

Donald F. Durnbaugh

## Radical Pietist Involvement in Early German Emigration to Pennsylvania

Older histories dealing with German-Americans, especially denominational histories, had a ready explanation why so many of them migrated to the New World in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: they were driven from the German states by religious persecution. Harsh suppression of any type of religious dissent, linked to other kinds of arbitrary rule, was seen as the motive for so many to break home ties and to risk the treacherous ocean passage. The appeal of religious freedom in the Middle Colonies, especially in Quaker-led Pennsylvania, powerfully beckoned persecuted flocks in the German states. A popularly-written history of the Church of the Brethren explained:

Being a church of protest and in the minority, the Brethren found themselves in disfavor wherever they settled. Intolerance and persecution trailed their every path. . . . Longing eyes turned elsewhere for relief. The New World was calling. They dreamed of shelter in Pennsylvania, where William Penn was granting full religious liberty to all.

Similar examples could be readily cited.<sup>1</sup>

For dissenters, heavy-handed acts of repression by the authorities, both ecclesiastical and governmental, were certainly painful and disruptive. Yet this is not alone sufficient rationale for their emigration. Recent studies conclude that economic considerations played an equal, or often a greater, role in decisions to leave. Crop failures, famines, unseasonable weather, all coming on top of oppressive taxation of goods, coin, and services, made life in the German states unbearable for many, including those suffering from religious hindrance.<sup>2</sup>

Restrictive guild practices, shortage of money supply, and related financial considerations provided additional motives for emigration. This

was especially the case in southwest and south central Germany, barely recovered from the depredations of the Thirty Years' War only to be devastated by repeated invasions of French armies at the end of the seventeenth century. By the early 1700s, attractive advertising through books and broadsides, the inducements of traveling agents (the so-called *Neuländer*), and, importantly, direct communication from relatives and former neighbors who had migrated earlier, tempted Palatines, Swabians, and others to shake off the dust of their village roads and undertake resettlement.<sup>3</sup>

These were some of the considerations that led many to travel down the Rhine River to the Rotterdam wharves for passage across the Atlantic. In sum, economic concerns loom as large or larger than religious persecution as motivating factors. As the early tide of emigration by dissenters gave way in the eighteenth century to mass removal by German Reformed and German Lutherans, the generalization becomes even more appropriate.

### Radical Pietism

Despite this qualification, there is indeed a significant religious movement that motivated many Germans to emigrate to the New World, and that is best described as Radical Pietism. This was part of the larger Pietist renewal movement that pressed for reform of German Protestant church life in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was presaged by comparable movements in neighboring countries such as Puritanism in England and the "Nadere Reformatie" (Precisianism) in the Netherlands, both of which strands had significant influence upon it. Pietism became the dominant force in the shaping of German Protestantism after its inception in the Reformation Era of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The leading Pietist personalities were Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) of Frankfurt, Dresden, and Berlin, and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), of Erfurt and Halle. The pastor and author Spener laid out the objectives of the movement in his programmatic proposal *Pia Desideria* (1675) and the pastor and educator Francke built up a complex of educational and missionary institutions around his original orphanage in Halle, all of which became known as the "Franckesche Stiftungen" (Francke Foundation). Despite bitter opposition by traditional theologians and church bureaucrats, the two profoundly guided the creative forces of German Protestant Christianity during their lifetimes and beyond.<sup>5</sup>

Radical Pietism is that branch of the Pietist movement characterized by a separatist stance toward the institutional church. The Pietism of Spener and Francke sought renewal within the church through reformed theological education, disciplined church membership, warm devotional

life, and increased lay activity. Radical Pietists considered the church to be hopelessly flawed, to have irreversibly fallen from a state of grace, and therefore directed their energies outside the organized church. Their call to the faithful was to depart from Babylon. When the clergy was hopelessly lax in morals and ignorant of true spirituality, it could not be surprising, they asserted, that the laity was sinful and worldly. Real followers of Christ were to be found only in small conventicles of withdrawn saints. Many Radical Pietists saw formal church organization itself as evidence of the dead hand of corruption.<sup>6</sup>

Radical Pietism is further marked by its dependence upon the gnostic and theosophical concepts of the shoemaker-philosopher Jakob Boehme (1575-1624). Despite clerical attacks and official silencing, Boehme attracted a small but influential circle of followers during his lifetime. His writings, circulating in manuscript form after his first publication called *Aurora or Day-Dawning* (1612), united earlier doctrines of mystical spiritualism—including those of Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim who was better known as Paracelsus (1493-1541), Valentin Weigel (1533-88), and Kaspar von Schwenckfeld (1489-1561)—with his own unique vocabulary and concepts. Boehme claimed insight into the deepest mysteries of God and the universe or the *Urgrund*; twentieth-century theologian Paul Tillich (1886-1965) adopted Boehme's concept, calling it the "Ground of all Being." Virginal heavenly wisdom, the divine Sophia, could be wooed, wrote Boehme, by an ascetic life. (With the rise of feminist theology, the notion of Sophia, as an embodiment of divine wisdom, is currently attracting much attention.)<sup>7</sup>

Boehme's anthropology was intriguing to many. Because humankind was originally androgynous, the fall (original sin) came with sexual pairing. Created both male and female, Adam fell by desiring Eve. The covenant thus broken by sin was restored by the obedient sacrifice of the Second Adam, Jesus Christ. "In Christ, the new androgynous Adam, humankind lives again in harmony and unity with the Virgin Sophia." Those willing to adopt the celibate life could aspire to wed the heavenly Sophia. Boehme's last book, a guide to Christian living titled *The Way to Christ* (1624), is the most accessible of his works, most of which were written in an abstruse style as he sought to describe the indescribable.<sup>8</sup>

A major proponent of Boehmist thought was the lawyer Johann Georg Gichtel (1638-1710), banned from his home in Regensburg for his critique of clerical corruption. Residing in tolerant Amsterdam after 1668, Gichtel attracted a small circle of the like-minded, who lived in a celibate community as the "Angel-Brethren" (*Engel-Brüder*). It was Gichtel who first gathered the Boehmist corpus and gave it published form in 1682. Another disseminator of Boehmist thought was Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714), the noted church historian. Through his prolific writings Arnold had great influence upon Radical Pietists, although he found his way back

to the institutional church in later years. When he married and fathered a family, a disgusted Gichtel, recalling Boehmist disparagement of the marital state, wrote from Amsterdam that the lapsed Arnold had "fallen into children."<sup>9</sup>

