

# The Rhetoric of the German-Speaking Pulpit in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania

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For the purpose of analyzing colonial preaching, Pennsylvania provides a unique opportunity. In many ways it could be considered to have been a microcosm of the colonies. It contained a thriving metropolitan area in Philadelphia, while its western border was primeval frontier. The medial points on the continuum between these polar positions included fairly large towns, small boroughs, large farms, small spreads barely capable of supporting a family, and extensive areas where the forest was dotted only infrequently by log cabins.

Writing in the 1971 publication, *A History of Public Speaking in Pennsylvania*, Dr. Thomas Olbricht tells us that "The popular mode of preaching in colonial Pennsylvania was conversational and extemporaneous."<sup>1</sup> His analysis, however, sweeps from the earliest days to the present, and he is thereby prevented from analyzing the preaching of any one period in depth. He does offer six pages of excellent summary of what he calls "Early Preaching," confirming his initial hypothesis, which is as follows:

The popular mode of preaching in colonial Pennsylvania was conversational and extemporaneous. It is fortunate, and likely no accident, that most of the Europeans who came in these years by both theology and tradition favored extemporaneous preaching. Often they were people who were critical of the staid, established churches and had already demanded flexibility in their old world setting.

The religious people who showed this flexibility to the greatest degree were the Quakers, who preached impromptu. But the Baptists and Presbyterians emphasized extemporaneous preaching, as did also the various pietistic German groups. The Anglicans were the only religionists in the state in these early years who favored manuscript preaching, and even they modified their more formal approach to meet the new conditions.<sup>2</sup>

This paper is designed to supplement Dr. Olbricht's study by focusing more particularly on the preaching of the German-speaking pulpit in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. The purpose is to set the background for a neo-Aristotelian analysis of the sermons of Conrad Beissel at Ephrata. Except for the discussion of manuscript preaching a few pages hence, this section will support Dr. Olbricht's stress on extemporaneous preaching for the period.

To make this discussion clearer, it seems wise to define a few basic terms. The primary authority to be cited will be *A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*, written by John A. Broadus.<sup>3</sup> This book was first published in 1870, and went through at least thirty-seven editions in English alone. In his original preface, Broadus credits such authorities as Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Whately, Vinet, Ripley, and others. The book, in other words, represents a widely used and scholarly approach to the study of homiletics, and is still cited as a basic reference by contemporary writers. It represents also one of the first reputable efforts to define effective preaching in English, being much more specifically focused than the earlier works of Blair, Whately, and Campbell.

Broadus discusses first the nature of good preaching. He observes that eloquence must not merely "convince the judgment, kindle the imagination, and move the feelings, but . . . give a powerful impulse to the will."<sup>4</sup> He lists four requisites to effective preaching: piety, natural gifts, knowledge, and skill.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that he did not list an extensive education. In fact, later he warns against excessive rhetorical studies, claiming that the preacher may think more of form than of content, he may imitate excessively, and he may forsake naturalness for artificiality.<sup>6</sup>

Broadus lists three methods of preparation and delivery of sermons. These are reading, reciting, and extemporaneous (free) speaking.<sup>7</sup> He then gives a brief history of each and lists advantages and disadvantages of each.

He notes that reading sermons was more common a generation or so ago than at the time of his writing. This is of particular interest to this study of German sectarian preaching, since the earlier time mentioned by Broadus is thus quite near the century of the study.

Reciting is given short shrift by Broadus, who says that it is quite properly the least common method, although he admits that some very good preachers have used it.<sup>8</sup>

A wide range of preparation is included under the category called free or extemporaneous preaching. On the one extreme position, he included thorough preparation to a point just short of memorizing or reading the manuscript which has been written. Next, the written preparation may involve an outline in some degree of detail. The third position includes no written preparation at all, but does admit of mental organization and preparation.

The last possibility comes very close to what would normally be called *impromptu*. The preacher may be forced to prepare and deliver his sermon at the same time. Broadus suggests that if a preacher is caught in such a situation, faced with a sermon to be delivered without prior notice, he might do well to recall one which he has delivered one or more times previously.<sup>9</sup>

Since the terminology Broadus uses is appropriate to our study, we too will consider "effective preaching" to be that eloquence which can "convince the judgment, kindle the imagination, . . . move the feelings, [and] . . . give a powerful impulse to the will." His terms, reading, reciting, and extemporaneous (free) speaking, will also be used.

## RELIGIOUS ATMOSPHERE IN THE COMMONWEALTH

The preacher in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania was faced by several problems. First, there was a language problem. Second, there was the matter of poor communication among the thinly populated areas. Third, there was a lack of established church structure.

The matter of language for the residents of William Penn's colony was complicated by the fact that Philadelphia served as a primary point of debarkation for refugees from various European countries. It is estimated that one-third to one-half of Pennsylvania's population prior to the Revolutionary War was of German background. One estimate gives one-third in 1749,<sup>10</sup> another the same fraction "at the opening of the war,"<sup>11</sup> and a third authority cites the same general figure, one third of the colony's total population of 250,000 for 1771.<sup>12</sup> Writing in 1797 Proud concurred with these more contemporary authorities, estimating the population in 1772 at 200,000 to 300,000, of which he believed one-third to be German.<sup>13</sup> A biographer of Muhlenberg asserted that soon after 1750, half of all Pennsylvanians were German!<sup>14</sup> During the eighteenth century, then, there were a large number of German-speaking people settling in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. An indication of the magnitude of the migration is seen in an action by the Pennsylvania Assembly as early as 1728. Alarmed at the number of foreign subjects speaking a non-English tongue who were coming in, the Assembly passed a tax of forty shillings per person. Compare this with a tax of twenty shillings per person for Irish immigrants. In response to a petition, however, the tax was repealed in 1730.<sup>15</sup> The migration, of course, never slowed, and in 1770 Edmund Burke wrote: "In some years, more people have transported themselves into Pennsylvania, than into all other settlements together."<sup>16</sup>

Even those who had learned English often used a poor form of it. Indeed, the story told of the Philadelphia pastor of German descent who prided himself unduly on the quality of his English may be far from apocryphal. One day a British soldier listened to the minister preach a

sermon in his "best English." Afterwards he told the pastor how amazed he was at the similarity of English and German, reporting that he had understood nearly half of what was said!

