

The Emergence of Radical Christianity:  
The Mystical Dunkers, its Antecedence, Hermetical Founding, Germanic Diaspora, and its  
Apogee on the Frontier of Colonial America.

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## Abstract of the Thesis

The Dunker Sect, a radical Christian fellowship founded by Alexander Mack and Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau, grew from the endless conflict and radicalization of Christianity that emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in what is now Germany and Switzerland. These men were guided by Christian leaders such as Jakob Spener, August Hermann Franke, and other radicals in Eastern Germany. Both Hochmann and Mack were separatists, in that they wanted nothing to do with what they considered the corrupted Church of the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed denominations. The term “separatist” however, only describes their removal from the established church rather than their “liberation” from the established church. In their eyes they saw a new beginning for Christianity, a path that would lead their followers to a new spiritual freedom. This spiritual freedom culminated in the New World where their freedoms were taken to limits beyond their own dreams and aspirations.

Hochmann never saw the New World; however, Mack and his followers, some of which would split off into their own fringe groups, others would float back and forth from one to another, such as the Inspirationists, the Mennonites, the Quakers, and the Moravians, arrived in the New World in clusters. Most of Mack’s followers would settle first in Germantown, Pennsylvania, then migrated into the frontier or fringe of British North America to seek both solitude and peaceful co-existence with nature and with their fellow man. They sought what Rufus M. Jones called the “perfect flower of religion [the] crowning achievement of the soul in its search of God.”<sup>1</sup> This Christian Mysticism, not to be confused with the occult, was an

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<sup>1</sup> Jones examines the idea of Mysticism in his work and suggests that both the word and its meaning has changed much through the years. While the idea of a mystic, in today’s terminology involves the much-maligned palm reading and séances that false prophets profess as a hidden religion, the mystical idea of Christianity, Jones suggests that the early Church itself was a mystical religion, where “Baptism becomes ‘initiation,’ the Communion Supper is a secret ‘mystery’ and the Church itself is a mysterious entity which imparts grace and power to those who are sharers in its life. See, Rufus M. Jones, *The Testimony of the Soul*, (New York, 1936), 127-9, also, E. Ernest Stroeffler, *Mysticism in the German Devotional Literature of Colonial Pennsylvania*, (Allentown, 1950).

attempt “to realize, in thought and feeling, the imminence of the temporal in the eternal, and of the eternal in the temporal,” and further, that the relationship between “temporal and the eternal, are bound together.”<sup>2</sup>

The German community created a vibrant and mystical relationship with the New World that remains, albeit diminished today, one of the most unique of in both colonial America as well as the early United States history. The Dunkers, while bearing a small but unique and impactful part of this history, created printed material, a unification of frontier ambitions and opportunities, and also established churches and other sects that remain vibrant and alive today. As one of the smaller groups that triggered the Radical Pietism movement in Pennsylvania and beyond after 1770, the movement created multiple splinter religious communities which emphasized a “religion of the heart” rather than of the mind. Many, such as the River Brethren, Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish, Bruderhof, and Schwarzenau Brethren (Dunkers) as well as Apostolic Christians, became reenergized and created denominations rather than merely following one leader or another. Prior to 1770, the Anabaptist movement, along with the Radical Pietism movement, created separatist groups, mentioned above, that still got along, but remained separate. However, between the failure of Zinzendorf to create one denomination under the Moravian flag, and the schisms over theology and dogma, the various denominations emerged over the next century and a half. The Old Order Anabaptist groups emerged from the division of mainstream Anabaptist groups between 1850 and 1900.

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<sup>2</sup> In full, the early twentieth-century theologians saw an optimism in the dogma of the German mystics of colonial Pennsylvania and early Modern Europe. Their mystical idea of Christianity today, again seems far-fetched, however the philosophy of Mysticism in today’s Church has been squashed by science and the idea of organized religion. As William Ralph Inge suggests, “Even our Lord Himself has taught us that in ‘that day and that hour’ lies hidden a more inscrutable mystery that even He Himself, as man, could reveal.” See, William Ralph Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, (London, 1899), 326, also, Stroeffler, 3.

The frontier in America was a daunting mass of land, completely wild and untamed. Very few places in America today are reminiscent of what the settlers of the mid-eighteenth century witnessed when they crossed the Blue Ridge and beyond. America's collective memory of the frontier, romanticized by John Wayne, Dean Martin, Roy Rogers, and others on the Silver Screen, do little justice to the hardships, sacrifices and depravity that our forefathers endured settling this rugged expanse. While religion played an important part in the spiritual lives of most settlers who crossed the Susquehanna River, the Potomac River, the Shenandoah River, south along the Great Wagon Road that grew out of the toil and adversity the flora and fauna that must have seemed disconcerting, religion itself was secondary to the survival and success of the homesteads and settlements that were to be created.<sup>3</sup> A frontier, which stretched from New England to Georgia, occupied by men, women, and children, who had to survive. Many historians call these trailblazers hardy, rough, strong, however, they were practically no different than their descendants today.<sup>4</sup> What made them different was their willingness to live in a land which offered so much for someone who governed themselves, harvested a hardy crop, cultivated fertile land, celebrated victories, and mourned defeats. Although this frontier was settled by hundreds of dissenters who created communities of believers or communities of

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<sup>3</sup> The settlement of the Valley and, indeed, the frontier, was pragmatic, and was ordered by the Board of Trade (BoT), to be cheap, small landholdings, free of enslaved Africans. The settlement of white protestants was ordered by both the BoT and Governor Gooch of Virginia. It was slaveless because the BoT feared it would lead to slave insurrections much like in Jamaica, it also ordered that the frontier be settled by individuals who would take up arms in defense of the colonies against the French and Native Americans. However, no war had been fought for a generation in the colonies when the first waves of individuals immigrated into the frontier, many of which were pacifists. See, Stephen L. Longenecker, *Shenandoah Religion, Outsiders and the Mainstream, 1716 – 1865*, (Waco, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Frederick Jackson Turners essay on the frontier of America created a wave of both excitement and argument. His Germanic Germ theory hypothesized that the hardiness of the Germanic or Teutonic people was different or stronger than the previous settlers in America. His theory also came at a time when ideological thought of the twentieth century was at its worst. Adolf Hitler's radical ideology tarnished Turner's theory of the Germanic Germ. Moreover, the idea that the entire frontier of the colonial American era was settled and tamed by only Germans is counter to the true melting pot of the American frontier during the time. English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, Germans, Dutch, Swiss, French and Swedish all settled in the frontiers of America, all brought with them their own distinct folkways. See, Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, (New York, 1996).

language, it was the necessity of survival that generated peace between religious distinctions. It was not until after the Revolutionary War, and into the nineteenth century that the various groups, primarily Moravian, Mennonite, Dunker, and Quaker, began to quarrel on principles of theology and dogma.<sup>5</sup> Ironically, the Dunkers familiar association with these other “Plain People” sects in both Pennsylvania and the frontier, prompted all four to adopt various features that were characteristic of these distinctive groups, which has caused the reader to misidentify key individuals as Moravian, Mennonite, Dunker, or Quaker during the colonial frontier period.

All these sects, plus tens of other German, English, and other Northwestern European group all came to America to be free of persecution because of their faith, and Pennsylvania offered that. However, as more migrants landed in Philadelphia and other ports, the land value grew to be more expensive, unavailable, or crowded. What many thousands began to do was migrate further west as the land became available. First to what is now Dauphin, Lancaster, Lebanon, and York Counties, then to Adams and Cumberland Counties in Pennsylvania, Washington, and Frederick Counties in Maryland, and finally into the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia and south into North and South Carolina. The further west and south these migrants went, the further from their organized religion they became. In Europe, this was not the case, land, religious activity, the frontier, were all populated, fortified, galvanized, and legalized by the various factions, principalities and other religious or government entities. In the frontier in

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<sup>5</sup> Immediately after the Revolutionary War, and the turmoil, hardships, and negative experiences the various pacifists suffered during the war, the Dunker Sect began what is termed their “Wilderness Period”. This period saw the Dunker’s becoming culturally and socially isolated from various other sects and, indeed, people, as they began to migrate away from the east and into the mid-west of the new United States of America. The first stage of this migration was individualistic (or only family units), but they remained committed to settling close to other Dunkers and Mennonites. Both spoke and remained speaking the same language, both were committed to remaining “Plain” and both were united by a common idea of separation. However, this also caused friction in the Nineteenth Century. Eventually leading to several tracts being published where leaders from both sects attempted to examine and explain their own version of Christianity. See, Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, (Harrisonburg, 1973), 173 – 199.; & Dale R. Stoffer, *Background and Development of Brethren Doctrines, 1650 – 2015*, (Philadelphia, 2018), 103 -119.

America, no populations existed, no religious or governmental body ruled over the estates, no large landowners existed, fertile, cheap land was available to settle. The catch, it was untamed, wild, unregulated land, far from the civilized east of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; and far from their religious leadership which had provided spiritual comfort and a firm theological standing.<sup>6</sup> It was not until after the French and Indian War that the municipal courts and other local governments began modernizing the Great Wagon Road that ran from Philadelphia, west then south through the Shenandoah Valley eventually ending in Georgia. The road was surrounded by endless farms, forts, taverns, villages, and meeting houses which afforded the sectarians a means to gather for worship, trade, and commune with neighbors.<sup>7</sup> Not only did the road offer goods and services to the frontier, but also mail and publication services, which began to provoke the associated sects (Mennonite and Dunker particularly) against each other due to religious writings. However, the road did not produce this on its own, life began to get easier, families who survived the first few years on the frontier in a single room single story homestead were now building new homes, many survive today as “two up, two down” stone houses.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Interactions between congregations of Dunkers was inevitable. Often, neighboring congregations had contact between one another both intermarriage and migration were continuous and indomitable. Many congregations were created because of the distance from a parent congregation, which were still on familiar terms with each other. While records are minimal on the interaction of various congregations in the colonial period, it was not until 1865 that the Annual Meeting approved the keeping of minutes of District Meetings and Local Meetings. See, Emmert F. Bittinger, *Allegheny Passage*, (Camden, 1990), 74.

<sup>7</sup> The road remained an economically important route for the entire frontier through the American Revolution and beyond. The route would then also turn west, through the Cumberland Gap, into Kentucky which opened that territory up for all sectarians and others alike. The road was maintained by locals who were assigned a stretch of the road and by 1765 could accommodate a Conestoga Wagon that would carry more than ten tons, drawn by a team of six horses. These freight haulers became standardized for the long haul and worked on fixed schedules from town to town north and south. This also opened the east to the frontier, diminishing the journey from weeks to days as the road was widened and strengthened. See, Parke Rouse, *The Great Wagon Road*, (Richmond, 2008), 93 – 102.

<sup>8</sup> A “Two up, Two down” house had two rooms upstairs and two rooms downstairs. Many can still be seen today with more rooms added by subsequent generations. Meeting houses also became more common. The first few years of a settler’s life was full of toil and hardship, backbreaking manual labor, illness, and extreme weather. As they began to clear the land, have surplus harvests to sell, and develop their family and communal network, the religious life of these settler’s began to grow. It was not long before the fractures of sectarianism began to creep into the lives of the settler’s and their neighbors. However little Dunker tracts had been written until Alexander



The Schwarzenau Brethren, Dunkers, Long Beards, are unique in colonial American history, such that examining the history of how the Anabaptists and Radical Pietism transformed a community which settled Pennsylvania and its frontier is difficult. This is not an exhaustive examination of the Dunkers themselves, rather this is an history of Radical Christianity during the Reformation and the collision of Pietism and Anabaptism which created the Dunker sect, highlights of their movements, trails, tribulations as well as their victories. Additionally, what happened to the Dunker members between the French and Indian War and the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Revolutionary War is important. Finally, examining the Dunker migrations within the context of the frontier, why they migrated into the wilderness, and what they accomplished is another fascinating note. The frontier presented the Dunkers with both formidable obstacles and unique opportunities to these religious outcasts. The “Old West” gave the individual a life that was less communal than their eastern counterparts.<sup>9</sup> The infrastructure was yet to be established, the facilities were not yet built, and the environment remained wild. What the Dunkers faced in the east was schism, divisiveness, and power struggles, what they faced in the west was individualism, religious freedom, and the ability to seek out the Holy Spirit for themselves. They allied themselves with likeminded individuals which they incorporated, collaborated, and intermarried with to develop yet another unique Anabaptist and Pietist movement that became more fluid in the frontier than it did in the east.

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Mack Jr began in 1774 with *Rights and Ordinances and Basic Questions*. See, Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, (Elgin, 1967), 463.

<sup>9</sup> Turner called the Trans-Alleghany Mountain range and its environs the Old West. His idea that this Old West became the birthplace of what would be termed Rugged Individualism and used by Herbert Hoover. The term came from Ray Lyman Wilbur, who served as Hoover’s Secretary of Interior. Martin Luther King also used the term to explain the poor in America as Rugged Individualists, but also stating that the rich have Socialism, which they protect. See, Samuel Bazzi, Martin Fiszbein, and Mesay Gebresilasse, “Frontier Culture: The Roots and Persistence of ‘Rugged Individualism’ in the United States,” *Econometrica*, 88 no. 6 (Aug 2020), 2329 – 2368.

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## Chapter I

### Introduction

A flag of truce sprung up on Hagerstown Pike, signally a cession of fighting. A Federal and Confederate officer shook hands in front of the battered Dunker Church in the background.<sup>10</sup> Although the battle had waned, the bloated dead around the single room, single story church required burial, and with over 22,000 dead the church had not seen its peace yet. Earlier in the day, Major Rufus R. Dawes wrote in his diary, “Our companies were marching forward through the thick corn...beyond which was a strip of woods surrounding a little church, the Dunkard church...Simultaneously, the hostile battle lines opened a tremendous fire upon each other...Men, I can not say fell; they were knocked out of the ranks by dozens.”<sup>11</sup> In a photo of the battlefield, Captain W. W. Parker’s Virginia battery of S. D. Lee’s battalion lay strewn dead on Mumma’s farmland, just across the street from the churchyard and white church building, scarred, battered and warworn after a hard day fighting. The church was gutted, the Bible acquired as a souvenir, and the windows were shattered. Sergeant Charles C. Cummings, of the McLaw’s Division, G. T. Anderson’s brigade, wrote in his diary, “as we emerged past the Dunkard Church, which stood in the woodland, and spread ourselves out in the open, for the first time we discovered on the brow of the hill a battery, vomiting grape and canister at us.”<sup>12</sup> The battlefield surrounding the eastern and southern side of Sharpsburg, Maryland, Antietam, was the site of the single bloodiest day of America’s history. The church, suffering from damage caused by all manner of spent ammunition, including a six pounder lodged on its front wall, was the

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<sup>10</sup> The unlikely meeting of these two unknown men was documented by Alfred Ward, in his illustration is preserved in the National Archives, See Henry Woodhead, *Voices of the Civil War, Antietam*, (Alexandria, 1996), 136.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, back cover.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

Dunkard or Dunker Church, known by all American Civil War enthusiasts and historians alike, and its reputation on the Antietam Battlefield, is a slang term for the Dunker religious sect which originated in Germany.<sup>13</sup> Today the building sits as a silent reminder to a battle which, by most accounts, saved the union and compelled General Lee to limp back to Virginia, but what is the Dunker Church? Why is it so impressed on the collective memory but so little known? Who were the Dunkers, these Sectarian Pietist dissenters and their compatriots?

For the religious sectarians or dissenting members of the various pietist movements were “members of a non-established Church, a Nonconformist” was a necessity or a way of life.<sup>14</sup> In the seventeenth-century, religious warfare streamed across Europe at an alarming rate, forcing thousands to flee their homelands to avoid persecution or to merely survive. Those who did not flee, such as those in the Palatinate, or Rhine River valley, were persecuted by the French who had devastated the area through two wars.<sup>15</sup> Although many sectarians found their religious cohesion remaining intact, dissenters were now scattered to foreign lands seeking freedom of worship, which they lacked in their homeland, however many found the frontier of America and their own religious practices ill-equipped to remain a distinct religious community. Furthermore, these Dunker Pietists came from predominantly German-speaking areas in Europe, and like other sectarians, such as the Camisards and Huguenots, migrated from the Palatine in the eighteenth-

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<sup>13</sup> The word Dunkard is a slang term which was used to describe the Dunker sect of the Brethren Church. Other names included Dumpler, New Baptists, Duncards, Tunkers, Tumblers, German Baptists, Due Täufer, and Tauf-Gesinnten. This work will call them Dunker’s as that is the angelized version of the German Tunker; see, Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, (Elgin, 1967).

<sup>14</sup> *Oxford Dictionaris*, s.v. ‘Dissenter’, accessed 11 November 2021, <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/dissenter>.

<sup>15</sup> In the seventeenth century, the Rhine Valley remained both a target of the major powers in Europe during various wars, but also nations attempted to wrest control of the Rhine River Valley throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The Dutch War (1672-9) saw armies crossing the Rhine by both the Germans and the French, as well as the Dutch, the treaties gave France and the Great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg-Prussia. The second war, the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), changed the political landscape of Europe, leaving Austria the stronger power in Germany and Italy, Britain grew as a leading power, whereas France remained the leading position, but future wars would prove the French were not as strong as they once were. These two wars saw men and war machines travelling through the Rhine delta; see, Euan Cameron, *Early Modern Europe*, (New York, 2001), 222-6.

century.<sup>16</sup> Forced from their homes by the Edict of Fontainebleau of 1698 that revoked the Edict of Nantes of 1685 which had granted Protestants living in France relative freedom to worship, the Huguenots and Camisards migrated from their home territories in France into the Rhine River Valley. However, the Camisards struggled to migrate fully.<sup>17</sup> While they were barred from leaving France, and many were forced to convert to Catholicism, those who lived on the borders of the Palatine and the north along the English Channel were able to migrate either to the Low Countries of the Spanish Netherlands, or travel across the Channel into England, where they were welcomed due to their wealth and skills. Not all French Protestants were as lucky as those in the north-east. Those Camisards and Huguenots who lived in the south-east, suffered for four years during the Cévennes War (1701-1705). According to Catherine Randall, “although both started as Calvinists with the same sort of ecclesiastical formation, a heightened form of pietistic religious expression developed among the Camisards, [which led to] a climate of severe persecution and their geographical isolation from the rest of France.”<sup>18</sup>

Throughout the seventeenth-century, life was hard in Europe and in England. However, at the turn of the following century, England’s economy became more stable, employment was up, the emerging middle-class was thriving, and commodities flowed in and out of ports.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Many of the French Protestants assimilated into other Protestant groups in both Europe and North America. However, the Camisard followers influenced a “revival of Protestant piety in early eighteenth-century,” New England and New York City. Both Huguenots and Camisards influenced and were influenced by the Protestant forms of Piety in both Europe and the New World; see, Catherine Randall, *From a Far Country, Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World*, (Athens, 2011), 68.

<sup>17</sup> Many Camisards fled to Switzerland, seeking refuge from France’s harshness against the Camisards, executing many of its leaders and even after friendly Protestant countries sent a fleet to rescue the Camisards, France captured one of the ships as a warning against the Europeans; see, Catherine Randall, *From a Far Country, Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World*, (Athens, 2011), 22.

<sup>18</sup> Catherine Randall, *From a Far Country, Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World*, (Athens GA, 2011), 112-3.

<sup>19</sup> Economic, financial, and domestic life began to improve after the Glorious Revolution. The financial stability of England increased as the political tensions resorted to less violent efforts to settle problems within the government. The Glorious Revolution also brought increased elections, a larger voting block and the newly chartered Bank of England began loaning money to the government and the Exchequer levied harsh taxes on the importation of goods; see Roy Porter, *English Society in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, (New York, 1982), 106-7; John Brewer and John Styles, *An*

Nevertheless, in the other areas of the British Isles, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, life was not as easy, movement became necessary for an enhanced quality of life. So too the Rhine River valley in central Europe saw a great increase in emigration from the High Rhine, the Alpine Rhine, the Aar River, and the northern Alps. These migrants to the United Kingdom and its colonial assets brought with them a different tradition or folkways, different religious beliefs, and most obvious, a different language. When George I of Hanover ascended the throne in 1714 following the death of Queen Anne, and his mother who died a mere two months before Anne, the deaths left George, who was the eldest son, Elector of Hanover, the heir to England's throne, and thus opened the territories of England to those, like himself, of German ancestry.<sup>20</sup>

When British North America opened to European immigration in the early eighteenth-century, the opinions of these dissenters became clearer; emigrate to America or become marginalized or persecuted in the old world. According to Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheiding, "between 1710 and 1770, nearly 76,000 immigrants from German-speaking areas in Europe arrived at the port of Philadelphia...from the Palatinate, northern Kraichgau, Württemberg, Westernwald, Rhineland, Hesse, Hanau, Baded, and Alsace."<sup>21</sup> Patricia Bonomi has noted that "religious institutions in America were hampered at every turn by the settlers' diversity of belief."<sup>22</sup> These German immigrants were not destitute or the poor, and according to

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*Ungovernable People*, (New Brunswick, 1980); E Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (New York, 1963); Thomas William Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles*, (Chicago, 2002); David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, (New York, 2000).

<sup>20</sup> After the death of his mother, George reorganized his list of regents, placing his son as his heir, knowing that he was now, himself, the proclaimed heir. Even on her death bed, Queen Ann wanted George to take the responsibility of the throne off her shoulders. On the first day of August, Queen Anne died, and George's list of regents was ceremoniously opened, and at one o'clock that afternoon, George I was proclaimed king. See, Ragnhild Hatton, *George I*, (New Haven, 1978), 108-9.

<sup>21</sup> Jan Stieverman and Oliver Scheiding, *A Peculiar Mixture, German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, (University Park, 2013), 188-89.

<sup>22</sup> Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven, Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America*, (New York, 1986), 36.

Allan Kulikoff, “however much immigrants differed in culture or religion, they all moved to find land to set up farms.”<sup>23</sup> Hartmut Lehmann and other historians concluded that “most [German] immigrants settled in the rural backcountry areas of Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah valley, where a dispersed settlement pattern prevailed and European-style nuclear village communities were largely absent.”<sup>24</sup> Lehmann also suggests that the German immigrants “encountered a [land] of fragmented German population that included sectarians and church people, newcomers and well-integrated settlers, successes and failures among those who had previously moved.”<sup>25</sup> He further asserts that “the overall German ‘community’ in the American colonies was in fact heterogeneous and fragmented in nature.”<sup>26</sup>

From the beginnings of colonialization of the continent, Americans have been a diverse and, at times, overwhelming conglomerate of race, color, creed, and socio-economic background. Religious conformity was, after the Glorious Revolution, a matter of governmental imposition or over-reach in the southern colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and to a lesser extent New York and the New England Colonies, enforcing the support of the Anglican Church, removing, prosecuting, or arresting the various dissenters. While many historians discuss the role of dissenters within the British colonial sphere, very few discuss the specific attributes, the communal origin, or the theology and liturgy of various dissenters who spread out across the vast wilderness frontier of the eighteenth-century landscape of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Although most of the German immigrants came from the Rhine River estuaries, many of the more radical Separatists came

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<sup>23</sup> Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers*, (Chapel Hill, 2000), 202.

<sup>24</sup> Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity, New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, (University Park, 2000), 167.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

from Moravia and Bohemia, fleeing persecution into Count Zinzendorf's lands. The area in which they fled was called the Herrnhut "Pietists of all stripes, Separatists, mystics, and seekers came to Herrnhut to search of a more genuine form of Christianity."<sup>27</sup> Count Zinzendorf and his adherents promoted a Piety that was based on its predecessors but also evolving and developing new ideas of the Unitas Fratrum of the Holy Roman Empire. While Zinzendorf was struggling with his own form of Piety, others such as a man named Krüger saw Zinzendorf as the antichrist and shattered the continuity of the communal Herrnhut. Zinzendorf remained committed himself to upholding the basic Unitas Fratrum and issued the *Herrschaftliche Gebote und Verbote* "(Manorial Injunctions and Prohibitions) to order the civil life in Herrnhut."<sup>28</sup> This solidified the Moravian Church and remains today its mission and motto. Moravians believed that regardless of the sect the Germans belonged to, they were "living in intimate communion with Christ" as the "true" church, all others being false churches, fallen away from God.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, arable land was scarce in the American east in the colonial period (without significant investment in time and manpower), and farmers were looking for larger tracts but land was not the only reason they migrated west as subsistence farmers. What drew these immigrants to travel along the Great Wagon Road and settle beyond the Susquehanna River both north and south of between the Blue Ridge and the Appalachian highlands, what geologists call the Great Valley, which encompasses the Lehigh, Lebanon, Cumberland, Shenandoah, James River and Roanoke Valleys in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia? How was their theology

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<sup>27</sup> Craig D. Atwood, *Community of the Cross, Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem*, (University Park, 2004), 58.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.



and faith impacted during times of hardship such as war, massacres, raids, and kidnapping? In the British American frontier, there was constantly a fear of Native American incursion.<sup>30</sup>

Migration of radical Pietist from German-speaking lands in Europe to the American colonies was relatively small. However, various proselytizing methods were quite successful, especially those of the Mennonite, Moravian, and Amish. According to Aaron Spencer Fogleman, only about 5,500 total radical Pietists had migrated from Europe to America, or a mere 6.5 percent of the total German-speaking migrants, which included Mennonites, Moravians, Amish, Dunkers, Schwenfelders, and Waldensians. Fogleman states that, “after arriving in Philadelphia, most of the radical pietists moved into the Pennsylvania German countryside and settled in separate townships.”<sup>31</sup> Moreover, the Germans who did arrive in Philadelphia quickly settled originally in Germantown, if only to later migrate further east. Even those Germans of Lutheran or Reformed tradition migrated out of Germantown in large numbers after arriving.

Pietist literature and other published items such as sermons, tracts and hymns were distributed along the Great Wagon Road that traveled west from Philadelphia through Lancaster, then across the Susquehanna River to York and Chambersburg, then turned south through

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<sup>30</sup> In a later chapter the impact on the Dunkers during the French and Indian war will be discussed. While Native Americans remained on the frontier in some degree, they traveled to far off places to attack Europeans who had seemingly encroached on their ancestral lands. After General Braddock’s defeat and George Washington’s surrender was a harsh time to live on the frontier. Those pioneers who did remain suffered from many depredations and were often murdered for it. Jean Daniel Dumas and his allies wreaked havoc on the western frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. On the evening of October 17, 1755, the Dunker village of Penn’s Creek suffered one of the greatest massacres of the age, fourteen dead and eleven carried into captivity. This was just the beginning of the massacres on the frontier. See, Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist & Mohawk*, (Lewisburg, 1996); Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors, How Indian War Transformed Early America*, (New York, 2008); W. J. Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500 – 1783*, (Ontario, 1998); Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads, Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700 – 1763*, (Chapel Hill, 2003); Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry, The Seven Years’ War in Virginia and Pennsylvania 1754 – 1765*, (Pittsburgh, 2003); and William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, *Friends & Enemies in Penn’s Woods*, (University Park, 2004).

<sup>31</sup> Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys, German Migration, Settlement, and Political Culture*, (Philadelphia, 1992), 105.

Hagerstown and then crossed the Potomac into the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>32</sup> The road then traversed along what was originally the Great Warrior Path, meandering through the Shenandoah Valley south, eventually reaching Rowan, North Carolina before turning both west and south. The West Road pierced the Cumberland Gap, into Kentucky territory, and the south road ran into South Carolina and Georgia, before its termination in Augusta, Georgia.<sup>33</sup> This literature, not only printed in English, but also in German, was evangelical and critical of various sectarian, and other denominational beliefs.<sup>34</sup> Religious literature not only traveled by subscription from points east to its intended destination in the backcountry, it was also distributed by itinerant preachers and missionaries such as David Zeisberger, George Whitefield and those Moravians appointed by Count Nicholas Zinzendorf.<sup>35</sup> These German Pietist immigrants brought with them a strange and foreign religious belief which espoused a deep devotional belief centered on communal living, Christian ethics, and heterodoxy in theology. With them came a “treasure trove of promotional literature, ethnography, captivity narratives, travel narratives, political tracts, personal memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, didactic literature, theological tracts, commonplace books, martyrologies, sermons, histories, fictional tales, and most of all, the

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<sup>32</sup> A small group of German Dunker’s and other Anabaptist groups raised, by subscription, funds to have a quantity of pamphlets and books printed in America to disperse them to their German co-religionists in America. Christopher Sauer, a sometime Dunker follower, worked with Alexander Mack and others to establish a press in Germantown to publish such tracts. In 1738 he began publishing a German language Almanac and in 1739 began publishing a small newspaper in German. In 1743 he began printing, in a long German primer type, the second published Bible in America. Sauer also established a papermill in Germantown to support his printing business. After Christopher Sauer’s death, his son, Christopher Sauer Junior, took over the business, where he created one of the first foundries in America for the purpose of creating type sets for printers. Christopher Sauer 3<sup>rd</sup>, also a printer, eventually did not follow in his forefather’s footsteps and fled with the British Army at the end of the Revolutionary War, however, all three remained Dunker’s during their lives, and published, and worked with other German artisans to create books, pamphlets and other ephemera to sell to the Germans on the Frontier. See, Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, (New York, 1970), 405-422.

<sup>33</sup> See, Parke Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road, From Philadelphia to the South*, (Richmond, 2008).

<sup>34</sup> See, Daniel Geyer, “Printing Religious Pamphlets,” *Reliving History*, 2, no. 1 (Spring, 2019), 73 – 77.

<sup>35</sup> See, Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries, Itinerancy, and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World*, (Durham, 1994), and Samuel H. Gapp, *A History of the Beginnings of Moravian Work in America*, (Bethlehem, 1955).

enigmatic poetry and hymns composed by radical Pietist groups such as the Moravians, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, and the brethren of the Ephrata Cloister.”<sup>36</sup> Together with the German religious diversity that was found in the British Frontier in North America, there were other English speaking immigrants who dispersed into the larger frontier culture. Although Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Quakers were making inroads into the frontier, significant numbers of those who settled were the Anabaptist and Pietist dissenters, or those who did not follow the political religion of Anglicanism in the colonies, or the hierarchy who governed them.

Moravian mission congregations spread across the frontier, from Shamokin and Checomeco, to Gnadenhütten and Machiwihilusing, in the Mohican, Mohawk, Onodaga and Delaware territories. Moravians such as David Zeisberger plied his trade as a missionary spreading the Moravian Unity and its theology across what is now Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio. Zeisberger travelled extensively throughout the Ohio country, along with John Heckewelder, and demonstrated the continued changes in religious theology on the frontier.<sup>37</sup>

Many frontiers folk continued to modify their belief system throughout their lives, from external and internal forces, but moreover, from the want and need of religious text, sermons and any other ephemeral or verbal communication. Itinerant preachers, including, but not limited to the Baumanites, the First Fruits Baptists, Dunkers, Mennonite, German Reformed, the wisdom of the Unitas Fratrum (Moravians), as well as smaller orders such as Zionitic Brotherhood, and the

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<sup>36</sup> As the historian Patrick Erben argues, there is an abundance of primary source material still waiting to be recovered and studied that would be considered today as early American literature but has sadly been left out of the historical narrative. Much of these primary materials are housed at the Ephrata Cloister and open new ideas on the multilingual aspect of colonial society in the frontier and beyond. See, Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheiding, *A Peculiar Mixture, German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, (University Park, 2013), 14.

<sup>37</sup> Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel, *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger 1772- 1781*, (University Park, 2005), 73-4.

Order of the Mustard Seed all made their marks on the frontier communities.<sup>38</sup> Various journals and other primary source material originating between the 1720s and the 1780s offers insights about religious toleration and dissenters within the frontier communities between central Pennsylvania, western Maryland, West Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, and the western North Carolina regions. Although many historians have written about various portions of these areas, research has been minimal on their religious observances and their folkways. Further, only the movement of these settlers primarily originated from eastern Pennsylvania and western New Jersey, travelling along the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, has been well documented.

