Steven M. Nolt

Rethinking German Sectarians: Compound Singularity in Colonial Pennsylvania

Eighteenth-century Mennonites and Brethren were but a small slice of the colonial Pennsylvania German world. Among the more than 80,000 German-speakers who passed through the port of Philadelphia in the 1700s were some 5,500 Rhine Valley Anabaptists and Anabaptist-inflected Radical Pietists, namely Mennonites (including Amish Mennonites) and Schwarzenau Brethren.[1] Although few in number compared with their more numerous Lutheran and German Reformed compatriots, these newcomers attracted attention, even in the colonial era, for their concentrated numbers in Pennsylvania, and have garnered perhaps more than their expected share of scholarship.

Yet such scholarship, while impressive and still valuable, merits reconsideration. Key synthetic works on colonial Pennsylvania German sectarians, produced in the 1960s-1980s and remaining foundational in the twenty-first century, often assumes too much in terms of their subject's singularity.[2] We might, instead, consider how these communities lived with what political scientists have called "compound singularity," in which a group sees itself "as distinct and sometimes … unique, while recognizing cultural as well as [other] ties to" those around it.[3]

Pennsylvania's origins have long been associated with being a haven for religious refugees, a place of remarkable ethno-religious diversity, even when compared with other Midatlantic colonies.[4] The resulting pluralism is sometimes mythologized in these tellings, but it does reflect a real fact: there was something unusual going on in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Yet an emphasis on Pennsylvania's diversity has had a problematic byproduct. Pennsylvania-as-a-haven has had the effect, perhaps unintentionally, of

presenting the colony as a place of preservation and even stasis rather than as a place of interactive evolution and hybridity. In the 1940s, for example, the chapter on "The Sects, Apostles of Peace," in Ralph Wood's *The Pennsylvania Germans*, presented a timelessness born of Pennsylvania tolerance that allowed separatists to live unmolested and free from the forces of assimilation.[5] Later, Pennsylvania folklife studies employed discrete categories of "Church Dutch" and "Sect People" in ways that sequestered Pennsylvania's Anabaptist groups into their own realm, reading certain mid-twentieth-century patterns of distinctiveness back in time.[6]

True, German-speaking Anabaptists and Anabaptist-inflected Pietists are rightly recognized for their distinctive sensibilities. Yet these groups also changed and adapted within the social reality of Pennsylvania pluralism. Precisely because they no longer faced legal discrimination as dissenters, they were able to develop in new ways. The political and cultural context that allowed for bolstering group identity through the unfettered publication of religious literature, including polemical pieces needed to fend off critics in a competitive marketplace of ideas, also had the effect of encouraging ecumenical encounters, borrowing, and the reformulation of identities—subtly but significantly redrawing the parameters of peoplehood. On some level, these phenomena were always simultaneous, but on another level, one or the other tended to predominate in particular periods, emerging and receding as context allowed and encouraged. The mid-eighteenth-century era was a moment of expansion and mixing, less a place for group preservation than a workshop in which group identities were, in turn, developed and expanded over time.[7] There were, to be sure, polemical pieces that nursed old rivalries and differences. But there were also real dynamics of adaption, and these developments suggest new avenues to investigate and consider.[8] In the vein of religious studies scholars who have used the concept of "world building" to describe an integrated dynamic of social and intellectual development, or sociologists' use of the metaphors of the hybridity, we might revisit colonial-era Pennsylvania German sectarians in a context marked by an open economy, the world of religious print, and the reality of social diversity that was important alongside their separatist beliefs and background.[9]

The colonial Pennsylvania context

The so-called First Purchasers in Penn's colony were mostly English and Welsh Friends, but the proprietor had made several Rhine Valley Quaker missionary excursions prior to 1681 during which he had met Mennonites and Radical Pietists.[10] Penn reached out to these communities and by 1683 a handful would launch Germantown, with many more following in succeeding

decades, most settling in the Philadelphia hinterlands to the north (1707ff) and west (1711ff).[11]