Considerable distrust and fear existed between the colonists who spoke only German and those who spoke English, and this distrust was not totally without foundation. The Germans were taken advantage of in many ways.<sup>17</sup> Although on a smaller scale, the enslavement of white Germans was often as profitable and inhumane as that of Africans. Those who lacked passage money were indentured and sold as servants for a certain period of time.<sup>18</sup> Sometimes the healthy adults had to pledge themselves for their own passage plus that of very small children or old persons. If these latter poor candidates for the rigors of the crossing happened to die on the way, the bond was still in effect. Oftentimes the immigrant signed an English paper without knowing its terms. The Pennsylvania Dutch<sup>19</sup> language still has an expression which would seem to embody the lingering fear of this problem:

Sprechen Sie Englisch? (Do you speak English?)

Sie kann mir nicht verkaufen! (You couldn't sell me!)

In addition to the language problems of the immigrants, there was the matter of the Indian mission. This subject will be treated here merely in passing, but those religious groups who did attempt to evangelize among the Indians, rather than treat them as a subhuman species, faced very difficult problems. Most tribes had no written language, so the missionaries had to begin with sound transcription. The group which did the most evangelistic work among the Indians was the Moravian Church,<sup>20</sup> which also had an active preaching ministry in both English and German—thus epitomizing the problem of the day for one who would speak in the pulpit.

Colonists came from many miles to hear such evangelists as Whitefield. The Germans came, also, even though they could understand none of his preaching. Sometimes he would have a cooperating German preacher translate for him.<sup>21</sup> English was not the only substitute language monitored by spiritually starved Germans. Justus Falckner related the following:

Both myself and my brother, who is sojourning here, keep ourselves to the Swedish church, although we understand little or nothing of their language. We have also been the means of influencing divers Germans by our example, so that they now and then come to the assemblies, even though they do not know the language. Still they are gradually being redeemed from barbarism, and becoming accustomed to an orderly outward service.<sup>22</sup>

A few preachers were able, by bilingual talent or by extreme dedication, to overcome the language barrier:

Above all one of the Swedish pastors, Magister Rudman, has offered, regardless of the difficulty to assume the German dialect (dialectum). For nothing less than the love of God's honor he has offered to go to this trouble and now

and then to deliver a German address in the Swedish church, until the Germans can have a church of their own, together with the necessary establishment.<sup>23</sup>

Dr. John Joachim Züblin (or Zublin or Zubly) preached in German, along with French and English.<sup>24</sup> Michael Schlatter, a native of Switzerland, was also fluent in German.<sup>25</sup>

The matter of the general religious climate in Pennsylvania was probably more serious than that of the language problem. It was a vexation to the serious proponent of religion. Contemporary writers penned pages of despair. The patriarch Muhlenberg wrote in 1743:

It seems as if now were the time in which God would visit us in Pennsylvania with His special grace. It is indeed high time. If it had remained thus a few years more, our poor Lutherans would have been wholly scattered and gone into heathenism.<sup>26</sup>

An unidentified Lutheran pastor at Hanover sent to his superiors at the University of Halle, January 28, 1734, the following despairing note. It is a quotation from a letter sent to Hanover by a Philadelphia congregation in October, 1733, presumably reflecting the opinion of that entire congregation:

We live in a land full of heresy and sects. We are in the utmost want and poverty of soul, and are unable to rescue ourselves by our own means, if God does not show us help and means from another place. The great number of young people growing up are miserably to be wept for, who know not which is left or right, and on account of the want of churches and schools, it is to be feared, if help does not soon come, the most of them might be led into grievous ways of error.<sup>27</sup>

Mr. Alexander Murray wrote to his superiors in the London headquarters of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel the following probing questions:

Must not Christianity in such circumstances suffer in the eyes of the Heathens whose Morals it should mend, not Corrupt? . . . Has France or Spain, Russia or Turkey left their Religion in such a Distracted State as ours in British America? <sup>28</sup>

These examples could be multiplied, but they say basically the same thing that Jordan summarizes as follows:

The moral and religious, as well as the social and political condition of the Province of Pennsylvania about the year 1740 was in many respects remarkable, for such a mixture of nationalities and languages, such a medley of opinions and views, so freely proclaimed, could not be found elsewhere in the Provinces. The Germans, who probably formed one-third of the population, had been for some years destitute of a settled ministry, in consequence of which many of them became divided into numerous sects, or had grown indifferent to all forms of religion.<sup>29</sup>

One must bear in mind, however, that the above references reflect primarily the views of ecclesiastical officials. Their concern was for

church membership and statistics, whereas many colonists were religious in other ways. In a footnote, White observes:

The Germans in general and the Sectaries in particular were "deeply evangelical, earnest and pious." They formed "plastic material" for evangelical preachers who taught a "soul relationship" between God and the believer.<sup>30</sup>

Dubbs observes that "Pennsylvania was in those days known as 'the land of sects,' and the isolated German was drawn hither and thither by contending religious factions."<sup>31</sup> Muhlenberg wrote in a letter that ". . . there is no sect in the world which has not followers here."<sup>32</sup> Mittelberger contends that there are too many doctrines of faith and sects in Pennsylvania to be enumerated,<sup>33</sup> but he tries later, nevertheless, with some surprising entries:

. . . all religious sects are tolerated there [Pennsylvania]. We find there Lutherans, Reformed, Catholics, Quakers, Mennonists or Anabaptists, Herrnhuters or Moravian Brethren, Pietists, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkers, Presbyterians, Newborn, Freemasons, Separatists, Freethinkers, Jews, Moham-medans, Pagans, Negroes, and Indians. The Evangelicals and Reformed, however, are in the majority.<sup>34</sup>

Another indication of the interest in religion, albeit not necessarily in denominational allegiance, was the high regard of settlers for their Bible and for their hymnbook.<sup>35</sup> A family Bible was one of the first purchases of a newly married couple, and it played an important role in their daily activities.

It is apparent, then, that the religious situation in Pennsylvania in the 1700's was one of flux and confusion. Depending on who was doing the evaluation, it was either a cause for deep despair or a remarkable opportunity for success.