The first permanent settler in the Shenandoah Valley arrived around the year 1720, when the first English settlers crossed the Potomac River around the present-day Shepherdstown, West Virginia, and began a settlement along the Potomac tributaries of Opequon Creek. While this was not indeed the first migration of dissenters from the populated areas of Philadelphia and other larger towns to the east, it triggered the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744, between the Six Nations and the Provincial governments of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. This treaty secured a large stretch of land beyond the Blue Ridge Mountain range which pushed up the piedmont from the Delaware River running west, just north of present-day Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, then curving south-west through the Cumberland Valley and into Maryland,

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<sup>38</sup> The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century saw many new Pietistic sects immersing in Germany and in the New World. Many were short lived; however, many survive today, in various forms from their original teachings. See, Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to Germany Pietism Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*, (Baltimore, 2013); F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, (Grand Rapids, 1976); Jonathan Strom, *German Pietism and the Problem of Conversion*, (University Park, 2018); Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther and Renate Wilson, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity, New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, (University Park, 2000); Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century, Religion, the Reformation, & Social Change*, (Indianapolis, 1967); Peter C. Erb, *Pietists, Selected Writings*, (New York, 1983); Donald B. Kraybill, Carl Desportes Bowman, *On the Backroad to Heaven*, (Baltimore, 2001); Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, (Grantham, 1996); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, (Cambridge, 1990).

through Virginia creating the Shenandoah Valley, then south from the Potomac to North Carolina and into Georgia and what is now Tennessee. This mountain range separated the piedmont from the interior of the greater Appalachian Mountain Range and the Ohio water shed. The flood of immigrants and migrants moved into what is considered Greater Pennsylvania, the area known now as Western Maryland, West Virginia, and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Western North Carolina, and even parts of what was then West and East Jersey. The colonial separation of New Jersey, until 1702 when the colonies were united and annexed to New York, however, were so violent and disputes of land and rents were so commonplace that many former immigrants to the Jerseys moved along the Great Wagon Road and found new lands, beyond the Susquehanna River.

Around 1730 the first of the German, Swiss, and Alsatian “pioneers” arrived from Pennsylvania seeking solitude to practice their version of Christianity. The destination publicized in the *Helvetische Societät* in Berne under the “title *Neu-gefundenes Eden*,” which enticed immigrants from the Rhine delta into Virginia.<sup>39</sup> Other immigrants to the Shenandoah Valley were those from the Scottish Lowlands, the Ulster, or Northern Irish, and later, the Hebrides and Western Highlands immigrants who came after the 1745 defeat at Culloden. Over the next 30 years, various religious communities were created along the Shenandoah Valley to include Lutherans, German Reformed, Anabaptists, Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkards, Mennonites, Quakers, groups of Jewish settlers as well as various Huguenots. Lesser-known German Pietists as well as Schwenkfelders and even smaller members of Moravians and Harmonists also crossed paths down the Philadelphia Wagon Road.

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<sup>39</sup> Letters arriving in Switzerland in the year 1737 and in January of the same year, 33 thousand acres were purchased called *Wilhelm Vogel's* land which was to be divided for the use of these dissenters who came from the Berne area. See Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, (Charlottesville, 1969), 25-6.

Many of the first settlers into Virginia, through the Shenandoah Valley, were Irish, English and German Quakers. These individuals rejected war and self-defense, contrary to what Governor Gooch wanted.<sup>40</sup>

However, as the areas began to increase in population, the Quakers, who once constituted the most individuals became the minority. Irish found that the frontier life was suitable. The rugged landscape, and the ability to move further west, if need be, allowed these Irish immigrants space they very rarely had in Pennsylvania or elsewhere in the east. By the time of the French and Indian War in 1756, the Shenandoah Valley was swarming with the Irish who had managed to carve out a living in the backcountry. Catholics, too, found solace in the back country. Many lacked priests, as even in Maryland, the largest of the Catholic minority in the colonies, remained in desperate need of Catholic priests. Moreover, Catholics were still winning converts, even in the crisis of deist Maryland, the works and strengths of the Catholic message remained steadfast.<sup>41</sup> However, many of the Irish were not affiliated with a diocese, as no Catholic Church was founded in the Shenandoah Valley, although there are sources which state that Catholic priests did travel itinerantly throughout the Greater Pennsylvania area.

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<sup>40</sup> The Quakers of Virginia were no different than the Quakers of Pennsylvania. Pacifist in nature, and in religion, these individuals usually looked towards both land and trade as their source of wealth and their security. While Governor Gooch wanted hardy individuals to secure the western fringes of his colony against the attacks of the French and the Native Americans to the west, the Quakers quickly found themselves outnumbered by the more rebellious or roughness of Irish and Scottish. For more on the Quakers in Virginia see, Jay Worrall Jr, *The Friendly Virginians, America's First Quakers* (Atnens, 1994), & John W. Wayland, *Twenty-Five Chapters on the Shenandoah Valley* (Harrisonburg, 1989), Larry J. Hoefling, *Chasing the Frontier, Scots-Irish in Early America* (New York, 2005), and Scott Weidensaul, *The First Frontier* (Boston, 2012), & Ray R. Albin, *Across Four Centuries* (Berwyn Heights, 2018).

<sup>41</sup> While Maryland, according to both Francis Asbury and George Whitefield, was moving towards deism, at least in the east, the backcountry remained favorable to many different religious schools of thought. Rationalism did not penetrate the backcountry as forcefully as it did in the east, Latitudinarians, Calvinism, Pietism, Baptists, Methodists and even Dutch Lapadists all found Maryland a suitable colony to settle and worship freely. Even William Eddis noted in 1775 that “the colonists are composed of adventurers, not only from every district of Great Britain and Ireland, but from almost every European government.” See, Elaine Brenshaw, “Conflicting Views in Colonial Maryland’s Anglican Population.” *Anglican and Episcopal History* 68, no. 2 (June 2019), 128. [https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/stable/26747936?pq-origsite=summon&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/stable/26747936?pq-origsite=summon&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)

George Washington, commander of the Virginia militia during the various operations, on more than one occasion mentioned the Irish in his roles at both Winchester and in Fort Cumberland in Maryland.<sup>42</sup> While Protestants are a broad term for anyone who was a dissenter against Catholicism, it did not mean that all these individuals were welcome even under Protestant regimes. Thousands fled their homelands because they believed something different than the prince or lord did where they lived. Therefore, they were persecuted just as the Irish were in their own home countries.<sup>43</sup> Many of these religious groups are still dotted across the landscape of the land between the Ridges, however, they were most prominent throughout the Valleys between 1740 and 1770. What were these groups, what specific contributions did they leave in the Valleys, and how did they settle in the Valleys?

### Methodology

Just outside the port city of Philadelphia, the immigration hub of British Colonial America, lays a town, now encompassed by Philadelphia County, called Germantown. The first successful non-English settlement in British America, forged by Germans who were fleeing religious persecution, Germantown is the exception, not the rule in Colonial America. Almost all non-English settlers to the colonies sought to immigrate further away from the large cities, to

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<sup>42</sup> George Washington, *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition* (Charlottesville, 2018). See also, Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry* (Pittsburgh, 2003), and John Grenier, *The First Way of War* (New York, 2003).

<sup>43</sup> Those who we now call Germans, Irish, Scots, Swiss and Low Countryman all migrated to the American Colonies in search of religious freedom. The German's, who followed various leaders in religious communities travelled to America as the leaders touted that America was the "Promised Land", and that God would provide. See Arron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys; German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture* (Philadelphia, 1996), & Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Westminster, 2006), & Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, 1969), & Carla Gardina Pestana & Sharon V. Salinger, *Inequality in Early America* (Hanover, 1999), & Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between; The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774* (Lincoln, 1992).

create their own utopia, one that William Penn imagined.<sup>44</sup> But not all non-English were fleeing something, many were recruited by the British government and the governors of various colonies, to fill the gap that was now left from the slowing of English migrants. These immigrants transformed Colonial America.

Most of the immigrants were volunteers, people willing to leave the land of their birth, and create a new home, in a foreign land among many not speaking their native tongue. This does not mean that everyone freely migrated to Colonial America. Many were unable to pay their way to the colonies, deferring to a method of indenture to pay back their debt. While the author recognizes that there are thousands of migrants who were enslaved involuntarily, this document will only focus on the volunteer migration of various peoples within the European continent.

The focusing question here concerns the evolving nature and organizations of a volunteer society. The goal is to examine the origin of a social system and the stability it created within the context of the American Colonies. My work will allow the mechanizations of Dunker communities which have lasted for nearly two centuries unmolested, and remained loyal to their social, economic, political, legal, and cultural foundations. Examining the democratic, capitalist, individualist and culturally pluralistic society is necessary to explain the origins of such a people. However, examining the reasons why these individuals and groups migrated from one area to another is extremely difficult, as it has a multidisciplinary academia. Tens of hundreds of professionals from all walks of academic mediums have attempted to lay claim to the reasons

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<sup>44</sup> William Penn toured the Rhine Valley in both 1671 and 1677 and traveled with his friend, Francis Daniel Pastorius. Penn looked to expand his “Holy Experiment” and sought to open the port of Philadelphia to German Pietists and other individuals who were “refined and affluent” of Frankfurt on the Main. These Pietists were known as the “Quiet in the Land,” See Christine M. Totten, *Roots in the Rhineland, America’s Heritage in Three Hundred Years of Immigration 1683 – 1983*, (New York, 1983), 7.



why an individual migrates, from economic historians to social science, from political science and anthropology to geographers. All have asserted theories as to the reasons and purpose of migrations, but all have stemmed from a two-sided coin. The first, is that migration is a fundamental experience of humanity, a roving instinct. The second, based on “push and pull, which factors the wage and unemployment differentials, which predict that they should go.”<sup>45</sup>

Research will explore archives and historical societies to access the primary source material in period published journals and other unpublished journals. An examination of materials associated with Protestantism as well as the Catholic minorities who spread around the areas will also be of particular interest, gleaning from the observations and notions of the German Pietist and other dissenters.<sup>46</sup> Although eastern Maryland experienced a rise in deism, western Maryland grew in religious conversion, making the comparative research particularly compelling.<sup>47</sup> Lastly, researching through military and other records will also generate primary evidence which will substantiate the research question.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Russell King in, “Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and A Primer,” *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations*, (Malmö, 2012), 1-43.

<sup>46</sup> The Quakers of Virginia were no different than the Quakers of Pennsylvania. Pacifist in nature, and in religion, these individuals usually looked towards both land and trade as their source of wealth and their security. While Governor Gooch wanted hardy individuals to secure the western fringes of his colony against the attacks of the French and the Native Americans to the west, the Quakers quickly found themselves outnumbered by the more rebellious or roughness of the Irish and Scottish individuals. For more on the Quakers in Virginia see, Jay Worrall Jr, *The Friendly Virginians, America’s First Quakers* (Atnens, 1994), & John W. Wayland, *Twenty-Five Chapters on the Shenandoah Valley* (Harrisonburg, 1989), Larry J. Hoefling, *Chasing the Frontier, Scots-Irish in Early America* (New York, 2005), and Scott Weidensaul, *The First Frontier* (Boston, 2012), & Ray R. Albin, *Across Four Centuries* (Berwyn Heights, 2018).

<sup>47</sup> While Maryland, according to both Francis Asbury and George Whitefield, was moving towards deism, at least in the east, the backcountry remained favorable to many different religious schools of thought. Rationalism did not penetrate the backcountry as forcefully as it did in the east, Latitudinarians, orthodox Calvinism, Pietism, Baptists, Methodists and even Dutch Lapadists all found Maryland a suitable colony to settle and worship freely. Even William Eddis noted in 1775 that “the colonists are composed of adventurers, not only from every district of Great Britain and Ireland, but from almost every European government.” See, Elaine Brenshaw, “Conflicting Views in Colonial Maryland’s Anglican Population.” *Anglican and Episcopal History* 68, no. 2 (June 2019), 128. [https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/stable/26747936?pq-origsite=summon&seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/stable/26747936?pq-origsite=summon&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)

<sup>48</sup> George Washington, *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition* (Charlottesville, 2018). See also, Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry* (Pittsburgh, 2003), and John Grenier, *The First Way of War* (New York, 2003).

Why various people migrated from their home country to the American colonies can be quite overwhelming to the modern reader but must be considered to fully place the Dunker experience in context. However, focusing on what those immigrants did once they landed here will be the primary emphasis of this paper. This paper will examine the frontier, the fringe of western society, much different than its European counterparts. The frontier, where savage and civilization mingle, the area, which is considered free land, purchased, or not, opened to settlement between the 1720's and the 1760's. This paper will consider the Dunker experience throughout the entirety of the frontier, from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, the area to the west of the Piedmont to the Blue Ridge mountains and its confluences. This work will bring together the germ theory, Turner's frontier theory and contemporary migration theories, together with the various comparative cultures, religions and folkways of the migrants consistent with the perspective that the truest "point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is its West."<sup>49</sup>

This body of work will consider the various religious folkways these immigrants brought with them, how they transformed the frontier into a viable and lasting hegemony of ideals, principles, religious tolerance, and individualism, while also fostering the foundations of the colloquial hillbilly mentality of the Appalachian Mountain folk. This research will examine religious text, manuscripts, newspaper articles, maps, individual diaries, and other miscellaneous records, to fully evaluate the foundation of a people that are reliant on both self and community,

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<sup>48</sup> Those who we now call Germans, Irish, Scots, Swiss and Low Countryman all migrated to the American Colonies in search of religious freedom. The German's, who followed various leaders in religious communities travelled to America as the leaders touted that America was the "Promised Land", and that God would provide. See Arron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys; German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture* (Philadelphia, 1996), & Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Westminster, 2006), & Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, 1969), & Carla Gardina Pestana & Sharon V. Salinger, *Inequality in Early America* (Hanover, 1999), & Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between; The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774* (Lincoln, 1992).

<sup>49</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, (New York, 1996).

tolerant of all, rather than a single race or people, brutal in their defense, but quick to move towards peace, stubborn and resilient. The first American Frontier and the Dunker experience is the very foundation of American idealism and identity.

### Pietism: A Historiography

Many historians have written about the role of various sects and their impact on the European religious community.<sup>50</sup> Pietism, however, has been often overlooked, but contributed greatly towards the ministry of John Wesley, Immanuel Kant, and other Evangelicals both in Europe and America. One must fully evaluate those historians such as Peter C. Erb, in his work *Pietists, Selected Writings*, (1983), whose translated works included writings from such Pietistic influences as Philipp Jakob Spener, Gottfried Arnold, Johann Albrecht Bengel and Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Without Erb's translations, Pietist scholarship would be foreign, and these primary sources would be limited to scholars who possessed a command of the German language. Dale W. Brown, in his work, *Understanding Pietism* (1996) addresses why Pietism, while largely ignored by opponents of Evangelicalism, is important to the era of immigration of those who spoke the German language and followed such Pietists revolutionaries such as Philipp Jakob Spener, Ernst Saloman Cyprian and August Hermann Francke.<sup>51</sup> While these authors discussed Pietism as a movement, or a Sect within the Lutheran orthodoxy, neither gave explicit focus on the immigration of followers of these individuals and their settlement on the frontier of colonial America.

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<sup>50</sup> Radical Pietism, as it is now termed, has found favor in recent decades, various individuals such as Hans Schneider and Peter Erb have focused on various radical leaders who began in the Rhine River Valley; See, Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism; Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*, (Baltimore, 2013), 149.

<sup>51</sup> While both Spener and Francke believed that heresy in the Lutheran Church should be "fought vigorously" they only saw unity to be necessary in truth, rather than blindly coercing followers. See, Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, (Nappanee, 1996), 33. Also, Peter C. Erb, *Pietists, Selected Writings*, (New York, 1983).

Historians focusing on the transatlantic history of the Pietist movement consider specific themes, or specific sects, not regarding them in the historical context. For example, Donald B. Kraybill and Carl Desportes Bowman in their work, *On the Backroad to Heaven*, (2001), in which they summarized the histories of various groups such as the Old Order Hutterites, Mennonites, Amish and Brethren. The work detailed these groups and their historical connections and the radical reformation of the Anabaptists and how they transformed these groups into what they are today. Moreover, the work discusses in detail the eighteenth-century Anabaptist identity, their political leanings and most importantly their traditional beliefs. These authors touch on the immigration and settlement of various groups, but only briefly, examining the “common roots [of the Anabaptist family] the Amish and Mennonites branched into separate bodies in 1693 before they migrated to the New World.”<sup>52</sup>

Lastly, the early Pietist, Caspar Schwenckfeld, is also worth discussing. Ruth Gouldbourne details the life and writings of Schwenckfeld in her work, *The Flesh and the Feminine, Gender and Theology in the Writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld*, (2006). Gouldbourne’s historiography of Schwenckfeld is thorough and conclusive, focusing on the life of Schwenckfeld and his theology, examining his “charismatic personality,” while also evaluating the role of the women in Schwenckfeld’s life.<sup>53</sup> Further discussion of migration practices of these Pietists is in order. Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, in their work, *In Search of Peace and Prosperity, New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, (2000), examine the history and the historiography of

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<sup>52</sup> This work is important as an examination of the traditions and folkways of these various Sects, See Donald B. Kraybill and Carl Desportes Bowman, *On the Backroad to Heaven*, (Baltimore, 2001), 6.

<sup>53</sup> The author does bring up the problematic history of Schwenckfeld and his personal relationship with various women both married and unmarried during his lifetime. While the author does suggest it is difficult to understand his personal situation as his preserved writings do not have personal references, and he never married, the author struggles to interpret his relationships, See Ruth Gouldbourne, *The Flesh and the Feminine, Gender and Theology in the Writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld*, (Eugene, 2006), 10.

the Pietists who followed von Zinzendorf and others as Pietist Herrnhut followers. The authors also discussed the correspondence of both the Halle and the Pennsylvania Pietists. While historians have examined the German Pietists and their movement in Europe and outside of the continent and historiography has not comprehensively considered the strong connections that existed between German Pietists and their North American brothers and sisters. This thesis anticipates developing this idea more comprehensively.

### Early Dissenters: A Historiography

Histories of religion in the American Colonies are extensive.<sup>54</sup> When considering the dissenters within the frontier of the British North American west, one should draw their attention to the work of Stephen L. Longenecker's, *Shenandoah Religion* (2002). Longenecker's scholarship, examines the Shenandoah Valley's religious diversity, and the role it played in creating a mixed and varied religious society.<sup>55</sup> However, Longenecker's primary arguments focused not on the colonial history of the valley, but rather the Revolutionary, Antebellum and Civil War history of religious diversity in the area. Relying on eccentrics such as Quaker Benjamin Lay, and nonconformist, John Woolman, as well as mainstream evangelical activists such as James Ireland and George Whitefield, Longenecker loosely examined the roles of select active participants in various religious heterogonies. While the work discussed the Dunkers and other sectarians, such as Christopher Saur II, it gave little attention to the colonial frontier. My thesis focuses on establishing a narrative of who are these sectarians, to include the Dunkers.

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<sup>54</sup> Thomas S. Bremer, *Formed From This Soil, An Introduction to the Diverse History of Religion in America*, (Malden, 2015); Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven, Religion, Society, and Politics in America*, (New York, 1986); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith, Christianizing the American People*, (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>55</sup> Stephen L. Longenecker is a Professor of History at Bridgewater College in Bridgewater, Virginia. He is a graduate of Johns Hopkins University and has published other works on American religious history.

Many historians have mentioned the various Pietists who originated from the Rhine Valley in what is now western Germany, eastern France and northwest Switzerland, Albert Bernhardt Faust, in his seminal work, *The German Element in the United States*, (1909), mentions the Mennonites, Dunkards, Anabaptists and the Schwenfelders, presents his rather negative views on the Pietists as a whole and does not mention the tragic history of many of these sectarians on the middle colonies frontiers.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Faust's primary arguments broadly discuss the overall immigration of all German language immigrants as a whole, whereas my thesis focuses on examining these Pietist Germans, their ideology and the role they played on the middle colonies, particularly within the context of other dissenters.

Germans began coming into the English Colonies beginning in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. They focused their settlement on Jersey, the Lower Counties of present-day Delaware and Pennsylvania. However, by mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century, the colony of Pennsylvania could no longer support the population of Germans lining up at Philadelphia's harbors. Although the English Quaker community felt threatened by the German immigration into Pennsylvania, they mostly feared the German populations were not aligned with the Mennonite population. Patricia Bonomi points out that it was not the Pietists Germans they feared, but the Lutheran Germans. Klaus Wust, author of *Virginia Germans*, (1969) argues that the first Germans to settle were not the Lutheran Germans, "they were frequently referred to as 'German Quakers' and enjoyed the general tolerance accorded Quakers west of the Blue Ridge."<sup>57</sup> These German Quakers were more tolerant and followed a more pacifist ideology than their fellow Germans who were of the Lutheran or Reformed faith. According to Patricia U. Bonomi, in *Under the Cope of Heaven*, (1986) Germans made up nearly half of all immigrants coming into the Port of Philadelphia and

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<sup>56</sup> Albert Bernhardt Faust was a professor of German at Johns Hopkins and Wesleyan University.

<sup>57</sup> Klaus Wust, *Virginia Germans*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1969), 49.

by 1740 the Quakers along with German and Ulster immigrants amounted to the bulk of immigrants to the New World.<sup>58</sup> However, with cheap land in the east becoming harder to acquire, many new immigrants used the newly available roads to migrate west, by north and south to settle lands beyond the Susquehanna River. According to James T. Lemon, in his work *The Best Poor Man's Country*, (1972) “the rapid rise of trans-Susquehanna Pennsylvania” was due to the rapid construction of roads.<sup>59</sup> Lemon, a geographical historian, focuses his attention on the rise of the metropolitan logistical system in Pennsylvania in which consumers and tradesman transported goods from east to west and returned with commodities from west to east.

These Germans were seen as stronger, more adapt at settling the frontier than Quakers or Anglicans. Historians assent these new Germans had a different mindset. Warren F. Hofstra, a graduate of the University of Virginia in 1985, and prominent colonial Virginia historian, writes in his book *The Planting of New Virginia: Peopling an Empire*, ((2004) that the Germans and others such as the Ulster Scots and other Irish were hardy people, protestants all the same, but stronger, more adapted to frontier subsistence, than those colonists who settled the Piedmont. In Governor Alexander Spotswood's arguments for allowing Germans and others to migrate into the Blue Ridge and beyond he states “our People are not disposed for Warlike undertakings, Security, I have provided for the Country to be of Such a nature, that if half the pains be used to

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<sup>58</sup> Bonomi has written six other distinct works in which she examines various aspects of colonial American and the early Republicanism in America. Professor at New York University, and graduate of Columbia University in 1970. While the author focuses on the political landscape of colonial America in the work, the religious distinctions were never far behind the greater discussion in her work. Other major works of the author included, *Lord Cornbury Scandal the Politics of Reputation in British America*, *A Faction People; Politics and Society in Colonial New York*, *Party and Political Opposition in Revolutionary America*, *Colonial Dutch Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, and *The American Constitutional System Under Strong and Weak Parties*. See, Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven; Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America*, (New York, 1986), 170-1.

<sup>59</sup> Lemon, a geographical historian, examines the rise of the eastern Pennsylvanian landscape from a small patchwork of loosely connected villages, into a metropolitan area which supplies the west and south with goods and services, while consuming the commodities brought back via these roads from the west. His other works include, *North American: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent* and *Liberal Dreams and Nature's Limits: Great Cities of North America Since 1600*. See, James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, (New York, 1972), 133.

improve it, which I have taken to Settle it, the Strength of your Barrier may with time be increasing and the Expense Decreasing.”<sup>60</sup> As Hofstra points out in Smallwood’s account these warlike men, were needed settle the frontier, not the timid and weak. Not only did the Germans go to the frontier, but also many other non-English such as the Scots and the Irish. Other historians such as Patrick Griffin, of The University of Notre Dame, in *The People with No Name; Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689 – 1764*, (2001) saw similar expression in the “welcoming” of these immigrants, but only if they went west beyond the piedmont of the eastern populated colonial territories.

The Germans found that after the Treaty of Lancaster, the fertile lands of the west were now open to them for settlement.<sup>61</sup> This would prove useful to the peopling of the Shenandoah Valley; native people would support the immigration into this new frontier of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. While Fenton’s contemporaries, such as Gregory Evans Dowd, of the University of Michigan, in his work, *A Spirited Resistance, the North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745 – 1815*, (1992) and Jane T. Merritt, of the Old Dominion University, in her work,

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<sup>60</sup> Probably one of the most prolific contemporary authors of the Shenandoah Valley, Hofstra has written such books as: *The Great Valley Road of Virginia: Shenandoah Landscapes from Prehistory to the Present*, *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680 – 1830*, *Cultures in Conflict: The Seven Years’ War in North America*, *Virginia Reconsidered: New Histories of the Old Dominion*, *Virginia Women: Their Lives and Times*, *George Washington and the Virginia Backcountry*, and *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800 – 1900*. While George I saw that these Germans were also of his own place of birth, he, and Spotswood alike, saw that they were “better” suited for the defense and subjugation of the frontier than the English. Warren R Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 59-60.

<sup>61</sup> The Treaty of Lancaster, signed by the Native American tribes of the Six Nations, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, which granted Great Britain access to the Ohio Valley, which was disputed by Virginia, Pennsylvania, and none-Six Nation Native Americans. The struggle between the colonies and the Natives, as well as the French all attempted to control the lands between the Susquehanna and the Ohio Valley. For the struggle in the Pittsburgh area see, Daniel P. Barr, *A Colony Sprung from Hell*, (Kent, 2014). For official documentation on the Treaty of Lancaster see, Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist & Mohawk*, (Lewisburg, 1996), 184 – 196. For a detailed description of Lancaster see, Jerome H. Wood Jr, *Conestoga Crossroads, Lancaster 1730 – 1790*, (Harrisburg, 1979), and for historical significance of the effect of the Treaty of Lancaster on the Shenandoah Valley see, Parke Rouse Jr, *The Great Wagon Road, From Philadelphia to the South*, (Richmond, 2015); David Hatchett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away, Virginia and the Westward Movement*, (Charlottesville, 2000); James Thomas Flexner, *Mohawk Baronet*, (Syracuse, 1979), and John Smolenski, *Friends and Strangers, the Making of a Creole Culture in Colonial America*, (Philadelphia, 2010).



*At the Crossroads; Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700 – 1763*, (2003) argue that the minor tribes residing in Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania during the time of the Lancaster Treaty suffered more than those of the Iroquois and were treated as suzerains rather than a united nation of Indians. Gary B. Nash, formerly a professor at the University of California Los Angeles, in his work, *Red, White, & Black; The Peoples of Early North America*, (2010) saw that not only were various Native Americans suffering from these treaties, but also enslaved Africans as well. Further issue the Germans faced was that of voluntary indenture, Nash argues that the most difficult aspect of their migration was serving their indenture and “moving up the ladder,” to own their own piece of land.<sup>62</sup> One must also understand that, according to Richard Hofstadter, in *America in 1750*, (1971), only “2 out of 10 may have reached positions of moderate comfort.”<sup>63</sup> Moreover, some historians only marginally address the German immigrant experience, while Hofstadter discusses German indentured servants originated from the Rhine river valley he makes no mention what religion these immigrants followed.

Germans were trained in the use of arms as militia experience developed in European areas known for persistent warfare. These people were able to live off the land, creating and maintaining strong economically diversified settlements with little outside interference, all centered on a common network of religious and social beliefs.<sup>64</sup> Although these immigrants were not the traditional Anglican parishioners, they were in all respects European born, and were indentured to no one. Strong, agile, and possessing a temperament for hardship, these men and women who settled the frontier were more rugged than their Piedmont colonial neighbors who were of more affluent, solid-economic status.

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<sup>62</sup> Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black; The Peopling of Early North America*, (Boston, 2010), 174.

<sup>63</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *America in 1750*, (New York, 1971), 61.

<sup>64</sup> Hofstra., 82.

An altogether different class of individuals also felt threatened by the incoming populations of Germans, Ulster Irish, and Scotch immigrants, but this population was not to bear the brunt of the most horrific policies of Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania. This group was the Native Americans. By the late 17<sup>th</sup> Century one major group of Native Americans, a confederacy bearing great resemblances to that of future United States, championed the welfare and prosperity of all Native Americans in North America. The Confederation known as the Iroquois Confederacy effectively spoke for all Natives, even if they did not agree with that assertion. Taking on the role of neutrality between the English of New York and New England, and that of New France based in Quebec, the Iroquois accommodated their neighbors almost on the verge of double agents. The Five-Nations, as they were known, was based in Albany, New York, and presided there for nearly a century. Over the decades, the Iroquois Confederacy enveloped vast quantities of neighboring tribesman who made peace with the Iroquois out of a need for protection and survival. As time wound on the Iroquois began to develop a crucial skill at diplomacy, culminating in the Lancaster Treaty of 1744. William N. Fenton, a well-known author who wrote extensively on the Iroquois history and culture, director of the New York State Museum and anthropology professor at the State University of New York, argued that “the Lancaster treaty with the Six Nations proved to be a pivotal event in the history of the colonies...The Iroquois controlled the agenda, and native protocol prevailed.”<sup>65</sup>

### German Immigration: A Historiography

The differences between those who were called German Quakers and those of the Lutheran faith were social, economic, and spiritual. The early German immigrants were Pietists,

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<sup>65</sup> Fenton was a prominent Iroquois historian, writing many histories on the Native Americans, to include: *An Outline of Seneca Ceremonies at Coldspring Longhouse*, *Songs from the Iroquois Longhouse*, *The Iroquois Eagle Dance*, *The False Faces of the Iroquois*, and *The Little Water Medicine Society of the Seneca*. William N Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse*, (Norman, 1988), 423.

Mystics, and Rosicrucian's, inhabiting small areas of Pennsylvania where they practiced a more monastic communal life centered on a small church or village they were against the use of slavery and were deemed dissenters.<sup>66</sup> The Lutheran Germans, on the other hand, were the majority religion in the German speaking lands of Europe, driven out by the late Thirty-Years' Wars and finally the War of Spanish Succession, with, thousands of refugees from the Palatinate and surrounding areas pouring into London, New York and Philadelphia. The first large scale immigration of Germans came with the general Naturalization Act of 1709<sup>67</sup>. However, this does not mean that foreign Protestants were not authorized to migrate into North America prior to this act. Protestants migrating from Europe to English soil began early, and according to Walter Allen Knittle, in his work, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, (2006), noted that Charles II authorized ships bearing French Huguenots to disembark in Carolina Territory as early as 1679. Mass migration of Scottish to the new world remained elusive, as most immigrated to Ireland's northeast coast in the seventeenth century, just as many Germans were sent to Ireland late in the seventeenth century.

The Board of Trade, early in the eighteenth century after the general naturalization act was passed in Parliament, looked to New York, for re-settlement given that colony's abundant pine forests as a resource for turpentine, and in 1708 they approved the voyage of Palatine Germans to New York Colony to work the forests. Initially the Germans found the area of New York a daunting pioneering challenged, and for many, survival was tenuous at best. New York ranked sixth in total population in 1715, only claiming 31,000 individuals residing in the colony,

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<sup>66</sup> Bernard Bailyn and Philip D Morgan, *Strangers within the Realm; Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 238-240.

