printed for Jacob Sala,] 1835). Sala introduced the Swiss letter by a statement that he had sought advice from leading men in Europe on the theme of millennialism; the printed letter was a response to his query. A biography of the Swiss correspondent is Ernst Staehelin, *Professor Friedrich Lachenal, 1772-1854* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 1965). In Sala's booklet, the name is spelled "Laschenal."

³⁸ See on these developments, W[ilhelm] Hadorn, *Kirchengeschichte der reformierten Schweiz* (Zürich: Schultheß & Co., 1907), 268-71, and his *Geschichte des Pietismus in den Schweizerischen Reformierten Kirchen* (Konstanz/Emmishofen: Carl Hirsch, [1901]), 425-27. For recent references to Madame von Krüdener, see Heiko Haumann, "Das Land des Friedens und des Heils: Rußland zur Zeit Alexanders I. als Utopie der Erweckungsbewegung am Oberrhein," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 18 (1992): 132-54 (on Lachenal, 139) and Martin H. Jung, ed., *Mein Herz brannte richtig in der Liebe Jesu: Autobiographien frommer Frauen aus Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung: Eine Quellensammlung* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 1999). An older work is Ernest John Knapton, *The Lady of the Holy Alliance: The Life of Julie of Krüdener* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

³⁹ A recent biography is Nancy Kettering Frye, *An Uncommon Woman: The Life and Times of Sarah Righter Major* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997). See also "A Letter by Sarah Major," *Gospel Messenger* (Dec. 28, 1935): 12-14, and D. F. Durnbaugh, "She Kept on Preaching," *Messenger* (April, 1975): 18-21.