## CHURCH AND SECT

Despite the apparently erratic religious demeanor of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, there are important features which can be isolated for study. For example, the pious of Pennsylvania were divided into church people and sect people. The former included those who belonged to groups related to one or another of the established legal churches in the Fatherland—the Lutheran churches, the Reformed churches, or the Roman Catholic church. The Moravians are often added as a fourth group, since they generally agreed in doctrine with established Protestantism rather than with the more free-wheeling individualism of the Pietist and Anabaptist groups.

The earliest German Reformed congregation in America was the one established in 1719 in Germantown, the first in Philadelphia being the congregation of George Michael Weiss in 1727.<sup>36</sup> "German" was

not dropped from the name of the denomination until 1869,<sup>37</sup> and the archives of the Reformed Church are housed today at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the heart of the "Pennsylvania Dutch" country. The Reformed churches of Pennsylvania for sixty years were affiliated with the Classis of Amsterdam. This arrangement occurred when the mother church in the Palatinate refused a plea for financial assistance, referring the request to Holland.<sup>38</sup> John Philip Boehm, an influential organizer of Reformed congregations, reported in 1734 that there were nine congregations in Pennsylvania with 386 total communicants. He added that at least one-half were poor people who had recently arrived, and many were indentured servants.<sup>39</sup>

Even though members of the Lutheran Church had come to America as early as 1626, little effective organization had been set up before the arrival of Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg in 1741, who established the first Lutheran synod of America, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in 1748.<sup>40</sup> Prior to this there had been a good deal of dependency upon the Swedish Lutheran Church.<sup>41</sup> For Lutherans in America, the main source of help in Germany was the center for Pietism at Halle, where August Hermann Francke had established schools and a seminary. Consequently, the *Hallische Nachrichten* (*Halle Reports*) are a source of much information about all religious life in colonial America.

For many people then and now, there were more similarities than differences between the Reformed and the Lutheran churches. The two groups are often therefore lumped together as "church people," as opposed to sectarians. One colonist even said that the only difference was that the Lutherans said "Vater unser" and the Reformed said "Unser Vater."<sup>42</sup> These two groups, together with the Moravians, represented an organized approach to religion. Whether church government was handled through synods or some other unit, there was a clearly defined chain of command, and clearly defined norms for both membership and ministry. In all three of these groups there were congregations in which the preaching was done in German.

These German preachers were a varied group. For purposes of this study distinctions need to be drawn between the preparation brought to the colonial pulpit by the church pastors and that by sectarian preachers.

The former were often highly educated, generally having served an apprenticeship under an experienced pastor. Reformed pastor Peter Miller's skill in Latin, as demonstrated by the essay he wrote for the testing board, has been widely publicized. Such a test was common practice among the Lutherans and the Reformed.

Sectarian preachers, however, were essentially self-taught in knowledge of the Bible. They often distrusted formal education as a hindrance rather than a help. Conrad Beissel, for example, attributed all his knowledge to unimpeded, direct inspiration from God.

So far as preaching skill goes, German preachers in both church and sect probably demonstrated little. Their purpose was not to entertain, but to edify. The sectarian speakers probably brought more enthusiasm to the task than did their more erudite counterparts, who might well have read stiffly from a carefully prepared manuscript. That is to say, they were all more interested in content than in homiletics.

## THE GERMAN SECTARIANS

A list of German-language religious churches and sects has been obtained from the roll call of the first "Pennsylvania Synod" held in 1742. These synods were a series of ecumenical meetings arranged by Count Zinzendorf and Henry Antes, the purpose being to organize a loose religious federation of Pennsylvania Germans. The result was a group called the Congregation of God in the Spirit.

[Represented at the conference was] . . . every creed known in Pennsylvania that had a knowledge of the German language—Dunkers, Lutherans, German Reformed, Mennonite, Schwenkfelder, Siebentäger, Separatists, Hermit, and Moravians.<sup>43</sup>

It is interesting to note that both the established church groups and the sects were included. No German-speaking Catholics were present at the conference; however, they were not an important element in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, having only a few scattered Jesuit missions.<sup>44</sup>

### Hermits—Chapter of Perfection

The hermit mentioned as being present at the Pennsylvania Synods may have been in either of two categories. He may have been a totally independent religious recluse who heard of the conference and decided to attend. However, he probably was a member of a group called the Chapter of Perfection. This group, which we have mentioned before, was called by outsiders The Woman in the Wilderness.<sup>45</sup> It was located on the bank of the Wissahickon Creek in what is now Fairmount Park in Philadelphia.

The leader of this group was John Kelpius, born in 1673 in Transylvania. He was a child prodigy, studying at the Nürnberg University at Altdorf. He wrote in Latin, English, Hebrew, Greek, and German.<sup>46</sup> In 1694 he established his colony on the order of Rosicrucian mysticism.

The Hermits devoted most of their time to prayer and religious services in the Tabernacle. The services were open to the public every morning and evening, and in the schoolroom children as well as adults were welcome. They acted also as instructors in nearby settlements, tilled the fields and tended their gardens.<sup>47</sup>

There is no direct evidence by which the speaking style of Kelpius and his band can be evaluated. However, their speaking would undoubtedly



ly fall into the extemporaneous or free category. Their sermons and even personal letters which are available today are rambling, mystical revelations. It should be remembered that Conrad Beissel came to America hoping to join the Kelpius band. However, by the time he reached this country, Kelpius had died and the colony was declining.

## **Mennonites**

The Mennonites were the earliest of the German sects to migrate to Pennsylvania. Named for Menno Simons, they came to America under the auspices of Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1683, settling at Germantown. In 1684 William Rittinghuysen became the first Mennonite preacher in America.<sup>48</sup> Preaching was important to them. Smith notes that the group which colonized a tract of land on the Pequea Creek in Lancaster County included many ministers.<sup>49</sup> The first Mennonite meetinghouse was built in 1708.<sup>50</sup> Some of the thirteen charter families may have been Quakers (Friends), who had no meetinghouse of their own.<sup>51</sup> By 1742 there were about six thousand Mennonites in the province.<sup>52</sup>

Not a proselyting group, the Mennonites gained few converts. Kuhns observes:

It is singular how little is known in this country of the Mennonites—due undoubtedly to the desire and consistent effort on their part to be

