

Some have additions built on or are covered with weatherboarding; several are two-story. The largest and best preserved, I believe, is the one owned by Ms. Mary Wilkey. The small restored cabin on the Yeakel homestead is now owned by George Iredell. On the Bradbury property is another. No definite date of construction is indicated for any of them but it is believed all date from around the middle 1700's. For definite information about location etc., I refer you to Sally who is knowledgeable in that area.

In Lower Macungie Twp. I know of one—but there may be more—well-preserved and restored log cabins on Sweetwood Drive, built around 1752. In Longswamp Twp. in eastern Berks Co. is a log house, two-story, in good condition, which is believed to date back to about 1730. Its owners desire anonymity both for themselves and its specific location; only anachronism here is a front porch of later vintage. In the same general area, between Siesholtsville and Hensingersville, is another cabin, one-story, also with a front porch. In the East Greenville area is the original old Goschenhoppen Lutheran and Reformed church, built of logs around 1732, now partly plastered over. It also served as a schoolhouse and home for the schoolmaster. Compared to churches today, it is very small and low, proving the population was sparse there at that time.

Going a little farther afield, in another direction, is Daniel Boone's homestead, south of Reading, which is maintained by the federal government, where there are several log structures. No doubt there are more log buildings in our vicinity, and there are some others a little farther afield.

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Why Our Forefathers Left Europe

by David B. Kaufman

Why did our ancestors — German, Swiss, and Huguenot, who predominated in this area — leave Europe in the early 1700's? People usually have reasons for doing things, especially something so critical or drastic as leaving permanently and forever the land of their ancestors — the familiar scenes and surroundings, and their homes — for a strange and unknown land. You may attribute it to wanderlust and let it go at that, but even the restless rover tries to concoct excuses and to give logical reasons — to rationalize — in order to justify his desire to change abodes. I have often heard speakers and read articles on colonial history, which stated that our forefathers left Europe because of the distressing conditions and persecutions and injustices imposed on them. But invariably these statements or reasons are very vague and indefinite, which aroused my curiosity and determination to ferret out and discover, and then record and relay to my readers the results of my research — to enlighten those who also are eager to know the whole truth, why our ancestors left Europe in such large numbers in the eighteenth century.

The conditions and causes responsible for this movement were complex but most of the reasons can be classified under four main headings or divisions; economic, religious, political, and social. Not all of these applied to every individual. There were also some indirect causes such as the pamphlets which Wm. Penn had printed and scattered broadcast over southern Germany; the vicious class of Newlanders, the unscrupulous agents of ship companies, who induced many to emigrate, whom we discussed in the 1968 issue of this publication; Queen Anne and her Golden Book, which brought thousands to London in 1709 and thence to New York and later to Berks Co., Pa.; etc. It must be emphasized that the emigration of an individual was caused by mixed and varied motives which are difficult to separate and analyze, and of which the emigrant himself was not always sure. Many left merely in the hope of finding better conditions in general elsewhere, whether it was in America, Russia — yes, some went to Russia in that day — Poland, Prussia, England, or even South America. We must limit this study because of lack of space and time so that we do not include English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Dutch, Swedish emigration, and we do not examine the other side of the picture — why most came to America instead of going to the countries mentioned above, or why more Germans, Swiss, and Huguenots

flocked to Pennsylvania than to the other colonies. Misery and discontent created by constant wars, by princes greedy for wealth and power, and by changing economic conditions, plus additional stimulus from others, led to emigration. However, it appears to us that economic or financial reasons far outweighed political, religious, and social factors.

Let us consider first economic reasons because those seem to have been the most important. Wm. J. Hinkle — *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm* (Philadelphia, 1916), p. 286 — agrees with this and thinks religious considerations have been greatly exaggerated, except in the case of the sects — not the Lutherans and Reformed. "Almost all came to Pennsylvania on account of poverty and want of bodily food." Much of the emigration in the 1600's was prompted by the desire and prospect of huge profits in America — get-rich-quick schemes — and an urge to advance the power of the mother country. Hopes of finding gold and silver, of wealth from fishing and fur trading, and other mercantile enterprises usually lay back of early migration. Few of the first colonists were interested in permanent settlement and agriculture. The codfish of Newfoundland had attracted the attention of the French as early as 1500. A Huguenot refugee in Boston in 1687 emphasized the opportunity to make 80 to 100% profit from trade.