Pennsylvania offered religious toleration, freedom from ecclesiastical taxes, no religious test for Christians to access the benefits of citizenship, and—attractive to these German Anabaptists—no colonial militia from which they would need to purchase exemption or substation. Each of these factors might have contributed to the establishment of sectarian Mennonite and Brethren communities in line with a sharply dualistic "two-kingdoms" worldview that left little room for ambiguity. As their spiritual forebearer Hans Schnell had written around 1575, "There are two distinguishable kingdoms on earth—namely, the kingdom of this world and the peaceable kingdom of Christ. These two kingdoms cannot share or have communion with one another."[12] Yet in practice, the two-kingdoms worldview, which made theological sense of the social and religious persecution they had faced in Europe, fit awkwardly into the mixed multitude of Pennsylvania, with its market economy, citizenship rights, and the possibility for exogamy.[13] Economic commitments, real estate contracts, and simple neighborliness all conspired to give Anabaptists a sense of peoplehood grounded in geography or blood ties, as often as baptism.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, a coalescing Pennsylvania German culture was providing a source of identity, wider than the Anabaptists but also distinct from anglophone America.[14] One marker of this evolving peoplehood was its American-evolved dialect, soon called Pennsylvania Dutch, which united a broad range of Pennsylvanians.[15] Material culture also channeled Pennsylvania German identity, with distinctive dress and appearance that caught the attention of British-stock neighbors. Such dress reflected the lingering memory of German sumptuary laws and a society monitored by local custom and authority, given more to the household economy than to wider networks of trade.[16] German Reformed clergy, as much as their Mennonite and Brethren peers, feared the individualism expressed through personal clothing choices, denouncing in 1786 "the sad consequences of display in dress" that threatened community order, such that "a stranger on Sundays, or festival days, cannot possibly tell whom he meets."[17] Pennsylvania Germans also followed a ritual calendar that marked their sense of time differently from Anglo-American society. While the legacy of the Cromwellian Reformation meant that many British colonists rejected all churchly holidays save Sunday, Pennsylvania Germans—including Mennonites and Brethren—marked days such as Easter Monday, Ascension Day, and Pentecost [Whitsun] Monday that otherwise went unobserved (and often condemned) by many anglophone Pennsylvanians.[18]

Negotiating Anabaptist identities in Penn's Woods

A broader Pennsylvania German context, then, provided the space in which colonial-era Mennonites and Brethren could develop a sense of "compound singularity," as noted above.[19] Such compound singularity developed in at least three interrelated areas: the open economy, the world of religious print, and reality of social diversity. Each area fostered change, and each unveiled some new or renewed friction. Together, these factors engendered new ways of thinking of themselves as German-American sectarians and may offer us, in the twenty-first century, a fresh perspective on their experience.

Pennsylvania's open economy allowed Anabaptists the freedom to practice crafts and trades, including those of printing, generally denied them as dissenters on the Continent.[20] Beginning in 1738, the radical Pietist Christoph Sauer (1693-1758) and his son, Brethren Elder Christopher Sauer II (1721-1784), operated a thriving print shop in Germantown, the village adjacent to Philadelphia in which Philadelphia's first Mennonite minister, Willem Rittenhausen (ca. 1644-1708), had established a papermill in 1690. The Sauers printed various genres and also imported German publications from Europe for resale. Among their notable projects was their influential Luther Bible.[21] Swiss and Palatinate Anabaptists in Europe had long favored the Zurich Froschauer version of scripture, and Radical Pietists had embraced the Berleberg Bible (which the Sauers imported), but in Pennsylvania the Sauer press was free to print a German edition of the Bible and aimed for the widest market by issuing Luther's translation in 1743. The twelve hundred copies sold briskly, and the Sauers reset and reissued two more editions, in 1763 and 1776.[22] Copies of the Sauer Luther Bible began showing up in eighteenth-century Mennonite and Brethren estate inventories, coming to eclipse the sectarian Froschauer and Berleberg Bibles, and by the nineteenth century had brought Anabaptist Bible reading into line with their Lutheran and Reformed neighbors.[23]

As noted earlier, the dynamics of continuity and change were never unidirectional and despite the fact that Sauer's Luther Bible, which presented the text of the thirty-fourth Halle edition, made the Bible more accessible to non-Anabaptist Pennsylvania Germans, some Reformed and Lutheran clergy discouraged parishioners from purchasing it since the publisher (Sauer) was a sectarian.[24] Although the senior Sauer had promised that "we are not willing to add any explanations or interpretations [to his edition of the Bible], because we hope that everyone who reads the Holy Writ with an upright heart, under the leading and fear of the God" will understand it rightly,[25] the Sauer Bible did, in fact, include the Berleberg version of several apocryphal books (Esdras and Maccabees).[26]