“Little and unknown,  
Loved and prized by God alone.”<sup>53</sup>

Although withdrawn in some ways, the Mennonites have always had a social concern, speaking out on such issues as war and social injustice.<sup>54</sup> As early as 1688 they protested against slavery.<sup>55</sup> The language of the Mennonites, who came from Palatine, was basically German. They spoke “Pennsylvania German,” a mixture of German and English. The Bible, however, was read in high German.<sup>56</sup>

Their penchant for remaining separate may be shown by a negative example. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, noted Lutheran pastor, conducted a funeral service at Skippack in 1745. To the Lutheran’s evident surprise, the Mennonite minister insisted that Muhlenberg escape the hot sun by delivering the sermon in the meetinghouse. However, he asked that there “. . . be used no strange ceremonies.” Muhlenberg related that he often preached there on subsequent occasions, always being careful to stay with points held in common, avoiding disputed ones.<sup>57</sup>

Mennonite preaching began as strictly extemporaneous, with outlines and notes forbidden. Some ministers mentally established an outline in their minds, while others waited for a text to come to mind and spoke as the Spirit led them.<sup>58</sup> Preaching became very specialized in Eastern Pennsylvania, with certain ministers doing nothing but pulpit work, while the bishop and deacons handled other pastoral duties.<sup>59</sup>

As an extreme departure from the extemporaneous method, a tradition of reading sermons developed with the advent of the practice of printing sermons. In Canada it became common. An article in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* notes that in 1773 Pennsylvania Mennonites were using books of sermons by Hendricks, Wynands, and Denner, and other successful Mennonite ministers.<sup>60</sup> As early as 1690, however, reading of sermons was done regularly by some Mennonites:

. . . the Lutherans, the Mennists and the Papists, who are very much opposed to Quakerism and therefore lovingly meet every Sunday, when a Mennist, Dirck Keyser from Amsterdam, reads a sermon from a book by Jobst Harmensen.<sup>61</sup>

The extremely early date, nearly twenty years before the first Mennonite meetinghouse was built, would suggest that perhaps it was atypical. Nevertheless, it is worthy of mention here.

The Mennonites, then, considered preaching to be an important aspect of their religious life. They spoke out on important matters, ranging in delivery from formal reading to extemporaneous speaking. In some instances in the former case, the worship leader used materials which had originated in Europe.

## Brethren

One of the prominent sects of German background in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania was the group which has been identified as Brethren. They were Pietistic and Anabaptist in background, reacting against all established state religions. They took the New Testament as their only creed. From their study they developed the concept of the "priesthood of all believers." By this they developed a highly individualistic approach to religion. This was reflected in their worship services and in their total religious life when they settled in Pennsylvania, beginning in 1719.<sup>62</sup>

Sermon preparation and delivery were as informal as was the selection of preachers. Since those who delivered the Sunday sermons were employed full time in other capacities, usually in farming, their study was of necessity sporadic and their delivery dependent to a large extent upon the direct assistance of the Holy Spirit.

However, the Brethren placed much importance upon preaching. Alexander Mack, Jr., published at Ephrata in 1788 an *Apologia or Scriptural Vindication* . . . It was endorsed by and paid for by the Brotherhood (organized body of Brethren, who by this time held annual meetings). Using the pseudonym Theophilus, Mack wrote:

Paul says that faith comes from preaching, and preaching from the word of God; that it should come only from preaching, Paul did not say of course . . .<sup>63</sup>

A few years ago, when the writer of this paper was seeking a dissertation topic, letters were written to prominent historians in the

Church of the Brethren asking them about Brethren sermon materials from the period prior to and during the American Revolutionary War. Pertinent excerpts follow:

The following letter is from Dr. Floyd Mallott:

The early Brethren were even less literary than the present day Brethren. Sermonic materials? I don't know of a shred.

I would cite the Ephrata Chronicle as my source for saying that the lovefeast was their principal means of propaganda (and the family worship) prior to 1830. Remember there were not even written minutes of the Big Meeting (yearly meeting) prior to 1832.

Between 1830-1850 the church changed from German to English languages. Then is when the sermons came of primary importance.

In the Revolutionary age I am inclined to think "sermons" in Brethren meetings were more like the informal prayer-meeting exhortation—hence no written survivals.<sup>64</sup>

Dr. Durnbaugh replied as follows:

In response to your recent letter, I am not aware of Brethren sermonic materials of the nature you seek for the period of the American Revolution. You are no doubt acquainted with the source book on the Brethren in Colonial America which I edited. This was published last year. Some of the material in the last section of the book would have a certain relevance to your topic, but it is not exactly what you are seeking.

In the research I did for this book, I did not come across manuscripts or detailed notes of Brethren sermons. It would be my judgment that the Brethren did not approach their preaching assignments at that time with written manuscripts or notes. An added problem, of course, is finding such documents if they indeed ever existed. My overall impression is that this would not be a particularly fruitful area of research, because of the paucity of documentary material.

There would be more possibilities for the 19th century, but here also the evidence is restricted, at least to my knowledge.<sup>65</sup>

Dr. Roger Sappington wrote:

In response to your inquiry regarding Brethren sermon materials, my judgment would be that the oldest such material that you could find in the quantity necessary to support a research project would date from the 20th century. I don't know of anything at all dating from the 19th century. If you want to study Brethren preaching, I think you ought to concentrate on the 20th century.<sup>66</sup>

A copy of the same letter sent to the Ephrata Cloister, because Beissel had been Brethren, proved more fruitful.

In reply to your inquiry about Dunkard sermons preached in the eighteenth century, I can refer you to a volume of sermons by Conrad Beissel which was published at Ephrata in 1773. It contains about sixty of his sermons and was published under the title, *Deliciae Ephratenses, Pars I*. As it was printed in German, translation would be necessary.<sup>67</sup>

These letters clearly indicate the nature of Brethren preaching.

The only reason why we have copies of Beissel's sermons, not Brethren, of course, but often associated with the Brethren, is that Ephrata was a major publishing house during the eighteenth century.

Until relatively modern times, the Brethren relied exclusively upon the free ministry. Each congregation elected in council meeting several of its most promising young men to the ministry. They then would share the preaching and other pastoral duties. They received no salary, although members often shared farm produce with them. Work around the church building was done by volunteers. An active board of deacons served the needs of the congregation in other ways as outlined in the New Testament, such as caring for the poor, orphaned, and widowed.