Natural forces or so-called Acts of God, such as famines, hailstorms, floods, and hard winters account for emigration at particular times. One of the causes of the exodus from the Palatinate in 1709 was the severe winter of 1708-9 with exceedingly heavy snows and abnormally intense cold which was experienced throughout Europe and, we might add, even in New York. Cattle and sheep perished, fruit trees and vineyards were killed, birds froze in flight, and seed grain would not germinate in the spring so that a famine resulted. Many people perished from cold and starvation later. Riots and insurrections broke out as the prices of grain and bread became exorbitant. Some persons even turned cannibalistic, eating human flesh. The Palatinate and Wuerttemberg suffered from this combination of conditions and circumstances. This accounts to a great extent for the massive flight of 34,000 from this region to England in 1709, where they threw themselves on the mercy of Queen Anne (died 1714). Many thousands of these she sent to the colony of New York, many of whom later migrated to Pennsylvania.

Periodic crop failures from hailstorms and floods in the canton of Bern help to account for heavy Swiss emigration in 1730-50, although other factors contributed, such as wars and oppressive taxes. Failures in the vineyards of Wuerttemberg around the middle of the century

explained the heavy migration therefrom at that period. Following the Seven Years' war (1756-63) the state of Hesse was bankrupt, its population reduced, and its food scarce, so that many of its inhabitants fled.

Another economic cause of emigration was the feudal services still prevailing and required, such as compulsory free labor for one's lord. So in 1709 some serfs in Nassau-Dillenburg surrendered their lands to which they and their ancestors had been bound for generations and ventured forth because they could no longer support themselves thereon. Imposition of new laws against the hunting of game, the gathering of firewood, and the grazing of cattle on the common domain, as heretofore, added to the misery of the famine. Burdensome taxes imposed by the lords were continually increasing and free service in their armies was lengthened. So the serfs or peasants were squeezed ever harder and forced into bankruptcy. The growth of large estates forced many peasants or farmers of small tracts into the trades which resulted in overcrowding in weaving and lace-making, for example, causing a wage decline and unemployment, which in turn led to emigration. Among the emigrants from Basel in Switzerland in 1738 were many poor and unemployed lace-makers. They were all heavily in debt, with no hope of relief or of finding markets for their goods, so the only alternative was emigration. Again in 1749 and 1771 we find many lace-makers and linen weavers, together with day laborers, leaving their native canton of Basel. Many more examples could be cited. Increasing ground rents (Zinsen) forced many into beggary or emigration.

Overpopulation in some states was another reason for leaving, closely related to unemployment and the ability to earn a living. An influx of immigrants from a neighboring state, whence they fled because of oppression of some sort, often added to the problem. Overpopulation was claimed to be the cause of emigration from the Palatinate in 1726-7. Basel authorities reported in 1738 that most villages had increased in population from 30 to 50% in thirty or forty years, forcing some to migrate by necessity. However, by 1768 Emperor Joseph prohibited any more emigration from the Holy Roman Empire because the country was becoming depopulated of its able-bodied men who were needed for the army. Even before the middle of the eighteenth century, Zurich, Berne, and other Swiss cities found it necessary to forbid emigration after previous heavy losses of manpower.

While the aforesaid helps to explain emigration, it is clear that the deplorable financial conditions were due to far-reaching changes

little understood at the time. Behind the apparent love of adventure lay a scarcity of work and a low wage scale. In fact wages were lower in Europe than in America even in that day. Naturally those with a hopeless future turned to America. But not all went west; some went to Russia, Austria, Prussia, Poland, etc., as previously stated. Although they were supposed to secure permission to leave, many left secretly without doing so. So it is evident that the chief economic causes of emigration were natural forces, crop failures, poverty, exorbitant taxes or feudal services, overpopulation, and unemployment.