<sup>67</sup> William Penn and others urged for the passage of a general naturalization act which would allow England "to improve and thicken her colonies with people not her own," Penn wrote to James Logan in Pennsylvania, See Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, (Westminster, 2006), 27.

well behind its neighbors of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.<sup>68</sup> Even with the crown, Parliament, and the Board of Trade's approval for Europeans to migrate to the New World territories, immigration trickled, and non-Quaker migration remained the dominant people to migrate in 1715. Historians, such as David Hackett Fischer, in his definitive work, *Albion's Seed*, (1989) saw that non-Quaker migration did not begin to outpace the Quakers in Pennsylvania until well into the mid-century.<sup>69</sup>

Once in the American colonies these refugees from Germany found that the larger populated areas of Pennsylvania were already overpopulated and began to move west to settle new areas beyond the Susquehanna River. One of the more prominent British American historians, Bernard Bailyn, along with Philip D. Morgan, in their work, *Strangers within the Realm*, (1991), argued that these Germans who left the Rhineland in the eighteenth century were different than those who immigrated in the past. They were no longer refugees of a war-torn land in Europe, but rather they were part of the "pietist renewal movement that began within German Lutheranism and shaped [from the] shared characteristics with Reformed efforts that drew on independence sources in Swiss and Dutch theology."<sup>70</sup> It was to the advantage of both the current inhabitants to the east to allow them safe passage through towards the west. Those frontier Germans enjoyed fertile soil, tremendous old growth forests and boundless supply of game to satisfy their family's needs.<sup>71</sup> It was not long until the eastern slopes of the Appalachian Mountains were tilled, crops laid, and the bounty harvested to be sent east to Philadelphia and

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<sup>68</sup> New York claimed to have 27,000 whites and 4,000 African people in 1715, however, Pennsylvania had double that, and Massachusetts had nearly four times the population, see Merrill Jensen, *English Historical Documents, American Colonial Documents to 1776 Volume IX*, (New York, 1955), 479.

<sup>69</sup> German immigration, according to Fischer, peaked in the colonial Era, around mid-century, and in 1755 42% of all immigration into Philadelphia and Pennsylvania was German in origin, See David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, (New York, 1989), 431.

<sup>70</sup> This new Pietism saw to internationalize their movements, seeking North American and Europe as their mission field, See Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, *Strangers within the Realm*, (Chapel Hill, 1991), 246 – 50.

<sup>71</sup> Larry J Hoefling, *Chasing the Frontier: Scots-Irish in Early America*, (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2005), 19.

other ports. These rugged Germans peeled out a living on the fringes of society, acting as a buffer between those larger metropolitan areas and the native tribes. They formed small villages and organized various religious enclaves which allowed them to devote time to activities such as mission work, printing religious documents and evangelization.

Migration even in the days of British rule was a normal aspiration in the colonial minds. However, when the Great Wagon Road was signed over to the Virginians, effectively linking the six major colonies from New England to Georgia, it opened the flood gates to migration. The coming war with France also added in the migration south from Pennsylvania into Virginia and North Carolina. Park Rouse writes in his book *The Great Wagon Road*, (2008) that “the years 1756, 1757, and 1758 were stained with the blood of many German and Scotch-Irish settlers along the Wagon Road and in the settlements beyond it.”<sup>72</sup> Although this thesis does not primarily address the era beyond that of Governor Spotswood’s tenure it is worth noting that Spotswood’s actions created the opportunity for those living on the fringe of civilization to migrate south through his colony, sparking a great migration.

One major difference between those Germans in the Shenandoah Valley and the Scotch-Irish who followed them was the nature of their conflict resolution. The Germans of the Valley tended to leave or abandon their settlements, as Larry J. Hoefling suggested in his book *Chasing the Frontier*, (2005) where he argued that the German pioneers “withdrew rather than confront members of the various tribes, and were similar to the Quakers in their pacifistic tendencies.”<sup>73</sup> Regardless of who settled, or where they came from, western expansion continued under the strict watchful eyes of those in Williamsburg, where Governor Berkeley snarled at the idea of others migrating into Virginia. William Berkeley was the most obedient of servants to his King

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<sup>72</sup> Parke Rouse, *Great Wagon Road: From Philadelphia to the South*, (Petersburg: Dietz Press, 2004), 85.

<sup>73</sup> Larry J Hoefling, *Chasing the Frontier: Scots-Irish in Early America*, (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2005), 70.

and even if he disagreed with Charles I religious intolerance, he obeyed the king's wishes to only settle Anglicans in Virginia.<sup>74</sup>

The political atmosphere also began to shift as the Quaker majorities began to wane, which caused high tensions in the colony. After the English Civil War, toleration between Calvinists and Anglicans became more prevalent, creating room for English sectarian immigration was no longer as widespread. Various continental European religious sects began to migrate to the colonies and the Germans continued their push west to the frontier threatening the balance between the Quakers and the Native population. However, according to John Frederick Woolverton, while the restoration brought changes in England, the proprietary governments of various colonies remained.<sup>75</sup> It was the Glorious Revolution which brought the greatest change to colonial governments. "Religious differences among Quakers, Puritans, Jesuits, and Episcopalians continued to diminish," leaving the Anglican Church with the majority support from the largest colonies in America.<sup>76</sup>

#### Dissertation Framework

This dissertation will consist of seven chapters divided into three parts; the first two chapters make up the first section and will focus on the rise and growth of Pietism in the German language area of the Rhine delta. The second section will consist of two chapters, which will focus on the immigration of these Pietists and by what means they migrated from the Rhine

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<sup>74</sup> Much of the Great Awakening was drowned out by what was known as Berkeleyanism, or the steadfast ideal of an Anglican system of religion and government combined. However, there was no episcopacy or centralized power and the colonial church slowly drifted into local control of lay ministers see, John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, (Detroit, 1984),

<sup>75</sup> John Frederick Woolverton a prominent historian, who earned his Ph.D. from Columbia and another at Virginia Seminary, and taught church history at Virginia Seminary and William and Mary for over 25 years.

<sup>76</sup> Woolverton, who also authored the works, *The Education of Phillips Brooks* and *The Skeptical Vestryman: George W. Martin*, argued that Anglicanism had taken over the political spheres of New York, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolina's by 1714, and making inroads in New England and Pennsylvania, while the rest of the religious sects were pressed ever further west. Their aggressiveness, at least in South Carolina, forced many to settle elsewhere. See John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, (Detroit, 1984).

River delta into North America. The third and final section will be composed of three chapters, discussing the history of the Pietists on the North America frontier. The first chapter will examine, albeit briefly, the Pietist theology and its supporters from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century. Pietism, led by successive leaders in the Rhine Valley and elsewhere, raised antagonism against the Lutheran Church by establishing new theological and liturgical work and shifting towards the Wiedergeburt (new birth). Inclusive of the leadership of these Pietists, the chapter will also include a discussion of various groups such as the Labadists, led by Petrus Sluyter, Christopher Saur, and Jasper Dankers, as well as those of the Dunkers or as others called them German Baptists. Other Pietist movements who also migrated to the New World, such as those of the Theosophical community, led by Jacob Zimmermann, who was considered a Mystic and other such Sectarians as the Seventh Day Baptists and the Sabbatarians both have a place within this chapter, as do the Quietists and Chiliasts.<sup>77</sup>

However, the prior broad consideration of German Pietists will then primarily focus on the Schwarzenau Brethern, or the Dunkers who were led by Christopher Saur.<sup>78</sup> Addressing the Anabaptists of the Rhine Delta, the chapter will examine the various individuals who created these various new Sects and their theological differences. Who were the founders of these

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<sup>77</sup> While the Quietists were followers of Miguel de Molinos, a Spanish mystic, the group came out of Germany, seeking perfection both in the physical form as well as the spiritual form, See Julius Friedrich Sachse, *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1895), 131-132. The Quietists movement was distinctive of two connected components, both mysticism and a direct and unmediated relationship with God, see Thomas M. Lennon, *Sacrifice and Self-Interest in Seventeenth-Century France*, (Boston, 2019). Chiliasts, also known as Philadelphians, held that the thousand-year reign of Christ would last from 1772 to 2772, See, Douglas H. Shantz, *Between Sardis and Philadelphia, the Life and World of Pietist Court Preacher Conrad Bröske*, (Boston, 2008), xvi.

<sup>78</sup> There are many names for the Dunker Church, but all historians agree that the Schwarzenau Church originated in 1708 in the small town of Schwarzenau, in Hesse, now in the state of Bayern, located north-east of Frankfurt. They also called themselves Dunkers, Tunkers, German Brethren, or New Baptists, outsiders called them Taufers, Tunkers, Tunkards, Dunkards, and Dippers. The Anabaptists or just plain Baptists of Germany originated in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, however, with the advent of the Pietist movement those who followed the leadership of Max Goebel, were pushed from their homes in Switzerland, Württemberg, Hesse-Cassel and elsewhere, and found Hesse a good place to worship in freedom, See, H. R. Holsinger, *Holsinger's History of the Tunkers and the Brethren Church*, (Lathrop, 1901), 31., & Martin Grove Brubaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America*, (Mount Morris, 1899), xiv.

Anabaptists and what were the various Sects that made up the Anabaptists? The second chapter of this work examines the growing tensions that existed in the Rhine River delta provinces as well as those in other contentious areas in the German language area. Examining the push-pull immigration theory, the second chapter will also be an attempt to understand the purposes, causes, and forced migration, such as that of Peter Schäffer, who originated in Sweden but migrated to Halle before immigrating to America. Examining the various immigrants, focusing on the various areas in which these immigrants came from, and understanding the various religious beliefs is essential. In this first section, the primary focus will be on the Rhine Valley and the beginnings of the movement from Europe to the new world. A last section of the second chapter, will discuss the various legal requirements for those Germans and other Europeans to move into the New World. Even with the crown, Parliament, and the Board of Trade's approval for Europeans to migrate to the New World territories, immigration trickled, and non-Quaker migration remained the dominant people to migrate in 1715. Who were the immigrants who came from the Rhineland, and what were their occupations before and after they immigrated? The aim of the first section will be to examine the European conditions for sectarian dissenters against the Lutherans, and the causes for the immigration from Europe into America. This section will also discuss the Frankfurt Land Company, its purposes, and what it succeeded in doing.<sup>79</sup>

The second section of the work will focus on the actual immigration of these Pietists and how they came to the New World. Further examination of the immigration practices of the

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<sup>79</sup> William Penn saw his colony as one which would allow religious Sects to settle on his lands. This was called Penn's "Holy Experiment" and with his invitation opened to the German Sectarians after his two visits to the Rhine Valley, a new company was formed, called the Frankfurt Land Company, which purchased 15,000 acres from Penn in 1683. The first German immigrants came to Pennsylvania during Penn's lifetime but did not immigrate in any significant proportions until the 1710s and 1720s. The Germans found land abundant in Pennsylvania, See, John G. Gagliardo, "Germans and Agriculture in Colonial Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 83, No 2, (April, 1959), 192.



German Pietists from the Rhineland Delta into the New World will address their immigration practices, purposes, and methods. For example, how did they pay for passage to the New World? The second chapter in the second section will focus on the migration from the port towns they arrived at in the New World.<sup>80</sup> Travel methods, travel issues and financing the movements of goods and people into the interior of the New World will also be discussed. What was the various methods used to move from one place to another in the New World? What methods were not used?

The third section of the work will be comprised of three chapters. The first chapter of the last section examines the settlements in the New World of the various Sects of the Anabaptist Germans. What were the settlements focused on, what was the determination of the settlements and what was the history of the various settlements in the American frontier in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia?<sup>81</sup> The second chapter will discuss the French and Indian War, the decline of the Anabaptist sects and the emergence of the German Reformed Church with its inclusion and incorporation of the various sects that combined to create the German Reformed Church. What was the purpose of the combining of the various sects, who brought that about, and what Sects remained removed from the German Lutheran Church? A major component of my work will address why the experience of the Dunkers both in Europe and America instilled

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<sup>80</sup> More than 30,000 Germans migrated from the Rhineland into the Port of Philadelphia in the early eighteenth century, See, Morgan Edwards, *Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists in Pennsylvania both British and German Vol 1 – 2*, (Philadelphia, 1870); I Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776*. (Philadelphia, 1880); Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown Pennsylvania and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America*, (Philadelphia, 1899).

<sup>81</sup> Reliance on first-hand accounts such as Moravian missionaries, and other missionaries but also such individuals as Philip Vickers Fithian, Rev. Michael Schlatter, Gottlieb Mittelberger and others, See, Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal, 1772 – 1776 Written on the Virginia-Pennsylvania Frontier and in the Army Around New York*, (Princeton, 1934); Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania*, (Cambridge, 1960); H. Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schatter; With a Full Account of the Travels and Labors among the Germans*. (Philadelphia, 1857); C. Z. Weiser, *The Life of John Conrad Weiser, the German Pioneer, Patriot, and Patron of Two Races*, (Reading, 1876).

them to pioneer to the colonial west and remain a distinct and theological entity. The last chapter will be the conclusion of the dissertation, attempting to answer the questions that remain from the previous chapters such as, who did not merge with the German Reformed Church, what sects remain today and how their current mission is a legacy of their American frontier experience.

Section 1  
Chapter II

The Clash of Empire and the Rise of Pietism

The Dunkers, or Brethren as they called themselves, rose from the ashes of a continent who waged war in the name of religion. The control of which remained contested even after the age of the brethren had begun in 1708 on the banks of Eder River close to the Schwarzenau Mill.<sup>82</sup> Five men and three women took part in an adult baptism, passing face first into the river to signify both their devotion to God's commands but also to follow the primitive church. They immersed themselves three times, to symbolize the Triune Godhead. This act of defiance, against the three "accepted" churches was a culmination of over a century of the strike, combat, executions, excommunications, and other deaths in the name of a church. The history of the rise of Pietism and Anabaptism, its exchange of ideas, its arguments, its leaders, and the culmination of events that led to the brethren are worth an investigation and a deeper understanding of what events shaped and what ideas triggered the brethren and their radical ideas.

An examination of the century of war that caused the rise of Radical Pietism within Christianity is an import aspect and indeed the history of this timeframe cannot be overlooked. The radicalization of Christianity in the late seventeenth century was not created in a void, nor was Christian Mysticism something new. Mysticism has been a significant part of Christianity from the beginning; however, the term Mysticism is unambiguous. Mysticism, in this article, is defined as a belief in or experience of a reality surpassing normal human understanding or experience, or as in theology, a system of contemplative prayer and spirituality aimed at achieving direct intuitive experience of the divine.<sup>83</sup> Mysticism can also be defined as the

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<sup>82</sup> The Eder River flows through Schwarzenau and the Mill at Schwarzenau sat on the banks of this Eder River.

<sup>83</sup> Definition found, The Free Dictionary, Mysticism, *Farlex*, <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/mysticism>. 2023.

deviation from the creedal codification of Christianity, progressing in a staged or stepped progression towards an “individual union with God and had inward sentiment as the guide for that journey.”<sup>84</sup>

As we will see, Pietism, will arise in Europe through successive generations of Christian Mystics creating a new and more profound connection to God, through a closer connection to their Biblical interpretation of the scriptures. These were radical ideas and were not accepted by most scholastic Christian leaders of the era. As with all radical ideas, they were tested, manifested in different ways, argued, and bitterly disputed by those in authority, both Ecclesiastical and Civil. However, after nearly a century and a half of warfare, these radical, Mystical, Pietist groups found little more than their ancestors had in terms of relief and stability. Their only recourse was to hide in plain sight, worshipping amongst their neighbors but practicing their beliefs in private. Moreover, they were still pursued and punished for their private beliefs, being forcefully removed by some, or executed by other authorities. It was not until the turn of the eighteenth century that these radicals found a permanent refuge where they could worship as they saw fit, not how their Civil or Ecclesiastical authorities proclaimed.

The early modern age of Europe saw the continent embroiling both large and small states in wars, but unfortunately recent scholarship has remained centered on the larger states such as Savoy, Lorraine, and the Habsburg Netherlands, seemingly forgetting the impact the various wars had on the smaller states such as the Palatinate, Bayreuth, Württemberg or Gelnhausen. The impact of a nearly one-hundred and fifty years of war has left an indelible impact on not only Europe but as will be discussed, also America. The cultural, spiritual, military, and

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<sup>84</sup> Christian Mysticism is well documented, through various writings such as Johann Arndt, Angela da Foligno, Valentine Wiegel and Johannes Tauler, however, the work of Jakob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, should be considered the codification of Christian Mysticism in the modern era. See, Samuel C. Smith, *A Cautious Emthusiasm*, (Columbia, 2008), 11 – 20.

economic impact of this conflict transformed the modern world, unifying many areas of Europe while leaving other areas disjointed. The impact of the wars also set the stage for later conflicts, alliances and counter-alliances, economic pressures and gaps, spiritual upheaval, revival, and a phenomenon Pietist historians call *Bekehrung*.<sup>85</sup> Later, many Pietists migrated to America where they witnessed to various inhabitants regardless of race which resulted in *Bekehrung* rather than simply converting by force.

The Reformation, which Martin Luther, Desiderius Erasmus, Thomas Cramner, John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, and others led, not only created a Protestant dissent, but also freed the believer, as the foundation of the modern world, and brought God to the people in their own language. The Reformation brought back the personal relationship with God that the Protestants, not just the Lutherans, but many different dissenters brought to the west, both in Europe and America, and laid the cornerstone of freedom, literacy, the Enlightenment, reform, mass education, and fundamentalism, salvation by faith alone. The Reformation, a protest of corruption of the Catholic Church, was a movement that fostered self, rather than serfdom.<sup>86</sup>

While faith exploded in different ways in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was also

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<sup>85</sup> Many historians as well as Germanists continue to use the term *Bekehrung* as opposed to the more modern term of *Konversion* to describe the process of “conversion.” However, the German *Bekehrung* describes the inward conversion of the heart rather than the outward conversion of religion, i.e., Jewish to Christian, Christian to Muslim, etc. The simple or forced conversion into the territorial religion in this article will use the term conversion or Konversion, however the inner transformation of Christianity in this article will use the term *Bekehrung*, to simplify the terminology. While the two terms seem to mean the same thing, theologically, the terms are worlds apart. See, Jonathan Strom, *German Pietism and the Problem of Conversion*, (University Park, 2018), 5-7.

<sup>86</sup> The Reformation brought both freedom to the people but also bloodshed for thousands, as the Wars of Religion in Europe spawned Protestants to splinter based on theology, but a shared dogma of Christianity. This splintering of Protestantism is not new; however it became more apparent and although the Catholics saw these groups as heretical, they were unable to curtail the spread of Protestantism in certain areas of Europe, but remained powerful in other areas. The Knight’s Revolt, the German Peasants’ War, the Counter-Reformation, and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, all strengthened the Protestant cause around the west. The Reformation has a long, troubled history of wars in Europe, which is conglomerated into the Wars of Succession such as the Italian Wars, the Northern Seven Years’ War, the Schmalkaldic Wars, and the Eighty Years’ War in general. See, Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation; A History*, (New York, 2003).

stifled in many areas around Europe and in America. This remained a critical point of contention well into the eighteenth century, leaving death and destruction in its wake.

Initially Zwingli and others accepted the premise of adult baptism, but quickly changed his mind and began to condemn the leaders of the new Anabaptist movement as heretical. On baptism, Zwingli outwardly explained that a sacrament of external uses to cleanse the internal corruption was tantamount to returning to Judaism, further, he believed that the Anabaptists denial of infant baptism was entirely wrong.<sup>87</sup> As with the Dunkers nearly two centuries later, the early Anabaptists struggled to define their doctrine of adult baptism and the symbology of internal purification signified by external baptism.

In the sixteenth century the European continent competed for domination, not only religious, but also economic and political. The religious wars of the century saw Catholic against Protestant, but the Protestant faction also fought against itself for sectarian domination. The Lutherans fought the Calvinists, the Calvinists fought against various leading factions of Anabaptists and other religious minorities. Civil War broke out in Germany after the failure of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 which attempted to restore some semblance of unity in the ecclesiastical society.<sup>88</sup> The terms used in this work will include Principality and Electorate interchangeably, which describes an area that was held by an Elector to the Holy Roman Empire. Where possible, only the English terms for the Electorate will be used, rather than the German term such as Kurpfalz (Electoral Palatinate). Another term which will be used is the term Diet.

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<sup>87</sup> Some of Zwingli's first tracts against the Anabaptists were published in 1525 and were called *Werke*. The publication of these works remained controversial, even to the Reformed Church leadership. His stance on adult baptism as a rite or a sacrament as an outward symbol of an inward change, he felt was wrong. See, Willia, Jonh Hinke, *On Providence and other Essays, Ulrich Zwingli*, (Durham, 1922), 48-9.

<sup>88</sup> While Germany was not united, the term Germany will be used to denote the area we call Germany today but will also include the area of Poland called Prussia previously. When it is useful to discuss a principality within present day Germany, the author will describe the area such as the Palatinate as the Palatinate principality or the Palatinate Electorate.

Diets are meetings of the nobility and higher clergy, also known as Reichstag's and were held at various cities within the Holy Roman Empire, such as Worms, Speyer, and Regensburg.

The Diet of Speyer (1529) concluded that every principality was responsible for their own ecclesiastical issues, however only Catholics and Lutherans benefited, leaving the Anabaptists subject to death penalties if the Elector deemed it necessary.<sup>89</sup> Early Anabaptists that were put to death by drowning in Zürich were Felix Manz, the torture and burning at the stake in Innsbruck of George Blaurock and Hans Langegger, the torture and burning in Rottenburg of Michael Sattler, the mass execution by burning at the stake in Waltzen of Wolfgang Ulimann, his brother and seven others, and the escalation of mass executions brought about by the Diet of Speyer compounded the already large amount of executions within the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>90</sup>

While Martin Luther ignited the Reformation, he did not continue to stand as the torch-bearer of the Reformation, although he did contribute to the modern church music and the translation of the Bible, remained willing to reconcile with Rome, as was Charles V. However, the Reformation spread quickly through the German principalities and were strongly linked to both political and economic interests of the princes could not be contained, and with the

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<sup>89</sup> The Diet of Speyer, the term Diet means Congress or meeting, ended with a call for a council to settle the religious question and to revoke the Edict of Worms. The Edict of Worms condemned Luther and proclaimed him an outlaw to the faith. The first Diet was in 1526, the second one was convened in 1529, but reversed the earlier Diet and reaffirmed the Diet of Worms. The second Diet of Speyer seemed, at the time, that God was on the Catholics' side, and proclaimed the Protestants heretics, and when Charles V won a decisive victory over the French at the Battle of Landriano, which effectively removed France from the War of the League of Cognac (1526 – 1530). Along with the war of the League of Cognac, the war Cambrai led to the rise of the Habsburg Dynasty. See, FINLAY, ROBERT. "Fabius Maximus in Venice: Doge Andrea Gritti, the War of Cambrai, and the Rise of Habsburg Hegemony, 1509-1530 [\*]." *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2000): 988, & Carlos M. N. Eire, *Reformations, The Early Modern World, 1450 – 1650*, (New Haven, 2016), 215-7.

<sup>90</sup> The Reformer Zwingli, who remained within the Lutheran Church, initially believed that the Anabaptist faith had merit, but as he saw their power grow within present day Austria, his power was threatened, he was instrumental in persecuting the Anabaptists who threatened his power and his reforms within the Lutheran Church. For a detailed list of many of the executions of Anabaptists throughout the Holy Roman empire can be found in William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story*, (Grand Rapids, 1996).

secularization of the Roman Church property in their districts, the peasants of many of the German principalities saw Luther's doctrines of Christian freedom as justification for rebellion or at the least, the ability to worship as they saw fit. The predecessors of the Dunkers, many of which were seeded by the Waldenses missions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, also wore similar garb to the Dunkers on the Frontier of America. They traveled barefoot, in woolen smocks and travelled two by two. These Waldenses were also similar to the Albigenses of Southern France, and traveled to the Rhine and the Danube rivers through Germany, Bohemia and Poland. Many were martyred and many burned at the stake for their beliefs and missionary stance.<sup>91</sup>

The wars of the sixteenth century, were partly a result of both the attack on Vienna by the Ottomans, but also the Counter-Reformation of the Catholics.<sup>92</sup> One of the wars, the Cologne War or the Seneschal War or Upheaval, crossed the century, causing incomprehensible damage to both towns and countryside. In December of 1582, the elector of Cologne, Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, converted to a Protestant religion, and engulfed his principality in a war which ignited a religious war in Europe.<sup>93</sup> This long war brought the Elector Palatinate, the Dutch,

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<sup>91</sup> The expansion of the Reformation into further sects brought about many dissenter groups that remained or wavered. The one group that the leadership of the Dunkers saw as noteworthy were the Waldenses. According to author J. A. Wylie, the Reformation grew from the struggles the Waldenses had incurred and they were the parents of the Reformation, remaining the first Protestants against the Roman Church for centuries before either Luther or Calvin were even born. See, J. A. Wylie, *The History of the Waldenses*, (London, 1860).

<sup>92</sup> Both the Evangelical Union and the Catholic League were created in a response to all the wars which tore Germany apart during the sixteenth Century. German unification failed to be realized both in the sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, as the Evangelical Union and the Catholic League spread to encompass much of western Europe, however France remained committed only to their own interests, allying with both Protestants and Catholics to promote their French hegemony, See, Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, (New York, 1984), 370-8.

<sup>93</sup> This war resulted in what many historians blame on the failures of the Peace of Augsburg. However, three problems emerged from this peace that were never resolved from the beginning, including its ambiguous language. While the treaty was durable in its longevity, it did not resolve long-term problems such as the fate of ecclesiastical principalities and Catholic imperial church lands or *Reichskirche*. Many of the clergy had converted to Lutheranism, as did many of the princes' electors. A second issue was that of the property that remained in Catholic hands, but now within the territories of the Lutheran princes. A third issue presented itself as Calvinism spread after about 1560. See, Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War, A Sourcebook*, (London, 2010), 5-7.



Scots, and English into the war on the Protestant side, and the Bavarian, Spanish, and papal states on the Catholic side, and coincided with the overall Dutch Revolt, 1568 – 1648. This war also coincided with the larger Thirty Years' War.<sup>94</sup> The Dutch Revolt had a huge impact on the religious, economic, political, and cultural growth of the west. War did not stop the executions of various Anabaptist groups, however. Early Hutterite and the Moravian Anabaptists, who have been referred to as Brethren by various historians, suffered a martyr's death at the hands of Catholics and Lutherans. The Dutch radical Anabaptism of the previous generation (before 1536), led by Melchior Hoffmann, Jan Matthys, Jan of Leyden and others known as the Münsterites, gave way to the new Anabaptists, known today as the Mennonites, were led by Menno Simons, a defected Catholic priest who was rebaptized and subsequently, after initially criticizing the Anabaptist community, wrote tracts in support of them. "They were as follows: *Christian Baptism*, 1539, *Foundation of Christian Doctrine*, 1540, and the *True Christian Faith*, 1541."<sup>95</sup>

The seventeenth century began in conflict and ended in conflict, bringing warfare to millions of people in hundreds of places, and the century of conflict brought destruction to what is now Germany. As late as the 1960s the German people saw the wanton destruction that was caused by the Thirty Years' War worse than what they witnessed a decade before with the

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<sup>94</sup> The Spanish had recently, within the last hundred years, completed the *Reconquista* of the entire Iberian Peninsula, including capturing Portugal and the defender of Catholicism, but spread themselves thinly to defend the Mediterranean, their New World possessions, and the Spanish Netherlands. Moreover, nearing the end of the Thirty Years' War, the Portuguese revolted, (1640 – 68), which, recognized by Pope Urban and later, an alliance with England through the marriage of Catherine of Braganza by Charles II. The Portuguese remained committed to independence, but also had a common enemy with the Spanish. The Dutch continued to conquer both Spanish and Portuguese colonies, but Spain was in no position to retaliate, they had been so overstretched, both fighting France and Portugal, but also the Dutch and her allies, Spain became militarily exhausted by its war with France (1635 – 1660) the Dutch's continued attacks on the Portuguese colonial interests created more exhaustion. See, Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War, Europe's Tragedy*, (Cambridge, 2009), 654-5, & David Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, (New York, 1932), 372.

<sup>95</sup> William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story, An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, (Grand Rapids, 1996), 169.

massive campaigns against Nazi Germany by the allies during World War II.<sup>96</sup> While the Holy Roman Empire suffered more than a century of warfare with few reprieves from war or the threat of war, the focus of this chapter includes only the Rhineland or Rhine River delta also known as the area of the Elector Palatinate in Germany (the Holy Roman Empire), although this chapter will include a discussion on many of the European wars. Impact on the Rhine River delta and its various Pietists, specifically the Dunkers, will be considered.

### Revolt in the Netherlands

The revolt against the Habsburg Spanish leadership in what was the Spanish Netherlands or the Spanish Low Country in 1568 began as a test against the Peace of Augsburg. The Anabaptists spread throughout the Low Countries, through trade and commerce routed along the Rhine River. The Mennonites and the new faction, the *Doopsgezinden* (Baptizers or Waterlanders) both supported William of Orange against the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands. The Emperor, Charles V of Spain placed his natural son, Philip II, as head of the Spanish Netherlands. There was immediately friction between the newly appointed prince of the region and the high-ranking nobles. Philip, and his father Charles were at war with France, and as Philip's wife was the Queen of England, Mary Tudor. Philip soon convinced Mary and England to declare war on France and wished to fight France in the Low Countries. Since Philip was away from the Low Countries often, he appointed his half-sister, Margaret Parma as the governor-general, with advisors, Granvelle, Viglius and Berlaymont. However, it was clear that France was in no mood to deal with Protestants within their own borders. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of August

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<sup>96</sup> Germans polled in the 1960s placed the Thirty Years' War ahead of both the Holocaust and the Black Death as the greatest disaster of the country. While this mindset was changed as cinematic and photographic evidence began to be released, Germans until then felt that Admiral Dönitz (Adolf Hitler's successor) was right in saying that the Germans must lay down their arms to save themselves from the hunger and destruction that he felt would reach the Thirty Years' War epoch, see, Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War, Europe's Tragedy*, (Cambridge, 2009), 6.

1572, the French king had murdered Protestants in Paris, *en masse*, this was not only in Paris and was repeated in many other French cities.<sup>97</sup>

The general population was more annoyed at two problems within their communities than with the leadership, Philip's troops stations within their borders and the continued religious persecution. Both Catholics and Protestants within the Low Countries feared the Inquisition, and more importantly the most notorious of them, Pieter Titelmans, who had 127 individuals executed for their religious beliefs. The nobility had had enough, and with the appointment of a new governor-general, Duke of Alba, civil war broke out among the various nobles, those who sought to limit the power of the Habsburg rulers, and those who were loyal to the Spanish crown. This revolt lasted eighty years and saw many protagonists, support from France and England, and finally ended with the House of Orange establishing itself as the rulers of the Low Countries, a Unified Dutch Republic, a wealthy, spiritually and culturally strong, based on commerce and religious freedom.<sup>98</sup>

The general revolt in the Netherlands was a significant development in the history of the Anabaptists, Pietists and other minority religious sects in north-central Europe. The revolt against the Spanish absolutism and Catholic hegemony resulted in a larger war within the neighboring areas in Europe to include upstream of the Rhine where further encroachments of

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<sup>97</sup> While numbers differ, somewhere between 5,000 and 30,000 Huguenots were massacred in France on the day after Margaret, the king's sister, was married to the Protestant Henry of Navarre, and future King Henry IV of France. This massacre was attributed to the French Wars of Religion, Many of the Huguenot's intervened in the revolt in the Netherlands, and the against the Spanish to the South. The various religious tensions around the Netherlands, the German electorates, and the eastern French Provinces, produced mixed results. The Calvinist, Anabaptist, Lutheran, Huguenot, and Catholic factions in the sixteenth century, the seventeenth saw each of these factions allied and maligned to force the Spanish out of the Netherlands which also included current day Belgium and Luxembourg, See, Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands, the Eighty Years War, 1568 – 1648*, (London, 2018).