There are still some congregations in Pennsylvania which have something other than a full-time pastor. Actually, Brethren congregations occupy positions on the continuum from one extreme of several full-time professional persons to the other extreme of none. The Church of the Brethren in Elizabethtown has four full-time positions including the pastor, a man in Christian education, a janitor, and a secretary. Part-time persons include a retired pastor hired for visitation, a choir director, and occasional extra secretarial help. Membership is eight hundred. Until about ten years ago, on the other hand, the Palmyra Church of the Brethren, membership of nearly one thousand, had no full-time pastor. It was run mostly by the moderator, a capable local banker named Frank Carper, and several lay ministers.

Churches which at the present time have no hired ministers include Chiques, near Manheim, with nearly 500 members and seven ministers; Heidelberg, near Reistville, with over 200 members and four ministers; Mohler, near Ephrata, with over 200 members and four ministers; and White Oak, near Manheim, with nearly 650 members and eight ministers. These are all old, established congregations, not mission churches unable to hire ministers. They operate with a lay staff because it is their belief to do so.

It may be said in summary that the early Brethren valued preaching, but that it was done in a very informal way. Anyone could speak during prayer meetings and other gatherings, using prayer, confession, and exhortation. Leadership was by election by the congregation. Sermons by elected ministers were also informal, perhaps to be described best as a spiritual stream of consciousness.

## Separatists

A minor group, widely scattered and not actually an organized body, called themselves Separatists. The one thing they had in common was their severance of connections with one of the larger bodies—Reformed, Lutheran, or Mennonite. They either objected to the way things were done within the group, or else they had decided to abstain

from all religion.<sup>68</sup> Klein suggests that Conrad Beissel was "typical of Separatism at its most thriving period."<sup>69</sup> It is, of course, impossible to establish a preaching style for this group.

## German Quakers

In addition to the German-speaking congregations among the established church groups and the sect and separatist German-speaking groups, there were also small colonies of German Quakers (Society of Friends), which had been established in Germany as the result of missionary trips by William Ames in 1655 and William Penn in 1677.<sup>70</sup> Later, some of them emigrated to Germantown. Domine Varick reported being in a Quaker service in 1690 in which Jacob Telner, a German Quaker, preached.<sup>71</sup> The Quakers became closely associated with the later groups of Mennonites, often worshipping together.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, it was often difficult to tell them apart, in that some members switched allegiances often. The meetings of German Quakers were held in basically the same commonly known way of the English Quakers. Worship services were generally informal, often with no formal sermon planned. Members and visitors alike felt free to speak, pray, or lead in a hymn. At times, though, there were visiting ministers who were expected to feel the Spirit move them to speak. Even today, in many small sects or denominations, a visiting minister is expected to share in the worship service. Mittelberger made an intriguing comment upon which he did not elaborate further. He observed that women often preached in the Philadelphia Quaker meetinghouse.<sup>73</sup> In other words, among the Quakers, at least in some worship services, there was indeed complete freedom for any or all to speak.

## Schwenkfelders

Caspar Schwenkfeld (1490[?]-1562) was raised a Catholic, was educated well, and became a serious student of the Bible. He became disenchanted with organized religion, especially the coercive nature of state religions. His movement, at odds with both the Catholic and Protestant wings, was labeled the "Reformation by the Middle Way." Schwenkfeld was a gentle, but dedicated and determined man who preached, wrote pamphlets and books, and sent messages with trusted friends, all the while being hounded and persecuted by state officials. When publishers and booksellers were forbidden to handle his materials, his disciples made manuscript copies.<sup>75</sup> Despite concerted efforts to eliminate Schwenkfeld's teachings, there were probably some 4,000 of his disciples when he died.<sup>76</sup> However, the number had been reduced to some 1,500 by the beginning of the eighteenth century, centered mostly in half a dozen villages in Silesia.<sup>77</sup>

About 1720, both the Catholics and Lutherans set about to find a solution to the Schwenkfelder problem. Persecution took the form of forced baptism, imprisonment, and rigid controls on marriage, burial,

and education?<sup>78</sup> In 1725, covert migration began, with many adherents finding asylum in Zinzendorf's Herrnhut.<sup>79</sup> In 1734, several ships containing 261 men, women, and children went to Pennsylvania.<sup>80</sup> Reluctant to institutionalize themselves, they did not organize fully until 1782<sup>81</sup> and had no church until 1790.<sup>82</sup> Credit must be given to their first minister in America, the dedicated George Weiss—the Schwenkfelders used no title for ministers. He organized morning, afternoon, and evening Sunday services, mostly doctrinal in nature.<sup>83</sup>

A most unusual, highly significant feature of Schwenkfelder worship is the Memorial service instituted by the group the day following their landing in Philadelphia in 1734 and re-enacted each year afterward.<sup>84</sup> Over the years it has customarily involved morning and afternoon sermons, along with other edifying rituals. The theme is essentially the same—gratitude for deliverance into a land of religious freedom. It has been held in homes, churches, and public buildings.

As noted above, organization did not take place until 1782. However, as early as the middle of the century, families were beginning to meet for doctrinal discussions. The formalized constitution in 1782 included the reading of a sermon as a prescribed part of all regular services.

The ministry among Schwenkfelders was an informal position. Men were elected to the role, but no titles were used and no salaries paid.<sup>85</sup> A period of training as a licentiate was required before elevation to full minister.<sup>86</sup>

The followers of Caspar Schwenkfeld, then, have always been a small, but determined, group of Christians who rebelled against the coercive nature of organized European religion. They value preaching, but believe that ministers should serve without pay. Their continuous observance of Memorial Day, honoring the day of their landing on the free soil of Pennsylvania is an admirable tradition.

Among all these sectarian groups, then, as Olbricht has observed concerning the English pulpit of Pennsylvania in the same period, the act of preaching was highly valued, likely to be extemporaneous or even free of specific preparation entirely, personal in style, and informal in manner. There were notable exceptions, however, in the several instances when manuscript reading of printed sermons was employed. Such an expedient furthers the theory that preaching was of great importance to the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans. In the absence of qualified preachers, they pressed into service the best available substitute and enjoyed sermon delivery vicariously. Only a few rare individual speakers seem to have risen above such undistinguished norms.