A glowing assessment of Boehme's powers was published by an anonymous but well-informed Pennsylvania-German author in 1812. Before describing the leading religious figures of note in Pennsylvania, in an introduction the author provided sketches of reformers including Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Bunyan (1628-88), devoting, however, more space to mystical and spiritual writers such as Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380-1471), Madame de la Mothe Guyon (1648-1717), and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769). He then wrote:

And so, finally in conclusion, comes the highly and richly enlightened divine miracle man, Jacob Boehme, who should have been mentioned earlier. He has not had an equal since the time of the apostles. Indeed since the creation of the first humans there has certainly been no one (without exception) who has searched more fundamentally, nor will he be surpassed in this in the future. . . . [To] no one was opened such decisions of the divine wisdom, the secrets and miracles of the eternal depths as this man, the first human Adam, (and following him then) Moses and Solomon not excepted. And as has been said, the highly illumined Jacob Boehme appropriately takes precedence over all others, and no one can penetrate more deeply into God than can he. It is not too much to say—rather, it can be asserted with all confidence—that his writings are an open Bible! By using them one can so to speak look into the very heart of the Holy Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments. This is because this miracle-man could look into all three worlds; it was awarded to him the gift of seeing there the wonders of this world and of eternity, and their depths into the very Center; all this he could recognize and throughly reveal.<sup>10</sup>

### Radical Pietist Immigration

Many important movements linked with Pennsylvania immigration, especially those of communitarian nature, are best characterized as Radical Pietist in nature. They include the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness (1694), the community of Irenia or the House of Peace (ca. 1696), the New Born of Oley Valley (1719), the Schwarzenau Baptists or Dunkers (1719, 1729) and their offshoot the Ephrata Society (1732), the esoteric group known as "Die Stillen im Lande" (ca. 1750), the Harmony Society (1803), the Blooming Grove Colony (1804), and the New

Philadelphia Society (1832). Although the Separatist Society of Zoar (1817) chose to settle in eastern Ohio, members came first to Pennsylvania before being aided by Philadelphia Quakers and others to reach their final destination. A similar development was the Bethel Community of Missouri (1844), the beginnings of which were among adherents of the former New Philadelphia Society and of German Methodism around Pittsburgh. Belonging to the Radical Pietist movement as well, although members happened not to move to Pennsylvania, was the Community of True Inspiration; originating in central Germany in 1714, it found its first North American home in upstate New York (1843), before settling in Iowa where it became well-known as the Amana Colonies (1855).<sup>11</sup>

Leading personalities linked to these movements include Johannes Kelpius (1673-ca. 1708), Heinrich Bernhard Köster (1662-1749), Matthias Baumann (d. 1727), Alexander Mack, Sr. (1679-1735), Conrad Beissel (1691-1768), the leader known as "J.B.S." (fl. 1750), "Father" Johann Georg Rapp (1757-1847), Bernhard Müller also known as "Count Leon" (1787-1834), Dr. Friedrich Conrad Haller (1753-1828), Joseph Michael Bäumlér or Bimeler (1778-1853), "Dr." Wilhelm Keil (1812-77), and Christian Metz (1794-1867). Associated with these men were significant numbers of women, some of whom exercised powerful influence. Most, however, did not attain the same level of leadership, despite the importance of the Sophia mystique in Radical Pietism and the leading role of women visionaries and saints in the much-published Pietist devotional literature.<sup>12</sup>

Some immigrants remained consistently separatist in orientation, and therefore never actually joined these groups, however closely aligned they were otherwise. Significant figures in this category were the Germantown printer Johann Christoph Sauer I (1695-1758) and his neighbor, the poet and former Inspirationist Johann Adam Gruber (1693-1763).<sup>13</sup> Both played important roles in transatlantic communication, which furthered the tide of emigration.

Linked with all of the above in promoting and facilitating migration were well-placed and sympathetic merchant clans, especially the Collegiant De Koker family of Rotterdam and the Mennonite Van der Smissen family of Hamburg-Altona. They continued the role that the erudite Benjamin Furly (1636-1714) played in early Quaker migration. They were not engaged in migration as a business, as were Rotterdam merchants such as the Hopes and Stedmans, who increasingly monopolized the overseas traffic by the mid-1700s. Instead they used their good offices from time to time to aid massively those they considered to be coreligionists.<sup>14</sup>

Some influential Radical Pietist personalities involved with this branch of emigration chose to stay in Europe. Here may be named Johann Jakob Schütz (1640-90), Dr. Johann Samuel Carl (1676-1757), and Andreas Gross (ca. 1685-ca. 1750). Jane Lead[e] (1624-1704), the cofounder

of the English-based but internationally-oriented Philadelphian Society, and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-78), the brilliant scholar and member of the Labadist community, were also prominent.<sup>15</sup>

As for geographical areas, the Wittgenstein principalities northwest of Frankfurt am Main and those petty states clustered around Büdingen in the region of Wetterau appear again and again in this context. This was because they provided for the period under discussion distinct if limited toleration for religious outcasts, thus attracting to their modestly-sized areas both heralded and little-known dissenting individuals and groups.<sup>16</sup>

This long list of names and movements embedded in the story of Radical Pietist movement to Pennsylvania is too complex to be readily comprehended, but may serve to illustrate the importance of the movement for immigration history. Rather than attempting to describe all of them in sketchy fashion, for the purpose of this essay a representative selection will be made. From the communitarian movements, the Ephrata Society will serve as example; from the leaders Conrad Beissel; from the ranks of the separatists, Johann Christoph Sauer I; from the merchants, the Van der Smissen family; and from those who stayed in Europe, Johann Jakob Schütz.

### The Ephrata Society and Conrad Beissel

The brilliance of its cultural accomplishments, the controversy over the true character of its founder Conrad Beissel, and the preservation of some of its buildings as a much-visited tourist attraction has assured Ephrata much attention. Despite the plethora of descriptions and analyses of Ephrata from its beginnings in 1732 to the present, there is no fully satisfactory account of the Cloisters, as it is often called. E. G. Alderfer, author of the most satisfactory of the recent treatments, *The Ephrata Commune* (1985), confessed in his preface that, despite seven years of work, he could not claim to have "taken the full and definitive measurement of it; much of its bulk remains submerged in deep waters."<sup>17</sup>

The reason, as Alderfer realized, is that Ephrata can only be understood by grasping its theological base, that is, its grounding in the theosophical complexities of Jakob Boehme, mediated largely through the agencies of Gichtel and Arnold. The writings of Beissel and his compatriots at Ephrata are only comprehensible when viewed through this lens. Note the language, for example in a sermon by Beissel, one of the few from a large selection to be translated into English:

[I]n the time and days of my godly youth the heavenly Venus touched me with the beams of her light and caused me to fall in love with Sophia's heavenly femininity or virginity. I

experienced, however, that this femininity wanted by no means to come to terms with my fiery male will. Every day this caused many violent conflicts within me. Of course, it made me ponder deeply, whether the separation of the sexes (*[T]inctures*) into male and female, roughness and softness, or fire and light in the whole creation was not based on a strong footing, since the fiery masculinity rules with severe harshness in the whole creation, etc. After I had spent much time in this labyrinth without finding a way out, I arrived suddenly at the secret of the fall of the first man. For he desired to be sexually separated like the animals and therefore his spiritual [E]ve became blind, whereby he lost the true sight and enlightenment.<sup>18</sup>

This thought pattern, obviously Boehmist in inspiration and vocabulary, is worked out in great detail in his book *A Dissertation on Man's Fall*, published in English translation in 1765.<sup>19</sup>

The wonderfully baroque titles of Ephrata imprints themselves document the Boehmist and Radical Pietist grounding. One example of many is an early hymnal of the community, *Jakobs Kampff- und Ritter-Platz allwo der nach seinem Ursprung sich sehrende Geist der in Sophiam verliebten Seele mit Gott um den neuen Namen gerungen, und den Sieg davon getragen . . .* (Ephrata, 1736). Julius F. Sachse translated this as: "Jacob's tournament and wrestling place, where, the spirit, longing after its origin, in its *sophiam* enamoured soul, wrestle[d] with God for the new name, and came off victorious. . . ." The long title of the famous Ephrata hymnal printed by Sauer in Germantown in 1739 began: *Zionitischer Weyrauchshügel, Oder: Myrrhen Berg, Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechendes nach Apotheker-Kunst zubereitetes Rauch-Werck zu finden. Bestehend in allerley Liebes-Würckungen der in Gott geheiligten Seelen, welche sich in vielen und mancherley geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern aus gebildet. . . .*, translated (Sachse) as "Zionitic Incense Hill or Mountain of Myrrh, wherein there is to be found all sorts of lovely and sweet-scented Incense, prepared according to the Apothecary's Art. Consisting of diverse workings of effectual Love in God-awakened souls, which has developed in many and various spiritual lovely Hymns. . . ." <sup>20</sup>

This latter publishing effort led to a sharp break between the two Radical Pietists, Sauer and Beissel. The printer, always concerned that no product from his press contain falsehoods, was offended by some of the expressions used in the text of the hymnal, which he understood to divinize Beissel. When he asked an Ephrata agent about the passage, the counterquestion came as to whether he, Sauer, only believed in one Christ! In the ensuing published quarrel, Sauer commented that Beissel's teaching had hitherto "been a compound of Moses, Christ, Gichtel, and Conrad Beissel." In charging that the Ephrata leader was in "many

points . . . very close to Gichtel," he was linking Beissel with Boehme, because of Gichtel's role in transmitting Boehmist thought. J. F. Sachse also presented evidence that Beissel received theosophical concepts of Boehme by way of the writings of Gottfried Arnold.<sup>21</sup>

Fuller appreciation of the genius of Ephrata will wait until its Boehmist language of Canaan is more thoroughly understood by those who attempt to interpret the fascinating movement. It is likely that this judgment will fall somewhere between the glowing praise of John Joseph Stoudt and the acerbic critique of the Beissel biographer Walter C. Klein. Stoudt assessed the Ephrata poets as "the most significant school in Colonial America," deserving "to be recognized in German literary histories as one of the sources of the romantic spirit." He found Beissel's verse, despite some weaknesses, to be "the most impressive Pennsylvania Dutch cultural achievement." Klein concluded that "it would be temptingly easy to sum up Beissel's life in one or more blistering epigrams and to stigmatize it as futile, mad, or preposterous . . .," but asserted that "for one so lamed at the outset, he did well."<sup>22</sup>

### Johann Christoph Sauer

Born in the Electoral Palatinate in Ladenburg near Heidelberg in 1695, Sauer spent his early manhood in the earldom (*Grafschaft*) of Wittgenstein, one of the islands of toleration in the early eighteenth century. He learned and practiced the tailor's trade but soon decided to join the increasing tide of emigration to the New World, arriving in Philadelphia on 1 November 1724. His informative early letters from America to friends in Wittgenstein portrayed Pennsylvania as an "earthly paradise." More than one hundred persons from that principality decided to leave for America on the basis of his descriptions, according to a contemporary living there:

The man reported that one could buy a considerable piece of land for 200 or 300 *Reichstaler*, from which one could comfortably have his living, and which was already cultivated. The country had abundance and was fruitful in all necessary things. There was complete freedom. One could live there as a good Christian in solitude, as one pleased, and if one wanted to work a little, especially craftsmen, and among them also clockmakers, then one could earn his livelihood with abundance.<sup>23</sup>

The last point is interesting, because Sauer himself proceeded to become a clockmaker, one of the score of crafts that he is known to have mastered.

From the beginning, Sauer was conscious of his responsibility to incoming German immigrants and was active in providing assistance to them. This not only included the provision of immediate shelter and sustenance but also took the form of lobbying the colonial government for laws protecting immigrants from unscrupulous sea captains and merchants. Sauer's communications with Europe, which often found publication there, provided both encouragement to emigration and warnings of its dangers. He claimed that several thousands had migrated because of his writings.<sup>24</sup>

Sauer became best known through his printshop at Germantown, initiated in 1738. His almanac enjoyed broad circulation among Germans along the Atlantic Coast, as, to a lesser degree, did his successful newspaper first published in 1739. When he issued his German-language Bible (largely following Martin Luther's translation) in 1743—the first published in a European language in the American colonies—he became famous. Although Benjamin Franklin and others had earlier experimented with printing in the German language, it was Sauer who became the predominant German-American printer; through his publications and editorial comments in them, he became a power broker in Pennsylvania politics.<sup>25</sup>

Always a pragmatic figure, Sauer did not focus on doctrinal questions. Nonetheless, his Radical Pietist orientation was clearly revealed in his choice of books to publish or reprint and by his public stance on public issues. His pointed published comments on quarrels and moral lapses involving Lutheran and Reformed clergy and their far-from-docile lay members earned him clerical hatred. Clergymen did all they could to harm the sale of Sauer's imprints, especially when he refused to print their own manuscripts. Lutheran patriarch Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg (1711-87) reckoned Sauer among the trials he had to face in Pennsylvania. A Reformed clergyman named Caspar L. Schnorr railed about the "arch-sectarian master named Sauer in Germantown. . . ." The Anglican divine William Smith (1727-1803) accused him of being in league with the French Catholics and plotted to overthrow his influence.<sup>26</sup>