<sup>98</sup> While this is a very brief synopsis of the eighty years of fighting between the Spanish crown and the Low Country rebels, it is important to understand that the revolt triggered fighting in many other areas within Europe and brought unnatural allies and enemies together to fight a cause that in retrospect of the coming seventeenth century wars, brought allies against one another. For a concise history of the Revolt in the Netherlands, See, Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands, The Eighty Years War, 1568-1648*, (London, 2018).

religious dissent as well as military occupation caused strife and economic hardships to an already strained section of Europe, still struggling to recover from the Hundred Years' Wars a century earlier. The continued dissent and growing distrust of the established religions in Germany and the Netherlands created and strengthened the already distrusting minorities of individuals and communities who were already in economic distress or religious disorder.<sup>99</sup>

### The Thirty Years' War

The Thirty Years' War (1618 – 1648) brought the Holy Roman Empire, Sweden, and Spain to the brink of collapse, bringing warfare to many of these smaller landgraves and principalities throughout the Holy Roman Empire, shifting borders and dislocating thousands.<sup>100101</sup> The war remains indelibly etched in the national German consciousness under the name *Der dreißig jährige Krieg*. However, the war has, in recent decades, been eclipsed by the Second World War and the Holocaust that brought devastation and humiliation on the German people. Even the hyper-inflation of the nineteen-twenties has been nearly erased in the consciousness of the German people behind the collective memory of the Second World War and

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<sup>99</sup> Spain's involvement in the Netherlands and in France's Civil Wars proved Philip II absolutism and Catholic domination. His efforts throughout Europe undoubtedly strengthened the Catholic and Spanish domination in Europe during the sixteenth century, and remained a dominating force until 80 years later when Philip II grandson, Philip IV when he recognized the independence of the United Provinces of northern Netherlands. See, H. G. Koenigsberger, *Early Modern Europe 1500 – 1789*, (Essex, 1987), 116 – 118.

<sup>100</sup> Population decline was rampant in Germany, with nearly fifty percent decline in many areas of modern Germany. While the Thirty Years' War describes general action in Europe, other wars are part of the generalized war such as the Eight Years' War, the War of the Mantuan Succession, the Franco-Spanish War and the Portuguese War. The Thirty Years' War was ignited by tensions of religious persuasion. There were many phases to this war, however, the one important to this dissertation is the end of the war which produced the Peace of Westphalia, which governed what was to happen later in the century. For more information on the Thirty Years' War see, C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War*, (New York, 2005); & Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War, Europe's Tragedy*, (Cambridge, 2009).

<sup>101</sup> The Thirty Years' War brought more than Europe to war, as with all seventeenth century wars, Europe ruled over much of the known world, enslaving thousands to mine gold and silver and harvest sugar and other commodities in South America, profit-making in India and Africa, and the continued struggle to control the islands in the Caribbean. War and the machinations of warfare cost money and European nations all created schemes to plunder South America, the West Indies, Africa, and India. Throughout the seventeenth century European nations waged war with each-other not only on the continent but all over the world to dominate the trade of commodities and other tradable goods to include enslaves Africans and Amero-Indians, see, Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, (New York, 1994), 20-2, & Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War, Europe's Tragedy*, (Cambridge, 2009).

the Thirty Years' War. How much the Germans still regard the Thirty Years' War as important remains to be seen, but its legacy permeates many aspects of German history and identity.

The Thirty Years' War brought major destruction to much of the old Holy Roman Empire, it was both about religion and opportunistic leaders attempting to take advantage of the chaos. Many historians see the conflict as a struggle between personalities and governmental failure to transition from a feudal economy to a more capitalistic one, while other historians see the crisis as primarily “political, environmental, or a combination of two or more factors.”<sup>102</sup> Moreover, the religious element of the conflict cannot be overlooked. While most contemporary scholars identify belligerents on a territorial or nationalist basis such as Bavarian, French, Swedish, or Spanish troops rather than Protestant or Catholic, there is no doubt that religious fanatics on both sides persuaded the public to engage in war for religious reasons. Catholics saw the war as a possible way to entice Europeans to repent and encouraged all to join the modern Apostolic church with its liturgical and sacraments such as the confessional. Lutherans for their part, were less organized and struggled to maintain a firm grasp on their congregations. Lutherans were a loose conglomeration of religious communities which were fragmented even further by the political authorities who governed only under the agreement of “pure doctrine.”<sup>103</sup> Differences remained as each territory attempted to follow the original Lutheran conception of faith. Both the Lutherans and the Catholics struggled with the rise of Calvinism, which was not protected under the Peace of Augsburg (1555), and demand for toleration remained a struggle as

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<sup>102</sup> This “General crisis” that the Seventeenth Century brought forth has found various causes from historians. While most agree that the underlying structural changes brought forth tensions between the old ways and the new, historians are conflicted on the exact methods and causes of the long war. Some blame the shift from feudalism to capitalism, others blame the political or environmental or both factors, and others put forth the idea that personalities and or institutions caused the fracture. Wilson, 6.

<sup>103</sup> Calvinism was also creeping into the Lutheranism spread throughout the Holy Roman Empire. Other theologians also caused more controversy within the Lutheran faith such as those of Kaspar Olevianus, Zacharias Ursinus and Joachim Westphal. Calvinism had found its firm footing in Frederick III, the Elector of Palatine, see, Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, (New York, 1959), 389 – 91.

the rise of Anabaptism and other non-conformists spread rapidly in Europe and in England, such as the Anabaptist views of Robert Brown. It is impossible to discuss the rise of Anabaptism without discussing the Anabaptist Council that met in Schlatt on February 24, 1427. The very purpose of this council was to unify the Anabaptist convictions, chief among them was Casper Schwenckfeld, the spokesman of the new spiritualistic Pietism of German Evangelicalism.<sup>104</sup> The initial rise of the Anabaptist movement left many believers jailed, tortured, or executed, finding themselves attacked by both Catholics and Lutherans such as Zwingli and Calvinists.

The Reformation spread throughout Europe, striking small areas of the continent before spreading into England where King Henry VIII stood to gain much by removing the English Church from the Catholic hegemony. Crowned on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June in the year 1509, Henry VIII found himself in the middle of the turmoil of the Reformation. Plagued with religious uprisings within England, Ireland, and Scotland Henry knew full well that his realm needed control and that he was the monarch to do it. The reformation of the church in England started in 1527 when, not satisfied that his wife was not able to produce a male heir, he first petitioned for a divorce from his wife Catherine of Aragon (present day Spain). While there are various versions of the reasons that Henry wanted a divorce, most historians now agree that the origins arose from Henry's wish to be freed from the bond of his marriage with Catherine, the first definite step towards its fulfillment was taken in the spring of 1527.<sup>105</sup> Lord Chancellor Thomas

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<sup>104</sup> These Anabaptists were later represented in varying proportions by later Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers and other Sectarian groups such as the Dunkers, Quietists and others, see, Walker, 330.

<sup>105</sup> Over the course of the next twelve months in the parliament there were a series of accusations against different clergy within the realm. Fifteen of the higher clergy were accused of offences against the praemunire statute: a move that served admirably at once to challenge the authority of both pope and church and to assert the supremacy of the King. The Praemunire law was an English law that originated in the fourteenth century that prohibited the use of papal jurisdiction and claimed that the Monarch was supreme over the papal appointments. Eager for a male heir in the year 1533 Henry the VIII received his annulment from Catherine of Aragon and secretly marries Anne Boleyn. Thomas Cramner was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury after the death of the previous one. Cramner was influential in the divorce and the reformation. On May 23, 1533, the marriage to Catherine was annulled, claiming that marriage was against the law of God. Upon hearing this Pope Clement VII excommunicated the King

Wolsey was appointed *Legate a latere* by Pope Clement the VII (1521-1534) in the hopes that Wolsey, who's official position was a Cardinal, would rule the Legate (court) in the Pope's favor and against the King in his divorce plea. However, the court failed to rule for Henry and it was necessary for Henry to go further into the divorce and petition the papacy itself with the divorce.

In the masterfully organized effort to remove England from the jurisdiction of the pope and the cardinals that ruled in England, Henry VIII ran a campaign of unprecedented political, religious, and personal attacks on the Pope and the church but also on his own faith and family. Henry first attacked his ill-fated marriage as a purely theological basis. Henry's official justification for calling his marriage into question was (as Wolsey put it in December of 1527) that the king's doubts arose both from the monarch's own assiduous study and learning, but also from his discussions with many theologians.<sup>106</sup> Henry at first lambasted the Reformation as defiling the *Seven Sacraments* and published a letter to the pope on the matter. Pope Leo X (1513-1521) later awarded King Henry with the title of "Defender of the Faith" which all monarchs in England still call themselves. Later, during the divorce of Catherine and the Church, Henry started to sympathize with the Protestant uprising against the church. In a letter ghost written by Campeggio, Henry sympathized with Lutheran-inspired attacks on church property in Germany and criticized the wickedness in Rome.<sup>107</sup> Henry was on his way to schism

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for his "defiance" of the Papal will. The Pope drew up excommunications, and thundered anathemas: and decided that it would be admirable if James of Scotland would depose his uncle. Cramner validated the marriage between Henry and Anne on 28 of May and Anne was crowned as Queen of England on June 1, 1533. See, Geoffrey de C Parmiter, *The King's Great Matter*, (New York, 1967); & G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. (New Haven, 2005), 45; & St. Claire Bryne, *The Letters of King Henry VIII* (New York, 1968), 122.

<sup>106</sup> While Henry VIII had multiple motivations for separating from the Catholic Church, it was his drive to produce a male heir rather than the reformation that pushed him further to accept the Reformation as the method in which he was to secure that male heir by securing his divorce, See, G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation, Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, (New Haven, 2005).

<sup>107</sup> The case of Henry's divorce was then sent to Rome, where the Pope was held prisoner. Henry sent an envoy named William Knight (Bishop of Bath and Wells) to the Pope but was unable to get through until he was released. Henry sent his envoy, Knight, at once to Rome to treat with the pope about getting the marriage annulled. Knight found the pope a prisoner in Sant' Angelo and could do little until he visited Clement, after his escape, at Orvieto.

with the church, a step that Henry was prepared to take no matter where it would take him. England was on the verge of separating from the Catholics while Europe was struggling to shake off Roman Catholic domination of their own lands and people. However, much England remained committed to their own version of the Reformation favoring a unique Anglo-Catholicism, distinct from that of the continent.

In Germany, religious communities repeatedly suggested that the threat of invasion on the Ecclesiastical States of the Rhine was nearly inevitable with the Spanish armies in the Netherlands on the borders. Early in the war, the Rhine leadership had attempted to secularize both the Electorate of Cologne and the Bishopric of Strasburg but failed in the attempt. The Catholic push to remove both Protestant preachers and their congregations found these congregations underground to meet in secret. The course of the war caused schisms within the German linguistic communities. Catholic Bavaria and the Franconian Bishoprics surrounded the Ecclesiastical States on the Rhine, threatened daily the terror of war, and forced conversion. The greater Rhine was seen by most leaders as an obvious target of aggression, particularly the cities of Milan and Vienna.<sup>108</sup> But what made the Palatinate such a valuable target for aggressors, and what benefit did it have for France, Sweden, or England to secure it against enemy attacks? The Palatinate, both Lower and Upper, held not only a strong position on the Rhine militarily, but the land also came with a hefty title within the Holy Roman Empire. The count of Palatine held

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During this period Cardinal Thomas Wolsey lost his power and was replaced by Thomas More who was a longtime friend and confidant of the King. When the King's envoy to the Pope failed to secure the dispensation for the divorce of Catherine, Henry then introduced the Reformation Parliament. This parliament was used to discredit Cardinal Wolsey and introduce laws towards the reformation of the church in England. Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Primary source materials suggest that while the Elector of Palatine felt invasion of his lands was the goal of both France and Spain during the Thirty Years' War, he also felt that he was also threatened by the Bavarians to the south. Many times he attempted to secure peace with the Catholic Bavarians, many of the letters written between the Spanish, the English and the German entities suggest that they wanted to make a common enemy of France rather than make the war about religion, see, the letters between Spain, the Netherlands, various German representatives and English representatives in, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *Letters and other Documents illustrating the Relations between England and Germany at the Commencement of the Thirty Years' War*, (New York, 1865).



enough prestige in both electoral status and powers within the palace at Aachen to justify the capture. Both the Lower and Upper Palatinate have long histories of being utilized as a network of wealth, loyalty, and military might the Holy Roman Emperor could wield.

Many of the nobles in the Holy Roman Empire, during the Thirty Years' War, were absentee landlords, who were required to participate in the court and government. One such individual was Maximilian, who held significant sway over the Catholic Ferdinand emperor of the Empire from 1619, who demanded the electoral of Upper Palatinate, and with other acquisitions and transfers, received both the Upper Palatinate in June of 1621 and the Lower Palatinate in February of 1623, making Maximilian one of eleven new princes within the Holy Roman Empire, which included both Hohenzollerns and Habsburgs. Ferdinand now attempted the re-Catholicization of greater Germany, using Jesuits and other Catholics who pressed for the conversion of Protestant populations.<sup>109</sup> While not including those who were legally protected, Maximilian and his Bavarian leaders attacked Calvinism and Lutherans in Upper Palatinate. However, he was not in military control of the Lower Palatine, where the Spanish held half and the Bavarians held the land between Mainz, Speyer, and Darmstadt.

Generations of Protestants suffered hardships and a cruel existence from the Catholic victory at White Mountain. The area now known as the Czech Republic lost their Protestant religion almost entirely (Czech Ultraquism), exiles flooded the areas of Württemberg and Franconia, Protestant Austrians traveled to Regensburg and Moravians went into north-west Hungary and almost half of the Bohemian Protestants left for Saxony, only to be considered

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<sup>109</sup> The “re-Catholicization” of the Palatinate was attempted the requirement of confession certificates and other means; however, it was indiscriminately applied. Economic pressures, Military appointments and civil appointments were all used against targeted groups within the Palatinate, and these punitive measures forced most Protestants into exile. The Battle of White Mountain, hailed as a victory for both Ferdinand and the Catholics in Europe, also pressured Protestants that the Catholic religion was the superior religion and converted. See, Wilson, 359-61.

undesirable immigrants. However, exiles were granted asylum based on status, and most poor were not as welcome as those with a larger purse. It was not until the 1650s that the Palatinate Electorate allowed exiles into the land to repopulate it after devastation. It is difficult to determine which Anabaptist exiles were allowed to swell the depleted Electorate. Moreover, it is important to note that the Anabaptists were not a collective religious community.

Unfortunately for the Anabaptists, both old and new, they had no single theologian that led them in a unified direction. Unlike the Lutheran's under Martin Luther and the Swiss Reformed Church under Zwingli, the Anabaptists were disjointed, spread out in small communities from Moravia and Transylvania to England, the Netherlands and France. These Anabaptists, if collectively joined together by a single charismatic leader, may have had more success in Europe, but this remains conjecture, as so many early Anabaptists were executed for their steadfastness against the Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Traditionally Anabaptists rejected the formulation of creeds or a unified theology, relying primarily only on the scriptures and their interpretation of the same for inspiration and authority. Menno Simon refused to give into critics, and was a prolific writer, but never came close to a distinctive creed, and further argued when replying to Gellius Faber, "The Holy Spirit has commanded and ordained that we should teach the understanding ones, and baptize the believing ones, and this ordinance we follow."<sup>110</sup> While various Anabaptists remain today, the Mennonites are one of the largest groups in the world.

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<sup>110</sup> Gellius Faber was a Catholic Priest who served at Jelsum near Leeuwarden in Friesland. Faber left the Catholic Church and joined the Reformed Church and a minister in Norden. He wrote a pamphlet called *Eine Antwort Gellij Fabri dener des Hilligen words binnen Emden op Einen bitter hönischen breeff der Wedderdöper* (This book no longer exists), however in his response, Simons argued this statement, see, Menno Simons, *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons*, (Scottsdale, 1956), 695.

## The Edict of Restitution

Drawing on the Catholic victory of Battle of White Mountain, whose belligerents were the Habsburg monarchy, the Catholic League, and the Spanish on one side, the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the Electoral of Palatinate on the other, Ferdinand of the Habsburg monarchy issued the Edict of Restitution, aimed at reclaiming the loses that the Peace of Augsburg (1555) had dealt the Catholics in Germany. Prior to the Edict, prosecution of heresy was the overall goal of Catholic ministers, according to Bernhard Baumann of Heidelberg to the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria in 1628 together with the re-Catholicization of the Lower Palatinate:

400 in the town [of Heidelberg] and 1,200 outside it have been freed from heresy; on feast days we get around 700 communicants in the Church of the Holy Spirit. We alone look after parish duties, visit the sick and converts daily, conduct catechism inside the town and outside, [and] deliver two sermons on Sundays. These crowds are gathered with great difficulty; since only six months ago the richer burghers were so obstinate, that two or three hundred declared they would emigrate if they were forced to convert.<sup>111</sup>

The Edict, officially published on 6 March 1629, was Ferdinand's attempt to settle the ambiguity he saw in the 1555 Peace. No single elector thought that Ferdinand was within his rights to publish such an edict, and regardless of Catholic or Protestant, all wanted to return to the previous practice. Even Maximilian believed the edict was a mistake. Land transfers from

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<sup>111</sup> Quoted in Franz Maier, *Die bayerische Unterpfalz im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Bestetzung, Verwaltung und Rekatholizierung der rechtsrheinischen Pfalz durch Bayern 1621 bis 1649*, (Frankfurt, 1990), p 197. Translated The Bavarian Lower Palatinate in the Thirty Years' War. Occupation, Administration, and re-Catholicization of the Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine by Bavaria from 1621 to 1649. ; Peter H. Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook*, (New York, 2010), 114.

the Protestants back to the Catholics was suspicious to both the Catholics and the Protestants, as the ecclesiastical or spiritual objective appeared to be subordinate to the legal or judicial one.

While the Danish invasion put a short halt on the implementation on the Edict, after the battle of Lutter, Württemberg was the first to be affected by it. The Swedish intervention of 1630, led by King Gustavus Adolphus who saw himself as the savior of the Protestant religion in Europe, began in earnest. King Gustavus, acting on the truce recently signed by the King of France, the Truce of Altmark, landed on Germany's Baltic coast in the hopes of broking himself a better deal, defending his own interests in the Baltic region, and collecting resources much needed by the Swedish army.<sup>112</sup> In March of 1631 many of the electors gathered in Leipzig, calling themselves the Protestant Imperial Estates to the Ecclesiastical princes, and drafted a letter to Ferdinand in response to the edict. However, misinterpreting this response, King Adolphus sacked the cities of Küstrin and Frankfurt in April, allowing his troops to pillage for days.

As Sweden pressed further, Johann George of Saxony gave up his neutrality, in favor of Swedish allegiance, as Gustavus gave this new ally more flexibility than any of the other new allies. France, paying for this invasion, continued to support Sweden on the hopes that Maximilian of Bavaria would give up on the Catholic League and become a neutral buffer between France and Austria. However, even Maximilian could not give up on his claims on the Palatinate that Ferdinand had granted him, and so he remained committed to the Habsburg dynasty. What happened next was nearly unimaginable even to the war-torn European nations, the siege and destruction of Magdeburg, in which Ferdinand, and his administrator, Tilly in

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<sup>112</sup> Gustavus saw that greater Germany freedom's which he envisioned as greater princely autonomy would weaken the Habsburg rule in the Holy Roman Empire as well as Spain. However, most of the German princes saw Gustavus' invasion as unwelcomed and even with the pressure of the Edict of Restitution, few wanted to join the Swedish king in his endeavor. Even Gustavus's brother-in-law, Elector Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg did not want to back Sweden's war effort, however, after relentless pressure, both Wilhelm and Duke Bogislav XIV of Pomerania, joined the king's march towards Saxony. See, Wilson, 120-1.

command of the Catholic League, attempted to capture the city, they besieged the city, lit it aflame and with nearly 25,000 non-combatants perished in the ensuing defeat. Furthermore, the Catholic League troops were scattered throughout the German lands, while Gustavus remained in north-west Germany, and prepared for battle. After crossing the Elbe around Wittenberg, Gustavus and Tilly clashed at Breitenfeld, and at last, Gustavus had defeated the Catholic League, proving that even they were not beyond defeat.<sup>113</sup> Sweeping into Thuringia, Gustavus captured Frankfurt, then Mainz and much of the Lower Palatinate to include Heidelberg, another arm of his army captured Mecklenburg. However, the Austrians then fought back. Gustavus had secured nearly the entirety of the Palatinate, however Spanish soldiers remained, but in the employ of Maximilian of Bavaria.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, the Treaty of Bärwalde granted Gustavus large subsidies from France and the league of Protestant states seemed to be bound to him as well. He moved towards the south beyond the Rhine to liberate the south of Germany, and then to Vienna. His conquest triggered Ferdinand to rescind the Edict of Restitution and to place Wallenstein in command. However, what was to be Gustavus's greatest victory became his undoing; at the battle of Lützen he was shot dead in one of the last charges of the battle, but victory was still the Protestants of northern Germany and France.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> The Catholic League had won victory after victory both in Germany and in Italy, during the Mantuan War, which cost Spain millions of escudos and gave France the right to station men at Casale. The Peace of Cherasco settled the war in northern Italy, however, it did not settle the Franco-Habsburg relationship, but furthered their distrust in each other. Moreover, it was now evident that Louis XIII was ill and had even taken his Last Sacrament, he recovered, only to find that a coup d'état had taken place against Richelieu, his most trusted advisor and general. Richelieu signed the treaty of Regensburg. While France was no friend of Protestantism, Louis XIII dislike for the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor was stronger, and France saw Sweden as the best defense against the Habsburg emperor. See, Wilson, 476.

<sup>114</sup> Maximilian and Gustavus were in negotiations but Gustavus was warned that Tilly and the Austrians were breaking winter camp early and were attempting to unite both halves of the Austrian army, the army of Wallenstein, so Gustavus then intended to cross the Danube into Austria and threaten Vienna, himself. The resulting defeat of Tilly and his Bavarians, the Catholic League and of Wallenstein, Emperor Maximilian's forces, left Tilly dead, Maximilian retreating and Gustavus holding the field. See, C. R. L. Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggle of Protestantism for Existence*, (New York, 1897), 245.

<sup>115</sup> Years of warfare, occupation and recruitment left great scars on the land, the inhabitants, and its population size. With the occupation of the Rhineland by three separate armies, each bent on their own aims, the Rhineland was left

The French intervention into the Rhineland was a result of the losses that Sweden suffered against the Austrians, who captured Frankfurt and Mainz. France persuaded Sweden to remain in the war, and pressed against the Austrians into the Rhineland, recapturing all the lost Swedish possessions, but the French position remained tenable. France began then to recruit Pietists to immigrate into the Rhineland to maintain the communities and farms that had been deserted by war, and recruitment was strong, including Brandenburgers, Bohemian and Moravian exiles, and other recruits. These pietists would lay down the foundations for the following generation to build upon, to create the radical Pietism that arose after the Thirty Years' War had concluded. These Pietist immigrants would be the forerunners or forefathers of the next generation of radical pietists, the Dunkers or the Brethren as they called themselves, taking on a more radical, more pietist view than their predecessors.

#### The Coming of the Franco-Spanish War

The second major war to have a profound impact on the area of the Rhineland to include the Palatinate was the Franco-Spanish War (1635 – 1659). The war came in the summer of 1635 as Spain's strategic problems increased. In 1636 a joint Spanish-Imperialist invasion was attempted, which was repelled by France and their competent leadership, Richelieu, who defeated Conde-Duque de Olivares, pressing the Spanish back into their own homeland. The Rhine Campaign of 1635 brought both nations to the deeper into war. The Rhine Campaign devastated the Palatinate and the area immediately to the east of the Rhine. The Upper Rhine saw most of the action after the Austrian Emperor and the Spanish King made peace with the

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with a depleted population. The inhabitants of the Palatinate emigrated to other areas which were also scared by war, but not occupied by Austria, France, and Sweden. See, Charles Wilson, *The Transformation of Europe 1558 – 1648*, (Berkeley, 1976),; Michael Roberts, *The Swedish Imperial Experience 1560 – 1718*, (Cambridge, 1979),; Victor-L. Tapié, *France in the Age of Louis XIII and Richelieu*, (New York, 1975),; R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, (Oxford, 1979).

German Protestants (Prague Peace), drawing France deeper into the general war against Spain and Austria.<sup>116</sup> France, now allies with Sweden, attempted to stall Archduke Ferdinand II 20,000-man army which was sent to crush the Swedish outposts in the Rhine River delta. What led to a general war against the Austrians led to a greater war against Spain and its Hapsburg family alliances. The war began with Louis XIII on the throne of France and ended with the young Louis XIV sitting on the chair.

France also suffered three rebellions, known colloquially as *The Fronde*, named after a crude leather sling, which struck at the heart of Paris, threatening both the war and the peace at home. France was not alone in revolts, both the Habsburg leaders in Spain and Austria, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, saw rebellions. Portugal rebelled against Spain, seceding from the territory. The Spanish Netherlands, which was inherited by Philip II in 1555, was one of the richest and most cultured of Europe. Known both as the Spanish Netherlands, the United Provinces, or simply the Netherlands, this land saw little warfare but was officially at war against the Spanish since 1621.<sup>117</sup> The French civil war was led by people who were protesting the Cardinal Mazarin in Paris. Spain had proposed an alliance with the rebels against both Mazarin and the French queen, however this was not the beginning of the Franco-Spanish War, the fragile peace showed that France was nowhere near as close to religious conformity as many may believe.

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<sup>116</sup> The Thirty Years' War succeeded in consolidating the Spanish and the Austrian Empire under the rule of the Hapsburg dynasty for at least another generation, but it also atomized the Holy Roman Empire, dividing it between Catholic and Protestant, see, Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy*, (Chicago, 1929), 49-55, & Wilson, 561-563.

<sup>117</sup> The Dutch were fiercely independent people who did not see themselves as belonging to the Spanish king and elected rather to attempt to remain a republic. It was not until William III of Orange, after three wars, secured their freedom at the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The alliance with England, however, also brought about a decline in both wealth and dominance in the world stage, and by the Seven Years' War their own ships were now subject to searches by the English, see, K. H. D. Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century*, (London, 1972), 181 – 2.

When discussing the various wars that affected Central Europe, and the Rhineland more particularly, it is important to understand both its context as well as its results on the population as a whole as well as its impact on political, economic, and religious developments within the region in question. Politically, the previously mentioned wars brought devastation on the land, political instability occurred with the surrender of various large towns within the Rhineland and the capitulation and minimization of its armies, which the princes had to rely on external volunteers. Along with political instability it brought with it economic depression and stagflation. Agricultural science remained limited and the ability to grow sufficient grain and silage to support the population. The religious problem in the Rhineland did not develop overnight, rather it was introduced quite unexpectedly as these individuals were looking for new homes after being labeled as undesirable, or Pietists and Anabaptists. However, there is a fourth reason why the Rhineland was ripe for the birth of radical and extreme Christianity and that was the continued Little Ice Age. The early Little Ice Age (1400 to 1600) saw an abandonment of thousands of villages across the Northern European continent. While War, famine, and pestilence decreased the population of Europe throughout the fifteenth century, it was the Little Ice Age that brought whole villages to its knees.<sup>118</sup> By the late seventeenth century many European villages were running out of their grain supplies by mid-summer but also witnessed no rain until December, many years, which withered their already dwindling crops. While the summer of 1601 was the coldest on record, other summers such as the summer of 1675 and the summers of 1698-99 witnessed major cold spikes due to volcanic activity. However, towards the end of the seventeenth century, new technology and domestic production brought an

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<sup>118</sup> The Little Ice Age saw some 3,000 villages in France alone abandoned during the fifteenth century. Continued war, plague, famine and now the frigid temperatures created a perfect storm of conditions that caused the population to decrease in Northern Europe. Storm activity also rose some 85 percent in the sixteenth century, adding to the already troubled European community.



adapted view of agriculture, which witnessed England's population explosion to nearly seven million, with grain to spare.<sup>119</sup>

### The Nine Years' War

The Nine Years' War brought the most destruction to the Rhineland and its inhabitants, and while the war raged on for nine years, the lasting effects of the war on the Palatinate and the Rhine River Valley remains little understood today. The path through the Netherlands to the Habsburg Dynastical lands of Austria and south was naturally using a river course, and the only major river that ran towards the Alps was the Rhine, which is 1230 kilometers long, begins at the Swiss Alps and its termination or mouth dumps into the North Sea at the Netherlands. This natural highway remained a critical path for the belligerents (Sweden, England, Dutch, French, and Hapsburg). This war was waged across the globe, but most importantly for this paper, it was fought in the Palatinate and the Rhine River Valley.

The first phase of the war saw France attacking the Hapsburg governed Netherlands, The Nine Years' War shaped the modern era, shifting power from a handful of countries to different countries.<sup>120</sup> Seventeenth century Europe was muddled in a political, economic, religious, and dynastic struggle that lasted almost the entire century and spilled into the early eighteenth

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<sup>119</sup> Climate historian and anthropologist Brian Fagan examines the Little Ice Age, both in its destruction but also in its benefit. While there are many reasons to see the Little Ice Age as both an economic and human disaster, it can also be seen as a trigger for an explosion of technological advances and social reorganization. See, Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age, How Climate Made History, 1300 – 1850*, (New York, 2000), also, Philipp Blom, *Nature's Mutiny, How the Little Ice Age of the Long Seventeenth Century Transformed the West and Shaped the Present*, (New York, 2019), & Sam White, *A Cold Welcome, The Little Ice Age and Europe's Encounter with North America*, (London, 2017).

<sup>120</sup> According to Roeland Goorts, little attention has been paid to what he calls the Kleinstaateri or the smaller states which were all part of the Holy Roman Empire during the Nine Years' War. While the Nine Years' War did indeed shape the early modern war, in terms of power centers and economic force, it did not begin or end with the Nine Years' War but remained one of the great wars that realigned the European power structure for the next few centuries, see, Roeland Goorts, *War, State and Society in Liège, How a Small State of the Holy Roman Empire Survived the Nine Years' War (1688 – 1697)*, (Leuven, 2019); & David Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War, 1672 – 1713*, (London, 2016); J. S. Bromley, *The New Cambridge Modern History, The Rise of Great Britain and Russia, 1688 – 1715/25*, (New York, 1970); & John B. Wolf, *The Emergence of the Great Powers, 1685 – 1715*, (New York, 1951).

century. To the east, the Janissary armies of the Ottoman Empire were spreading their religion throughout their sphere of influence, building hundreds of mosques, rebuilding European and Middle Eastern towns, and bringing a Golden Age to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>121</sup> The Tsars of Russia longed to move against the Ottoman's to the south, but lacked the armies to defeat the Sultan and his armies alone, however, they remained committed to defending their interests and territories to the north and west by warring with both Poland and Sweden led by Tsar Michael.<sup>122</sup> After peace was secured with Poland and Sweden, Russia emerged as a principality which was stronger than before, and more Euro-centric. Tsar Feodor brought Russia, through re-organization and reform of both the Church and the State affairs, to bear against the Ottoman Empire during the Nine Years' War.

While eastern Europe was aflame, struggling for territory such as Budapest, Belgrade, and a foothold in Greece, western Europe too, was fought. France, led by King Louis XIV and his advisors, stormed into the Palatinate, capturing, raising, and burning all manner of Churches, villages, small farms.<sup>123</sup> Acting on what King Louis believed was his right through the Peace of

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<sup>121</sup> In the previous century Suleiman, the Great and his Janissary army were testing the defenses of Vienna, and under his leadership the Ottoman Empire saw a Golden Age, very reminiscent of the Europeans in the fifteenth century. Suleiman not only was the leader of the Caliph of Islam, but also the Grand Signor of the empire. His Janissaries were conditioned at a young age to be warriors of Islam, defenders of the faith, and architects of the empire's new cities such as Oren (modern day Buda, the eastern town of Budapest) and Belgrade see, Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries; the Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire*, (New York, 1977) & Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream, the History of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York, 2005).