## Prominent Individuals

When one considers the pulpiteers of Pennsylvania in the eight-

eenth century and before, several names recur. Muhlenberg, for example, Gilbert Tennent, William Rittenhouse, Peter Becker, Morgan Edwards, George Kieth, Evan Evans, and Father Joseph Greaton are all mentioned by Olbricht.<sup>87</sup> While each of these men deserves consideration, even the great patriarch of Lutheranism himself does not enjoy a reputation for eloquence. In 1741 Count Nicolaus Zinzendorf, the best known of the Moravian bishops, visited Pennsylvania, and he spoke frequently. But even he was best known as an administrator and leader of the faith, rather than as a preacher.<sup>88</sup> During the eighteenth-century in Pennsylvania, probably only two individual preachers other than Conrad Beissel deserve reputations as speakers. One of these was the great itinerant evangelist, George Whitefield, who carried the "Great Awakening" into the Commonwealth, and the other was Dr. John Joachim Züblin.

### George Whitefield

Although George Whitefield was, of course, not German, he was heard by Germans during his preaching forays through the Commonwealth. Even Benjamin Franklin praised his preaching:

I silently resolved he should get nothing from me . . . As he proceeded, I began to soften and concluded to give the coppers (in my pocket). Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirable that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all.<sup>89</sup>

In fact, Franklin was sufficiently interested in him to calculate the number of persons in a Whitefield crowd (30,000 was his estimate), and he followed the evangelist's career with keen interest.

Whitefield preached an incredible number of sermons, sometimes more than forty hours a week, for a total of about eighteen thousand sermons to some ten million auditors.<sup>90</sup>

As noted previously, the Germans came by the thousands to hear Whitefield, even though they could not understand him. His empathy with them is reflected in a letter written by him, dated April 10, 1740. He said of the Germans in Pennsylvania that they were ". . . holy souls. They keep up a close walk with God and are remarkable for their sweetness and simplicity of behavior."<sup>91</sup>

Whitefield's style was primarily extemporaneous. This was partly due to necessity, in view of his preaching scores of sermons a week. However, he did not preach without preparation. Like Daniel Webster, he prepared throughout his life for his sermons. He had a background of wide reading and an intense interest in religious affairs.

Whitefield possessed a remarkably suitable voice for his career. The carrying power is obvious, as indicated by the number of persons who heard him, without the aid of amplification, in open fields. Many writers have waxed poetic about the quality of his voice, as the follow-

ing example will illustrate:

It “. . . was smooth, variable, and could express the gentlest emotions.” It was capable of swelling into thunder peals, and then every ear tingled and every heart trembled.<sup>92</sup>

McGraw cites Whitefield's intensity of feeling as a major asset. He quotes Cornelius Winter, an associate of Whitefield's, as saying that the evangelist seldom finished a sermon without tears.<sup>93</sup> In reference to his style of delivery, White notes that nearly every contemporary reference speaks of his effectiveness. Speaking without notes or manuscript, he could stir both the simple and the sophisticated. His approach was animated, dramatic, personal, and varied.

### Dr. John Joachim Züblin

Dr. John Joachim Züblin (as he himself signed it, but also Zublin or Zubly) will be mentioned for several reasons. He was a preacher, a writer, a member of the Continental Congress, and a linguist, and he was acquainted with the Beisselianer. According to Dubbs, “Dr. Zubly was in the eighteenth-century regarded as by far the most eminent Reformed minister in America.”<sup>94</sup>

At the age of twenty he went to America, quickly building a reputation throughout South Carolina and Georgia as a fine preacher.<sup>95</sup> In his American pastorate in Charleston, he preached regularly in German, English, and French to a congregation composed of Reformed, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics.<sup>96</sup> He traveled a good deal in his preaching, including at least one stop at the Ephrata Cloister. His interest in Ephrata was evidenced by the existence of several letters which he wrote to Beissel and to other Cloister members in the middle 1750's.

A glimpse into his preaching style is afforded by the following excerpt from a 1754 letter to Conrad Weiser:

I have received a proposition to give to the press the discourse which I delivered at Ephrata; but as it has long since been forgotten, I can only hope that it may be impressed on the hearts of those who heard it to their eternal welfare.<sup>97</sup>

Apparently it was delivered extemporaneously. It is also apparent that it was well received.

Evidence of the esteem in which he was held by persons even beyond the realm of religion is his election to the Continental Congress in 1775, representing Georgia.<sup>98</sup> As a writer Züblin was well known, being often called upon by the Continental Congress to frame letters and documents.<sup>99</sup> His books include a popular devotional book, “. . . probably the earliest volume in the English language in America by a German Reformed minister.”<sup>100</sup> He was granted the degree Doctor of Divinity by Princeton College in 1770, for which occasion he prepared a thesis in Latin.<sup>101</sup> Two major streets in Savannah retain the names Joachim and Zubly in his honor.<sup>102</sup>



Despite the above list of accomplishments, Dubbs is forced to label him "a brilliant failure," in explaining Züblin's lack of position in American history. Politically he tried to take a middle road during the American Revolution, thereby incurring the wrath of both Americans and British. His lack of organizational insight blunted his long-range effectiveness in church matters. Only one or two of his congregations remain,<sup>103</sup> so, his ability and reputation have remained largely a factor of the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

As we have noted, however, such speakers as Züblin or Whitefield were not the norm, especially among the preachers of the German-speaking pulpit, even in the established churches.

## VARIETIES OF PREACHING

Among the German sectarians, the role of preacher was played by a number of personality types with widely varying degrees of preparation for the position. Whereas the institutionalized churches insisted upon precisely, rigidly controlled ordination, sectarian preachers were governed by no such controls. Anyone who could get an audience could become a preacher at will. Sometimes an ordained church minister changed roles and joined a sect. Dubbs, a prominent historian for the Reformed Church, complained bitterly about the fact that during this period there was a scarcity of real ministers and a plethora of fraudulent ones:

... sects arose which were mostly short-lived, but served to alienate many from the church of their fathers. From that cause the Reformed Church was, I think the chief sufferer, and to illustrate my meaning I need but refer to the defection of John Peter Miller.<sup>104</sup>

Miller, it will be recalled, joined the Beisselianer at the Ephrata Community and eventually followed in Conrad Beissel's footsteps as *Vorsteher*.