Thus, the Anabaptist printing of Luther's Bible in the 1740s (and subsequent editions) by the Sauers both contributed to the long-term convergence of Anabaptist, Pietists, Lutheran, and Reformed Bible reading in Pennsylvania and, in the short-term, provided an opportunity for clergy from the German majority to cast the Sauers as outsiders, though that effort seemed to fall flat. Indeed, the Sauer press continued to offer conventional German religious pieces, such as works by European state-church Pietists like the Reformed writer Gerhard Tersteegen. These items included Tersteegen's unique *Der Frommen Lotterie, oder Geistliches Schatzkästlein*, an interactive devotional aid that included 381 cards, each with a verse of scripture and a reflection by Tersteegen, which "players" would draw, read aloud, and comment on in turn.[27]

Tersteegen brings us to a second example of how the world of colonial Pennsylvania print contributed to dynamic Pennsylvania German Anabaptist identities: hymnody. Turning to the Mennonites west of Philadelphia, in Lancaster County, we find immigrant households bringing copies of the *Ausbund*, an Anabaptist hymnbook whose core dated to 1564. Additional printings of the *Ausbund* were made in Pennsylvania, such as the 1742 Sauer edition, but supply apparently never kept up with demand. Scattered sources suggest a growing variety of hymnbooks came to be used, both individually and corporately, among colonial Lancaster Mennonites. For example, a description of worship at the so-called Kraybill meetinghouse reported that men with strong voices sat close to the center of the congregation, around a table on which any available hymnals were stacked and, "at the opening of every service, the brethren around the table passed the books back among the audience to those who had a desire and ability to sing."[28] Another writer, recalling an eighteenth-century scene, noted that "We had all sorts of hymnbooks, the old Swiss [*Ausbund*] songbooks and Reformed hymnbooks" but "not enough of what we had."[29] The Reformed book was *Lobwasser's Gesangbuch*, a metrical psalter by the German Calvinist Ambrosius Lobwasser. Other books in Mennonite use included the Brethren hymnal *Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*, which had been issued by Christoph Sauer in 1744, as well as several Lutheran books.

The clearest evidence for hymnal variety among Pennsylvania Mennonites of the colonial era comes in the form of the hymnal that Lancaster Mennonites produced themselves in 1804 to replace the *Ausbund*. The new book, titled remarkably enough *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch*, represented the new Mennonite repertoire that had developed after several generations in Penn's Woods. Included were only sixty-three hymns from the old Anabaptist *Ausbund*, thus comprising only one-sixth of the new collection. A third of the contents now came from Lutheran sources, and more than a third were

of German Reformed origin, especially the Lobwasser psalms. Finally, *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* included fifty-two Brethren hymns and a few Schwenkfelder and Ephrata songs.[30] The book proved so popular among Mennonites that its 1804 edition sold out quickly, as did an 1808 printing.

Again, the process of change was more complicated than mere borrowing, and certainly was not a case of thoughtless assimilation. One hymnologist, writing in the late twentieth century, described *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* as a sophisticated blend of content from different traditions.[31] While including dozens of Lutheran and Reformed hymns, the book's compilers arranged them under headings such as "On Baptism of the Believer," "On Christian Life and Conduct," and "On Love of God and Neighbor," thus creating an ecumenical collection while simultaneously communicating a recognizable Anabaptist theological framework.[32] And the hymnal's foreword included reflections on Anabaptist history, freedom of conscience, and nonresistance.[33] Anabaptist identity was not abandoned, but it was being refashioned.