<sup>122</sup> Seventeenth century Russia remained a loosely connected country, which the Tsar's all struggled to control. However, by the end of the century the Russian Tsar and his leadership recognized that the way forward was to step into the European theatre and engage in European educational, religious, economic, and political policies. The Treaty of Moscow, which brought a conclusion of hostilities between Russia and Poland, as well as brining about a change in the Tsar's focus, he now focused his attention on his new allies, that of the Grand Alliance. Tsar Feodor appointed committees to ascertain the changes that were required to defend against the Ottoman's and France. Many of these policies were organized by Prince Golitsyn, see, V. O. Kliuchevsky, *A Course in Russian History, The Seventeenth Century*, (New York, 1994), 379 – 392.

<sup>123</sup> A relatively little studied part of the Nine Years' War, the War of the Palatinate was waged between France and the Holy Roman Empire. In an unprecedented action, the Reichstag declared a Reichskrieg or Imperial War against France and King Louis XIV on 11 February 1689. This was a significant innovation, according to Peter H. Wilson. While the Holy Roman Empire was already mobilized against France after the invasion of the Palatinate, the declaration of war by the entire empire brought important resources to the Germans, from England and Spain, but also place the Empire in alignment with the Habsburg estates. The Grand Alliance was growing and all against both

Westphalia, he encroached on the eastern lands of the Rhine Delta without recourse from any other nation. Outright war against France was not immediate in Western Europe, however, under the leadership of William of Orange and the Dutch Netherlands, war commenced with King Louis and France over religious ideology.<sup>124</sup> France, a Catholic stronghold, was limited prior to 1686 on its persecution of Protestants, however, Louis revoked the Edict. Immediately the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William who was also the Hohenzollern elector, published the Edict of Potsdam, welcoming the refugees of France to settle in his States.<sup>125</sup> Brandenburg's edict opened the borders to Huguenots fleeing France and persecution.<sup>126</sup> The Huguenots of France, an estimated 200,000, fled and attempted to settle in such varied places as Germany, Sweden, England, and Switzerland; however, the vast majority found their way to the American colonies of Massachusetts and the Carolina's or the Dutch colony in Africa of the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>127</sup> In 1688 power would shift in Europe, not because of a great military victory, but a great coup that would occur on a small island in the north Atlantic.

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the Ottoman Empire in the East, and the French attempt at Hegemony in the West, see, Peter H. Wilson, *Heart of Europe, A History of the Holy Roman Empire*, (Cambridge, 2016), 173.

<sup>124</sup> William of Orange did not sign the treaty of defensive alliance at Augsburg in July 1686, but he did not have to, he was already at war with France, and intended to sail to England to usurp the throne from his brother-in-law, James II, who was on the payroll of France's King Louis XIV. However, William of Orange was the mastermind of the Grand Alliance of Augsburg, bringing together Protestant and Catholic, nations and principalities that had been enemies or allies to France previously. This defensive pact guaranteed that if one nation goes to war, the others would also go to war as a defensive measure, see, Prince Michael of Greece, *Louis XIV, The Other Side of the Sun*, (New York, 1979), 252-3.

<sup>125</sup> Frederick William held many titles to include, the duchy of Cleves, the county of Mark and Ravensburg, and held the right of succession on the right of Pomerania. At the congress of Westphalia, he was only able to secure the eastern half of the Pomeranian lands after Sweden captured it during the Thirty Years war, he did secure the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Minden. Then he was granted the title of Duke of East Prussia by the Treaty of Oliva. The Hohenzollerns were one of the larger families in central Europe, Frederick William was considered the Great Elector, see Frederick L. Nussbaum, *The Triumph of Science and Reason 1660-1685*, (New York, 1953), 107-8.

<sup>126</sup> While the Elector of Brandenburg was the latest to open his borders to the fleeing French Protestants, long had the Dutch Republic been a "great ark of the refugees" and more recently to the Huguenots who fled to Amsterdam. Fugitives, artists, scholars, and others who would contribute to the Netherlands greatness fled from various areas in Europe to their borders. Holland had large groups of Separatists, Brownists, Baptists, Fifth Monarchy Men, and other sectaries (to include the rising Pietists who fled from the tensions in the Palatinate), see, K. H. D. Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century*, (London, 1972), 166-7.

<sup>127</sup> The French Huguenots first attempted to settle in the Palatinate, however with the Courts of Reunion (Rèunions) pressing for the French administration and control of the Palatinate, not only did the Huguenots have to move

## The Glorious Revolution

On a foggy morning of 5 November 1688, a fleet under the command of Admiral Herbert put ashore around twenty-thousand men, among them, Prince William of Orange. Of those who landed in Torbay, in Devon on this morning, were a large and diverse number of army officers. While William made his landing, the greatest coup d'état in English history followed. Lord Churchill and his sizable army defected to William, as did Lord Cornbury and lieutenant Colonel Langston hand over their armies.<sup>128</sup> What is now known as the Glorious Revolution transformed the backward, third-world country of England, whose monarchs had long been on France's payroll, into a powerful state who would eventually take on France and her hegemony in Europe. The significance of a European Protestant securing the thrown of England impacted the coming decades of both the German states as well as the American colonies, opening the later to the immigration of the people of the former. France, however, attempted to draw William away from the European battlefield by invading Ireland with French and Irish Catholic troops, which did draw a portion of the English forces to meet the French on the Irish island, but bringing the new British Army to bear against France in the Netherlands and Germany was not stopped. The war that William brought to bear against France also had a profound positive affect on the

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elsewhere, but the flames also opened a further divide in the German mindset, against Catholicism. Protestant opinion was aroused by the atrocities of the French military exploits in the Palatinate. However, the Huguenots wanted nothing to do with what became the Nine Years' War or the aims of the Grand Alliance, which had a clause seeking the reestablishment of toleration for Protestants in France. Their justification for not supporting the religious wars would have a sever effect on the economies of both Holland and Zeeland, which they had dominated the political environments of, however England also saw a great benefit to the Huguenot diaspora, as England benefited greatly from the skilled labor of the Huguenots, see, Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots*, (New Haven, 2013), 370-4.

<sup>128</sup> Prince William, before even being crowned, did what so many other monarchs in England could not, he unified the armies of England into a wholly British Army. Bringing together the armies of the empire not only to conquer England but to create a political union by conquering Scotland and Ireland, and then bringing he American colonies into union together to create the "Greater Britain." By combining the forces which had landed in Torbay and those of Lord Churchill, the new British Army would meet little resistance on its way to London and the crowning of William III and Mary as co-regents over Britain, see, Stephen Saunders Webb, *Lord Churchill's Coup, The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered*, (Syracuse, 1995); David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America*, (Hanover, 1972).

English and its political machine. The increasingly Tory government worked well with William and William demanded that his ministers work well with Parliament.<sup>129</sup> William fought in the Netherlands for six long years before achieving a major victory over France. The recapturing of the fortress of Namur in modern day Belgium became the catalyst that would slowly push back the French from the Palatinate and led to the Treaty of Ryswick but as only a truce between William III and Louis XIV.

The Glorious Revolution in England brought rebellion in a few of their North American colonies, however, more importantly, it heralded the relaxation of religious intolerance, albeit slim, to England and its American cousins. Protestant Marylanders rebelled against their Catholic Proprietor and Assembly, causing Lord Baltimore to lose his title and in 1689 Maryland was no longer a royal charter colony, but was directly ruled by the Crown. This allowed two things to happen in Maryland, the first, was a stronger push from the government to expand the borders to the North, and second it opened up the Maryland land to more Protestants and the growing migration practices of various sectarians.

### The Coming of the Enlightenment

The groups of great thinkers known as the *philosophes* were practical thinkers in an impractical world. A world on the verge of destruction by constant wars, political chaos and ruthless regimes had dealt massive blows to the European economic machine and humanity in general. The *philosophes* attempted to offer practical solutions to a world whose practicality was never thought of whose economy was never questioned by those who bore the brunt of the

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<sup>129</sup> While William was out of the country for more than half of each year he reigned, he allowed few into his personal confidence which causes all manner of issues with Parliament, however they remained. Moreover, his Privy Council remained very small, and William and Mary held many secret committees which frustrated his advisors and Parliament alike. William did fluctuate his allegiances between the Tory and the Whig factions in Parliament. His greatest victory, however, did not occur within government, but on the battlefield. Six years of warfare produced little in terms of victories until August of 1695 when he recaptured the fortress of Namur (now in Belgium), see Roger Lockyer, *Tudor & Stuart Britain 1471 - 1714*, (London, 1964), 369-375.

economic collapses that came with impractical empires and rulers. Science was seen by many as the solution to the world's woes, a miracle that would bring peace and freedom to those who desperately needed it the most, the poor. "The *philosophes* seized upon the new science as an irresistible force and enlisted it in their polemics, identifying themselves with sound method, progress, success, the future."<sup>130</sup>

Enlightenment can be summed up in two words, human improvement, and as such certain establishments impeded that development. Establishments such as the Catholic Church, the Jewish Synagogues, and to a very lesser extent the Islam faith hindered, in their arguments, the free thought and human improvement necessary for the advancement of society. The largest influence over European government and political thinking was the Catholic Church, alleged by the *philosophes* to be entrenched in the intolerance and fanatical practices. Some of the *philosophes* were priests who saw a better way to influence human improvement, rather than continuing the older methods of learning, allow all rational thought into the religious order. More extremist *philosophes* asserted that; "the Enlightenment had to treat religion as superstition and error in order to recognize itself."<sup>131</sup> Therefore the attack had to be on religion.

In adopting reason, they turned to Newton, who created the worldview that nature is rational. Rationalism was enveloped into the philosophe's entire persona, reaching through time to bring the rational past into the irrational present. They "proclaimed that it was their mission to eradicate bigotry and superstition" and at that point "history became not past, but present politics,"<sup>132</sup> an argument still used today, past sins of a nation, a community or a people are reflected to them in the present to influence policy, law, and government. Classical authors and

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<sup>130</sup> Gay, Peter. *The Enlightenment: The Science of Freedom*. (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1969), 127.

<sup>131</sup> Gay, Peter, *The Enlightenment; The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: W.W.Norton Co., 1966), 37.

<sup>132</sup> Gay., 31.

philosophers such as Horace, Plato, Cicero, and others were quoted almost as if the men themselves were in the eighteenth speaking to audiences.

Scientific advancement came at a steep price for both the common man and the *philosophes*. Many saw the scientific method as grandiose, full of attractions and nothing more while others saw the scientific advances as religious attacks or debates over the religious authority; still others saw science as the cure for all manner of problems. The solution was not an easy one nor was it one that would willingly give up without a fight. “As the sciences grew more technical, more professional, they developed autonomously, and confronted the *philosophes*, eager as they were to turn knowledge into politics, with linguistic, ethical, and metaphysical difficulties they had not anticipated and for which most of them were ill-prepared.”<sup>133</sup>

Christian Wolff, another philosophe bent on removing God from all scientific methodologies published two works, one *The Law of Nature, Treated According to a Scientific Method* and the second *The Law of Nations, Treated According to a Scientific Method*. Wolff taught to hordes of students searching for an answer that fed their atheistic thoughts. The books offered treaties for those who looked away from the religious and towards the science of reason. “In both Wolff offered what he believed to be a fully scientific account of a law linking all human beings by admitting, “as true only what is inferred as necessary consequences from previous conclusions.”<sup>134</sup>

A second viewpoint was that of the religious community. The followers of the Catholic Church as well as some *philosophes* were Thomists. “The Thomists {those who followed the writings of Thomas Aquinas} developed a very complex set of explanations that underpinned

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<sup>133</sup> Gay., 128.

<sup>134</sup> Pagden., 332.

what had by then become the orthodox definition of humanity.”<sup>135</sup> According to the Thomists “Creation was God’s free act and that it occurred in time; the cosmos has an aim and an end; God orders and guides His creation according to His almighty will and wisdom.”<sup>136</sup> People associated with the Thomists saw a world united by both science and religion not a world with the religion of Europe and the Americas eliminated. These theists asserted that the religious authorities needed to combine the science of the Enlightenment with Christianity.

The rise of Enlightenment also brought about the rise of Counter-Enlightenment. While the term and use depict the events of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the term Counter-Enlightenment could also be used for those *philosophes* who did not follow the course of those enlightened authors and thinkers. Two of the major contributors to the Counter-Enlightenment were Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Georg Hamann. While both were *philosophes* after the founding of the Dunker Sect, they remain in history as the founders of this movement.

The *philosophes* believed themselves to be the most courageous and the most elite of the people in Europe during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They believed their purpose in the movement was to free the population from the enslavement the church had placed them in. The tyrannical governments, the superstition the church condoned, and the lack of progress seen since the Renaissance all were inspirations for the *philosophes*. The use of reason or epistemology drove the *philosophes* into a belief that progress was unending, the achievement of technological advancements and that education and even humanity could be altered. However, this also fueled the Counter-Enlightenment and a drive towards Christian extremism, these *philosophes* argued

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<sup>135</sup> Pagden., 50.

<sup>136</sup> “The Orthodox Christian Concept of Man” last modified 2012, [http://www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/dogmatics/fraser\\_concept\\_of\\_man.htm](http://www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/dogmatics/fraser_concept_of_man.htm).



the reason, rather than God, was the path forward for humanity, the Pietists and anti-*philosophes* argued that humanity needed God and should strive for godliness rather than rationalism.

However, the Church also had an “Epistemology” of their own; they called it theology. Even though the *philosophes* saw the Church as a force that enslaved, the Church attempted to counter with Theology. Many Christians sought to maintain a united front against the Deists. Many of the *philosophes* saw that God existed but that the Church had corrupted the belief.<sup>137</sup> This became the time for apologetics, an argument for a specific theology that was aimed towards those who were unbelievers or at the last, not following that particular sect. Unfortunately for the Pietists and Anabaptists, they had few revolutionary leaders who were able to create an apology that guaranteed conversion of the willing, instead they were left to missionary work, the Moravians, Mennonites, Amish, and the Dunkers (once they arrived in America) all became missionaries of sorts with the Moravians thirsting for the mission field more than the rest.

The *philosophes* embraced paganism. However, the transformation from superstition to ideas “was not at one with the general European trend for Enlightenment to have its roots firmly in reformist-minded Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant.”<sup>138</sup> Gibbon complained that the church did nothing for him as they only, and according to Gay, “condemned heretics and did nothing for the faithful, and so it precipitated-or at least nothing to prevent or mitigate-a crisis in faith.”<sup>139</sup> Protestantism did nothing to sway many of the *philosophes* away from the pagan

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<sup>137</sup> . A German thinker named Geschichte der Abderiten humorously stated that “Oh how our descendants will laugh in a hundred years - that is, if they can laugh from weeping - when they read how conceited we were with ‘our Enlightenment’”. Gay., 107.

<sup>138</sup> Aston, Nigel, *Religion and Revolution in France; 1780-1804* (Washington D.C, 2000), 81.

<sup>139</sup> Gibbon found himself locked in a struggle between Catholic (what he called Christian) and Protestant dogma. He was puzzled by both, and inevitably found that the Protestant dogma suited him better than the Church in Rome. He wrestled with his own thoughts, even after reading Dr. Middleton’s *Free Inquiry* He saw the Catholics, eventually, as prejudicial and that Popery, and after reading the two works by Bossuet entitled, *Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine*, and *History of the Protestant Variations*, he “achieved my conversion. Gibbon also stated his

antiquities but drove many even further into the new deism. While “many of the *philosophes* had seriously weighed a clerical career.”<sup>140</sup> The churches would lose their most intellectual students to this enlightened expression.

What really caused the divide between the *philosophes* and the church? One of the main, most haunting reasons was the inability to reconcile reason with faith. One of the hardest things even today is to have a worldview which both accepts science and reason and continue to have the faith of a Christian. Reimarus, another early *philosophe* “had been tormented by the irreconcilable contradiction between the conclusions of reason and the demands of faith.” Some *philosophes* “were especially reluctant to abandon the religion of the past, and especially given to self-torture.”<sup>141</sup> One of the most difficult aspects of the *philosophes* was their constant struggle to define their own faith and reason.

Whatever the relationship the *philosophes* had or did not have with their childhood religion, they had a far more intimate relationship with their classics. “The *philosophes*’ classicism was intimate, passionate and aggressive” which continued to drive them to more and more independent thinking and more importantly freedom for the masses.<sup>142</sup> The *philosophes*’ overall goal was to bring modernity to the masses, this modernity was knowledge. According to Diderot the idea was to “change the general way of thinking.”<sup>143</sup> Accordingly, the overall goal of the *philosophes* was to release the knowledge of the people based on freeing them from the various *slave-masters* they were suffering under.

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Protestantism in a letter dated, February 1755, to Miss Catherine Porten (Aunt Kitty), stating “I am now a good Protestant, and am extremely glad of it.” See, Edward Gibbon, *Autobiography of Edward Gibbon*, (London, 1907), 46-7.; Rowland E. Prothero, *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon 1753 – 1794 3 Vols*, (London, 196), I, 3.; Gay., 56.

<sup>140</sup> Gay., 59.

<sup>141</sup> Gay., 63.

<sup>142</sup> Gay., 69.

<sup>143</sup> Gay., 71.

The establishment of deism or the belief of a supernatural god figure became commonplace with the *philosophes*. Ancient writers had no knowledge of the current Judeo-Christian theological ideas that were then commonplace during the philosophe's lifetimes. Deistic belief may have been created more from a lack of a monotheistic god figure in the ancients rather than embracing Christian tradition, canons, and creeds. While many of these philosophers who triggered the Enlightenment were deists, many others were as close to agnostic or atheistic as description allows. The French Revolution was a call to separate the Church from the State, and went haywire. While there were indeed many of these *philosophes* in Europe espousing the removal of God from the state, there were a few who also saw that the Enlightenment was a scourge against the traditional Church and State.

Many *philosophes* believed that the ancients lived in a sort of harmony with each other and had a higher humanity than those of the *philosophe's* present day. "Friedrich Schiller argued that the ancients had lived in greater harmony with themselves and their environment, and were therefore better men."<sup>144</sup> The romantic ideals of the ancients were greatly exaggerated during the Age of Enlightenment, and according to a philosophe named Hölderlin "to be Greek was to be in a state of grace, to be German was to be unredeemed."<sup>145</sup> This Romanticism won many former Christian believers and brought them into deism, "to admit belief was a sort of social solecism."<sup>146</sup>

Tedious and laborious exercises given to those young men being educated in both Europe and America caused many a schoolboy to lean toward a kind of secularism that the ancients gave them. These "books forced on reluctant schoolboys are rarely more than hateful exercises,

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<sup>144</sup> Zamoyski, Adam, *Holy Madness; Romantics, Patriots, and Revolutionaries, 1776-1871* (New York: Viking, 1999), 49.

<sup>145</sup> Zamoyski., 50.

<sup>146</sup> Zamoyski., 51.

laboriously mastered and quickly forgotten, but all over Europe and America, for all *philosophes* alike, the ancients were signposts to secularism.”<sup>147</sup> Boredom seemed to be the mechanism that triggered the establishment of the overwhelming fascination of ancient secularism. Growing ever more bold generation after generation, literary scholarship took on the secular writings of the ancients, but also mimicked the ancients, turning almost to a full-on worship of them. The most exasperating issue found in the early *philosophes* was boredom. To Nicolai the most boring part of seminary was the fact that “we declined, conjugated, expounded, analyzed, phraseologized and who knows what else.”<sup>148</sup> It was not until Nicolai found the ancients that he deemed his Latin useful.

These bored, hero worshipping, idealistic, anti-establishment personalities created such a vast array of literary publications and free thought that it seems, they were looking for something or somewhere to place their hats. If many of these *philosophes* could have travelled back in time to the Greek and Roman times, they obviously would have found themselves right at home. They were also attempting to correct the faults of the ancients as well. “Rome belonged to every educated man...besides it is an easy, pleasant language.”<sup>149</sup> One can argue that today’s superheroes, which similarly have paganistic tendencies, are celebrated today as humans continue to look for heroes to embrace. However, it also created a push towards Counter-Enlightenment ideals. The Enlightenment culminated in the radicalization of the French Revolution and its destruction of the Catholic Church, its expulsion of the Jesuits and the toppling of the French monarchy.

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<sup>147</sup> Gay., 44.

<sup>148</sup> Gay., 45.

<sup>149</sup> Gay., 41.

## Early Radical Pietism

Pietism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been divided, by contemporary historians, as either moderate, those who had a more subtle approach to Christianity, and those who were radical or hyper-pietists. While historians distinguish these two groups, they were not the first to give titles to these groups. Criticism also came from their contemporaries and church historiography of the period, eventually terming them all “radical Pietism.”<sup>150</sup> Anabaptist’s and Radical Pietists in the German speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire were not the only heterodoxic churches in the seventeenth century to develop doctrines, participate in eschatological and speculative biblical exegesis, create doctrine contrary to orthodoxy, and subscribe to various hermeneutics, reform and lean towards spiritualism.<sup>151</sup> One movement that many German Pietists, including the influential Conrad Beissel, founder of the Ephrata Cloister, found especially useful was that of the Philadelphian Society. The Philadelphia Society was founded in England, during the English Civil Wars, the Philadelphian Society emerged as a group of hermeneutics who believed the Seven Churches of Revelations were based on time rather than location. They believed that during the seventeenth century, that they were living in the Philadelphian Church time.<sup>152</sup> Other Pietists maneuvered in and out of various congregations

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<sup>150</sup> Radical Pietism owes many of its tenants to Jakob Böhme but also to other spiritualists and mystics of the sixteenth and seventeenth century who followed many of the anabaptists, spiritualists and mystics of the age. This Sophia or “heavenly wisdom” that Pietism espoused believed that man can be reborn in Christ and gain angelic powers once believed lost.

<sup>151</sup> Eschatology is a branch of theology that is concerned with the end of the world of humankind also the study of the Second Coming or the Last Judgement according to the Bible. Hermeneutics is the study of interpretation and plays a role in the interpretative approach, human intentions, actions and beliefs. Spiritualism is a metaphysical belief that the world has both substance and spirit. This includes the idea of a soul, the afterlife, as well as the idea of paranormal or divine activity.

<sup>152</sup> The Philadelphian Society in London grew from various groups of English theosophists or individuals who subscribe to the idea that there was a universal religious idea that Jakob Böhme, a German mystic, who sought knowledge from symbology and the interpretation of various natural objects. Others who represented theosophy were Jan Baptist van Helmont, Robert Fludd, Jane Leade, Henry More, and Antoinette Bourignon, for more information on how the theosophists and Pietists were connected, see, Hans Schneider, *German Radical Pietism*, (Lantham, 2007), 22-3.

and societies such as the Dunkers, Moravians, and other smaller groups such as the Hermits and a group called the Inspirationists, and the Ancient Mystic Order of Rosae Crucis.<sup>153</sup> Pietism traces its roots to the late sixteenth century which its German leader Jakob Böhme but also Anabaptist leaders from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century such as Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and George Blaurock, all who were executed by Zwingli in Bern or Zürich in the second decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Many individuals sought meaning, such as Conrad Beissel, who found that Lutheranism or Reformism gave little spiritual guidance to their mind and soul. They wandered from place to place, many times in conjunction with their employment, seeking their Master status in various guilds (the Journeyman signatures), many found niche religious groups fascinating, others sought solitude. See, E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune, An Early American Counterculture*, (Pittsburgh, 1985), 11 -26.

<sup>154</sup> Leaders of the Swiss Brethren, Grebel, Manz and others struggled to be accepted as a legitimate religious organization in Switzerland or in Germany. Lutheranism had, by now, taken a firmer hold of those reformers in Europe, however, those same reformers turned their collective backs on the Anabaptist reformers doing the same work that they themselves were doing, attempting to reform the church into a more perfect reflection of the biblical standards, see, William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story*, (Grand Rapids, 1996).

Early America in Context

The Effects on America of the European Wars

Early American colonization began sporadically from various areas within the English and other European countries to include France, Netherlands, and Sweden. The first English speaking inhabitants in present day United States was the Roanoke colony. Queen Elizabeth I saw the American continents as an opportunity not only to gather raw materials and resources but also to spread the gospel to the native inhabitants. While the colony of Roanoke did not survive and disappeared almost without a trace, the British did not give up on the conquest, settlement and seeking its supposed riches of the New World.<sup>155</sup> Forging a long-lasting relationship with the colonists was not necessarily England's chief concern, but rather the creation of a mercantilist and subservient relationship with the colonies was the overall method of developing the charters and land-grants in the American Colonies.

At Jamestown, settled in 1606, George Percy who traveled with the first colonists, was convinced that the settlement would fail because the English failed to send further supplies and that they were only relying on gathering food and the generosity of the Native Americans in the area. While the English settlers struggled growing enough food to survive, they also suffered from other problems such as disease and warfare. Jamestown receives the bulk of attention within the context of settlement in Virginia, there are tens of various "hundreds" that cropped up through the Chesapeake Bay and along the James and other Tidewater areas. One such area is Martins Hundred, rediscovered sometime in the early 1960s, and excavated in the 1970s lead by

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<sup>155</sup> While the Roanoke mystery has yet to be solved, many historians have attempted to decipher the past through archeology and other means which may shed light on the disappearance of the colonials who first settled the coastal island. See, Lee Miller, *Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony, Roanoke*, (New York, 2012).

Ivor Noel Hume, on the property of Carters Grove along the James River, there was found an early 17th century community of a few English who settled in the Hundred.<sup>156</sup> This Hundred was part of the Virginia Company's attempt to create another settlement of 250 along with 80,000 acres of land to create another micro settlement. Martins Hundred, along with many other plantations were attacked, looted, and burned by the local Powhatans in 1622. The remainder of the surviving settlers evacuated to Jamestown's relative safety.

While Queen Elizabeth I goal in settling the New World was wealth, spreading the Gospel and claiming lands and subjects for England and the Crown, the native population was not willing to give up without a fight. The rate of death of the colonists were due to disease rather than Native attacks, according to David A. Price in his work, *Love and Hate in Jamestown*, that in middle 1623 the English, after collecting themselves in Jamestown, under negotiation with the chief, poisoned most of the tribesman and in the counter massacre, slain over 200, freed the white prisoners and returned home with a collection of scalps from the natives.<sup>157</sup> With peace secured by force, the English continued to arrive, doubling in size almost every three years and in 1634 there were nearly 5200 inhabitants from England from 1200 in 1622. While Jamestown became the capital of the new colony, the Chesapeake became ripe for new settlements and new colonial battlefields which both white on Native American and white on white for domination of the coast and the navigable inlets. Long before the English attempted to settle the Chesapeake Bay, the Spanish, claiming sovereignty over the entire Atlantic shore,

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<sup>156</sup> Hume wrote a very detailed account of his findings at Martin's Hundred, examining archeological evidence. He pieced together the lives of the men, women and children who lived and died in the small fort that was Martin's Hundred. The huge amount of physical evidence that came from the ground was beneficial to understanding what life was like in the "dark age" of Virginia's colonial history. What was once owned by the Colonial Williamsburg foundation is now under a conservation easement, ensuring that its history will not be destroyed by development. See, Ivor Noël Hume, *Martin's Hundred*, (Charlottesville, 1982).

<sup>157</sup> The mortality rate for Jamestown in the first few years was high, however, as Jamestown grew, it became the hub for colonial activity in Virginia. See, David A. Price, *Love and Hate in Jamestown*, (New York, 2003).



attempted to settle on the bay. According to David J. Weber, in his work, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, the Spanish attempted twice to settle in the Chesapeake before abandoning it in 1570.<sup>158</sup>

On the eastern shore of today's Maryland Coast was settled by the English who set their sights on North America and set sail for the new world in 1666. George Calvert established the first settlement in Maryland under the auspices of the Catholic faith called St. Mary's City, and while George died before his plan became a reality, the *Ark*, and the *Dove* set sail for the New World in 1633 and landed on the shores of Maryland, settling what would become the first Catholic experiment in the English New world. Soon the Chesapeake was abuzz with trading vessels, immigrants landing and as Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey began their settlements, the immigrants never stopped coming, eventually indenturing was the primary means a person would immigrate to the colonies, ill affording the passage payment required, and thus selling themselves into bondage for a time.<sup>159</sup> Even as Maryland was, governmentally, a Catholic stronghold, many Pietists lived and sought converts in Calvert's Maryland. One of the first groups to spread their version of the Gospel and quietly win converts were the followers of

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<sup>158</sup> An interesting story of the Spanish attempts to settle in the Chesapeake Bay is documented in the work by Weber. They attempted both a settlement and a mission in which they could convert local Native Americans to the Catholic orders, unfortunately, the Native population eventually turned on their Spanish neighbors and murdered them, leaving nothing of their settlement intact. It is unknown where the Spanish settlement is currently located in the Chesapeake Bay today. See, David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, (New Haven, 1992), 71 – 73.

<sup>159</sup> Both Maryland and Pennsylvania eventually accepted indentured servants to fill the lower class ranks of laborers who were desperately needed in the colonies. As the seventeenth century gave way to the eighteenth century, the need continued to increase, however, eventually enslaved African's filled the void that indentured servants would not. The system of indenturing fell out of use in favor of the lifetime enslavement of African's who were transported to the American colonies as well as to England and elsewhere. See, Lois Green Carr, Rossell R. Menard & Lorena S. Walsh, *Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland, Robert Cole's World*, (Chapel Hill, 1991); & Jean B. Russo & J. Elliott Russo, *Planting an Empire, the Early Chesapeake in British North America*, (Baltimore, 2012); & Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era*, (Baltimore, 1984); & Wayne Franklin, *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers, the Diligent Writers of Early America*, (Chicago, 1979).

Jean de Labadie or the Labadists.<sup>160</sup> Jasper Danckaerts kept a journal of his journey to America, with his companion Peter Sluyter, searching for a place to settle a Labadist colony in America. He described various encounters he had with his fellow travelers on the ship, as well as during his journey along the east coast of America, where he encountered many Germans, Scots, English, Swedish, Dutch, and French. His journey from New York to the Delaware River describes many different people spread along the river, Jacob Hendrix, from Holstein, for example, and the Quaker's of Burlington are but a few of the colorful characters Danckaerts describes in his journal.<sup>161</sup> Augustine Hermann, a noted mapmaker who settled Bohemia Manor along Little Bohemia Creek, lived among various Labadists, as did his son Ephraim. Herman produced the following map, which Danckaerts used as a guide during his travels.

While the Dutch attempted to settle in today's Hudson River and the Swedish settled Nya Sverige along the Delaware River today's Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the Swedish South Company was an attempt to make use of the land available and settled the land in 1638. Today called Swedes' Landing, some 600 Swedes and Finns and other nationalities settled just below where Philadelphia is today. Even William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia from 1660 to 1677 was in contact with the Swedish at the Landing during his time as governor.<sup>162</sup> While the

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<sup>160</sup> Pietism had many forms, in Lutheran and Reformed congregations as well as other areas such as the loose Catholic communities within Maryland. Before the acquisition of Pennsylvania by William Penn, Germans settled in small pockets as they immigrated together, however some were Lutheran, others Reformed, but many of those Germans who immigrated until the middle of the eighteenth century were various sectarians whose beliefs were Pietist in nature. See, F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, (Grand Rapids, 1976).