Even though church officials were prone to brand with the same iron all non-church preachers and label them uniformly as fakes, there were among these unofficial clergy many persons of quality and integrity. However, admittedly, not all fitted this latter description. Such a troubled and turbulent setting as eighteenth-century Pennsylvania could not have escaped a certain amount of chicanery. It seems to be a regrettable truism that the vanguard of any movement contains a large share of opportunists. The fortune-seekers are generally the ground-breakers. De Crèvecoeur was exaggerating only somewhat when he contended: "Thus are our first steps trod, thus are our first trees felled, in general, by the most vicious of our people."<sup>105</sup> There were unquestionably charlatans among the itinerant preachers who responded to Penn's generosity.

Dubbs notes that it was a simple matter for such men to memorize

a few sermons and “. . . preach wherever they were permitted to take up a collection.”<sup>106</sup> Webber records that many times the early colonial preachers were those who had been in trouble in Europe due to “unsoundness of Doctrine” or such vices as drunkenness.<sup>107</sup> Muhlenberg assailed the lack of ordination by many of these self-proclaimed preachers, labeling them *autodidacti*, who chose the ministry as a way to make a living without working.<sup>108</sup> Dubbs quotes Harbaugh as declaring that the claim of some men to the ministry was nothing more substantial than “the possession of a black coat.”<sup>109</sup>

In the face of such confusion and lack of clearcut denominational lines, the constant proselytizing—perhaps “raiding” would be a more apt term—caused all groups to become very defensive. The problem was intensified by the shortage of ministers due to the poverty of the people, the low educational level, and the embryonic state of church development. What regular ministers were available had necessarily to distribute their services over a wide geographical area with inadequate transportation, visiting individual congregations perhaps once a month or even less frequently. Interim arrangements had to be made. It was nearly impossible to find a responsible layman capable of writing and delivering sermons; it was sometimes only a little less difficult to find someone who could even read sermons prepared by others. However, the latter could usually be done, so that the best-educated man in town often became a preacher *pro tem.*, or perhaps he became a permanent substitute. The section above dealing with the Mennonites mentions the practice of reading from books of sermons. Dubbs indicates a similar practice among the Reformed—that of a school-master becoming a kind of vicar, reading sermons from an approved European collection.<sup>110</sup> The same authority repeats the idea in another work: “Sometimes a devout layman was chosen to conduct religious services, or a local schoolmaster was induced to read sermons on the Lord’s Day.”<sup>111</sup> The manuscript style of delivery, it has been demonstrated, was oftentimes not so much a deliberate choice of style as it was a matter of expediency, a necessary adaptation to difficult circumstances.

A characteristic of colonial religion which several authors discuss is that of disputation. Sometimes the arrangement was quite formal. Sachse describes a scene involving a type of debate-in-the-round, with the disputants on two chairs surrounded by their audience.<sup>112</sup> Mittelberger wrote the following description of free discussion in a Friends’ meeting:

After the sermon is over, he who has objections against the sermon steps forth and explains his opinion; and then one can often hear the two persons disputing before the whole assemblage, which lasts sometimes longer than the sermon.<sup>113</sup>

However, disputation oftentimes was so informal and unstructured, and so motivated that it is described more accurately as heckling. Some persons came with the deliberate intention of taking issue

with the speaker by advancing their own counter-arguments, whereas others came for the express purpose of disrupting the meeting. A speaker needed to be light on his forensic feet in order to weather such storms.

There are also records of many disputes outside the strict arena of the meeting house. The examples which follow must be considered as only representative of the many events which took place.

Visitors to the Cloister were often men who entertained views quite different from those advocated by the Beisselianer. Israel Acrelius, the Swedish Lutheran churchman, refers to a number of issues upon which he and Peter Miller disagreed during his weekend stay, including celibacy, Sabbath worship, and baptism. In many instances, controversies spilled over into the press. Christopher Sauer, Jr., one of three major printers of the colonial period, engaged in periodic disputes with various persons. An intensely moral man, he disdained to consider his role as simply that of typesetter. He refused to print anything which he considered to be factually incorrect or morally wrong. His refusal to print a polemic of Henry Antes against Ephrata precipitated a lengthy controversy between the two men, as did one stanza of a Beissel hymn, allegedly designating Beissel as the Christ. These examples listed above are indicative of the wide range of religiously oriented disputes in which Germans in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania engaged.

In summary, then, diverse subjects have been treated in this rhetorical analysis of German sectarian eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. The religious atmosphere of the colony has been established; a brief distinction has been made between church and sect; a review of the pulpit style within the German sects and in reference to certain prominent individuals has been made; and a discussion has been undertaken of pulpit personnel of the period, including regularly ordained church clergy, sectarian preachers, self-ordained opportunists, substitute preachers, and disputants.

It may be concluded that the German sectarian preachers of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth-century were generally a freewheeling group of individualists, uninhibited by the restraints of high church regulations. They relied more upon the Spirit to move them than on ritual to guide them; more on their own skill as extemporaneous speakers than on their scholarship; and, within their limited scholarship, more on the Bible than on what others said about the Bible.

They were a strong, admirable collection of orators. Aside from any consideration of ideology, they command our respect for their zeal and courage.