Now let us turn to a second group of reasons for moving, viz. religious. After the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, ending in 1648, in which the whole of south Germany had been laid waste, the Peace of Westphalia tolerated only Lutherans and Reformed, besides Catholics, and then only in territories where the ruler was of the same faith; that meant all the people of a certain state had to join the same denomination to which their ruler belonged. The Palatinate was predominately Reformed and Wuerttemberg Lutheran but the rulers or Electors of these states were Catholic much of the time, so the subjects had to join that church. Perhaps this was not strictly enforced, but it was a reason for emigrating. Of course, they could have moved to another German state, often only a few miles away, where their denomination was the same as that of the ruler. Up until the time of Bismarck around 1870 Germany consisted of several hundred little independent states — not united. That is why Germany, unlike England, France and Spain did not do any colonizing in America. So by the terms of the Peace of Westphalia there was no place in Europe for the various sects of mystics and pietists who were a product of the religious awakening of the seventeenth century. These included the Mennonites, the Baptists, the Anabaptists, the Schwenkfelders, the Moravians, the Dunkards, the Salzburgers who went to Georgia, and others, all of whom were forced to leave to escape persecution.

The persecution of the Huguenots of France — the Protestant element — by the Catholic majority is well known and important to our subject. But it is thought that there were economic and political reasons also contributing to their persecution. They were the flower of France, the better class, more steady and industrious, even better physical specimens, which caused envy, which in turn generated persecution, resulting in emigration, which, however, had to be secret since they were forbidden to leave France. Consequently, much information about them, especially their numbers, is guesswork. There had been a respite of persecution between the Edict of Nantes in

1598, when they were tolerated, and the Revocation thereof in 1685. But already in 1672 on St. Bartholomew's Day perhaps as many as 100,000 Huguenots were treacherously slain. Many others escaped to the Rhineland first, living there two or three generations before going to America.

As for the Palatines and their neighbors, some like Knittle (Walter A., *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* [Phila., 1937]) think that the so-called religious persecutions were a figment of the imagination, that they were religious quarrels only. Hinke (*op. cit.*) doubts that members of the Reformed church were persecuted by the Catholics in the Palatinate in 1720 as John Philip Boehm claimed and which he gave as the reason for emigration of himself and others. It is claimed that he was too militant and quarrelsome. A fanatical religious view caused some to emigrate. A roving and restless nature influenced others under the pretext of religious persecution, e.g. the Rev. Michael Schlatter, according to some authorities. This is not to minimize the persecutions which were real, at least in the case of the sects. One minister left home in 1693 "to escape the burden of the pastorate." The Catholics were blamed for the emigration of 589 Palatines to Louisiana in 1720 and of 1400 Evangelical Palatines to Georgia in 1733 and of over 300 Germans to Georgia in 1734. Individual emigrants were influenced by more than one motive and it is not always possible to draw a fine line as to reason, religious or otherwise, or between religious persecution and disagreement.

A third main subdivision of causes for departure was political. Numerous and almost constant wars throughout the entire period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were caused by the rise of national and absolute states, and the struggle between families to rule. Such a war of Devolution ending in 1668 resulted in the pillage of the Rhine valley. So did the Dutch war between 1672 and 78. In 1680 and again in 1688 French troops ravaged the Rhineland, without a declaration of war. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War and especially the wanton destruction ordered by Louis XIV of France in the last decade of the seventeenth century had reduced to poverty thousands who had been prosperous farmers and tradesmen; not for 200 years was this prosperity fully restored to those who remained in the Fatherland. (Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania* [Harrisburg, 1914], p. 83). One invading army after another administered the same treatment. The recapitulation of such scenes becomes monotonous. These invasions were the major political reason for the great German migrations to Pennsylvania after 1683 just as the armed invasions of the Palatinate in 1707-8 during the War of the Spanish Succession was

one of the causes of the large exodus of 1709 to England and the New World. Many contemporary documents attest to the destruction of cities, the oppressive taxes, and the resulting insecurity as causes of emigration. Many Huguenot and Walloon refugees from France also at this time left the Palatinate where they had been tolerated since 1600, because of the proximity of the French border and the numerous invasions from that source.