Sauer was personally close to the Schwarzenau Brethren, whom he had known during his residence in Wittgenstein. He attended their meetings in Germantown from time to time, but as a separatist was never willing to join them formally. He commented critically on their exclusiveness and sectarian nature. As an individualistic Radical Pietist, he was sympathetic with their general orientation but was not willing to place himself under their strict church discipline. The fact that his like-named son, Christoph Sauer II (1721-84), who took over the printshop upon his father's death, became a Brethren leader has often confused observers, who tend to conflate the two printers.<sup>27</sup>

## Van der Smissen Family

One of the least studied aspects of emigration from Europe is the role played by strategically-placed merchants in shipping ports such as Rotterdam and Altona. They played central roles in arranging for transportation, providing benevolent support for travelers, and then serving as intermediaries for communications back-and-forth across the Atlantic. The Mennonite Van der Smissen family of Hamburg-Altona provides a good example of this activity. (Although not all members of the family could be classed as Radical Pietists, as Anabaptist dissenters they had much in common.)

The Altona business dynasty was founded by Gysbert Van der Smissen II (1620-85), formerly of Haarlem and Glückstadt, who established a bakery in that city in 1677. He was succeeded by his son Hinrich (preferred spelling instead of Heinrich) Van der Smissen I (1662-1737), who began a thriving transport business and continued the family pattern of support for the local Mennonite congregation. He played a major role in reconstructing Altona after it was destroyed by the Swedes in 1713, his diligence and generosity earning him the sobriquet "City Builder." Two of his sons, Hinrich II (1704-89) and Gysbert III (1717-93), inherited and expanded the business. Jacob Gysbert Van der Smissen (1746-1829), in the next generation, was noted for his close connections with dissenting Pietists, especially the Moravian Brethren, as well as with the Churchly Pietists at Halle.<sup>28</sup>

The Van der Smissen family was active in assisting Schwenkfelder refugees to find a new home in Pennsylvania. The group derives its name from Kaspar von Schwenckfeld, mentioned earlier as one of the influences upon Jakob Boehme. Schwenckfeld, once an ally of Martin Luther, moved to a reform position which placed him and his followers within the ranks of the Radical Reformation, although at some distance from the Anabaptists. Driven from their Silesian homeland in the early eighteenth century by the forces of the Counter Reformation, the Schwenkfelders were given shelter for a time on the Saxon estates of Count Ludwig Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-60), the talented but imperious leader of the Renewed Moravian Church.<sup>29</sup>

The Altona merchants were generous in the aid given to several hundred needy Schwenkfelder refugees in the early 1730s. According to a contemporary travel account, when a group arrived in Altona in May, 1733, they "had soon a friendly welcome from Herr Heinrich Van [der] Schmissen who did everything in his power for us." After giving them accommodations in his warehouse overnight, he made all the arrangements for their travel from Altona to Rotterdam, supplying

generous provisions. At Rotterdam they took ship for North America, aided by Van der Smissen contacts.

When some two hundred Schwenkfelders reached Altona a year later, as a denominational historian described it, "Mennonite brethren, the Van der Smissens, procured lodgings for them and lavishly cared for all their wants during their eleven days' stay, and, after providing for their trip from Altona to Haarlem, dismissed them without taking any remuneration for their kindness and services." When the Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania printed an important book in 1770, a vindication of their doctrines and account of their history to 1740, they recalled in gratitude the aid of the Van der Smissen family and sent members free copies.<sup>30</sup>

Because of the connections of the family with the Moravians, it is possible that the Van der Smissens were involved in the extensive travels and business of these mission-minded dissenting Pietists, although documentation is lacking. It is known that Count Zinzendorf's successor as leader of the Moravian Brethren, Gottlieb August Spangenberg (1704-92) was a guest of the family in Altona in 1762.

The firm is known to have acted as agents for Churchly Pietists at their centers in Halle and Augsburg and their outposts in North America. They transmitted Pietist books and correspondence from Halle to Lutheran pastors in Pennsylvania, New York, and Georgia, who in turn distributed them in the colonies. Lutheran patriarch Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg was favorably impressed by the piety of Jacob Gysbert Van der Smissen, who transmitted packets of letters and wrote personally for two decades after 1764 to leading American Lutherans, including Mühlenberg himself, Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius (1703-65) at Ebenezer in Georgia, and Dr. Johann Christoph Kuntze (1744-1807) in New York. At least once, Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772), senior pastor of Augsburg and mainstay of the Salzburg refugees in Georgia, employed the services of the Van der Smissens. Urlsperger's son and successor, Dr. Johann August Urlsperger (1728-1806), was a colleague of Jacob Gysbert Van der Smissen.<sup>31</sup>

The firm continued its business contacts in the early nineteenth century with American dissenters. It handled numerous transactions for the Harmony Society led by Father Rapp at its second location in southern Indiana. The Harmonist contacts went through their agent in Philadelphia, the Moravian merchant and philanthropist, Gottfried Haga (d. 1825). Communications were exchanged between 1814 and 1822.<sup>32</sup>

### **Johann Jakob Schütz**

In the late seventeenth century Johann Jakob Schütz was a rich lawyer at Frankfurt am Main and member of the Lutheran synod

responsible for church matters. He was a close ally of the Pietist church father Spener during the latter's service (1666-86) as head pastor in the city. Schütz vigorously supported Spener's reform effort in organizing conventicles of laity to discuss sermons and do Bible study; in fact, he is thought to have been the one to suggest it. However, as Schütz noted that true correction of life did not follow the introduction of these measures, he gradually withdrew from church activity and began holding separatist meetings on his own. He became closely associated with a circle known as the "Saalhof" Pietists after their place of meeting, who were marked by millennial expectations. After 1682 he ceased attendance on regular church services.<sup>33</sup>

Schütz had earlier been influenced by the writings of the mystic Johann Tauler (ca. 1300-61) and himself corresponded with leading members of the Labadist Society, including Anna Maria van Schurman. During his travels through German states in 1677, the Quaker William Penn (1644-1718) met Schütz. It was through this contact that the latter took the lead in establishing the Frankfurt Land Company, which in 1682 set itself the goal of settling dissidents on the extensive properties that the company secured in the newly-established colony of Pennsylvania.