Finally, the social and demographic reality of Pennsylvania pluralism was also among the significant factors expanding Anabaptist renderings of their identity. An observer, such as Christopher Schultz of Berks County, explained to a friend in Europe in 1768, "You can hardly imagine how many denominations you will find here…. A Mennonite preacher is my next neighbor," while on the other side were Lutherans and Reformed, and a Jesuit priest. "We are all going to and from like fish in water."[34] Making sense of this new reality required some new theologizing. Anabaptist two-kingdoms dogma had made no explicit provision for the faithful to live with a foot in both worlds. In the words of the influential Schleitheim Confession (1527), "there is nothing else in the world and all creation than good or evil, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, the world and those who are [come] out of the world … and none will have part with the other."[35]

In contrast, prominent Pennsylvania Mennonite leader Heinrich Funck (d. 1760), who lived about 30 miles north of Philadelphia in Montgomery County, presented a rather different formulation in a manuscript that his children published three years after his death. In *Eine Restitution*, Funck modified traditional dualism through an allegorical interpretation to the Pentateuch's sacrificial code. (Funck's entire work was highly allegorical, for example, finding references to animals chewing cud as enjoining readers to ruminate on the Word of God.) Funck saw the Mosaic discussion of clean and unclean animals suggesting a traditional dualism, but then complicated that picture by differentiating two types of clean animals: those fit for sacrifice and those not fit for sacrifice, yet equally "clean" and thus not part of the kingdom of the world. "There is a great multitude of people," he averred, "who are recognized in the word of the Lord as clean and fit for the everlasting

kingdom" and yet were not part of Funck's self-sacrificing church. They live as Jesus directed: "Thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself, etc.," Funck explained, and "Love is the fulfillment of the law," so in some respects, such persons "are far superior to many so-called Christians" who act selfishly despite honoring God with their words."[36] This tri-part formulation (clean-sacrificial, clean-unsacrificial, and unclean) was novel and perhaps inherently unstable, though no more unstable than the multipolar world that the new American context presented.

By the 1740s, a quarter century after William Penn's death, some of Pennsylvania's early pacifist shine was wearing off, and Heinrich Funck and fellow church leaders laid plans to secure literature that would bolster their children's nonresistant convictions. They did so, however, in ways that seemed to both draw clear lines while blurring other boundaries. Funck was a key figure in arranging for the translation into German and publication in 1748 and 1749 of a Dutch Anabaptist martyrology, the *Martyrs Mirror*, a massive volume—at more than 1,500 pages it was the largest book in any language printed in colonial North America—of interpretive history.[37] In this telling, which spans sixteen hundred years, Anabaptists play a prominent role, but they were not alone. All manner of marginal and sometimes heretical groups were gathered into a narrative whose boundaries are defined by those who suffered but did not seek revenge.[38] The Radical Pietists of Ephrata translated and produced the martyrology.[39] And although there was some friction over Ephrata's attempt to use a title page suggesting a mode of baptism Mennonites rejected, the project was never stalled by sectarian squabbles.[40] The *Martyrs Mirror* represented a sectarian ecumenicity necessary to bolster identity in a colony that increasingly was heading for war and an abandonment of Penn's Holy Experiment.[41]

The political atmosphere hardens, tilting identity toward a sharper singularity

Indeed, the politics of colonial warfare highlight the way a republican-rights political frame was coming to replace William Penn's subject-privilege paradigm, with implications for minority groups. Already as imperial colonists, Pennsylvania Mennonites and Brethren had begun moving toward citizen-style participation in public life. No longer confined to being tenants, as they had been, for the most part, in Europe, they had obtained North American land titles and worked with the provincial government to secure their real estate. Anabaptists' pacifism was not necessarily a barrier to acceptance, given the peace-minded ethos of the Quaker-led assembly. Even when violence inflamed the frontier in the 1750s, Anabaptist donors contributed money

and otherwise lent their support to a Quaker organization known as the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Means, which raised substantial sums to pay Indigenous people for confiscated land, return hostages taken in war, and propose ideas for more equitable treaties.[42] Although the Association was a private venture, it represented an activist mentality associated with citizenship.[43]