<sup>161</sup> Jasper Danckaerts attempted, in his journal, to describe at least the place of origin of the individuals he met during his journey both to America and throughout the colonies. His colorful descriptions of them at times is quaint, but meaningful to the reader of his journal. He also used the local descriptions and understanding of the areas that prevailed during the time, such as the Amazon River connecting to the St. Lawrence. His encounters with the English, French and German settlers throughout the colonies are important to the understanding of the multiculturalism and pluralism within Penn's' new experiment that occurred only a few years after Danckaerts visit to the Delaware settlements. See, Bartlett Burleigh James, *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts 1679 1680*, (New York, 1913).

<sup>162</sup> William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, was in contact with the leadership in New Sweden on both the Hudson River, the New Netherlands colony, and the Swedish outpost along the Delaware River opposite of Philadelphia today. In a letter found in Riksarchivet, Stockholm, Berkeley was asking that the colonies not sell arms to the

Swedes suffered very little at the hands of the Native Americans or other Europeans, Marylanders, were almost under constant attack from the intertribal community of Native Americans in all corners of Maryland and beyond. According to Lois Green Carr, in her work *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, that Lord Baltimore had made many enemies of other colonial leaders, and one such leader was the exiled Mr. Claiborne, an influential friend of the Native American, who had granted him an island, now known as Kent, in which he attempted to settle outside of both Maryland and Virginia. Claiborne was now working with the Providence Island Company, and was bringing back old grudges, calling on the Native Americans to make war against the Maryland Jesuits and became a friend of every Maryland enemy. It took a long time for Maryland to come to terms with the various natives who were at war with them, eventually bringing peace as Claiborne's power slowly diminished once he lost his ability to support his trading post on Kent Island. While neither Maryland's dreams of a manorial society never came to fruition, it was also Virginia's displeasure to never find precious metals and a labor force in the Native American people and according to Jean and J. Elliot Russo, the largest contribution both early Virginia and Maryland made to the English world was the introduction of tobacco, eventually turning the tidewater of the Chesapeake Bay into the Tobacco Coast which dominated the region's economic stability for generations, either creating riches or paupers was up to the commodity market of tobacco, but Maryland and Virginia were in the market for the long haul.<sup>163</sup>

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Native Americans. The letter was written to Willem Kieft, John Jackson, Johan Printz and Hendrick Huygens. See, Warren M Billings, *The Papers of Sir William Berkeley, 1605 – 1677*, (Richmond, 2007), 53 -55.

<sup>163</sup> The Chesapeake Bay has an interesting and storied history, and the Claiborne's story of an independent trading facility was just one of many narratives that contribute to the increasing domination of the English over the American frontiers from the Chesapeake Bay to the Appalachian Mountain range, the English remained committed to dominating the countryside. What happened to Claiborne in the seventeenth century continued in the eighteenth and remained a large component of small-scale operations being overshadowed by the larger "community" of settlers. See, Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, (Chapel Hill, 1988), 59 – 71.

While Maryland was settled by Catholics, for Catholics and Virginia was settled by Anglicans for Anglicans, and the New England colonies were settled by Puritans for Puritans, it was not long before other sectarians arrived on the American coastline seeking to stake a claim to land for their own use. Some of the earliest European settlers were those under the Dutch and Swedish flags, who settled the lands for trading and for wealth and brought hundreds of people from other nationalities and religious persuasion with them. It was not long before there were Germans who were anabaptist settling on the mouth of the Delaware River, Quakers in New Jersey and New York, Anglicans in Maryland and Puritans in Virginia. Each colony had rules against religious minorities settling in their lands, but this did not stop those who were escaping prosecution from attempting to settle unmolested in North America.

The Chesapeake Bay region was not the only place that the English settled in large numbers in North America in the early 17th century. While the Bay did grow in wealth considerably faster than other early areas, the Pilgrim's and the Plymouth Bay Colony cannot be overlooked. What is now called the Great Puritan Migration of the 17th Century, the Mayflower sailed from England into history and landed on Plymouth Rock in 1620 off Cape Cod in Massachusetts. While Virginia was settled by second sons of the upper class of England from the South-West and North-East England, the Puritans came from the South-East of England, or East Anglia where, according to David Hackett Fischer, the worst of soil, and the worst textiles came from. In Fischer's landmark work, *Albion's Seed*, he lays out the idea of English society transformed and transplanted onto American soil, and at times nearly identical in folkways to their old homes. The Puritans created a colony that suited the Puritanical ideals. The Puritans were less interested in commercial enterprises than their Chesapeake counterparts, but rather religious and common-law ruled their colonial enterprises. One such rule was the use and

importation of fabrics. These sad colored fabrics, as the Puritans called them, had to be fashioned in a way that would not emphasize sensual displays. These sad colors included liver color, de Boys, tawney, Russet, purple, French green, ginger lyne, deer colour and orange as well as gridolin and Kendall and Lincoln greens.<sup>164</sup> Contrary to the popular belief that the Puritans lived in blacks and whites, the color of various clothing in Puritan New England was all but black and white, rather they were dictated by the colors that were sad, as they continue today in various traditions such as college colors and sports teams. This stereotypical image of a Puritan with black velvet or white gloves were left to the elders in good standing in Puritan New England.

New England's commercial enterprises were vastly different than those of the Chesapeake region, they were what Fischer called the Dutch of England's Empire. They created highly commercialized centers of activity which allowed them to create small seaports all along the Thames estuary. Even Bernard Bailyn, stated that the economic tradition of the New Englander remained the same up until just before the American Revolution. While the early settlements dotted the landscape from Maine to the Carolina's the primary settlements were created with vastly different designs. The Puritans, and their descendants cultivated a love of seafaring and commercial enterprise, the Calvert's and their Catholic immigrants found that tobacco could unite them and their southern co-colonists, the Virginians, in a commercial enterprise that is still strong today. While Queen Elizabeth's dream of a robust, diverse, and subordinate colonial venture became a reality, it became so in a vastly different way, while none found gold, silver, or any gemstones, they did find commercial enterprises that would bring

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<sup>164</sup> East Anglia was the overall influence for the early dress ways of the Puritans in New England. An examination of what "sadd colors" meant in 1638 was found in S. E. Morison's work, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), and David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed*, (New York, 1989), 139 – 140.

riches to the colonies and the homeland for generations. England's dream of colonial empire was a reality, albeit meager in the beginning, but became a robust mechanization of commercial, industrial, and military might that even the British could not control. While Puritanism held a comfortable majority within the Bay, the Hudson was another story. The Hudson River remained populated by Germans, Swedish, Dutch, and French and most fell into the Lutheran, Reformed or a combination, due to inter-marriage and increased self-ministry (until more pastors arrived). Many of these leaned towards Pietism, or at least did not dissuade pastors from preaching their Pietist views. Spreading the gospel of Pietism were those circuit riders who remained a staple within New York and New Jersey during the Swedish and Dutch years. Many were either Reformed or Lutheran trained pastors who had strong pietist leanings, such as Bernhardus Freeman (1662-1743), Jodocus van Lodenstein (1620 – 1677), Jacobus Koelman (1630 – 1695), Friedrich Adolph Lampe (1683 – 1729), and others. Many of these men were shaped by various theologians such as Johannes d'Outrein and Johannes Wilhelmus.<sup>165</sup> Many of the circuit riders carried several published works that remained a staple for Pietists in the eighteenth century throughout America. Ethnic German settlements remained isolated into various pockets within the Delaware Bay and up-river areas of the Delaware River, its tributaries to the east and west, but predominately to the west in what is now within the territory of Pennsylvania. Many of these early ethnic Germans are lost to historians, but a few can be found in various primary source materials such as Jasper Danckaerts and other early travelers.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Not only those mentioned above, but also Herman Witsius (1636-1708), the Brakels, both Theodorus (1608 – 1669) and his son, Willem (1635 – 1711) as well as Abraham Hellenbroek (1658 – 1731) were influential within the early colonial society of the Hudson and the Delaware Rivers. The Brakel's publications survived the longest, according to Stoeffler, including *The Steps of the Spiritual Life*, (part of the larger work *De Redelijke Godsdienst* The Christian's Reasonable Service), which contributed greatly to the Pietist understanding, however one greater, Abraham Hellenbroek's works received the largest English distribution in the eighteenth century, *A Sermon...* included in his later *Specimen* which was continually published throughout the eighteenth century. See, F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, (Grand Rapids, 1979), 46 – 52.

<sup>166</sup> Jasper Danckaerts traveled in New York and down the Delaware River in the seventeenth Century.

## The Charter of Virginia

It is important to understand the complexity of the creation of the Anglican colony of Virginia before understanding its demise. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century men, women and children flocked to the colonies but nearly none from the top rungs of European aristocracy. Nearly no European aristocrat is buried on American soil from the colonial era, nearly none lived for any length of time on British America, yet these are the individuals who are calculated as the establishment, those who established British Colonialism in America. It is because they bore the brunt of the funding, the organization, and the legality of creating a colony that they are looked at as the founders of British America. By the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century nearly all who lived there were of English blood, but by the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century “roughly half the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies had no English blood in their veins.”<sup>167</sup>

England, at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century struggled with its identity. A generation previous had seen Spain grow into a powerful and influential member of the European community, pressing Catholicism throughout the Americas and other parts of the world all while reaping huge monetary rewards. Contemporary writer Richard Hakluyt attempted to persuade the English to expand their universe from the British Isle’s into America by examining the English tendency for conquest and occupation and struck nominal chords with those Hispanophobes<sup>168</sup> and almost all anti-Catholics. The request for the creation of settlements in the New World hit fever pitch in 1585 when Ralph Lane attempted settlement on Roanoke Island. After its failure,

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<sup>167</sup> Gary B Nash. *Red, White, & Black: The peoples of Early North America* (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), 170.

<sup>168</sup> Lawrence James used the term Hispanophobes in his work *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, expressing that Spain was the most powerful enemy the British were facing in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century other being all out anti-Catholic, the British eventually spent little time properly supplying their two fledgling colonies in Roanoke and Newfoundland and both collapsed when money and supplies were diverted from them to wage war on Spain. Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1994), 5.

it was not until 1607 when Jamestown was founded that the English would create a permanent settlement on American soil.

During Queen Elizabeth's reign, several commissions were created to explore and take lands for England and one such voyage set sail in 1583. The expedition explored and landed in what is now St. John's harbor in Newfoundland Island by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Although he claimed the area for England, no establishment of permanent settlement would come to fruition until after the Spanish threat subsided and Queen Elizabeth was dead. In 1610, the settlement of Cupids under the charter of the London and Bristol Company, also known as the Newfoundland Company, eventually was established along with other short-lived colonial settlements on the island as well.

King James I chartered the Virginia Company of London as a joint stock company on 10 April 1606. It granted its shareholders the ability to establish a colony and rule it as they pleased. The Virginia Charter granted the charter members to allow assemblies to rule over the plantations and habitations of the colony with the approval of the Privy Council.<sup>169</sup> On 14 May 1607, the settlement of Jamestown just 40 miles inland on the James River was established and fought for survival for over five years, not unlike its predecessor and failed colonial attempt on

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<sup>169</sup> According to the original Charter dated 10 April 1606 the Charter members Sir Thorn as Gales, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanharm and Raleigh Gilbert, Esqrs. William Parker, and George Popham shall begin a colony and rule it thus: "And we do also ordain, establish, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that each of the said Colonies shall have a Council, which shall govern and order all Matters-and Causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several Colonies, according to such Laws, Ordinances, and Instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England; Each of which Councils shall consist of thirteen Persons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as shall be directed and comprised in the same instructions." The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America Compiled and Edited Under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906, by Francis Newton Thorpe Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th\\_century/va01.asp#1](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va01.asp#1) (accessed 19 April 2016).



Roanoke Island before. Between 1606 and 1624, the Virginia Company struggled on to make a profit from the establishment of its colony on the Chesapeake Bay.

Over the next two decades England had, through its use of Charters, established a handful more colonies on the North American continent. The Virginia Company of Plymouth established a colony, which survived for little over a year, named after leader George Popham, the Popham Colony on the Kennebec River in what is now the State of Maine. Popham Colony was established using the same charter as Jamestown and fared much better in the first year than Jamestown, however after the loss of their leader, and after their new leader, Raleigh Gilbert, learned of his inheritance, the colonists choose to abandon their colony and head to England.<sup>170</sup>

Another colony was formed after the ship traveling with supplies to Jamestown was forced to run aground on what is now called Bermuda in the mid-Atlantic. Admiral George Somers left a crew on the uninhabited archipelago to begin a colony there. Originally, this colony was to be part of the Virginia Company of London; however, it was transferred to The London Company of The Somers Isles. The island of Bermuda offered little in way of economic diversity and relied primarily on import for most of its goods, only exporting the minimal sugar crops in its early decades. The size of this island, about 20 square miles, left little room for expansion and its size as well as its climate was the primary reasons this colony

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<sup>170</sup> Popham Colony or the Sagadahoc Colony as it may be referred has only recently been rediscovered by local archaeologists and survives with meager documentation and original source material. On May 31 of 1607 roughly 100 men and boys sailed for the New World. Many of the colonists had served previously as soldiers in His Majesties service, but some other skilled carpenters and others traveled as well. When they arrived at the peninsula, where the Kennebec River plunges into the Atlantic, they set for land and began erecting Fort St. George. Once complete about half the colonists set sail to return to England in December and the others continued building framed houses however by next fall the remaining 45 abandoned the colony and set sail to England. According to Myron Beckenstein the chance discovery of this long-forgotten colony turned up in a government archive in Madrid Spain. Most likely either stolen or copied from the original soon after settlement. The physical discovery of the Fort and other buildings did not happen until Jeffrey P Brain, an archaeologist working for the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem Massachusetts heard of a mythological lost colony in Maine. Myron Beckenstein, "Maine's Lost Colony," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2004.

survived with minimal people. The plantation class of colonists became its primary source of revenue, relying on slave labor and a “monoculture based on large estates and the labor of imported slaves.”<sup>171</sup>

Jamestown had suffered ongoing hardships and after failing to produce any substantive trade profits other than tobacco and other foodstuffs, along with the Jamestown Massacre, which was a devastating blow to the colony, King James dissolved the Company and changed it to a royal colony. In his dissolution announcement, James accused the colonial government and the Virginia Company of London of being “the government as it now stands is democratical and tumultuous.”<sup>172</sup> Democracy, it seemed, was on the rise in the government of Virginia, however, it was not a popular course in the Privy Council of James. The investigations into the loyalties and allegiances of the colonial government were underway and one man’s official position would bring, in a few short years, a clash between the colony of Virginia and a rival colony to the north.

The rival colony was granted to George Calvert, a man of substantial means and an unapologetic Catholic, which was in direct conflict with the Anglican Church and Parliament’s wishes, but he continued to persuade the governments that he was a good Englishman first, and a Catholic second. Maryland was not his first colony, he had been given a charter within the

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<sup>171</sup> Much like Bermuda, the Barbados and other English colonies on Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, the Spanish and French also heavily colonized the Caribbean with some Europeans and the extensive use of slave labor. This created a culture of the planter class, plantations and a plantocracy. The European powers saturated these islands with immigrants pushing the native population on the fringe and almost to extinction. With heavy use of slave labor, both of African and Native populations, the slave populations grew exponentially compared to the European counterparts of the same time frame. Each Island lived with the risk of slave rebellions, dangerous weather conditions and from outside attack by other European powers throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was not until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when France was looking to divest of its Island colonies with the Treaty of 1763 with England, which the later received four new island colonies. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D Morgan, *Strangers Within the Realm; Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*. (Chapel Hill, 1991), 314-321.

<sup>172</sup> Antoinette Sutto. *Loyal Proetstants & Dangerous Papists; Maryland and the Politics of Religion in the English Atlantic 1630-1690*, (Charlottesville, 2015), 19.

territory of the old Plymouth Company, and was granted one in 1620, however this is not the colony of Maryland, and this was his first venture into colonization of the New World. George Calvert, or Lord Baltimore, was the proprietor of Avalon, one of the first permanent English settlements on the Island of Newfoundland where he had attempted to create a place where English Catholics could migrate to and live without harassment.<sup>173</sup> He served as proprietor over Avalon until 1629 when he finally abandoned the colony due to the harsh climate and extreme conditions.

On his voyage back from Avalon to London, his ship stopped in Virginia, where, upon arrival, they were required by the General Assembly to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which all the Catholics “utterly refused.”<sup>174</sup> He later reported to the Privy Council of the abuses, in his mind, the Assembly had taken against him, but it went nowhere. James agreed with the General Assembly on the need to create a freedom of religion, which meant the “freedom to live in harmony ensured by religious uniformity.”<sup>175</sup> However, this did not mean that there were no religious dissenters in Virginia. As early as 1611, a religious non-conformist named Reverend Alexander Whittaker had migrated to Virginia and set up the first Puritan congregation in the new world.<sup>176</sup> Religious toleration survived in moderation from 1611 until the General Assembly passed Act 1 on 23 February 1631, which read, “that there be a uniformity throughout this colony both in substance and circumstances to the canons and constitution of the

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>176</sup> According to Daniel Randall Puritanism was alive and well in the Virginia Colony almost from its onset. “A small company holding the Puritan belief was undoubtedly settled in Virginia as early as 1611, when, with Sir Thomas Dale, Governor, came the so-called “Apostle” the Rev. Alexander Whittaker, under whose guidance sprang up the first Puritan Church in the New World.” By 1621 the Puritan congregation was becoming a large force by its own right. In the first two decades of the Virginia Colony, religious beliefs held second to the security and prosperity of the colony. It was not until February 24, 1631, that Virginia became intolerant towards Puritanism by passing an Act of uniformity. Daniel R Randall, *A Puritan Colony in Maryland*, (Baltimore: 1886), 6.

Church of England.”<sup>177</sup> Stringent non-conformist regulations remained in place in the colonial south for decades, however, little could be done to stop the tide of immigration which followed such individuals such as Menno Simons, Conrad Grebel and others who followed the ideas of Anabaptism.

The king granted Calvert his Charter to settle a colony along the northern part of the Chesapeake Bay just weeks before his death. The first settlement, St. Mary’s City was established and named for Henrietta Maria, the Catholic Princess and Queen Consort of Charles I. Maryland, much like its southern neighbor Virginia, was fraught with issues and problems during its first decade of its existence. The title was transferred to Calvert’s son Cecil Calvert, also a Catholic who led the colony of Maryland in its formative years. Although George Calvert was tested throughout his life because of his Catholic conversion and loyalty to the throne and to England, which reflected in his positions, and later in his son’s position on religious toleration in Avalon and in Maryland it did not deter either of their drive to settle and create a haven for persecuted Catholics. Cecil struggled to maintain religious freedom within his colony despite the conflicts between his colony and Virginia to the south. Border disputes between Virginia and Maryland were only settled long after the English Civil War and were not fully settled until after James the II took the throne.

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<sup>177</sup> The Act of the General Assembly followed years after Governor Harvey had proclaimed a series of rigorous laws framed around those of the Archbishop Bancroft against the Dissenters in England. According to Daniel R Randall, Harvey’s chief aim was to secure his place with Archbishop Bancroft and to eliminate the Catholic religion beginning to grow in Virginia. Randall, 8. The 67<sup>th</sup> Act of the session of February 1631-32 replaced all the previous laws, made by any assembly in Virginia. “The legislature was exclusively occupied with promoting a uniformity to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, in enforcing attendance at church and other religious exercises; and in such temporary defensive operations against the Indians as the defenseless state of the colony rendered necessary.” Act 1 on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of February 1631 Order for the Mynisters. William Waller Hening. *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619 Vol 1* (New York: 1823), 155.

Maryland brought two distinct elements to the American colonies; these two elements changed throughout Maryland's existence but continued with minor changes through the next half century. The first element was that of the proprietary. Leonard Calvert, acting as the Lord Proprietor of Maryland under the grant given to him by Charles I, was able to create and grant manors and to appoint lords over the population. Much like the English political system in place for centuries, Lord Baltimore was able to maintain this type of class system in America. The second was that of religious freedom, even though Maryland was primarily a Catholic colony, it would allow the freedom of any inhabitant to worship in their own faith.<sup>178</sup>

There were other difficulties for both Virginia and Maryland in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Many countries of Europe looked to settle and take advantage of the New Worlds riches. England was not the only nation to attempt settlement on the New World around the Chesapeake Bay. These colonies also had created some great concern to both the English in London and those settling in Virginia and Maryland. The Dutch, or the nation of the Netherlands, created the Zwaanendael Colony on the Delmarva Peninsula on present day Lewes, Delaware. New Netherland would be a thorn to the English Settlers for over 50 years, until English merchants and other settlers purchased most of the settlements. Between 1628 and 1674, the Dutch settled more than 60 settlements along the coast and on the various navigable rivers between present day Boston and Jamestown as well as areas of coastal Brazil in South America.<sup>179</sup>

Very little non-English immigration happened on the east coast of the Atlantic between 1600 and 1700. Sparse European colonies were spread out across the eastern seaboard but the

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<sup>178</sup> Paul Wiltach, *Potomac Landings* (New York, 1937), 43.

<sup>179</sup> Holland founded the Dutch West India Company in 1621 looking to create a lucrative trade between the colony and itself. Establishing New Netherlands in what is now New York's Long Island, the Dutch West India Company survived for forty-three years before the English took over Fort Orange. Charles A Beard & Mary R Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1930), 32.

vast majority of persons living in the British colonies were of English descent. In 1650 the estimated English population in America was roughly 50,000.<sup>180</sup> In 1700 the population had grown five times that, and by 1750 the overall population grew to another five times and included more than a quarter million African slaves. Very little German, French (in the British Colonies), Irish or Scot immigrants came to the colonies before the turn of the eighteenth century. But by 1720 “thousands of Germans, Swiss, Ulster Scots-Irish, and Africans poured into the colonies.”<sup>181</sup> Unable to escape the horrors of constant warfare in and around these various places most came to the British colonies to move away from the destruction of the present wars in Europe. It was a watershed for European immigration to the British Colonies, encouraged by those nobles such as Baron de Graffenried and Count von Zinzendorf. However, other Europeans did attempt to lay claim to parts of the Atlantic coast as the settlements were still dotting the coast and not controlling the entire coastline.

The Realm of Sweden had become a large country and one of the great powers in Europe around the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Sweden had created the Swedish West India Company to establish colonies on the coast of North America and more precisely along the Delaware River. Sweden had established a colony by 1638 close to present day Wilmington, Delaware called Fort Christina and the New Sweden Colony. They also settled the Hudson River competing against the Dutch on the Hudson River and Long Island in present day New York.<sup>182</sup>

During the reign of Charles I the English had waged a series of failed wars against the Dutch, which was secretly arranged by the Spanish, in 1631 looking to hinder the Dutch sea power. The wars severely hurt Charles I when the Dutch destroyed or captured much of the

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<sup>180</sup> According to Gary Nash the population of all Englishmen in colonial America was roughly 50,000 persons. Gary B Nash. *Red, White, & Black: The peoples of Early North America* (Boston, 2010), 170.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

English trade coming from the American colonies. Other issues caused the English to be defeated by the Dutch to include the ongoing issues Charles had with his Parliament. Charles was unable to raise the funds necessary to execute a prolonged naval and land war against the Dutch. However, war was not that bad in previous generations. Notorious privateers such as Frances Drake and John Hawkins raided and captured thousands of pounds of precious cargo from the Spanish during the later years of Elizabeth I reign.<sup>183</sup>

Enter the most formative and transformative individual of the early Virginia Colony and the propagator of much of the Virginia religious and economic standards for decades to come. William Berkeley, the fourth son of Maurice and Elizabeth Killgrew Berkeley of Somerset, Gloucestershire and London.<sup>184</sup> William's father had invested heavily in the East India Company, the Virginia Company of London and the Irish Company, however he died in debt and gave little to his sons as a result. William's oldest brother and heir to his father and grandfather's titles, Charles, received a seat on the Privy Council of Charles I and was appointed Lord Berkeley of Rathdown and Viscount Fitzharding. He also joined Charles II on his court-in-exile and received the title of Baron Berkeley of Stratton that also granted him a proprietor of Carolina and the Northern Neck of Virginia as well as a lord lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Elizabeth I took the reign as an impoverished queen. Comparative to other European rulers of her time, her small country of roughly four million souls had one thing in abundance, mariners. These individuals pledged their lives and their careers on the prospect that the trade, privateering and outright piracy would pay off. Englishman such as Francis Drake and John Hawkins captained ships that were fast, small, and maneuverable, and were willing to attack larger ships of Spain anywhere on earth. Hawkins made such a name for himself that his "trade" missions were nothing more than state sanctioned raids on enemy ports and shipping which brought millions in plundered cargo back to England. The trade triangle, England to Africa, Africa to the Caribbean, Caribbean to England, firmly established the African slave trade for the next two-hundred and thirty years. Individuals such as John Hawkins, Martin Frobisher, Thomas Cavendish, and others all brought England a wealth of goods, jewels, gold, silver and other material which allowed England to refit and rebuilt its navy. This infusion of hard currency also allowed England to begin the process of settlement in the New World, albeit slow settlement in the beginning. See, Wade G. Dudley, "Elizabeth's Sea Dogs," *Military History*, 30, no. 4 (Nov 2013): 56-63.

<sup>184</sup> Warren M. Billings. *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge, 2004), 25-26.

<sup>185</sup> Much of William Berkeley's early years are lost to history according to Billings and Fischer. However, another issue surrounding William Berkeley's history is more problematic. His entire life is surrounded by one issue, that issue being Bacon's Rebellion. His accomplishments are shrouded by the failure to prevent and even squash the

William graduated from Oxford with two degrees, and with his combined relationships and friendships, he earned an appointment as a gentleman of the king's privy chamber extraordinary, which allowed him to come and go as he pleased on the Privy Council.<sup>186</sup> After serving the king with little distinction in the first and second Bishops' Wars' William fell into the background. Discovering that politics can be a hard pill to swallow, he decided that he would travel abroad in some official capacity and began to petition as an envoy to Constantinople. However, in 1641 he reversed course and petitioned the court and Charles I for the governorship of the Virginia Colony. He was then summoned the High Court of Parliament where his "patent from the king to be governor of Virginia, Sir Francis Wyatt's time being near expiring; and because it should be no prejudice to Sir Francis Wyatt, there are stipulations made by and between Sir William Berkeley and Mr. George Sandys, in the behalf of the said Francis Wyatt, that Sir William Berkeley should enter upon the government and profits thereof presently" should be evaluated for truth.<sup>187</sup> Berkeley landed in Jamestown in February 1642 and first met his assembly, who just years before had cast out their governor Sir John Harvey and the king replaced him with Wyatt. Berkeley would hold the role of governor for ten years before the Commonwealth appointed Protectorate Governors for 8 years, and then resumed his role as governor after the restoration of King Charles II in 1660.

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rebellion. His reputation fully tarnished by an event that happened when he was ill and in his 70's. His successes in horticulture, government and democracy, economics and warfare make him one of the most successful, if not most successful governor in the history of Virginia. Warren M. Billings *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge, 2004). "Preface", David Hackett Fischer *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989). Pg 208 notes on Berkeley.

<sup>186</sup> David Hackett Fischer *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 208-209.

<sup>187</sup> It was entered into the records of Parliament on November 3, 1641, that William Berkeley would replace Francis Wyatt, there was some question as to the legitimacy of William Berkeley's patent to the governorship, and Parliament met with William Berkeley on November 4, 1641, to review such documents. Leo Francis Stock, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America Vol I.* (Washington DC, 1924), 128-129.



Berkeley played a most important role in colonial government. First strengthening his alliances in the colony and aboard in England and second creating profitable trade and agriculture and third by cementing the Anglican faith in the colony by a system of peerage and land grants. These three roles did not come about merely by taking over as governor-general of Virginia; it took some smoothing and a great deal of learning on William's part to understand the full complexity of his new title. With this, men and women flocked to the colony, but most notably were those of two classes of men. The Gentleman and Yeoman of England's upper class who, by virtue of their family's large estates and owners of land, they were able to afford to migrate. It was the second sons and daughters who migrated in large numbers, unable to inherit their parents' estates. These two groups of people worked side by side in Virginia, the first group with the financial means the second with the knowledge of crops, labors and soil conditions as well as knowledge of primitive conditions.<sup>188</sup>

Berkeley also played an important role in the hegemony Anglicanism in the colony of Virginia. Berkeley believed that the colony, through its charter, was to remain an Anglican stronghold, refusing to allow any other religious minority into its borders. It was not until the Treaty of Lancaster, 1744, that Virginia relinquished its stronghold of Anglicanism in its borders, however, even with this treaty in place, it remained very difficult to settle to the east of the Blue Ridge Mountain as a sectarian, and with the exception of Germannia in central Virginia, remained intolerant of any foreign people or religion until the American Revolution. The Blue Ridge Mountain remained the eastern wall in which no sectarian shall settle, but it allowed for the entire area of what is now West Virginia to be settled by many European Protestants in the century to come (1745 – 1850).

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<sup>188</sup> Beard, 23.

The colony of Virginia was not without its share of armed conflict, mostly over land and agricultural rights between the native population and the colony. What would be known as the Anglo-Indians Wars of the sixteenth century would be one of Berkeley's chief concerns over his tenure. The struggle for arable land between the colonists and the Powhatans broke out into armed conflict no less than four times between 1607 and 1677 and the most famous and most costly to the English was the war between 1622 and 1632. It cost the colony almost a third of its population in a day's battle and another large amount over the starvation period, which followed. The wars end only quelled the fighting but not the animosities the war was fought over.<sup>189</sup> How to treat and deal with the native population was a balancing act. It was a balance that Berkeley had to find so he adopted his predecessor's policy of only treating with natives if you had a license to do so and no trade would be authorized otherwise.

The Council of State had been entrenched in colonial politics and held between ten and eighteen members and a quorum was any five members and the governor, which most likely happened often. Although this council was nominally considered the upper house of the General Assembly, they served as the advisory panel to the governor. The second body of governance in the colony was the General Assembly. The first assembly of elected representatives, the General Assembly or the House of Burgesses was established by the Virginia Company and was the governing body of the colony in conjunction with the governor. The colony was also broken down by county, with appointed judges, clerks, and sheriffs. When Berkeley first met with the assembly, he suggested that House of Burgesses sit separately from the Council of State, thus creating a bicameral legislative body.

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<sup>189</sup> Warren M. Billings. *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 71.

The English Civil War soon broke out over differences in politics, and Charles I continued requirement for military and other funds. The English Civil War was not a singular event though, it was a series of wars between the Parliament, known to history as the Long Parliament or the Roundheads, and the monarchy with its King Charles I also known as the Cavaliers. On June 10, 1644 Parliament ordered that “it be referred to the committee of the navy, to consider what course is fittest to be taken to reduce the plantations of Virginia and Barmoudies to the obedience of Parliament.”<sup>190</sup> With the English Civil Wars causing all manner of pains on the English countryside, what was left on the periphery were the English Colonies in America and elsewhere who were without support and even many times without supplies or the ability to ship their goods back into English Ports. Most of the West Indies, Bermuda and Virginia were primarily Royalist colonies, those supporting Charles I, and with Parliament all but in control of England, it was their next duty to bring into line their colonial establishments.

Just as the conflict in England was about to erupt into full-scale war, Virginia was about to do the same against the Powhatan people and their leader Opechancanough.<sup>191</sup> Seeing an opportunity to strike with the arrival of a new governor and the conflicts in England, Opechancanough chose to attack the colony. Initial successes on the field of battle encouraged the native population to continue their war, killing or capturing hundreds. It was clear that Governor Berkeley had to act so he travelled back to England to purchase supplies and weapons for the colony. Upon his return, he had found his colony in near ruin and his lieutenants had waged the war horribly. Berkeley won the war with a single ambush and capture of the chief, and once silenced, the new leader of the natives sued for peace. The Treaty of 1646 was signed

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<sup>190</sup> Stock vol 1, 155.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 53n.

and ratified by the General Assembly setting a precedent of how the government should handle the Native Americans.<sup>192</sup>

This Anglo-Indian War had promoted Berkeley to a new plane in popularity, and riding on his successes, he then focused on making Virginia an economic powerhouse. He opened up commercial access to Holland and her colonies and opened the doors to free trade. This was a major piece of legislation that the General Assembly passed. Working with Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam, he looked to establish a formal trade agreement between the colonies. However, Berkeley did not formalize any relationship but had intermediaries do most of the negotiations behind closed doors.