The initiative was based on three motivating principles: 1) to escape the judgment of God perceived about to fall upon Europe; 2) to develop a pristine church community in a land which promised complete religious freedom; and 3) to expand the kingdom of God through Christian missions to the American Indians. The personal contacts with William Penn and the content of Penn's propagandistic tracts, also circulated in the German language, provided guarantees, as they thought, for the probable realization of these goals.<sup>34</sup>

The company secured the learned Franz Daniel Pastorius (1651-1720) to serve as their agent in the New World.<sup>35</sup> As is well known, Pastorius arrived in the new colony in 1683, shortly before thirteen families from Krefeld on the Lower Rhine, the first mass emigration from German lands to North America. Though of Mennonite background, almost all of the Krefeld emigrants had joined the Society of Friends before their departure from Europe. They are therefore best known as Mennonite-Quakers. Pastorius's account of the journey and assessment of the New World (*Sichere Nachricht ausz America, . . .*) was published in 1684 and circulated in the German states as an inducement to immigration.<sup>36</sup>

Curiously, few of the members of the Frankfurt Land Company ever actually joined Pastorius in America, despite their keen interest in the venture. The initiative, nonetheless, played a key role in the early story of the transatlantic migration and well illustrates the impact of Radical Pietism upon it.

## Summary

These examples from the ranks of movements, leaders, separatists, merchants, and proponents help to demonstrate the impact that Radical Pietism had upon emigration from the German states to Pennsylvania. Even viewed in quantitative perspective, the numbers involved were substantial, although they cannot match the throngs of later emigrants as the eighteenth century continued. Of more importance, however, is the ideological significance of Radical Pietist influence. Although the traditional explanation of religious persecution as the sole motivation for emigration can no longer be accepted, religious concerns including Radical Pietism continued to play a role in the transatlantic movement throughout the colonial period and beyond.

Juniata College  
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> J[ohn] E. Miller, *Story of Our Church* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1941), 28.

<sup>2</sup> On these issues, see Marianne Wokeck, "The Flow and Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (1981): 249-78; "A Tide of Alien Tongues: The Ebb and Flow of German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683-1776," Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1982, especially chap. 2, 22-102; "Promoters and Passengers: The German Immigrant Trade, 1683-1775," in *The World of William Penn*, eds. R. S. Dunn and M. M. Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); and "Harnessing the Lure of the 'Best Poor Man's Country': The Dynamics of German-Speaking Immigration to British North America," in *"To Make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Ida Altman and James Horn (Berkeley, 1991); further, Farley Grubb, "Immigration and Servitude in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: A Quantitative and Economic Analysis," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1984; "The Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants to Colonial America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111 (1987): 27-48; and "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709 to 1820," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20 (1990): 417-36; also, Lowell C. Bennion, "Flight from the Reich: A Geographic Exposition of Southwest German Migration, 1683-1815," Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1971; and Charles R. Haller, *Across the Atlantic and Beyond: The Migration of German and Swiss Migrants to America* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1993).

For surveys of the impact of immigration upon North America, see A. G[regg] Roerber, "The Origin of Whatever Is Not English Among Us': The Dutch-Speaking and German-Speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, eds. B. Bailyn and P. D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 220-83, and *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). See also Aaron S. Fogelman, "Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration and Settlement in Greater Pennsylvania, 1717-1775," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991; the useful overview in Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York

University Press, 1987), 81-119; and Mark Häberlein, "German Migrants in Colonial Pennsylvania: Resources, Opportunities, and Experiences," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 50 (July 1992): 555-74 (with extensive bibliography).

<sup>3</sup> On motives for migration from southwest Germany, see Günther Haselier, ed., *USA und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen: Beiträge und Bilddokumente* (Stuttgart: Landesarchivdirektion Baden-Württemberg, 1976) and Kurt von Raumer, *Die Zerstörung der Pfalz von 1689 im Zusammenhang der französischen Rheinpolitik* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1930), reprinted (Bad Neustadt a. d. Saale: Verlag Dietrich Pfähler, 1982). A recent nuanced discussion is found in Fogelman, "Hopeful Journeys" (1991). For immigrant letters, see Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererschicksale in Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten/Freiburg i. B.: Walter, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> A definitive multi-volume history sponsored by the Historical Commission for Research on Pietism (Historische Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus) has begun publication; the first volume is Martin Brecht, ed., *Geschichte des Pietismus: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). The commission also publishes a yearbook, *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, which began publication in 1974.

Other recent works include Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1978) and Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), part of the series *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte*. Studies in English include F. Ernst Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965) and *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978); Paul P. Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988); Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), esp. 70-98; and W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> For overviews and specific bibliography, see Brecht, *Geschichte* (1993), 278-389, 439-539, and Hans-Jürgen Schrader, "Pietismus," in *Literatur Lexikon*, ed. V. Meid (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1993), 14: 208-16. A recent biographical study in English on Spener is K. James Stein, *Philipp Jakob Spener: Pietist Patriarch* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1986); on Francke, Gary R. Sattler, *God's Glory, Neighbor's Good: A Brief Introduction to the Life and Writings of August Hermann Francke* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1982) and *Nobler than the Angels, Lower than a Worm: The Pietist View of the Individual in the Writings of Heinrich Müller and August Hermann Francke* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989). A recent edition of Spener's work is *Pia Desideria* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964).

See also Peter C. Erb, ed., *Pietists: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), and G. T. Halbrooks, ed., *Pietism* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1981). On the connection between Pietism and North America, see F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976).

Since the reunification of Germany, concerted efforts have been directed at restoring the physical and academic fabric of the Francke Foundation, which suffered under the government of the German Democratic Republic. See *Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle an der Saale: Informationen und Veranstaltungen* (Halle: Franckesche Stiftungen, 1994) and Richard V. Pierard, "The Francke Institution in Halle: New Life for an Eighteenth-Century German Library," *Covenant Quarterly* 51 (May 1993): 38-47.

<sup>6</sup> Useful descriptions of Radical Pietism and its background are found in Brecht, *Geschichte* (1993); they are: Martin Brecht, "Die deutschen Spiritualisten des 17. Jahrhunderts," 205-40, and Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," 391-437. See also Wallmann, *Pietismus* (1990), 80-108. The best bibliographical assessment is Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus in der neueren Forschung," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 8 (1982): 15-42, 9 (1983): 117-51. A definitive study of the literary production of the Radical Pietists (with extensive bibliography) is Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des*

*radikalen Pietismus*, Paestra, vol. 283 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989). The best survey in English is C. David Ensign, "Radical German Pietism (ca.1675-ca.1760)," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1955. See also Stoeffler, *German Pietism* (1973), 168-216.