In 1726 rumors of another war and oppressive measures against Mennonites caused emigration of some of that group. A letter from one of them complains of the heavy demands, including a militia tax, palace tax, building tax, monthly tax, etc., borne by this sect. In 1740 again war rumors caused emigration from Zurich. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) the French army again laid waste the Palatinate, followed by the English and Austrian armies. From all this the peasant suffered greatly, with much compulsory military service and confiscation of property. Many had been impressed into the Prussian army in which they served so long that they had forgotten how to work. Some soldiers came to America to take part in the colonial struggles; later others enlisted at Hamburg for the American War for Independence, on account of the good pay offered by the English. Some German princes sold their subjects as mercenaries to fight for the British during our Revolution and many remained after the struggle was over. Some had volunteered in order to escape compulsory service at home; some were forcibly impressed.

Another political cause was the rise of absolute monarchs in the numerous German states, with each little feudal prince trying to ape the extravagant and opulent Louis XIV of France. Germany then consisted of over 300 such — 37 in the Bavarian Palatinate alone, sometimes a dozen in a square mile, all alike in their plundering, extravagance, and dissipation. This resulted in oppression of the peasants by the greedy and extravagant nobles who built costly palaces and carried on expensive wars at the expense of their subjects. Oppressive taxes, insecurity, unemployment, debts, and the like were the natural result.

The fourth main reason was social. The large size of a family was sometimes the cause or one of them for emigrating, since, the more children, the greater the difficulty to support them at home. Another social reason for leaving was to follow a relative to America. Often one member went ahead as a scout or spy to see how true the reports were about this new land. Often it was the father or eldest son. If he found America acceptable, he wrote back and requested the others to follow him. A former neighbor might also write home and

induce others to join him. A fiancée might follow her intended husband. One couple, after their marriage in 1751, hiked from Wuertemberg down along the Rhine to Rotterdam to emigrate to Georgia. The difficulties of young married couples in earning a living in Georgia many also induced emigration.

Other marriage problems also were responsible for such action. For instance, a girl left Bern for Nova Scotia in 1750, contrary to the wishes of her parents, because she refused to go through with a marriage planned by them. A French saddler emigrated to Ohio in 1788 with his wife and three children to show his father-in-law, who disliked him, that he was capable of supporting his family, if given the opportunity; incidentally, he was almost fifty years old.

Unsuccessful marriages likewise caused emigration. Deserting husbands and wives are both recorded. Sometimes a father left secretly, leaving his entire family behind. We know of a woman from Basel deserting her husband because of his extravagance. Disloyalty, divorce and adultery were other reasons. One man left Basel for Pennsylvania in 1749 because he could not stand his shrewish scolding wife any longer, he said.

Illegitimate children were the cause of some departures. Unwed mothers sometimes deserted their offspring so that the latter became the burden of the local communities. Sometimes they took the children along but the cause often was to escape shame and contempt imposed on them in their home communities. Sometimes even sisters or parents of such mothers emigrated to escape the disgrace.

Deaths in the family were frequent causes of departure. Sometimes orphaned children in desperation turned to America. Of course they had to become indentured servants to pay their passage. Widows and widowers sought escape from despondency by seeking a new life elsewhere. Justus Falkner fled to Pennsylvania about 1702 to escape from the ministry which his parents wanted him to enter. Failure in school or unrequited love induced running away to America or elsewhere. Sometimes it was just the desire for adventure or to join the foreign legion, so to speak — to participate in colonial wars. One pastor fled from Bern to Pennsylvania in 1759 to escape a lawsuit and because of complaints about his conduct. In 1743 a Zurich citizen fled because of a sermon which he thought was directed against him for making blasphemous remarks.