Trade relationships were important to Berkeley. He entered into secret communications with Stuyvesant, then director-general of New Netherland in current day New York. Much of his early communication was lost due in part to a fire in the New York Archives in 1904, however on 24 November 1647 Stuyvesant wrote Berkeley in an attempt to establish some trade relationship.<sup>193</sup> Stuyvesant and Berkeley wrote many letters discussing trade relations and even personal trade deals. It was not until the surrender of Virginia to the Commonwealth on the 12, March 1652 that Virginia ceased trade with New Holland and Berkeley was no longer governor.<sup>194</sup> However, trade was not the only strong suit Berkeley had; he also was a very shrewd tactician when it came to military affairs in Virginia.

The English Civil Wars brought conflict to the American soil, albeit a small series of events mainly against the Virginia Cavalier supporters and the Maryland Parliamentarian supporters. The Virginia Colony had supported the Royalist cause out of livelihood as much as

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<sup>192</sup> Warren M. Billings. *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 121.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-80.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

their devotion and charter to the King. The Virginia Colony had become a Royal colony, and as such, the colony was expected to support their monarchy. Berkeley was a very strong supporter of Charles I and even his view on religious conformity. This caused major contentions between the Parliamentarians and the Royals not only within the colony of Virginia, but also between Virginia and Maryland.

Berkeley took his guidance from King Charles as a mandate when it came to religious tolerance and his dislike for the Puritan faith. As early as 1644 he refused to allow Puritan leaders entry into Virginia, administered the oath of Allegiance and the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The king had charged him with eliminating dissenters from the colony and implementing the king's church policies in the New World. On 3 November 1647, the General Assembly enacted Act III in the Grand Assembly barring all ministers who refuse to read from the Book of Common Prayer would be disallowed to collect the tithes or other duties from their parishioners.

In the beginning of Cromwell's Republican government known today as the Commonwealth, Virginia and Berkeley continued to support the Royalist cause. Virginia and more importantly Berkeley had initially resisted the change in government, proclaiming Charles II as their true monarch. However, in March 12, 1652 they were forced to surrender to Parliament and accept the Cromwellian rule. This devotion had given rise to the image as Virginia being a royalist stronghold. Virginia resisted the longest, holding out until the Parliamentarian blockade was in place, which forced the surrender of Virginia. However, Berkeley did not go down without securing concessions for his colony.

As the blockading party moved towards Jamestown Berkeley called on 1,000 militiamen and prepared to give a show of force to the invading armada. "Threatening bloodshed won three

concessions that Berkeley sought once he accepted the folly of protracted resistance.”<sup>195</sup> He safeguarded the political establishment and halted the threat of violence. He also secured the loyalty of his political and natural allies in Virginia and in Charles Stuart’s court and finally he protected the property and interests of the Virginians from Parliament’s rule. After securing these three concessions, Berkeley went on to sign two treaties with the Commonwealth. The first treaty acknowledged that the Virginians could continue their lives as they had, and it granted the Virginia colony its right to self-rule as long as no law was passed “contrary to the Government of the Commonwealth of England and the Laws there established.”<sup>196</sup> The second treaty was strictly for Berkeley and his Council that granted them their freedom and their lands.

During Berkeley’s governorship, Virginia had grown from the colony of small subsistence farmers with very few servants, mostly white, in 1640 to a marked increase in inhabitants just twenty years later. In 1660 the population of Virginia was around thirty-three thousand inhabitants, again most were subsistence farmers.<sup>197</sup> During the second half of this steep rise in population, it was not Berkeley who was governor. Berkeley was forced to give up his title of governor general of the Royal Virginia Colony between 1652 and 1660. However, when Charles II was installed on the throne it was Virginia and more importantly, Berkeley was to be rewarded for their steadfastness against the Parliament. It was not until the restoration that Berkeley would again find favor with England and more importantly the restored royal government of Virginia.

In August 1658, Cromwell died and there was much speculation as to who would succeed him, Richard Cromwell, Oliver’s son, succeeded him but only temporarily, abdicating within the

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<sup>195</sup> Warren M. Billings. *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 133.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>197</sup> J.M.Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy of Charles II* (Lincoln, 1980), 155.

year and leaving England without a single ruler for nearly a year. The task fell to the Council of State and during their reign, from May of 1659 to May of 1660, the Governor of Virginia had also fallen ill and died. Samuel Matthews served as governor just shy of 4 years. This left the governorship vacant, and with the abdication of Cromwell, a crisis was at hand. The only way the General Assembly in Virginia could be called was by the Governor, and without one, there was no constitutional way of handling the issue. It was a constitutional crisis so those present devised a quick solution; appoint an interim governor so that he could open the General Assembly to vote on a governor the schemers choice, Berkeley, who was at home in Green Spring House, his home on the James River.

After voted back as Governor General of the Colony of Virginia a sort of normalcy permeated through the colony. The General Assembly passed a series of measures restoring the government to its pre-1653 period, to include a trade deal with New Netherlands and Peter Stuyvesant. In May of 1660 when Charles II was restored to the throne, news of his crowning reached the shores of Virginia and Governor Berkeley's hands in September.<sup>198</sup> Berkeley wasted no time calling the General Assembly back into session and proclaiming Charles II as the restored king. The Assembly had a job to do also. They had to reestablish royal authority, revise the laws put in place in the interim and rewrite the constitution of government. In the winter of 1660-61 Berkeley received news that he was appointed to a position on the newly created Council for Foreign Plantations but with that appointment bad news also came, it looked to revive the Virginia Company and to stifle trade with the Dutch. He was off to London to take his seat on the Council.

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 149.

During his stay in London, he made many allies who assisted in his cause for relaxed trade regulations, and other good sense legislation that would have to pass not only the Council but also the Privy Council and the King. His fortunes rose again when he, along with seven other influential men created and granted lords proprietor of what would become North and South Carolina. The lords' proprietor charter in hand, and instructions from Charles in his pocket, he was ready to set sail back to Virginia with more work to be done. Once home, he found that the Northern Neck Proprietor was taken from his power and leased out from under him to a group of Bristol merchants. He was to assist them in any way according to Charles II.<sup>199</sup>

One of the articles he received from Charles was that of an ecclesiastical nature. "It decreed that Virginians honor God according to the authority and 'the rights of the Church of England.'"<sup>200</sup> Probably the most important of those articles, because most others were relatively silent on how Berkeley should govern in Virginia with the new royal consent. One article was clear, however, and that had to do with mercantile trade with Holland and their colonies and the trade deals were to be cancelled or voided.

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<sup>199</sup> Governor of Virginia, Thomas Culpeper, second baron Culpeper of Thoreway, was one of six original holders of the Northern Neck Proprietary. Originally, the seven shares were held by Lord John Culpeper, his brother Thomas, Lord Ralph Horton, Lord Henry Jermyn, Sir John Berkeley, Sir William Morton, and Sir Dudley Wyatt. His shrewd business dealings and permission from the king to collect rents from those on his land, Culpeper acquired four of the remaining five portions of the ownership of the Proprietary, the remaining sixth interest belonging to Alexander Culpeper, who in his will gave the remaining 1/6<sup>th</sup> share to the widow of Thomas Culpeper, Margaret van Hesse (1635-1710). Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax inherited 5/6<sup>th</sup> share from his mother, Catherine Culpeper (daughter of Thomas Culpeper and Margaret van Hesse) and 1/6<sup>th</sup> share from his grandmother upon her death. Thomas Culpeper received a new charter from Charles II establishing him as the major owner of the Proprietary and acknowledging the share his wife owned. Thomas successfully negotiated with the Commissioners of the Treasury for his salary and the rents owed him in Virginia. In 1683, Charles II negotiated with Thomas and reaffirmed his ownership of the Northern Neck. Thomas supported William of Orange, but died soon after, leaving his estate and title to his son-in-law, Thomas, 5<sup>th</sup> Lord Fairfax (1657-1710) who died before his mother-in-law, granting all the shares to his first son, Thomas 6<sup>th</sup> Lord Fairfax (1693-1781). See, Fairfax Harrison, "The Proprietors of the Northern Neck. Chapters of Culpeper Genealogy," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 32, no. 2 (1925); 113-153.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 182., Sosin, 361., Brown.



Berkeley's insistence of ecclesiastical control over the settled Episcopate in Virginia was an attempt to stop the rising tide of non-Anglican religious order in Virginia and the Carolinas but that was not the only reason he continually requested ministers and even a bishop to the American colony. Berkeley had requested a Bishop to be sent in the past, even as late as November of 1676 he had discussed the need for qualified ministers with the vestry of Northampton Parish when the need for an inducted Parish minister. William, it seems, through his return letter, had either been given the power to administer the induction, or felt he was qualified to give such an induction with no support from a Bishop when he stated, "I doe require that hee bee Imediately Inducted."<sup>201</sup> Throughout Berkeley's governorship, it is clear that he attempted to follow the apostolic church doctrine of appointed ministers and the chain of ministerial lineage handed down through the Apostles.<sup>202</sup>

It was not just a matter of having a bishop in British North America but a need for education and ecclesiastical teaching that the General Assembly and William was seeking. In 1660, Berkeley had written to Charles II petitioning the following "for his letters patents to collect and gather the charity of well-disposed people in England for the erecting of colleges and schools in this countrye and alsoe for his majesties letters to bother universities of Oxford and

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<sup>201</sup> In the communication between Northampton Parish and William Berkeley they were discussing a Mr. Isaac Key, who must have been known by William as he states that "Mr. Key is soe well knowne to mee that I am most certaine you will be happy in having soe deserving a person to officiate to you and advise & comfort you in all your spirituall wants and necessities." Pg 556. It is assumed by Warren M Billings that Isaac Key was most likely educated at Cambridge and a vicar in Essex England before migrating to Virginia, however this is an assumption, not proven. Warren M. Billings. *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge, 2004), 555-556.

<sup>202</sup> According to Ned Landsman "those who favored a colonial bishop, it had little to do with imposing English or British authority upon independent-minded colonists. Rather, it was integral to Anglicanism itself. The Church of England was an apostolic church: the authority to appoint ministers, it was believed, was handed down from the Apostles in an unbroken succession": meaning, Anglican liturgy, cannon and polity required that all ordained clergy, whether a deacon or priest be consecrated and ordained by an Anglican Bishop, traditionally the Bishop of Lond in coordination with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Chris Beneke and Christopher S Grenda, *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2011). 76.

Cambridge to furnish the church here with ministers.”<sup>203</sup> This remained one of Virginia’s most difficult issues in securing their hegemony on the countryside and beyond the Blue Ridge mountains seventy years later. While Berkeley did not live to see Smallwood’s Expedition or the Treaty of Lancaster, he did lay the groundwork for the struggle that lay ahead.

In September of 1662, Berkeley arrived back in Jamestown after travelling to meet with the new king. He was determined to follow the orders of the king, but in his own manner. He continued to push for diversification of crops but lost the Dutch trade pact when England went to war with the Netherlands. The Treaty he negotiated in 1646 began to break down and in 1675 the frontier became a battleground between the native populations and the encroaching Virginians. The Second and Third Anglo-Dutch wars hurt Virginia the most between 1665 and 1674. However, placing blame for the economic and military downfalls to come is harder to pinpoint than events that were happening a world away.

Berkeley suffered from a series of setbacks throughout his later years as governor, and ultimately the largest setback was to come a year before his death. Profit and influence became Berkeley’s main concern after the restoration. Politics became fractional, more competitive. The wealthy families began to form cliques and rivalries ensued. It became a largely robust political scene after the restoration. Financial resources became tight and were further hampered by the loss of the Northern Neck Proprietary; one that Berkeley hoped would be lucrative. In 1669, the grantees had proprietary, which meant they, not the government of Virginia had the rights to sell or lease the land, collect rents, and distribute the land as they saw fit.<sup>204</sup> It was not the end of the troubles for William and his colony. Thomas, second Lord Culpeper, who was the

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<sup>203</sup> Not only was this another failed attempt to establish a college or university in colonial Virginia but it showed a deep need for qualified ministers of the faith as well. Warren M. Billings. *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia* (Baton Rouge, 2004), 151.

<sup>204</sup> Sosin, 158.

eldest son of an original proprietor of the Northern Neck, requested the king grant him and the other grantee's "rents and other regalities from the whole of Virginia for a period of thirty-one years, a compensation for a debt of twelve thousand pounds Charles owed his father, John Lord Culpeper."<sup>205</sup> It was a debt too high for the colony, and legal action, which threw the colony even deeper into debt, lasted years, with no end in sight.

Lastly, a plague swept through the Chesapeake Bay. In 1670, the gripes, or what is now a bellyache, caused many to perish. The same year, a period of intense rain caused the tobacco crop to fail, and the following year, the food stores were depleted, and the tobacco crops were smaller. To add to these harsh setbacks, Charles II signed the Arlington-Culpeper Patent which, essentially, transferred most of Virginia's financial endeavors onto these two men. The men immediately levied taxes on per tithable to counter their own mounting expenses, but the General Assembly argued the legality of the patent. Berkeley himself wrote the king arguing that the patent was signed on misinformation. These taxes along with those imposed in late 1674 sparked uprisings in various areas of Virginia. In 1674-75, Berkeley had to quell no less than three mutinies in the colony due to these taxes and the heavy burden they laid on the people just for the enrichment of two men.<sup>206</sup>

During the mid-1670's relations between the Native Americans and the colonists turned for the worse. Bacon's Rebellion, spurred on by Indian attacks along the Potomac, and caused distrust not only in Virginia, but in Maryland as well. The Susquehannocks began to spread fear by attacking Protestant strongholds in Maryland. Many felt this was a "horrid Popish Plot" to

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>206</sup> Alf J Mapp Jr, *The Virginia Experiment; the Old Dominion's Role in the Making of America (1607-1781)* (Richmond, 1957), 144-145.

cause chaos in America to get at the English King.<sup>207</sup> In 1675, an armed band of Virginia militia had stormed a native stronghold after an apparent attack on Virginia's soil. They invaded Maryland territory to avenge the murder on the Sabbath morning, attacking a small tribe called Doeg killing a dozen or so warriors. Maryland Governor Calvert was understandably furious at the incursion, but he knew natives attempting to save themselves were overrunning his own colony. A capture of natives prompted a parlay between Virginia militia and Maryland. It ended with all natives dead, and both sides blaming each other.<sup>208</sup>

### Virginia, Bacon's Rebellion, and the Anglican Hegemony

In 1676, the New England colonies faced an even worse threat than Virginia and Maryland. A coalition of forces under the leadership of a Wampanoag leader King Philip brought New England to the doorstep of open warfare. These uprisings led to civil unrest within the colonies. Bacon rebelled not because of Berkeley's policies but because of his inaction, or at least the perceived inaction. Bacon became a captain in the local militia and threatened to take matters into his own hands. Native depredations continued throughout the colony and it was time for action. Bacon was able to negotiate with other friendly natives to join in his attacks against the Susquehannocks and other warring tribes. This was the downfall of Bacon. He had manipulated the situation and convinced the two warring native factions to wipe each other out, but the upstart had crossed the line in Berkeley's mind. Berkeley, as the Commander-in-Chief of Virginia took some three hundred men to seek out and confine Bacon. Bacon was captured and

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<sup>207</sup> Titus Oates, a noted Jesuit priest, was blamed for spreading reports of a plot to kill the king, burn London and force England to convert to popery. Chris Beneke and Christopher S Grenda, *The First Prejudice; Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2011), 227.

<sup>208</sup> One thing to come out of the confrontations between the Susquehannock and the Maryland/Virginia English was that the native knew more about fortifications than the hastily built ones the English had. Attacks were common on the frontier, but they increased to the point that the Assembly took action on March 7, 1676, in declaring war against those who had murdered Virginians. It became the spark that ignited the famous Bacon's Rebellion. Mapp, 149-152.

reinstated to the council, but something caused Bacon to flee and reassemble his 300-man militia. Bacon seized power and Jamestown, forcing the Assembly to repeal laws, and enact new ones, which changed the course of the colony, but Bacon would not live to see the fruition of his actions, he died and his rebellion died with it.<sup>209</sup>

After power was finally seized by use of a sizable militia, some saying over a thousand men aided by ships anchored in the James, Bacon's rebellion was at an end, but Bacon had died before the surrender from natural causes. In the aftermath, Berkeley was not slow to condemn these traitors to the noose. Nevertheless, this was Berkeley's fate, forever to be remembered as the executioner more fit to be a king than a governor. Even Charles II was noted to state, "the old fool has taken more lives in that naked country, than I for the murder of my father."<sup>210</sup> The King recalled Berkeley to England, and after he packed the Assembly with his own supporters the governor embarked for England, never to see his home again.

Sir William Berkeley weighed anchor for the last time in James River on May 5, 1677, and sailed for England, after arriving in London, he had sent word to Charles that he was ill and asked to be seen after his health improved. Charles agreed, but on July 13, 1677, Berkeley succumbed to his health and died. Bacon's Rebellion would be his crowning achievement or his most desperate times, depending on the viewpoint. Berkeley forced Bacon's Rebellion to be the largest issue in American colonial history to that date and as one historian put it, "Bacon's

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<sup>209</sup> Berkeley was merciless when it came to punishing the rebellions leaders. Even the governor of North Carolina, William Drummond, hung at the end of a rope for his part in the rebellion. While Drummond was in fact only the governor of Albemarle County in the Province of Carolina, at the time, there was no north or south Carolina, it was only the Province of Carolina with very few individuals living in it. It was not until 1712 that officially North and South Carolina was recognized as separate colonies. Prior to this, the Province of Carolina was owned by the Lords Proprietorship, Sir John Colleton and George Monck, the Duke of Albermarle. For more on Bacon's rebellion see, Virginius Dabney, *Virginia the New Dominion*, (Garden City, 1971), 63 - 68.

<sup>210</sup> Beard, 113.

Rebellion was the focal point for the integration of events in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina and England.”<sup>211</sup>

What Charles I could not do in North America, Berkeley attempted in every way possible. He established the Church of England as the one and only church in Virginia, brought dissenters to trial and exiled them from Virginia, and he created a gentleman’s colony which continued for generations. Those of the Puritan religion in New England had banned may-poles and the theatre, fine wine and music. The religious life was strict, prayers and Bible reading was demanded and maintained by the very law the puritans passed. The Puritan utopia envisioned by Cotton Mather is vastly different from that of the rural, landed gentry south in Virginia. Berkeley created a colony hostile to Puritanism but friendly to all things “noble” or merrier for those who were the ruling planting society. Other classes merely lived their lives without harassment as long as the religious observances were met through the Anglican Church.

Many of Charles II plans for America came to fruition during his reign. He created and approved five proprietary colonies, those of New York, Carolina, Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey. He also created a committee called Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation that advised and recommended actions in North America. This commission also attempted to bring all colonies under the control of the crown and attempted to suspend all the charters in New England in an attempt to bring Massachusetts into Crown control.<sup>212</sup> He then attempted to create a super colony, that of the Dominion of New England. This was retaliation against both New England and New York because of the drafting of the Charter of Liberties and Priviledges. Charles II wanted strong economic growth in the colonies, but also wanted a strong hierarchy in

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<sup>211</sup> Epps, 170.

<sup>212</sup> Robert M Calhoon, *Dominion and Liberty; Ideology in the Anglo-American World 1660-1801* (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson Inc, 1994), 21.

place around the colonies. Much of what he attempted unraveled when his brother James II took the throne after Charles' death.<sup>213</sup>

Charles II died in February of 1685 leaving the throne to his brother and noted papist sympathizer, James II. James attempted to relax the Protestant rules against Catholics during his three-year rule in England. He attempted to force government entities to elect Catholics to high positions, even attempted to coerce Oxford's two universities, Christ Church and University College, into electing a Catholic President. He issued the Declaration of Indulgence in an attempt to circumnavigate the punishment of Catholics and other dissenters. He also attempted to pack Parliament with his own supporters in an attempt to repeal the Test Act. In one of his final acts, he issued the writ for a general election in an attempt to purge the entire Parliament.

In 1689 Boston people marched in protest and demanded the governor hand over the authority of military security to a Committee of Public Safety. In New York, a large militia force took over the fort after threats of papists were on the rise, and in Maryland a group led by John Coode, captured St. Mary's City and ended the Calvert Family's rule and their experiment on Catholic rule in colonial America.<sup>214</sup> Anti-papery was on the rise, and in the three major colonies in North America, legal discrimination and imprisonment against the Roman Catholics continued unabated.

When the Glorious Revolution took place in 1688 overthrowing James II in favor of the William of Orange, it marked the beginning of full-scale anti-papist activities in both England and the American Colonies. William III and his wife Mary II took the throne after the Bloodless Revolution and the enactment of the Bill of Rights 1689. However, it was not until the War of the League of Augsburg, known as King William's War in America, that the cohesion of

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 229.

Protestantism became apparent. As Silvanus Davis, a prisoner in Quebec during the war, stated “‘there was a papist designe against the prodestant Intrest in New England as in other parts of the world,’ and the only way to defeat this design was for all good Protestants to band together against the common enemy.”<sup>215</sup>

It was not until the Glorious Revolution that English America had a common enemy, before this time the colonies acted as independent countries, competing for resources, commerce, warfare and favors between them and the crown. Constant warfare between England and France would draw these colonies ever closer together as well as other conflicts in England. The Jacobite Rebellion, the Williamite War in Ireland as well as the continuing War of the Grand Alliance on the Continent all brought people into the American scene in great waves, those seeking a better life away from wars and armies and it was this great immigration that led to more unrest in the future.

The Glorious Revolution brought with it an unexpected twist in American as well as British politics and warfare. It was not until William took the throne that the great Anglo-French alliance was broken, and that break would continue for more than one hundred years, not ending until 1815. This international argument would turn into bloody conflict in Europe, on the open ocean and on the American continent for the decades, with sporadic periods of peace followed by horrible periods of open warfare involving not only the American colonists but also the Native population across the East Coast of America. France posed as a bitter rival to England, both in naval power and strategic resources as well as commercial and colonial interests.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>216</sup> Herbert L Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 7-9.



After the Glorious Revolution, England changed gears, no longer worried about the alliances between Spain and France; England became the propagator of Protestant glory. It began to focus primarily on commerce and industry rather than sectional differences and religious toleration or lack thereof. However, this was not the case in most colonial governments, but they were coerced into the commercial aspect of their colonies by way of the Act of Trade of 1696, which established the Board of Trade. This board was created to stimulate domestic and foreign trade and the plantations and was regulated by this board for consolidating policy. This established the mercantilism that would stand for nearly one hundred years and which laid the foundations for the American Revolution. The Board of Trade Act marked a far swing away from religious activities, which was before a chief concern of the monarchy, to that of trade and economic interests.<sup>217</sup> What the Glorious Revolution did for England, it did so much more for America. The Toleration Act of 1689 and the Act of Trade 1696 brought North America into a new age. Not just surviving by subsistence living any longer, the British colonies became stronger, more diverse, and multicultural (in a European sense), and multi-religious. This diversity eventually became the cornerstone that was laid to allow the flood of immigration that came from Europe in the early eighteenth century and allowed Radical Pietist Christians a platform and the space to practice their religion without molestation.

#### William Penn's Pennsylvania and His Holy Experiment

The history of Pennsylvania's foundation and organization is quite interesting, and its study demonstrates that William Penn's vision of his "holy experiment" was never a forgone conclusion even at the turn of the eighteenth century. European settlement of Pennsylvania did not begin with the arrival of Penn to the Delaware River in 1683, rather Europeans had settled

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 133.

along the shores for decades. The Dutch, Swedish and English all attempted settlement on the Lenapewihittuck (Delaware) and the Susquehanna Rivers, however, both the Lenape and the Susquehannock Native Americans were leery of each other as well as the Europeans, furthermore, were at war with one another between 1626 and 1638, creating a difficult place to be in for trade and settlement. The Lenape, were a powerful tribe, as were the Susquehannock's to the west, both refusing Europeans to settle plantations on their lands. This kept the Europeans to trade settlements only, even after George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, toured what is now New Jersey and Pennsylvania in May of 1672 and reported back in England that the area was fit for settlement, the area remained sparsely inhabited. He was not the first Quaker to land on North American shores, but he was instrumental in William Penn's efforts to receive his inheritance from the king.<sup>218</sup> The war between the Susquehannock and Lenape was devastating to all sides of the conflict. The Susquehannock sought to create a trading network with the Europeans, however, with the Chesapeake Bay expropriated by the Virginia English, the Delaware Bay was their only opportunity to secure that hub for European commerce outside of direct English control. Moreover, the Lenape had, previously, secured that very trading network that the Susquehannock's sought out for themselves. Allying with the Huron from the north-west, the Susquehannock fought a decade long war against the Lenape. The various European

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<sup>218</sup> As shall be seen, Quakerism and the New German Anabaptists would work together to create a legacy of piety and civility in Pennsylvania and beyond to the frontiers, William Penn did not inherit a land devoid of inhabitants or settlers. Penn, and his mentor, envisioned a colony that was free for Quakers and others alike, to worship as they saw fit, however, the cost was enormous. Historians find themselves at a crossroads, on one hand celebrating the deeds of the few, such as Penn and Fox, but neglecting the thousands of others who came before who did not play by their own rules. Hundreds of Swedes, Dutch and other English preceded them in trading and exploring the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, creating a network of trade and mutual benefit. While Penn may have been determined to treat with the Native Americans on mutual ground, his successors found very little the Natives had that they would trade for, except for land, eventually pushing the Lenape west, nearly eradicating the Susquehannocks, and forcing thousands to evacuate their ancestral lands to the waves of European immigration. For George Fox's account of his tour of the Delaware see, H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends, George Fox & the Creation of Quakerism*, (New York, 1994),; for accounts of the Lenape and the Susquehannock see, Jean R. Soderland, *Lenape Country, Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*, (Philadelphia, 2015),; & Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, (Harrisburg, 1984).

settlements attempted to remain neutral throughout the conflict, however, a group of Native Americans called the Sickoneysincks (a group associated with the Lenape) destroyed a Dutch plantation near Cape Henlopen called Swanendael sometime in the summer of 1631. This attack caused the Dutch to re-strategize their commitment to their North American colonies.

The Dutch West India Company sought investors and moved to settle with the Native Americans, the purchase of land, which had not previously been done, both on the Hudson (North River), the Connecticut River (Fresh River), and the Delaware River (South River) all were points which the Dutch West India Company sought to purchase land from the Native Americans. Once the land was purchased on the south side of the Delaware Bay, the patroons (Dutch investors) began purchasing the area around Cape May, on both sides of the mouth of the Delaware River outlet, to secure the entire valley for the Dutch West India Company. Peter Minuit, Director of the Dutch East India Company, was responsible for confirming all land transfers between the Native Americans and the Dutch, confirmed this transfer. While the purchase may have been secured, the mood began to sour between the Native American's and the Dutch. The Sickoneysinck sachem's expected annual gifts, the Dutch argued that the purchase of the land was a single event, and that trade would be the only way for any material to change hands. The attack and destruction of the Swanendael colony was a ghastly remainder that once provoked, Native Americans would retaliate.<sup>219</sup> Both David Pieterszoon de Vries, the Dutch East India Company explorer and navigator, as well as Captain Thomas Yong, of the English expedition to secure the Delaware River for the English, reported that the Lenape

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<sup>219</sup> The Natives who attacked the fort of Swanendael made sure to kill everyone and every animal, leaving the men's bodies exposed, and leaving only the livestock's heads removing everything else, all the stores, then burning the buildings. News traveled to the Dutch in Europe on the eve of de Vries embarking to resupply the fort, and he set sail, arriving at Cape Henlopen in December of 1632. As de Vries and his men approached the burnt house and settlement, they found the remains of the men, thirty-two in all, as well as the heads of horses and cattle. De Vries was sent specifically, however, to settle the dispute, not to enflame the hostilities. See, Jean R. Soderlund, *Lenape Country, Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*, (Philadelphia, 2015), 38 – 42.

Susquehannock War was exceedingly destructive and their narratives confirm that such conflicts between Native Americans and other Native Americans, as well as Native Americans against Europeans did occur not only in New England and Virginia, but also in the Delaware Valley, where many historians omit the violence entirely. Very few settlements were made on the west side of the Delaware River, due to the violence that occurred between 1726 and 1738 (the Lenape Susquehannock War), moreover, the few settlements that did survive were merely trading posts surviving by trading for nearly everything to live, to include foodstuffs. However, one difference was evident in the Delaware Valley, and that was the cycle of violence between the Native Americans and the Europeans. The violence was controlled before it spiraled out of control, as it did in Virginia and New England. The Dutch and Native Americans worked together in a commercial enterprise. Also, the war concluded between the Lenape and the Susquehannock, with the Susquehannock being given the right to do business within the Lenape territory. This new alliance between Lenape and Susquehannock would serve the two in decades to come.

Explanations remain in conflict as to the reasons the Native Americans slaughtered on such a grand scale at Swanendael, however, one explanation may prove of use, the idea that Jasper Danckaerts, a Dutch Labadist, presented in 1679 which the settlers in the whaling community abused the Native American women, as evidenced by the name the Dutch gave to a creek just up the bay from the destroyed village, Hoerekil or Whorekill Creek in English. While historians continue to debate the purpose of the attack, it remains one of the few examples of total annihilation as a retaliatory act. However, the two Anglo-Powhatan Wars in the south caused both the Susquehannock and the Lenape to fear similar attacks from the Swedish and

Dutch along the Delaware, but it did not occur because the Swedish leadership refused to engage in open warfare against them.

In 1655 the Dutch led attack against the Swedish and Finnish in the Delaware resulted in the complete conquest of New Sweden in 1655, however the Dutch agreed that both the Swedish, Finn's and Germans could remain in the colony and indeed made many of them officers within the newly formed Dutch colony. While the Dutch did take control of the colonies, the Lenape and Susquehannock remained allies only to the Swedish and Finn's, to the point that they attacked New Amsterdam in retaliation to the conquest of New Sweden, and eventually refused to trade with the Dutch, and only entertained the Swedish as legitimate traders in the Delaware Valley. Because of this trade impasse the Dutch did not move to build an agricultural base in the Delaware as they had in New England and the Chesapeake.

The English were no strangers to the Delaware River Valley, although they owned only a scattering of settlements by 1670 along the eastern banks of the Delaware in the colony of West Jersey. The Duke of York claimed the territory for himself; however, many of the settlers were Quaker and included both Swede's and Finns in their colonies. The decline in trade coincided with the English entering the Delaware but not necessarily attributed to the English as both the Lenape and the Susquehannock suffered from smallpox epidemics. The 1664 conquest by England of New Sweden caused little impact to its inhabitants. Although the English now administered New Sweden, the ethnicity was far from simple within the colony.