<sup>7</sup> The best recent treatment in English is Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), although the older work by John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunrise to Eternity: A Study in Jacob Boehme's Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), with a preface by Paul Tillich, is still useful. Stoudt provided a new translation of Boehme's *The Way to Christ* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947). This was utilized in the newer version in the Classics of Western Spirituality Series, Jacob Boehme, *The Way to Christ*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1978). See also Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1914), 151-234.

On current Sophia discussion, see among many others, E. Schussler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroads, 1984) and Susan Cady, Marian Ronan, and Hal Taussig, *Wisdom's Feast: Sophia in Study and Celebration* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989). A useful summary is Leo D. Lefebure, "The Wisdom of God: Sophia and Christian Theology," *Christian Century* (19 October 1994): 951-56.

<sup>8</sup> This is well explained in Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 114-21. The quotation is taken from Peter C. Erb, "Boehme, Jakob," *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-84), 156.

<sup>9</sup> See Brecht, *Geschichte* (1993), 234-37. A reprint of an important work by Gichtel, with an excellent introduction, is Johann Georg Gichtel, *Theosophia Practica*, ed. Gerhard Wehr (Freiburg/Breisgau: Aurum Verlag, 1979). The quotation from Gichtel is found, among other places, in Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche* (Coblentz: Karl Bädecker, 1852), 2: 728, fn. 2.

There is no full study in English on Gichtel; a recent monograph on Arnold is Peter C. Erb, *Pietists, Protestants, and Mysticism: The Use of Late Medieval Spiritual Texts in the Work of Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714)* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989).

<sup>10</sup> *Das Heutige Signal, Oder Posaunen-Schall! Dem Freyen Abend-Lande zur Warnung und zum Trost!!!*... (Ephrata: Jacob Ruth [1812]), 24-25; translation by the author.

<sup>11</sup> The communitarian societies and their grounding in Radical Pietism are described by Donald F. Durnbaugh in "Radikaler Pietismus als Grundlage deutsch-amerikanischer kommunaler Siedlungen," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 16 (1990): 112-31, and "Work and Hope: The Spirituality of the Radical Pietist Communitarians," *Church History* 39 (1970): 72-90. See also Delburn Carpenter, *The Radical Pietists: Celibate Communal Societies Established in the United States before 1820* (New York: AMS Press, 1975). For literature on these groups, see Philip N. Dare, ed., *American Communes to 1860: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990).

Aaron S. Fogelman, in "Hopeful Journeys" (1991), uses a broader definition of Radical Pietism (see especially chap. 5, 238-94) that also includes the Renewed Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum). Because the Moravians were not completely separatist and did not follow Boehmistic teachings, they are best considered as a distinct branch of Pietism positioned between Churchly Pietism and Radical Pietism.

<sup>12</sup> Biographical sketches of many of these persons are found in Robert S. Fogarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); J. Gordon Melton, *Biographical Dictionary of American Cult and Sect Leaders* (New York: Garland, 1986); and Daniel G. Ried, ed., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990). On Baumann's early life, see Heinrich Rembe, *Lambshheim: Die Familien von 1547 bis 1800—für Maxdorf bis 1830—mit Angaben aus Weisenheim a. S., Eysersheim und Ormsheim* (Kaiserslautern: Heimatstelle Pfalz, 1971), 6, 63.

<sup>13</sup> See Willi Paul Adams, "The Colonial German-Language Press and the American Revolution," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, ed. B. Bailyn and J. B. Hench (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1980), 151-227; Donald F. Durnbaugh,

"Christopher Sauer, Pennsylvania-German Printer: His Youth in Germany and Later Relationships with Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (1958): 316-39, and "Johann Adam Gruber: Pennsylvania-German Prophet and Poet," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1959): 382-408.

<sup>14</sup> The study by Andrew C. Fix, *The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) is the only recent work in English on the movement; see also his article, "Mennonites and Collegiants in Holland, 1630-1700," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 64 (1990): 160-77. Still useful is the chapter by Rufus Jones on "Coornhert and the Collegiants—A Movement for Spiritual Religion in Holland," in *Studies* (1914), 104-32. The De Koker family is described in Donald F. Durnbaugh, *Brethren Beginnings: The Origins of the Church of the Brethren in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Ambler, PA: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1992), 56-57.

The De Koker family hosted visiting preachers, including John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Society, who established in 1738 a close relationship with Johannes (Jan) De Koker (1696-1752). The latter corresponded with the English leader until 1749; see W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, eds., *The Works of John Wesley, Volume 18: Journal and Diaries I (1735-38)* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1988), 255, and *Volume 20: Journal and Diaries III (1743-54)* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1991), 313-14. On this connection, see J. van den Berg, "John Wesley's Contacten met Nederland," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s., 52 (1971): 48-61.

The standard work on the Van der Smissen family is Heinz Münte, *Das Altonaer Handlungshaus Van der Smissen, 1682-1824* (Altona: Verlag Hermann Lorenzen, 1932), recently complemented by Matthias H. Rauert and Annelie Kumpers-Greve, *Van der Smissen: Eine mennonitische Familie vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte Altonas und Schleswig-Holsteins—Texte und Dokumente* (Hamburg: Nord-Magazin, 1992). On Furlly, see the monograph by William I. Hull, *Benjamin Furlly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1941). Wokeck, "Alien Tongues" (1983), 137-201, provides detailed information on the commercial aspects of the migration traffic.

<sup>15</sup> Information on most of these personalities is provided in Brecht, *Der Pietismus* (1993), as well as Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (1965) and *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (1973). See also Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1948). The earlier-named poet Gerhard Tersteegen is sometimes named in this context (Stoeffler), but he is better classed among German Reformed Pietism than with Radical Pietism; see Beyreuther, *Pietismus* (1978) and in the basic monograph on him by Cornelis Pieter van Anel, *Gerhard Tersteegen* (Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen, 1961).

<sup>16</sup> Depictions of radical activity in Wittgenstein and the Wetterau in Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* (1849-60) have never been surpassed; the classic has recently been republished (Gießen: Brunnen Verlag, 1993). A recent discussion of Goebel's scholarly achievement, more broadly-based than its title, is John E. Wilson, "Max Goebels 'Geschichte der wahren Inspirations-Gemeinden' (1854-1857: Eine hermeneutische Untersuchung)," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 19 (1993): 143-68. See also Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1992).

<sup>17</sup> E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), xiii. Literature about Ephrata, as well as the products of its press, is listed in Eugene E. Doll and Anneliese M. Funke, eds., *The Ephrata Cloisters: An Annotated Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1944). More recent studies are discussed in Guy Hollyday and Christoph Schweitzer, "The Present State of Conrad Beissel/Ephrata Research," *Monatshefte* 68 (Summer 1976): 171-78; see also Dare, *American Communes* (1990), 61-71.