The committal of a crime induced some to leave in order to escape punishment and/or shame. Army deserters and murderers often fled from their homes to a foreign land. Some were expelled or given the

choice between incarceration or execution, and emigration. Drunkards were censured severely by the Calvinists and generally considered undesirable and so requested to leave. In 1773 Basel expelled a drunkard under pain of imprisonment; he emigrated to America without his family which refused to accompany him.

In summarizing, remember that we listed four main motives: economic, religious, political, and social, with the first far outweighing the rest although we must emphasize again that an emigrant usually had varied motives for leaving, difficult to separate — no single one. Many things contributed.

It seems that winters long ago were much more severe. The winter of 1704-1705 was memorable in this respect. Isaac Norris of Philadelphia wrote of it as follows: "We have had the deepest snow this winter that has been known by the longest English liver here. There is no traveling, all roads are shut. The post has not gone these six weeks; the river is fast and people bring loads over it." Another writer of the period, Peter Kalm, said, "Many stags, birds, and other animals died; the snow was nearly a yard deep."

Before about 1840, charcoal was used exclusively where high temperatures were needed — by blacksmiths, metal workers, iron smelters, etc. It was a forest product produced locally by farmers in spare time, made from hardwood cut into about 4 ft. lengths, stacked in high piles, covered with earth, and then set on fire to smolder for ten days. A bushel of charcoal sold for about 25 cents; about 30 bushels were produced from a cord of wood — 4x4x8 ft.

Piety and Pietism Among Our Forefathers

by David B. Kaufman

That the German and Swiss settlers of Pennsylvania in the colonial period were deeply religious, by and large, is the inevitable conclusion of any one who has studied them seriously and in depth. Religion played a major part in the lives of our forefathers. For many — particularly the sects — it was the chief reason for coming here. They had suffered persecution in their European homelands and so they welcomed Wm. Penn's invitation to come and settle in his province where each one could worship according to his own peculiar beliefs. In fact, Penn's aim was to provide a haven for such as he, a Quaker, a sect unpopular in England, i.e. the religious outcasts, the sect people or "plain people" like the Mennonites, Dunkards, Amish, etc. These came first, without much urging, having nowhere else to turn, since they were persecuted not only by the Catholics but even by fellow Protestants in Europe. Of course, even before Penn got this province in 1681 there had been a few white men here who were Lutherans — Swedes and Finns — who had reached the shores of the Delaware as early as 1638; the Dutch who drove them out in 1655 were Reformed. But already in 1642 a Reformed church was established in New Castle.

Those who did not belong to the sects were the so-called "church people" — Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed — those of the established churches with well-defined creeds, who had suffered little or no religious persecution and came for other reasons, primarily economic and political. Of course, all Protestant denominations were sects originally, since they had all broken away from the Catholic church and some that were regarded as sects in colonial times have become "church people," for example, the Moravians. The Lutherans were regarded as a sect until 1555 at the Peace of Augsburg, which ended the struggle between Lutherans and Catholics temporarily. Not until the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 were the Reformed considered no longer a sect but "church people." But all others were outside the pale. Raymond Albright ("The Sect People in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History*, IX, 52) says: "Just as Luther found the Catholic church formal, lifeless, and impotent to help the individual find the Christian way of life, the sect leaders found the regular Protestant churches so institutionalized that they could not inspire in them piety and reverence." Christianity itself began as a sect of Judaism and in the Roman Empire

it acted exclusively and forbade its members to participate in the prescribed emperor worship or even to mix with the pagans and follow their way of life. From the third to the eleventh centuries there were groups which sporadically arose and protested against growing evils of the established church but they were able to be suppressed or negated until the early years of the twelfth century when a number of sects arose, one of which, the Waldenses, although persecuted, was never completely annihilated, and became the fore-runners of the Reformation.