After 1776, however, a thoroughgoing notion of citizenship as a primary and nonnegotiable identity took hold in Pennsylvania, as the revolutionary Supreme Executive Council replaced the proprietorship and directed a compliant unicameral assembly devoid of dissenting voices. Anabaptists' pacifism and general wariness of rebellion moved them to the political margins. A generation earlier, in the 1750s, some Mennonites, acting as dutiful royal subjects, had served as teamsters for the British army even while refusing to bear arms. Now, in the midst of revolution, the new state assembly rejected non-combattancy as insufficient and would accept nothing less than full support from its citizens.[44] The new government acted speedily to pass an oath-bound Test Act on June 13, 1777, a measure that required all white males over age eighteen to swear "true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state" and to repudiate the King. Non-swearers were stripped of voting and office-holding rights, as well as the privilege of jury service, entering suits for debt, and transferring deeded property. The next year the Assembly stiffened the provision.[45] Although the measure was notionally a means of ferreting out Tories, in practical terms it worked to exclude Quakers and German Anabaptists who feared the military implications of the oath (as well as objecting to swearing in any form). George Bryan, acting president of the Supreme Executive Council, admitted as much in a 1778 letter concerning the Test Act when he named, not militant Tories, but pacifist religious bodies as the act's targets. The Test Act would keep such people disenfranchised, Bryan pointed out, for "if many of these people should be found to qualify themselves for enjoying all privileges, they might by appearing at elections disturb the plans layed [sic] for the defense of the State."[46] Notably, Christopher Sauer II's Germantown printshop was forcibly shuttered by Supreme Executive Council in 1778 owing to his refusal to endorse military action.[47]

Only in 1790 did Pennsylvania German Anabaptists regain political rights, including access to the ballot box, when a new constitution welcomed all citizens back into the political process. Still, the events of the Revolution and its aftermath had created a sharper sense of singularity for framing identity in the new republican context, different from what had been evolving in Pennsylvania.[48] In time, a dynamic sense of compound singularity would again emerge more prominently. By then, however, some observers

would be tempted to read a nineteenth-century ethos back into the colonial era, obscuring the yeasty world of colonial Pennsylvania and its attendant developments.

Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies, Elizabethtown College
Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania

Notes

1. Marianne Wokeck, "The Flow and the Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (July 1981): 249-78; Aaron S. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University pf Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 103.

2. Key works of an earlier generation still play an outsized historiographic role, including Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967); its interpretation remained influential, not least because it underwrote the narrative of Durnbaugh's later synthesis, *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997). Similarly, a sourcebook, Richard K. MacMaster, Samuel L. Horst, and Robert Ulle, *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739–1789* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979), underwrote MacMaster's subsequent synthesis, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683–1790* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985). This essay does not include the Moravians, sometimes included under the German sectarian rubric (often with justifiable reason, e.g., in the work of Aaron Fogleman or A. G. Roeber) because Moravian historiography of the colonial period has continued to develop in a way that has not been as common for other groups.

3. Odd Arne Westad, *Empire and Righteous Nation: 600 Years of China-Korea Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), p. 163—quote from a very different historical and cultural context, but one in which scholars are reconsidering historical identities and later categories that have been read back in time.

4. Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 356-65.

5. G. Paul Musselman, "The Sects, Apostles of Peace," 57-84, in Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1942).

6. Otherwise valuable and deeply researched works by the late Don Yoder, University of Pennsylvania, fall into this pattern. It can be seen in classic works about other regions, as well, such as Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1969), for example, p. 145.

7. The focus here is on identity among German Anabaptists, but one could investigate the same dynamics in Reformed and Lutheran circles. For example, what did it mean that the estate inventory of loyal German Reformed church member Johann Peter Denig (c.1730-1794), of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, revealed that among the fifteen books he owned was the Mennonites' *Martyrs Mirror* and that when a decade earlier his son had produced an illustrated devotional book, the volume quoted only two sources: the Bible and *Martyrs Mirror*. See Don Yoder, trans. and ed., *The Picture-Bible of Ludwig Denig: A Pennsylvania German Emblem Book*

(New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 1:12-13, 24-36, 42-45, 64, 67, 157-58, 165, 166, and 169; 2:40, 46, 49, 51. Denig's "picture Bible" was dated 1784.

8. Examples of Anabaptist polemics produced in Pennsylvania include the anonymous Brethren booklet *Ein Geringer Schein des verachteten Lichtleins* (Germantown, PA: Christopher Sauer, 1747), which critiqued Quakers for their rejection of water baptism, emphasizing instead the need for three-fold immersion, and Heinrich's Funck's *Ein Spiegel der Tauffe mit Geist, mit Wasser und mit Blut* (Germantown, PA: Christopher Sauer, 1744), which was a lengthy Mennonite rebuttal to the Brethren claim that baptism by immersion was the only valid mode.

9. Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Robert J. C. Young, *Empire, Colony, Postcolony* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015).

10. By Radical Pietists, I mean Pietists whose desire for personal and corporate renewal of the church had led them to reject the ecclesiology of the state churches as beyond hope of reform and adopt an Anabaptist free church ecclesiology. Most Pietists remained within Lutheran and Reformed churches. The Schwarzenau Brethren were a Radical Pietist group that crystalized in 1708 in the territory of Wittgenstein, near Kassel, and relocated to Pennsylvania in several waves between 1719 to 1733.

11. A recent account of Mennonite settlements in Bucks and Montgomery Counties, Pennsylvania, in the eighteenth-century, with careful attention to interactions with Penn's land settlement program and the indigenous Lenape people of the area is John L. Ruth, *This Very Ground, This Crooked Affair: A Mennonite Homestead on Lenape Land* (Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing House, 2021). Hundreds of primary sources documenting Anabaptist migration to Pennsylvania are now available in parallel original and translated form in James Lowry, et al., eds., *Documents of Brotherly Love: Dutch Mennonite Aid to Swiss Anabaptists, Volume II, 1710-1711* (Millersburg, Ohio: Ohio Amish Library, 2015) and *Documents of Brotherly Love: Dutch Mennonite Aid to Swiss Anabaptists, Volume III, 1712-1784* (Millersburg, Ohio: Ohio Amish Library, 2023).

12. Hans Schnell, "Thorough Account from God's Word," 358; text translation in Leonard Gross, "H. Schnell, Second-Generation Anabaptist," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 68 (July 1994): 351-77.

13. A well-researched example of forced migration from Europe due to a confessionally-mixed marriage (Lutheran and Anabaptist) is described in Nic Stoltzfus, *German Lutherans to Pennsylvania Amish: The Stoltzfus Family Story* (Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 2019). Confessionally-mixed marriages were more acceptable in Central Europe if both parties were from groups recognized by the Peace of Westphalia. Such mixed marriages were not uncommon in Pennsylvania, though marriages across ethnic lines remained rare—see Mark Häberlein, *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 145-46, 149-52.

14. Beyond the scope of comments here, the Great Wagon Road connected Pennsylvania Germans with the more distant Appalachian region that some historians have termed Greater Pennsylvania.

15. Mark Louden, *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 63-118.

16. John M. Vincent, *Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern, and Zurich, 1370-1800* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935), 1, 19, 37-39, 74-95, 133.

17. *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792; Together with Three Preliminary Reports of Rev. John Philip Boehm, 1734-1744* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), 406.

18. See, e.g., the observations of Christopher Marshall, *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster during the American Revolution, 1774-1781*, ed. William Duane (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1877), 242, and Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study* (Kutztown, Pa.: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959), 6, 11-13, 52-58, 102-103.

19. See n.3.

20. Curiously, it was an economic restriction on British colonial subjects that provided commercial space for Pennsylvania Germans in the realm of printing: printers in England held a monopoly on the publication of English Bibles, but there were no such restrictions on German Bibles. Thus, Sauer's German Bible was the second Bible printed in colonial British America, and the first in a European language. The first Bible published in North America was the Eliot Algonquian Bible in 1663.

21. The son of a Reformed pastor, Sauer was born in what is now Baden, not far from where the Berleberg Bible would be produced between 1726 and 1742. Sauer immigrated to Pennsylvania, in 1724. He wrote to Halle to ask for help in obtaining a printing press, but his overture was rejected. He then obtained a press and type from friends in Berleberg and opened his shop in 1738. See Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 125-31.

22. A good overview of the Sauer Bible editions is Don Yoder, *The German Bible in America: An Exploration of the Religious and Cultural Legacy of the First European-Language Bible Printed in America* (Kutztown, PA: Kutztown University, Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center, 2016), 52-63,

23. It must be said that the Radical Pietist Ephrata press printed a limited run of Froschauer New Testaments in 1787 and the Sauers continued to import copies of the four-volume Berleberg edition, but these copies are exceptions that prove the new pattern.

24. It is possible that, in a backhanded way, Pennsylvania's open economy played a role in this criticism; clergy who were agents of the Halle publishing establishment were not able to capitalize on German Bible distribution in colonial Pennsylvania in the face of the Sauer press.

25. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 31, 1742.

26. Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 134.

27. [Gerhard Tersteegen], *Der Frommen Lotterie, oder Geistliches Schatzkästlein* (Germantown, PA: Christoph Sauer, 1744). Each of 381 cards (or tickets) is numbered and contains a biblical text and verses by Tersteegen, the latter appearing with the same numbering at the end of his *Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein* (1729 and later editions). *Der Frommen Lotterie*, quite rare today, exists in several Pennsylvania depositories, including the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, and the Hess Archives and Special Collections at Elizabethtown College. The set in the Hess Archives is missing 20 of the 381 cards.

28. Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (Scottdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1931), 437, citing early observations at the Kraybill meetinghouse near Mount Joy, Pennsylvania.

29. The ca.1790s description, reported in an 1821 letter, is found in Harold Bender, trans. and ed., "Correspondence of Martin Mellinger: Translations of the Correspondence of Martin Mellinger with Relatives in the Rhenish Palatinate, 1807–1839," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 5 (Jan. 1931): 55–57.

30. A detailed analysis of the 1804 hymnal can be found in Philip E. Stoltzfus, "Tradition and Diversity in *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch*," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 17 (Apr. 1994): 29-36.

31. Ibid.

32. See in *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-buch: Enthaltend Geistreiche Lieder und Psalmen, zum Allgemeinen Gebrauch des Wahren Gottesdienstes ...* (Lancaster, PA: Johann Albrecht, 1804),

"Von der Taufe auf den Glauben," 98ff; "Vom christlichen Leben unter Wandel," 144ff; "Von der Liebe Gottes und des Nächsten," 252ff. (Pagination begins anew after the 80-page psalm section at the beginning.)

33. Ibid., [1-4].

34. Schultz, manuscript in Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, Pa., trans. and quoted in Dietmar Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 62. A subject not adequately explored, to my knowledge, is the phenomenon among Germans of union meetinghouses. A few references are Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, vol. 2, *The History* (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 161-70, and John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1938), 238-46.

35. "Schleitheim Confession," 1527, and specifically, article 4, available at http://www.anabaptistwiki.org/mediawiki/index.php/Schleitheim_Confession_(source).

36. Heinrich Funck, *Eine Restitution: oder, eine Erklärung einiger Haupt-puncten des Gesetzes wie es durch Christum erfüllet ist* (Philadelphia: Anton Armbrüster, 1763), 133-43; quotes from pp. 140-41.

37. Patrick M. Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 252-69.

38. David L. Weaver-Zercher, *Martyrs Mirror: A Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 65-86.

39. Ephrata was a community established 60 miles west of Philadelphia in 1732 by the Radical Pietist and Sabbatarian Conrad Beisel, and which drew members from Brethren and Mennonite families. See Jeff A. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2003).

40. Jeff Bach, "Priests and Martyrs: The Second Engraved Title Page of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror*," *American Communal Societies Quarterly* 16:3 (July 2022), 215-33.

41. On the ways warfare remade Pennsylvania politics, see Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

42. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 394-396; MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood*, 240-46.

43. Some Mennonites remained involved in party politics even after religious Quakers began withdrawing from colonial administration. In 1768, for example, one Lancaster, Pennsylvania, English official reported that "the head Men among the Menonists have had a Meeting … and have fixed a new [election] Ticket," carrying their endorsement; see Edward Shippen to Mr. Burd, September 16, 1768, Shippen Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, reproduced in MacMaster, Horst, and Ulle, *Conscience in Crisis*, 210.

44. Jan Stievermann, "Defining the Limits of American Liberty: Pennsylvania's German Peace Churches during the Revolution," 207-45, in *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, ed. by Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheiding (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 2013).

45. The text of the act and its penalties appeared in *Pennsylvania Evening Post,* May 16, 1777, reproduced in MacMaster, et al., eds., *Conscience in Crisis,* 408-11, and the revision of 1778 on p. 447.

46. George Bryan to John Thorne, May 25, 1778, *Pennsylvania Archives,* 2nd series, 3:169-70.

47. Durnbaugh, ed., *Brethren in Colonial America*, 400-405.

48. On Pennsylvania's political twists and turns that often silenced minority voices, see Kenneth Owen, *Political Community in Revolutionary Pennsylvania, 1774-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).