Earlier treatments of Beissel and Ephrata pose problems. For many years the standard treatment was considered to be Julius F. Sachse's two volumes *The German Sectarists of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742; 1742-1800: A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and*

the *Dunkers* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1899-1900), reprinted (New York: AMS Press, 1971). Although the books are to be commended for the preservation of sources, the author's interpretations can be misleading. The older and critical interpretation by Oswald Seidensticker is more dependable: *Ephrata, eine amerikanische Klostersgeschichte* (Cincinnati, OH: Mecklenborg & Rosenthal, 1883).

The only full biographical treatment of Beissel, Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1942), is marred by the author's distaste for his subject. In his words: "Despite the slender prospect of success, I have plodded through the material, without shirking the boredom of many a somnolent afternoon passed in the society of some of the weakest minds of the eighteenth century, not to mention the defectives of subsequent generations" (207). More helpful is the documentary anthology, Felix Reichmann and Eugene E. Doll, eds., *Ephrata As Seen by Contemporaries* Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, vol. 17 (Allentown, PA: Schlechter's, 1953).

<sup>18</sup> Peter C. Erb, ed., *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community: Mystical and Historical Texts* (Lewiston, ME: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985), 115-16. Although many authors consider Beissel's given names to be "Johann Conrad," according to his birth records he was christened "Georg Conrad Beissel." See on this the otherwise problematic genealogy, James D. Beissel, Sr., *The Wedge: Beissel/Beissel International Genealogy* (Ephrata, PA: Science Press, 1990), 252.

<sup>19</sup> Conrad Beissel, *A Dissertation on Man's Fall*, translated from the High-German Original, trans. Johann Peter Müller (Ephrata: Society, 1765); the German original was published as part of *Deliciae Ephratenses, Pars. I* (Ephrata: Society, 1773).

<sup>20</sup> Sachse, *Sectarians* (1899) 1: 264, 320. Full titles, with some locations, are provided in Doll and Funke, *Ephrata Cloisters* (1944), 36-48, 87-126, and Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, comp. Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhoff, Pennsylvania German Society, vols. 21-22. (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 1989), 2 vols.

<sup>21</sup> Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania in American History* (Philadelphia: Wm. J. Campbell, 1910), 327-63; this was first published in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 12 (1888): 76-96. Much of it was republished in Sachse, *Sectarians* (1899), 328-44. See also Samuel W. Pennypacker, "Zionitischer Weyrauch's Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg," in his *Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Robert A. Trippe, 1883), 223-28. Sauer's published account of the dispute was: *Ein abgenöthigter Bericht, Oder: Zum öfteren beehrte Antwort, denen darnach fragenden dargelegt . . .* (Germantown: Christoph Sauer, 1739).

Sachse played down the influence of Boehme on Beissel, instead suggesting that Gottfried Arnold was the source; he neglected to consider that Arnold's thought was profoundly shaped by Boehme. See the discussion in *Sectarians* (1900) 2: 161-72.

<sup>22</sup> John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunbonnets and Shoofty Pies: A Pennsylvania Dutch Cultural History* (New York: Castle Books, 1973), 62; Klein, *Beissel* (1942), 186. For another favorable view, see Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685-1830* (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1956), xxii-xxiii.

Note the well-informed comment by Frederick S. Weiser in a review of Alderfer's book and Erb's edition of Beissel's writings: "Most students of Ephrata have ended up as students of John [sic] Conrad Beissel, the leading initial figure of the movement—of Beissel's personality, however, rather than of his complex thought. Couched in the verbiage and symbolism that can fly right past modern man, Beissel's texts are the key to the question everyone seems afraid to answer: was he a religious genius who might have been canonized had he lived before the Reformation? Or was he a hack? The truth about his role in the history of American religion lies between the two extremes, but until we have more books like Erb's, or all learn to read Beissel's German, we cannot assay his true significance." (*Der Reggeboe: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 20.2 (1986): 61). The Duke University Ph.D. dissertation by Jeffrey A. Bach, with anticipated completion in 1995, promises to shed

light on this important topic—"The Voice of the Solitary Turtledove: The Mystical Language of Ephrata."

<sup>23</sup> Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer," (1958): 324. Sauer's letters are presented in: R. W. Kelsey, "An Early Description of Pennsylvania. Letter of Christopher Sower, written in 1724, Describing Conditions in Philadelphia and Vicinity, and the Sea Voyage from Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 45 (1921): 243-54; and Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Two Early Letters from Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 74 (1960): 219-33. The latter is also published in Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967), 32-39.

<sup>24</sup> Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer," (1958); Wokeck, "Alien Tongues," (1983); Fogelman, "Hopeful Journeys" (1991).

<sup>25</sup> On these issues, see Edward W. Hocker, *The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times*, Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 53 (Norristown, PA: Norristown Herald, 1948); William R. Steckel, "Pietist in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1738-1758," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1949; and Stephen L. Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1981).

There is an extensive literature on Sauer; earlier references are included in Felix Reichmann, comp., *Christopher Sower Sr., 1694-1758* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943). Some of the more recent references are mentioned in Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Sauer Family: An American Printing Dynasty," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 31-40.

The best recent discussion of Sauer in the German language is incorporated in Schrader, *Literaturproduktion* (1989), esp. 223-27 and 475-77. Two recent popular treatments deal with Sauer: Armin M. Brandt, *Bau deinen Altar auf fremder Erde: Die Deutschen in Amerika—300 Jahre Germantown* (Stuttgart-Degerloch: Seewald Verlag, 1983) and Gernot G. Lorsch, *Taufe uns, Alexander: Kurpfälzler Geschichte der Dunker (German Baptist Brethren)* (Karlsruhe: INFO Verlag, 1990). Although both are based on secondary materials, the former is generally reliable but the latter is grossly inaccurate.

<sup>26</sup> Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer," (1958), 336-38. A particular struggle between Sauer and high-church clergy centered on the so-called Charity Schools; see on this the older but still useful work by Samuel Edwin Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1754-1763* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1905) and newer appraisals by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Benjamin Franklin and the German Charity Schools," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99 (December 1955): 381-87, and Bruce R. Lively, "William Smith, the College and Academy of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Politics," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 38 (1969): 237-58.

<sup>27</sup> The issue is discussed in Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Was Christopher Sauer a Dunker?" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 93 (1969): 383-91. His relationship with the Brethren is reviewed in Stephen L. Longenecker, *Piety and Tolerance: Pennsylvania German Religion, 1700-1850* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994), 53-55.