Persecution often has just the opposite effect of that intended. Instead of stamping out apparent heresy, it frequently nourishes it. Was it not so with the early Christians? The more they were made to suffer, the stronger their faith and devotion and the more converts they made. Adversity, not prosperity, inspires piety and religious zeal.

The difference between sect and church is hard to define exactly, although the sects believed that every one should make his own interpretation of the Bible, not confined by any set rules of doctrine or organization or catechism. G. Elmore Reaman (*The Trail of the Black Walnut* [London, 1957], p. 1) says: "Sects denote a religious conflict in society which arises in opposition to an institutional church." The sects usually selected one custom or belief and emphasized it inordinately, disregarding the whole. Sylvester Stevens (*Pennsylvania* [New York, 1964]), says: "The various German sects were generated in Europe by the wave of Pietism or the desire for a pure religion without formalism and involved doctrine." Their faith was simple, without formality or ostentation. They thought each man should be guided by his conscience and therefore needed no priests or ministers or churches or elaborate rituals. They had little in common with the established churches. Theirs was an emotional religion.

But even for the "church people" there was no religious stability at home, since by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and again by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, after the Thirty Years' War, the subjects of a country or state had to conform in their religion to that of their ruler. The peasants had no freedom of choice in the matter. So it happened in the Palatinate at one period that four successive rulers each followed a different belief. So even the "church people" had to change their faith with each change of ruler or leave. But Frederic Klees (*The Pennsylvania Dutch* [New York, 1964], p. 73) says: "As many of the German princes were Lutheran, there was relatively little persecution of that church. Until kindled by the mass

impulse to emigrate to Pennsylvania that swept through the Palatinate like wildfire, the Lutherans for the most part were satisfied to stay at home. Members of the Reformed church, however, were not permitted to practice their religion with the liberty they desired. In the Palatinate they were forced to share their church buildings with the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics. The use of their catechism was denied them and Jesuits were appointed to the faculty of the University of Heidelberg, stronghold of the Reformed Church. As a consequence, the members of the church left the Palatinate by the thousand, thus converting that province from a Reformed land into a Catholic country, which it remains to this day."

But even if and where piety was not the results of persecution, there was still a deep religious feeling among the early settlers, which is certainly missing today. As soon as they became settled, they tried to satisfy their longings for worshipping the God who they were sure had brought them through very many difficulties. At first they—the "church people"—were milling blindly like cattle, without spiritual guidance and organization. The church leaders, both Lutheran and Reformed, in Europe ignored their pleas and showed no interest in their spiritual welfare before about 1740. Finally in 1742 The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was sent by the Lutheran authorities and in 1746 The Rev. Michael Schlatter by the Reformed. But prior to that, says Oscar Kuhns (*The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania* [New York, 1901], p. 153): "Many who lived far in the wilderness had lost the habit of church going and many children were unbaptized and without proper religious instruction. But this was through no fault of their own and as soon as the country became sufficiently settled spontaneous efforts were made on all sides to obtain the services of pastor and schoolmaster."

Both Schlatter and Muhlenberg attest in their diaries to the earnest and heartrending appeals made to them to hear the Word of God. They tell us how people came great distances—great in those days—to hear them and besieged them with tears in their eyes to come to their neighborhood or send them pastors. Muhlenberg says many came fifteen or twenty miles on foot and a few 200 miles to hear sermons and receive the sacraments. Handschuh, another Lutheran divine of colonial Pennsylvania, on one occasion wrote (*Hallesche Nachrichten* [Halle, 1787], I, 165, which I translate): "The people were unusually devout, paying special attention, showing devotion in their singing, reverence in the public confessions on their knees." Contrary to present practice, the worshipper could recite the text and outline the sermon which was heard, not only immediately thereafter but

often long afterward. It was common to require the children to recite at home what the pastor had said in his sermon. I personally recall hearing persons say what the funeral text was of a relative, perhaps twenty years before; not too long ago an old man told me what text the baccalaureate speaker used when he was graduated from high school fifty years ago.