1. Thomas H. Olbricht, "Preaching in Pennsylvania," *A History of Public Speaking in Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania Speech Annual*, Special 1970-71 Edition edited by DeWitte Holland and Robert Oliver, Vol. XXVII (June, 1971), pp. 171-190.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
3. John A. Broadus, *A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1870).
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 11ff.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 431.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 432.
9. *Ibid.*
10. John W. Jordan, "John Bechtel: His Contributions to Literature, and His Descendants," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1895), p. 137.
11. Asa Earl Martin and Hiram Herr Shank, *Pennsylvania History Told by Contemporaries* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), p. 337.
12. Cheesman A. Herrick, *White Servitude in Pennsylvania* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1926, reprinted 1970), p. 180.
13. Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania in North America* (Philadelphia, 1797), p. 273.
14. William J. Mann, *Life and Times of Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: 1887), p. 377, cited by Herrick, p. 178.
15. Herrick, pp. 174-75.
16. Edmund Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America* (London, 1770), II, 205, quoted by Herrick, p. 178.
17. For primary accounts of the difficulties encountered see Donald Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*.
18. As many as one-half to two-thirds of all Germans emigrating to Pennsylvania had to indenture themselves. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.
19. There is considerable disagreement about the correct designation for these people. "Dutch" is essentially a corruption of "Deutsch," the German word for "German," oftentimes confused with the Dutch from The Netherlands. However, some students of Pennsylvania German history appreciate the color and tradition associated with the term "Pennsylvania Dutch" and prefer it over the other technically more correct term. See Russell W. Gilbert, "Progress and Problems in Pennsylvania German Research," *Susquehanna University Studies* (May, 1955), pp. 137-157, specifically pp. 146ff., for an extensive discussion of the name problem.
20. Arthur Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias, the Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 30.
21. Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, p. 156.
22. Justus Falckner, "The Missive of Justus Falckner, of Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 21, pp. 220ff.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
24. Joseph H. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, Pa.: The Pennsylvania-German Society, 1902), Vol. XI, p. 206.
25. Joseph Henry Dubbs, "The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania" (An Address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 17, 1893), *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII, 3 (1893), p. 256.
26. *Hallische Nachrichten*, cited by Theodore E. Schmauk, "Religious Ferments, 1727-1742," *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. XI, p. 225.
27. *Hallische Nachrichten* (Halle Reports), pp. 18ff.
28. Frank J. Klingberg, "The Anglican Minority in Colonial Pennsylvania with Particular Reference to the Indian," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXV (1941), p. 296.
29. Jordan, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, p. 137.

30. Eugene E. White, "The Preaching of George Whitefield During the Great Awakening in America," *Speech Monographs*, XV (1948), p. 35.
31. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 91.
32. Levin Theodore Reichel, *The Early History of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum), Commonly Called Moravians, in North America* (Nazareth, Pa., 1886), p. 24.
33. Mittelberger, p. 31.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
35. Kuhns, pp. 156ff.
36. Dubbs, *The Founding of . . .*, p. 246.
27. Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States . . .* (New York, 1927), p. 418.
38. Dubbs, *The Founding of . . .*, p. 255.
39. *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), p. 1.
40. Faust, p. 410.
41. Dubbs, *The Founding of . . .*, p. 245.
42. Kuhns, p. 162.
43. Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America*. pp. 473ff.
44. Kuhns, p. 143.
45. Rev. 12:6.
46. John Fanning Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania: in the Olden Time . . .* (Philadelphia: Willis P. Hazard, 1884), Vol. II, p. 21.
47. Steinmetz, "Kelpius: The Hermit of the Wissahickon," p. 7.
48. C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonites of America* (Goshen, Indiana: By the author, 1909), p. 109.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 176ff.
50. Steinmetz, p. 9.
51. C. Henry Smith, p. 112.
52. *Minutes and Letters . . . German Reformed . . .*, p. 84.
53. Kuhns, p. 172.
54. Their social concern has been expressed in action as well as in words. Through the Mennonite Central Committee they have relief and rehabilitation projects throughout the world. In the 1972 flood disaster in Pennsylvania, due to hurricane Agnes, the Mennonites—and their relatives, the Amish—carried on a major share of the relief work. Not only did both men and women contribute thousands of hours of work, but they freely gave tons of loaves of bread, smoked hams, and home-canned foods.
55. C. Henry Smith, p. 120.
56. John Christian Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pa.: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society, 1937), p. 29.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
59. *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1959), Vol. IV, p. 503.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 504.
61. Domine Rudolphus Varick, letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, quoted by B. Fernow in "Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 13 (1889), p. 250.
62. Durnbaugh, p. 16.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 469, 484.
64. Dr. Floyd E. Mallott, handwritten letter dated May 6, 1968. Dr. Mallott recently retired after many years as Professor of Church History at Bethany Biblical Seminary, Chicago, the graduate seminary of the Church of the Brethren.
65. Dr. Donald F. Durnbaugh, typed letter dated May 6, 1968. Dr. Durnbaugh replaced Dr. Mallott at Bethany Seminary in Church History.

66. Dr. Roger E. Sappington, Professor of History at Bridgewater College, a Brethren-related college, typed letter dated May 1, 1968.
67. John L. Kraft, typed letter dated April 29, 1968. Mr. Kraft is curator of the Ephrata Cloister.
68. William J. Hinke, ed., *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church of the United States, 1916), p. 86.
69. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet*, p. 43.
70. Kuhns, pp. 33-34.
71. Varick, p. 250.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.
73. Mittelberger, p. 50.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 24ff.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 35; *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus . . .*, pp. 85-86.
81. Kriebel, p. 71.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 36; "The First One Hundred Schwenckfelder Memorial Days, 1734-1834," *Schwenckfeldiana*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1952) and No. 4 (1954).
85. Lucy Bittinger, *German Religious Life in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia, London, 1906), pp. 135-36.
86. Kriebel, pp. 84-85.
87. Olbricht, pp. 171-178.
88. One of the factors limiting the success of the Pennsylvania Synods (Congregation of God in the Spirit) was the appearance given to the simple Pennsylvania Germans by Count Zinzendorf that he was too stilted, too much influenced by his titled background, too prone to exercise control over others. Kriebel, pp. 112ff.
89. White, p. 32, citing Franklin's *Autobiography*.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
91. Kuhns, p. 156.
92. Clara McLeister, *Men and Women of Deep Piety* (Cincinnati: God's Revivalist Press, 1920), p. 483.
93. James McGraw, *Great Evangelical Preachers of Yesterday* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), p. 65.
94. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church . . .*, p. 202.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 215; Dubbs, *The Founding of . . .*, p. 258.
99. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church . . .*, p. 216.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19.
104. Dubbs, *The Founding of . . .*, p. 253.
105. Michel-Guillaume de Crèvecoeur, "What is an American?" *America in Perspective*, Henry Steele Commager, ed., A Mentor Book (New York: Random House, Inc., 1947), p. 32.
106. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church . . .*, p. 92.
107. Webber, p. 61.
108. Dubbs, *The Founding of . . .*, p. 253.
109. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church . . .*, p. 92.
110. Dubbs, *The Founding of . . .*, p. 252.
111. Dubbs, *The Reformed Church . . .*, p. 91.
112. Sachse, *German Sectarians*, Vol. II, p. 105.
113. Mittelberger, p. 50.