<sup>28</sup> The story of the family is given in Münte, *Handlungshaus* (1932) and Rauert and Kümpers-Greve, *Van der Smissen* (1992); included in the documents in the latter book are excerpts from travel diaries in the 1760s of two grandsons of Hinrich I which include contacts with Pietists, Quakers, and Methodists in the German states, The Netherlands, England, and Denmark. See also Robert Dollinger, *Geschichte der Mennoniten in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg and Lübeck* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1930). Informative articles on many family members are found in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (1955-59), 4:549-52. Archival collections on the family are located in North America in the Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto, and at Bethel College, North Newton, KS.

<sup>29</sup> The evolving theological position of Schwenckfeld is traced in the intellectual biography by R. Emmet McLaughlin, *Caspar Schwenckfeld, Reluctant Radical: His Life to 1540* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986); the relationship with Anabaptists is ably discussed in George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3d rev. ed. (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992).

<sup>30</sup> On the saga of the Schwenckfelders, see Horst Weigelt, *The Schwenckfelders in Silesia*, trans. Peter C. Erb (Pennsburg, PA: Schwenckfelder Library, 1985); Selina Gerhard Schultz, *Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig*, 2d ed. (Pennsburg: Board of Publication of the Schwenckfelder Church, 1977); Selina Gerhard Schultz, "History of the 'Erläuterung,'" *Schwenckfeldiana* 1 (September 1940): 21-24; Samuel Kriebel Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenckfelder Families: Seekers of Religious Liberty Who Fled from Silesia to Saxony and Thence to Pennsylvania in the Years 1731 to 1737*, 2 vols. (New York: Board of Publication of the Schwenckfelder Church, 1923).

The anonymous travel account was written by David Shultze and first published as a "Narrative of the Journey of the Schwenckfelders to Pennsylvania, 1733," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 10 (1886): 167-79; it was included in *The Journals and Papers of David Shultze*, ed. and trans. Andrew S. Berky, 2 vols. (Pennsburg, PA: Schwenckfelder Library, 1952-53), 19-39, esp. 25-26. Aid given to the large 1734 contingent at Altona is described in Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenckfelders in Pennsylvania: A Historical Sketch* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1904), 32. See also C. Heydrick, "The Schwenckfelders. An Historical Sketch," in Reuben Kriebel, *Genealogical Record of the Descendants of the Schwenckfelders, Who Arrived in Pennsylvania in 1733, 1734, 1736, 1737. From the German of the Rev. Balthasar Heebner, and From Other Sources* (Manayunk: Josephus Yeakal, 1879), xx-xxi, xxx-xxxii. Rauert and Kämpers-Greve, *Van der Smissen* (1992), 42, following Münte, *Handlungshaus* (1932), 159, incorrectly date the assistance in the years 1727-29.

<sup>31</sup> There is an extensive literature describing the Moravians, based on their incomparable early record-keeping. The standard history is J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church* (Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Church of America, 1967). See also Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967) and Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

For the Halle connection, see the repeated references in H. M. Mühlberg's records: *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, In Three Volumes*, trans. T. G. Tappert and J. W. Doberstein (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-58), 2: 147, 153, 705; 3: 572, 653, 718. See also the related passages in the German edition of his letters, Kurt Aland and others, eds., *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlbergs aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 3: 221, 252, 259. The family is mentioned in Roeber, *Palatines* (1993), 98, 365 (fn. 8), where the name is given as "van den Smithen Söhne". The connection between Urlsperger and Georgia is discussed in George Fenwick Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984). For the Spangenberg, Urlsperger, and Van der Smissen linkage, see Rauert and Kämpers, *Van der Smissen* (1992), 58, 62, 74.

<sup>32</sup> Karl J. R. Arndt, ed., *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society, 1814-1824. Volume I, 1814-1819. Volume II, 1820-1824* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975-78), 1: 87-88, 192, 297; 2: 516.

<sup>33</sup> Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (1990), 81-84.

<sup>34</sup> Klaus Deppermann, "Pennsylvanien als Asyl des frühen deutschen Pietismus," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 10 (1984): 190-212. The chiasm of Schütz and his circle is emphasized in Elizabeth W. Fisher, "'Prophecies and Revelations': German Cabbalists in Early Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (1985): 299-333. Materials on the Frankfurter (Frankforter) Land Company are given in Emil Meynen, ed., *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America, Especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and their Descendants, 1683-1933* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1937), 29, reprinted (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1966) and as *Bibliography on the Colonial Germans of North America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982).

<sup>35</sup> The standard monograph on Pastorius is Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1908). For recent studies of Pastorius and the Frankfurt Land Company, see John David Weaver, "Franz

Daniel Pastorius (1651-ca. 1720): Early Life in Germany with Glimpses of His Removal to Pennsylvania," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1985; Christoph E. Schweitzer, "Francis Daniel Pastorius, the German-American Poet," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 21-28; Deppermann, "Pennsylvanien," (1984), 198ff.; and especially Rüdiger Mack, "Franz Daniel Pastorius—sein Einsatz für die Quäker," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 15 (1989): 132-71.

<sup>36</sup> The tricentennial of the 1683 arrivals stimulated the publication of many new studies, adding to the extensive older literature. Among the newer works can be cited: Helmut E. Huelsbergen, "The First Thirteen Families: Another Look at the Religious and Ethnic Background of the Emigrants from Krefeld (1683)," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 29-40; John Ruth, "A Christian Settlement 'In Antiquam Silvam': The Emigration from Krefeld to Pennsylvania in 1683 and the Mennonite Community of Germantown," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 57 (1983): 307-31; Guido Rothhoff, "Die Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683," *Die Heimat* 53 (1983): 2-11; Charlotte Boecken, "'Dutch Quaker' aus Krefeld, die (Mit)Gründer Germantowns 1683?" *Die Heimat* 53 (1983): 15-23; and Deppermann, "Pennsylvanien" (1984), 201-5.

The controversy over the precise ethnic and denominational identities of the first Krefeld immigrants was triggered by William I. Hull in his monograph, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1935), reprinted (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970); the argument was revived in the course of the observance of the tricentennial, especially at a conference on "Religion and Society" held in Krefeld in June 1983.

The full title of Pastorius's booklet was: *Sichere Nachricht ausz America, wegen der Landschafft Pennsylvania, von einem dorthin gereiszten Teutschen, de dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684*. A photographic reproduction is included in Learned, *Pastorius* (1908), between pp. 128-29. An English translation (by J. Franklin Jameson) was published in Albert C. Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York: 1912), 393-411; a shortened version was included in Jean R. Soderland and others, eds., *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 353-61.