When Whitfield, the great English evangelist, made a whirlwind revivalistic campaign through the colonies in 1740 he preached in English to thousands of Germans who flocked to hear him though they did not understand a word he said. In our neighborhood he founded Nazareth where he planned to open a Negro school. In a letter dated April 10, 1740, he wrote about our ancestors as follows: "Some of the Germans in America are holy souls. They keep up a close walk with God and are remarkable for their sweetness and simplicity of behavior. They talk little; they think much." Another member of his team, Wm. Seward, also wrote: "It is surprising to see such a multitude of people gathered together in such a wilderness country . . . There were Germans where we dined and supped, and they prayed and sung in Dutch as we did in English . . . O Heavenly Musick!" Because people hungered and thirsted for the Word of God, numerous other revivals were held with great success by fanatics like Bauman, Mack, and Beissel, and even the spread of Moravianism can be attributed to this. Even many Lutherans and Reformed were attracted by the activity of these sects, many of which have since disappeared. This spirit continued even after the Revolution when new evangelical denominations resulted from the efforts of Boehm, Otterbein, Albright, et al.

Another proof of their deep religious faith was their attachment and reverence for the Bible, along with their prayer books and catechisms. Those who still had their Bibles which they had taken along from home in Germany considered them their most valuable possessions. Many through confusion or thievery on shipboard had lost everything, including their Bibles, but the first money they earned here was used to purchase this book, even at the sacrifice of food. And the fact that both adults and children could quote long passages therefrom proves that it was not only an ornament. Muhlenberg gives many examples of this in his diary. In times of danger, sickness, and death they derived comfort and strength therefrom. Kuhns (*op. cit.*, p. 157) says: "One of the first things a man did on getting married was to buy a family Bible." Christopher Sauer, the pioneer printer of Philadelphia, in 1743 printed in German the first Bible in the New World in any European language. (About fifty years earlier one had

been printed in an Indian dialect in New England.) Three editions of it were published before an English Bible was printed in 1782 in Philadelphia, which indicates the unusual religious zeal and pietism of our German forefathers.

There were also many books of devotions in German published in Pennsylvania. Each denomination had its own special work. The best known is possibly the *Maertyrer Spiegel*, 'Martyrs' Mirror, printed by Beissel's disciples at Ephrata. The Mennonites had Menno Simon's *Fundament*, 'Foundation,' and Philip's *Encheridion*, a treatise first published in the sixteenth century but reprinted for their use as late as 1910; the Reformed had Stark's *Gebet-Buch* 'Prayer Book;' the Lutherans had Arndt's *Wahres Christenthum* 'True Christianity, and his *Paradies-Gartlein*, 'the Garden of Paradise.

Hymnbooks too were found in almost every home and highly prized. They were read and reread and memorized at home almost as much as the Bible. These hymns were sung often without accompaniment; they were not trained musically, but they cherished the comforting thoughts expressed in these hymns. Beissel printed hymnbooks at Ephrata; the Mennonites and Amish had and the latter still use the so-called *Ausbund*, 'Pattern,' the oldest hymnbook in use in this country, which goes back to 1583 at least, if not earlier, containing hymns without music, the tunes being handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth, a number of which were printed by Sauer in Philadelphia; they are all doleful, celebrating the sufferings of their early Anabaptist martyrs. The Lutherans and Reformed had the Marburger hymnbook which at first was imported and later reprinted by Sauer. There is the story of John Schell who with his wife and four sons stood off a band of Indians and Tories during the Revolution, shooting and praying and singing hymns all night long until help came on the morrow. Then there is the familiar story of Barbara Leininger who after many years of captivity by the Indians was restored to her mother whom she did not recognize until the mother sang the hymn, "Allein und doch nicht ganz allein," 'Alone and yet not quite alone,' which she had used as a lullaby to put her to sleep as an infant. All this, in short, shows the deep religious feeling—the pietism of that age.

The causes of this movement can be attributed to the sufferings and hardships of that era as well as to the stiff formalism into which the church—the Protestant Church—had fallen. The result of this was a great spiritual rebirth which historians call "Pietism." This was started in Germany by Philip Spener, a Lutheran clergyman, in 1666. He placed his main emphasis on personal and often sudden

conversion followed by true Christian conduct in everyday life. He opposed dances, card playing, and theatrical shows, and advocated moderation in food, drink, and dress. At times Pietism was carried to extremes, encouraging emotions, ecstatic states, visions, trances, prophecies, and the like. It created many sects in Pennsylvania with all sorts of crazy and confused and outlandish beliefs—a very bedlam of unbridled religious exhibitionism, viz. The Society of the Woman in the Wilderness, the Newborn, the New Mooners, the Labadists, Zion's Brueder, Quietists, Gichtelians, Dipellians, Mountain Men, et al. The University of Halle, from which Muhlenberg came later, was a refuge for Pietist scholars and students.

D. L. Clark (*The World of Justus Falckner*, [Philadelphia, 1946], p. 3) says: 'Pietism was a reaction against . . . orthodox Lutheranism which . . . could not bring the warmth of religion into everyday life . . . This movement transformed the Protestant churches from the institutions which were set up at the Reformation into the familiar organizations . . . in nineteenth century America.' No religious upheaval had so profound an effect on so many Protestants in America — Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and other "evangelical" churches — as Pietism, although the average Protestant knows little about it. Pietism in America resulted in the revival, the prayer meeting, and family worship. It was a very potent force in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and made a deep impression, spreading like wildfire over Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and even England. Among its followers were Lutherans, Reformed, and even Catholics. It brought religion from the head to the heart, according to Spener. It meant the application of the teachings of Jesus to everyday life. Many of those accepting it did not leave the established churches but showed a strong zeal for personal piety. Spener early came to the conclusion that there was a need for a moral and religious reformation of the Lutheran and Reformed churches as well as the Catholic. They held meetings, first in homes, wherever there were like-minded individuals; these might have been called adult Bible-classes. At these meetings, according to Reaman (*op. cit.*, p. 11), he delivered sermons, explained passages of the New Testament and induced those present to join in conversation on religious subjects which caused them to be called "Pietists." Almost all who came over before 1750 were affected by it: Zinzendorf and the Moravians, the Schwenkfelders, the Baptists, Muhlenberg, Conrad Beissel, and many others. This emotional movement gained strength in Pennsylvania and produced new middle-of-the-road denominations like the United Brethren, the Evangelical Assoc., et al. These two groups might be called Pennsylvania German Methodists. The Unit-

ed Brethren were founded by Philip Otterbein, a Reformed minister who came to America in 1752 at the instigation of Schlatter. But he thought the Reformed church too cold and lifeless. He preferred and showed more fervor and emotion. He was assisted by a Mennonite bishop, Martin Boehm, who was deeply spiritual, warm, and earnest. Finally both broke away from their respective denominations to found the United Brethren in 1789; their beliefs are often referred to as "the old-time religion." The Evangelical Assoc., also a German form of Methodism, was founded in 1803 by Jacob Albright of Pottstown, a luke-warm and uneducated Lutheran who thought there was too little of the evangelical spirit in his church. He believed in revivals and sudden conversion, like St. Paul, also in prayer meetings and family prayers. Theirs was called "a fervent Methodism, a muscular Christianity. What they lacked in education, they made up in fervor. Shouts of praise and demonstrations of joy by the congregation were common in the early meetings." (Klees, *op. cit.*, p. 89). The Church of God likewise was a product of the pietistic or revivalistic movement of the early 19th century, being founded by a Reformed preacher by the name of Winebrenner who thought his denomination needed a revitalizing. Both the Moravian and Methodist churches which had been founded earlier were based on Pietism, the Moravians among the Germans and the Methodists among the English. It must be remembered that John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, is said to have been converted by the Moravians. They were Pietists, pacifists, and the first religious body imbued with an active Christian missionary spirit. In Pennsylvania this was directed especially toward the Indians.