The Quaker wave or as some historians called it, the Quaker invasion, occurred between 1681 and 1682 when William Penn and his 23 ships arrived on the Delaware river landing at New Castle, now in Delaware. Penn began immediately to establish his government and colony under his rule, and in his absence, his cousin, William Markham, to maintain the government and

trade within the colony. While Penn had grand ideas for his Pennsylvania, he did remain on fragile footing, especially once Charles II died and James II took the throne. Penn was a suspected Popist who, after William and Mary invaded England, remained as a conspirator against the new government. Penn struggled to remain in control of his proprietary throughout the rest of his life, however, it was not just the crown who gave him cause to worry. The Parliament also sought to remove the proprietary governments of New York, Maryland, West and East Jersey as well as Pennsylvania. Eventually, William III created the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Foreign Plantation, known as the Board of Trade, which was tasked with administering the mercantilist policies. This Board of Trade replaced the earlier Committee for Foreign Plantations, created by Charles II. The Board of Trade also was tasked with ensuring all colonies were conforming to the Navigation Acts, but also took time to settle or at least attempt to settle disputes between colonies. With Penn's annexation of the Lower Counties, now representative of the state of Delaware, he and the governor of Maryland fell into dispute because of the borders of both Delaware and Pennsylvania in terms of the Maryland Charter. Lord Baltimore and William Penn held a boundary dispute that lasted some eighty years, and was only resolved with the surveying that occurred between 1763 and 1767 in which Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon resolved the border between Maryland and Delaware from North to South, and between Maryland and Pennsylvania from East to West. Mason and Dixon also resolved a shorter dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, from Philadelphia to the eastern shore of the Dunkard Creek (See Chapter 5 for the history of Dunkard Creek). Dunkard Creek

was the last point which Mason and Dixon made their observations by astronomical study and then ended the survey.<sup>220</sup>

Penn struggled to control his own colony even at its founding, from within the colony itself and from outside forces, Maryland and the Calvert's causing the most tension. His fatherly personality kept his Pennsylvanian's and the Lower Counties harmonious, however, his neighboring colonies were less intrigued by his kind gestures. While a small rebellion against Penn's government occurred sporadically in the Lower Counties, probably spurred on by the Calvert's in Maryland, Penn was inviting and welcoming to all within his colony. Francis Daniel Pastorius, a German Pietist and friend of Penn's cousin, Abraham op den Graeff, established a group of Mennonites, Pietists, and Quakers in Frankfurt, in 1683 to establish a colony of Germans in Pennsylvania. Pastorius set sail for Philadelphia and arrived in August of 1683, where he worked with William Penn to purchase 16,000 acres which is now Germantown, Pennsylvania. This act elevated Pastorius as the most notable German in Pennsylvania, elevating him to first the mayorship of Germantown, then to the Assembly. His tract, *Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsilvania in America*, (A message about the Pennsylvania Landscape in America), invites Germans to immigrate to Pennsylvania, however, wanted them to wait until the colony was more established. This advice hurt Pastorius ambition to create a separate small German colony in America, and instead they were forced to live among the English, but Penn was fond of the Germans and welcomed them. In Penn's *Letter to the Free Society of Traders*:

II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south parts of

France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more

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<sup>220</sup> The Mason Dixon Line settled long running disputed that will be discussed in later chapters, however, this contentious border caused small battles to occur in which people from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland lost their lives attempting to claim land that until 1767 was not legally settled.

cleared, that itself will refine. XXXII. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed by God, here is both room and accommodation for them.<sup>221</sup>

While Penn saw the need to entice Englishman to the shores of the Delaware, Pastorius saw the need to settle a portion of the colony with his likeminded Germans. In his letter, *Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America* Pastorius outlines his travels to America, the hardships that await the traveler, and what to expect when coming to Germantown. One of his own greatest fears, he outlined in his paper, which soothes both fears and hesitation of other Germans from migrating:

He (the Native American) often invites me to his table and has me walk and ride in his always edifying company; and when I lately was absent for here a week...and he had not seen me for that length of time, he came himself to my little house and requested that I should at least once or twice a week be his guest. He heartily loves the Germans, and once said openly in my presence to his councilors and those who were about him, I love the Germans and desire that you also should love them...This however pleased me so much the better because it entirely conforms with the command of God (see I John 3:23).<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Penn's letter, as he wrote it, set the stage for thousands of migrants to enter Pennsylvania seeking a new life and a new home. Penn's glowing terms of the land, its native inhabitants, and his ambitious goals for settling the land, enticed many to join him in his quest to settle Pennsylvania. This letter, while at times, stereotypical, does provide some descriptions of both its early European inhabitants and its Native inhabitants. See, William Penn, *Letter to the Free Society of Traders*, (London, 1683).

<sup>222</sup> Pastorius waylaid the fears that had been spread of the Native American as savage and ruthless. This letter created much goodwill between the German immigrant and the Native American for the century to come. While Pastorius wanted to settle his 16,000 acres with only German immigrants, he also did not want his fellow Germans to struggle with necessities and explained that products that were common in Europe were not so in America, not yet, suggesting that glass, while common in Europe as a window, in the seventeenth century, was not common yet in America, and Pastorius had to use oil cloth as a window to allow light into his house. He wanted, also, to paint a picture of both the rigors of travel and immigration, but also the benefits of settling in Pennsylvania and of the godliness of its leader, William Penn. See, Jean R. Soderlund, *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1983), 353 – 360, *Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America*.



William Penn struggled with Pennsylvania, not because it was difficult to manage, but more because his governorship was difficult to manage, and his family estate was in tatters in England. He had to appoint a deputy governor to manage the colony in his absence, however a few of these deputies found themselves dismissed for various reasons. His position as proprietor was secure until the Glorious Revolution in England, where previously he had found favor with King James II, he had not courted such favor with William and Mary, and indeed was thrown into the Jacobite lot because of his connections with James. Penn struggled to receive favorable outcomes even after William and Mary's Toleration Act. After both William and Mary passed, and Anne took the throne, the general discontent in Pennsylvania occurred due to a recession in trade between Pennsylvania and the Caribbean. The recession occurred because of the actions that were taking place during the Queen Anne's War (1702 – 1713). Queen Anne had requested that all colonies take up arms against the French, and with William Penn Jr. in the colony, took up arms and commanded the militia unit in Pennsylvania, which put his position in serious jeopardy as the successor of his father. The young Penn proved to the Quaker, and their peace testimony, that he was not the right leader for Pennsylvania.<sup>223</sup>

### The Glorious Revolution in Maryland

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<sup>223</sup> William Penn Jr., struggled to live up to his father's expectations as well as the Quaker leadership in Pennsylvania. He struggled both in career and in his religious practice. He renounced his Quaker adherence and the younger's financial problems caused William Penn Sr. and Jr. to sell their joint holdings of Warminghurst in 1707 to cover debts incurred. Penn Sr., financial problems never disappeared and caused him to struggle both at home and abroad in Pennsylvania. Penn's interests in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey and the Low Counties were never enough to pay off his debts, or even his children's. Penn's struggle to control his interests caused him to ally to many individuals both inside and outside of his religious community, to differing affects. See, James Paul, *William Penn's 'Holy Experiment': Quaker Truth in Pennsylvania, 1682 -1781*. (San Francisco, 2019); & Jean R. Soderlund, *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1983); & Alan Tully, *William Penn's Legacy*, (Baltimore, 1977); & William Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude*, (Green Forest, 2012).

The Glorious Revolution brought the Anglican church back into the royal house and ended the Catholic rule in England. With the crowning of Prince William of Orange, grandson of Charles I, and Mary, daughter of King James II & VII the revolution had succeeded without bloodshed. The exiled James II & VII, a Catholic, fled to France and abandoned the English throne to his daughter and son-in-law. Although England's state religion is Anglican and continues to this day, the country was far more diverse and even further diverse in the colonies. While there are many aspects to the cause of rebellion in Maryland, primarily what were the effects of the Glorious Revolution in Maryland with regards to the Catholic versus Protestant issues that triggered confrontation. The Glorious Revolution was the final chapter in the Catholic argument in the King's Court, however, it did not end the rule of Catholics elsewhere. The Catholic Calvert, Lord Baltimore, continued to be a thorn in the Protestant rule. The question is not whether William and Mary had the right to invade England, nor is it a question of was it legal, or that William was more than a few moves ahead of the English in his plans for a greater Protestant Europe, rather the question is, was the Glorious Revolution the only cause of the rebellion in Maryland or were there more causes in Maryland?

The Glorious Revolution created a constitutional crisis within the English Government. King James II & VII had abandoned his regency as the news of the invasion of Prince William of Orange landed in England. James had escaped to France, paving the way for William to march into London unopposed. However, this was not a simple task. There were still military personnel loyal to the government who would presumably stand in the way. William had indeed been invited by seven conspirators who looked to overthrow, or at the least dissuade James into a more Protestant mindset. These seven conspirators, including Lord John Churchill, "intended to use the prince to force reform of James's regime," but to the contrary they forced the collapse of

civil authority and created the vacuum in civil authority that led to the ability of William to seize control of the monarchy.<sup>224</sup> These seven conspirators were not alone in their beliefs. They found that “‘much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry’ was opposed to the king and to his policies, and that on his landing they would ‘draw great numbers’ to his side.”<sup>225</sup> But as the coup d'état played out, William had his own designs and used the coup to produce his own results.

William had three reasons to agree to invade England. His first reason was to protect his wife's claim to the throne of England; secondly, he needed England, the army and the finances to continue his war against France and the Catholic Church, and thirdly, needed the wealth that the British Empire provided, allied with the Dutch to pay for the war. William rallied his military, brought them to bear against the British to the tune of “21,000 foot, 5,000 horse, at least 300 transports, and 149 warships – greater than the Armada,” however the British, under James but clearly controlled by the conspirators and their allies, could still call about 40,000 personnel to equal William's force.<sup>226</sup> The force was of grand scale. William landed in the South-West of England where “the fleet reached Torbay on Guy Fawkes Day: 463 ships, 5,000 horses and 20,000 Dutch, German, Danish, French, English, Scottish, Swedish, Finnish, Polish, Greek and Swiss troops.”<sup>227</sup> The officers under Churchill's control met William with joy and thanksgiving. William had secured a great victory without firing a shot, thanks to “the officers of Churchill's cohort, officers of like age, professionalism, and ideology organized a classic military coup.”<sup>228</sup> William and his men arrived in London unopposed and welcomed, albeit unconstitutionally, for the moment. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of December, William arrived in London.

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<sup>224</sup> Stephen Saunders Webb, *Lord Churchill's Coup*, (Syracuse, 1995)., 171.

<sup>225</sup> Peter Ackroyd, *Rebellion; The History of England from James I to the Glorious Revolution*, (New York, 2014), 463.

<sup>226</sup> Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714*, (West Sussex, 2009), 307.

<sup>227</sup> Robert Tombs, *The English and Their History*, (New York 2014), 262.

<sup>228</sup> Webb., 166.

On May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1688, James had promised to call on Parliament to repeal the Test Act and as he issued the declaration of indulgence, as well as suspending the laws enforcing conformity of the Church. Another coup, orchestrated by seven bishops, who refused to read the suspension, and who requested the removal of the indulgence were arrested. That same day the letter was sent to William by the seven conspirators. William did indeed heed the call to invade, and by April 11<sup>th</sup> of 1689, William was crowned William II and his wife, Queen Mary. Parliament agreed to this for two reasons, “the childlessness of his wife and the state of his own health, which appeared far from robust,” both gave Parliament the reasons to crown them, knowing that Anne, would follow the deaths of William and Mary.<sup>229</sup> William got to work, first he requested Parliament to pass the Oath Act, and secondly, he had them pass the Bill of Rights of 1689. This forbid any Catholic from ever being crowned in England and made constitutional the “bringing in of William and the enactment of some such legislation as the Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act were in keeping with their established policies.”<sup>230</sup> The British world was about to change, and the American colonies along with it.

The power shift the Glorious Revolution brought to British politics was enormous for the time. The swift change in legal status, the removal of James the Catholic King, and the Bill of Rights all culminated in a whirlwind of activity on the American continent. “The deposition of James II in 1688 and the accession of the Dutch *stadtholder* William of Orange and his wife Mary in 1689 had witnessed an irreversible shift in the balance of power between the crown and parliament. The legislation of what was called the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9 placed executive authority in the hands of the king’s ministers, who in turn depended upon the support

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<sup>229</sup>Frederick G. Marchum, *A History of England*, (New York, 1937), 581.

<sup>230</sup> Marchum., 583.

of most members of the House of Commons.”<sup>231</sup> The Glorious Revolution sparked a resurgence in the Anglican Church, opened a new path to theology and the church into a more diverse and strained state.

Maryland, on the advent of the Protestant Revolution, had about twenty-thousand inhabitants, however, most of those inhabitants were neither Catholic, Puritan or Anglican. The Toleration Act of 1649 brought hundreds of Catholics into the colony, building few churches in major communities such as St. Mary’s City. One such Catholic was Robert Cole, a prominent planter in the Chesapeake region. “The Coles were Roman Catholics, which may explain the attractions Maryland held for them” as well as others.<sup>232</sup> Maryland had become a socially mirrored society as England had. However, the Chesapeake Bay region became structured specifically to mimic the English homeland. The “transplanted English social structure...Elements of the highly stratified society that Lord Baltimore had planned were visible on St. Clement’s Manor.”<sup>233</sup> Population was growing unregulated, at least in Maryland. American colonial immigration “from 1645 to 1665, Virginians multiplied more than threefold, and Marylanders increased elevenfold, while New Englanders merely doubled. Given the very high mortality rates in the Chesapeake colonies and low birth rates during the first generation, the number of immigrants to the Chesapeake was probably in the range of 40,000 to 50,000 during the period from 1645 to 1670.”<sup>234</sup> While immigrants poured into all the various colonies, this does not mean that all the immigrants survived or stayed in America. The mortality rates in

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<sup>231</sup> Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, (New York, 1994), 52.

<sup>232</sup> Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole’s World: Agriculture & Society in Early Maryland*, (Chapel Hill, 1991), 3.

<sup>233</sup> Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, Jean B. Russo, *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, (Chapel Hill, 1988), 208.

<sup>234</sup> Fischer, 226.

the Chesapeake, the inability to track the migrants, and the scattering of the various settlements all limit the numbers of inhabitants in the various colonies.

At the time of the Protestant Revolution, nearly eighty percent of the population were native not to Maryland, but to England and other European nation states. Most immigrants toiled producing tobacco, however, at the time of the Revolution the tobacco prices plummeted, “tobacco prices dropped to under 2 pence a pound, compared to the 1640s and 1650s of almost 5 pence a pound.”<sup>235</sup> About the same time, news came from England stating that an invasion was afoot, however, the outcome was uncertain. Considering the news, the Maryland council issued orders to limit religious conflict. “Partly in response to this news, the active members of the council (all Catholics) [of Maryland] issued an order to call in for repair all weapons distributed to local militias,” this order and the actions that continued forced the Protestants to believe that both the King and council were forcing non-Catholics to be ruled over by Catholics.<sup>236</sup> News soon followed that William and Mary had forced the exile of James II to France. However, there was no news from Lord Baltimore of his concession or recognition of William as rightful king.

Even worse, Native Americans were rumored to be moving towards the Chesapeake communities. Marylanders had every right to be fearful of the reported movement of the Native Americans. In 1680 various warring parties, Susquehannock, Iroquois, Piscataway, Mattawoman and Chopticos were struggling one another for control of the frontiers in Maryland. This series of engagements was an attempt at dominance, and all “while the proprietor and council attempted to implement what they thought had been a treaty of peace –and, at times, figure out who they were in fact treating with – the alarming pattern of violence continued

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<sup>235</sup> John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America; 1607-1789*, (Chapel Hill, 1991), 121.

<sup>236</sup> Jean B. Russo & J. Elliot Russo, *Planting an Empire; The Early Chesapeake in British North America*, (Baltimore, 2012), 121

against both Iroquois enemies in the Chesapeake and their English allies.”<sup>237</sup> Many Protestants believed that the Catholics in Maryland, along with the Native Americans, the French and the Catholic king were attempting to create a French presence in the Chesapeake. While this was never documented, it was a rumor.

Soon after the last letter arrived, news came from New York and Boston that Jacob Leisler and his associates had overthrown the Andros’ governments (or at least the attempted overthrow had begun). While this is true, there is no evidence that John Coode had used this as provocation to begin his revolt. “The Protestants under John Coode [were] probably innocent of encouragement from New York or even Boston, for it is reasonably clear that Maryland colonists knew nothing of either rebellion until sometime after their own.”<sup>238</sup> In February of 1689, prominent Maryland Protestants sent two letters to the King requesting arbitration, but both of these “private papers” were intercepted by Lord Baltimore, presumably, both letters outlined allegations that Lord Baltimore was forcing the Marylanders into “oaths of fidelity to the proprietor, courts of justice in his name, a president who ruled by divine right, a council who governed arbitrarily in the proprietor’s interest alone, these were more than English subjects ought to put up with...and now the petitions to the King were stopped, denying them access to the throne, the right of all Englishmen.”<sup>239</sup> When news arrived that William had secured the throne of England, Lord Baltimore had not sent his acknowledgement. This was enough for the Associators to issue a manifesto “detailing their grievances with the proprietary government, grievances which included many of the same complaints lodged by the Lower House of the Assembly in its remonstrance of the previous November [the confiscated letters above] but

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<sup>237</sup> Annoinette Sutto, *Loyal Protestants & Dangerous Papists*, (Charlottesville, 2015), 146.

<sup>238</sup> David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America*, (Hanover, 1972), 257.

<sup>239</sup> Lovejoy., 261.

which added to them complaints concerning Baltimore's consistent favoritism of his fellow Catholics."<sup>240</sup> On August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1689, 700 armed men led by John Coode marched on St. Mary's City, surrounded the governor and his men, and secured the city, all without bloodshed.

After securing the colony, John Coode and his Associators secured the council and issued a letter to King William, "professing their allegiance to the new monarchs, the rebels urged Maryland's conversion from a proprietary to a royal colony."<sup>241</sup> This letter, along with ones from New York and New England came to King William's attention. All vowed loyalty to the new king and all responded stating they would abide by the new king's wishes. These letters became the corner stones of the royal colonies of Massachusetts, New York and Maryland. The King, allowing his Attorney-General to formulate a plan, "began proceeding to deprive Baltimore of his charter, and the Crown assumed governmental authority in the colony, leaving the land title vested in the proprietor. The assembly made a clean sweep of the statute books, eliminating objectional laws, established a more harmonious relationship with the Indians, and attacked the financial practices of the proprietary group."<sup>242</sup> The Protestant Revolution in Maryland had come to its final chapter. The Privy Council recognized the rebellion as "those in the present administration of the government of Maryland."<sup>243</sup> This recognition alone gave legitimacy to the rebels.

John Coode and William and Mary were both looking for legitimacy, both were eventually recognized as the rightful rulers of the country they were currently in charge of.

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<sup>240</sup> Michael Graham. "Popish Plots: Protestant Fears in Early Colonial Maryland, 1676-1689." *Catholic Historical Review* 79 no. 2 (1993): 197. <https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=9612160002&site=ehost-live&scope=site.>, 203.

<sup>241</sup> Alan Taylor, *American Colonies; The Settlement of North America*, (New York, 2001), 282.

<sup>242</sup> Lawrence H. Leder. "THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION AND THE PATTERN OF IMPERIAL RELATIONSHIPS." *New York History*, vol. 46, no. 3, (1965), pp. 203-211. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/23162882](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23162882). Accessed 21 Mar. 2020., 209.

<sup>243</sup> Sutto., 169.



Baltimore had attempted to regain the authority in Maryland; however, King William created the legal basis for John Coode to overthrow the proprietary government. “The royal letter of February 1, 1689/90, that declared William’s ‘approbation’ of the Associators’ actions ‘authorize [d]’ Coode to continue in the administration of Maryland.”<sup>244</sup> John Coode held the governorship for two years, from 1689 until 1691 when he was replaced by Nehemiah Blakiston, who was the second Protestant Associator leader. A year later, the first Royal Governor was appointed, Lionel Copley, who held office for another year, and who helped secure the Anglican Church in Maryland. However, he ended up suddenly getting sick and dying. His replacement, Thomas Lawrence, for a few weeks, then Francis Nicholson for one year, then Edmond Andros. While Royal Governors came and went, the Council of Maryland stayed Protestant by majority.

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<sup>244</sup> Sutto., 171.

Section 1  
Chapter IV

Into to the Frontier

War in North America

The War of Spanish Succession that was fought from 9 July 1701 to 7 March 1714 was waged across Western Europe and North America. Called Queen Anne's War in America, most of the battles centered on northern Italy and France, however the war struggled along in the American colonies between the colonial French, Spanish and English. The English colonies fought in New England, the Carolinas and in Newfoundland against both the French to the North and West and the Spanish to the West and South. Although surrounded when looking at the map, the Spanish and French had very little occupation to the East of the Appalachians and the British had very little to the west. Conflicts became almost commonplace on the frontiers of Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, as well as the entire island of Newfoundland and around the Savannah River in present day Georgia. Places such as Apalachee and Timucua in Spanish Florida were wiped off the map; St. Augustine was burned to the ground. The French attacked against villages in Maine, New Brunswick and Newfoundland colonies both had depredations on their lands. In the Caribbean and in Quebec attacks were frequent and ended most of the time in defeat on all sides. Expeditions against various Native tribes also persisted. The Tuscarora War, in Virginia and Carolina would devastate the areas it occupied.<sup>245</sup>

The Treaty of Utrecht ended the war in 1713 and the consequences on all sides were great. England inherited vast swaths of land in the North America. Its Hudson Bay claims were unrestricted, the claims in present day Georgia were granted, moving the Spanish to inhabit only

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<sup>245</sup> "They were conflicts in which, for Great Britain, national security was the predominant issue. They were the wars for the restoration and maintenance of the balance of power, Admiral Mahan stated 'Before the war England was one of the sea powers...After it, she was the sea power, without a second'." This was not a war of religion it was a war for power, a power that England saw was her's for the taking. Smellie, 49.

Florida, and the French gave up control of much of Maine, New Brunswick, and the St. Lawrence Bay. As a result, England became the center of military might, but new players were also entering the arena in Europe, those of Russia, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Savoy as well as those in the Middle East and those in Far East Asia. It aligned the French against the British for generations, and even though the French would become temporary allies to the British in the Quadruple Alliance, it was ultimately the French, with its allies that helped to form the coalition, that aided America's independence.<sup>246</sup>

The Act of Union of 1707 was another of the most critical acts of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in terms of peace, immigration, rights, and religious toleration. Although the act only brought England and Scotland into a union where both enjoyed the fruits of each other's labors, it was the recognition of the Church of Scotland as their official religion that was most important to the eventual downfall of religious domination in American politics. The Parliament also passed the Act for the Security of the Church of England, as a bulwark against Presbyterianism gaining ground in English politics.<sup>247</sup>

With the Carolina government in full military might, the Tuscarora War became the focal point of much of the rest of the fighting between 1711 and 1715. The war affected not only Carolina but also Virginia largely. Much of the Virginia backwater was used as Tuscarora hunting and travelling grounds for centuries and as the war progressed, the fighting continued over the frontier and in Carolina for nearly 4 years. The Tuscarora War was not fought only by the Tuscarora though. The Tuscarora were allied with the Pamlico, the Cothechney, the Coree,

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<sup>246</sup> Smelie, 53.

<sup>247</sup> The creation of the United Kingdom abolished the separate governments of England and Scotland and created one single body of government. The Queen even appointed five new members to her Privy Council from Scotland, for the first time. The celebration of a United Scotland and England took place on 1 May, 1707. Edward Gregg. *Queen Anne* (Boston, 1980), 239.

the Mattamuskeet and the Matchepungoe tribes. The battles were quick, fierce and left hundreds slaughtered in little time.

This war, however, was unlike any other war before it and its aftermath created a balance of power that would last until the First World War. The Treaty of Utrecht let loose the last restraint to a mass group of people who had limited access of movement before and a new group of immigrants began landing in the ports of British North America.<sup>248</sup> Moreover, with the death of Queen Anne, and the premature death of her nominated replacement just weeks before in 1714 the throne was again wide open for debate by Parliament as to who would take the throne. George I, elector of Hanover would be the next to be seated as the heir to Anne's dominion. George I of Hanover, an electorate of the Holy Roman Empire, was just one of many on the Imperial Diet. The Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold I was a Hapsburg, the rulers of a vast empire, only to be brought down in the aftermath of World War I; in 1714, he ruled over a vast landscape of current nations, "Austria, Czech Republic, and Slovakia, most of Hungary, Slovenia, and parts of Romania."<sup>249</sup> Nevertheless, for the first time in modern history a shift from colonialism to imperialism was to begin for England, now called Great Britain. This Holy Roman Empire, now a fundamental ally of the King of Great Britain, was not uniform by any means. "When you look at a map of the Holy Roman Empire it is so fragmented and broken up

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<sup>248</sup> England had led the way to peace, but looking create some frustrations within Europe, it signed a treaty with France which caused problems with the Spanish-Austrian ascendancy both in Germany and in Europe as a whole. Friedrich Heer. *The Holy Roman Empire* (New York: Frederick A Praeger Publishers, 1968), 221. It was actually the Peace of Westphalia that ushered in the new order of Europe, but the evidence that the Treaty of Utrecht is significant enough to call it the turning point in European migration history. However, the Peace of Westphalia did change the landscape of Europe and the vast wars that came because of it. The rise of England was one of the main causes of the Peace, together with the economic expansion of its own overseas empire in North America, England would become the largest antagonistic force on European soil for the next century. It had settled the Nordic War, it has also created the modern German state, as well being instrumental in the rise of the Austro-Hungarian empire to come in the next century. Hajo Holborn. *The History of Modern German 1648-1840* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1967), 115-120.

<sup>249</sup> Neil MacGregor. *Germany Memories of a Nation* (New York, 2014), 81.

that it is almost impossible to grasp how it might fit together.”<sup>250</sup> These two nations were intertwined by a common person, the King of Great Britain also held a seat at the Imperial Diet and from 1714 until the end of the Empire in 1806 they continued to hold that seat. Others too held seats on the Imperial Diet, those of “Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Russian.”<sup>251</sup>

This alliance that allowed King George III to purchase troops from what was then Hess in the Rhineland for use against the Americans in the fight for Independence. It was also this alliance that allowed the ports to open to Germans looking to immigrate into a place wild and untouched. Land could be purchased by anyone who was able to afford it; there were no restrictions, at least not in the most important port of Philadelphia and the colony of Pennsylvania. Germans attempted colonial enterprise in the Americas in 1683 when William Penn invited dissenting Protestants to Pennsylvania but the economic advantages of such a German expedition never bore fruit for the homeland.<sup>252</sup> It was the war-ruined territories of the Holy Roman Empire that caused the greatest migration of the German people into American colonies.

In the first few years of King George I’s reign as the first ruler of the House of Hanover the kingdom was thrust into two rebellions in Scotland, a Native American War in the Americas and another European war, this time the War of the Quadruple Alliance. All had lasting effects on the British Colonies, and pitted James Stuart against his rival King George I for the throne of England. The first two Hanoverian monarchs created a powerful yet alien policy in England, which would shape the course of the nation and its allies and colonies for the next half century.

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 87.

<sup>252</sup> Holborn, 41.

George I introduced a rapprochement to his subjects of favorable relations with France. This idea was almost wholly disliked by the English, but this time it was an alliance that had a different balance to it. England, still beaming over its victories in the late wars, had become a superpower in Europe, France, seeing that the tables had turned, reached out to George for assurances that French interests would continue to excel. George had maneuvered his alliances with the Holy Roman Empire to his advantage over France. Although Louis XIV had supported the Pretender also known as Charles Stuart, James III's son, it was Spain who considered James Stuart its most valuable ally. The Pretender was of great concern only to those in France; it seemed that the Jacobite insurrection was of little consequence to George I.<sup>253</sup>

The Quadruple Alliance was formed out of necessity in France, the Dutch Republic and the Holy Roman Empire as well as the minor territory of Savoy. The war that followed pitted the Spanish against the Quadruple Alliance. The most decisive battle in the War of the Quadruple Alliance was the naval battle between Spain and England in August of 1718. The complete and utter destruction of Spanish sea power occurred in this war. The Battle of Cape Passaro dashed any hopes in Spain that its fleet would rise again and raised the influence of British sea power to its highest point in history thus far.<sup>254</sup> The turning tide did not ebb for nearly 200 years on British Sea power, only to be climaxed by the American sea power of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This proved an important part in populating America with Europeans.<sup>255</sup>

In the last fifteen years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century what we now know as Germany was in a state of constant war, invasions, incursions, and conscriptions. Between 1685 and 1721, Germany saw warfare in the East against Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, to the West against the

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<sup>253</sup> Wolfgang Michael. *The Beginnings of the Hanoverian Dynasty* (New York, 1936), 315-316.

<sup>254</sup> Michael, 358.

<sup>255</sup> K.B.Smellie. *Great Britain Since 1688* (Ann Arbor, 1962), 187.

invading French, to the North against the Spanish in the Spanish Netherlands and to the south against the Spanish through modern day Austria. It was a troubling time to live in what was then the Holy Roman Empire. Leopold, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, surrounded himself with other royals such as Charles XI of Sweden, and others to assist in the defense of the fragile alliance of electorates he ruled. The Holy Roman Empire was held together by a Diet, of which all the Hanoverian Kings held a seat in. German defensive interests hit fever pitch in July 1686 when they entered into an agreement with Sweden and Spain against their common rival France in the signing of the League of Augsburg.<sup>256</sup>

War after what seemed to be endless war waged on intermittently for nearly forty years in Germany. The Turkish war continued to rage in the East, but a new war, led by the Imperial Diet, against France with the Nine Years' War. It was a war of attrition, fought mainly in the Low Countries that of present-day Belgium and Holland, with each side continually beating on the other to gain the initiative.<sup>257</sup> Internal fighting in the emperors' coalition in the Holy Roman Empire had always been a problem, but it continued even during the war. Old rivals continued to harass each other, and even one sought to undermine the emperor and signed an alliance with France, which caused Leopold to create a new electorate for his territory and family. The war continued unsuccessfully, on both sides, until the Peace of Ryswick was signed in 1697. However, Leopold and his electorates were not present during the negotiations and were unable to argue their own fate.

Another war to affect the German populous was the War of Spanish Succession. With the Emperor, tied to the English throne by the Act of Succession in Parliament, joined the Grand Alliance against France in 1702, it brought the whole of the German people into war. Some

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<sup>256</sup> Gagliardo, 253.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 257.

120,000 troops were called into service in Germany. In a pitched battle on 13 August 1704, the two armies of France and a united Germany met in the fields near Höchstädt. “How important this battle was can be seen from its dramatic results, which amounted to nothing less than the liberation of all of Germany from the armies of France and its allies.”<sup>258</sup> At the end of the war, this area and its people were free from French harassment, the Upper Palatinate was returned, imperial control was restored. It was the end of warfare in the territories of Alsace and Lorraine and with that, peace encouraged mass migration out of the war-torn areas. It was in these same territories that the infamous Hessian soldiers came. However, in the aftermath of the war, trade and freedom was all that mattered to the rulers of these territories.<sup>259</sup>

These wars that were waged between 1689 and 1763 are known as the Wars for Empire, the Inter-Continental Wars or simply the French and Indian Wars. The series of wars called Wars for the Empire grew out of conflicts that had erupted mainly on the European continent but boiled over into the New World and the high seas. The wars were fought on all sides in an attempt to secure or restore the balance of power, expand the empires, create global markets for goods or create new Native American alliances. The last of these wars, known as the French and Indian War, was fought in North America between 1754 and 1763 and culminated in the French losing all their colonial possessions on the continent. It was one of the most brutal and harsh wars fought at the time, with Native Americans fighting on both sides, but mainly the Iroquois Confederacy fighting for the British and making the outcome of the war much more favorable for England. Fighting happened on the European continent as well, known as the Seven Years’ War, it also drew men and materials away from the French possessions in America to face the British strength. In less than a century, Britain had grown from not having any possessions

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<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 262.

<sup>259</sup> Bruford, 38.



outside of the Europe to ruling large areas of North America, Africa, Australia, China, and India. Pax Britannia, British Peace, reigned over the oceans as Great Britain ruled supreme for the next century to come.<sup>260</sup>

The German immigrants who migrated from the war-torn areas migrated first to the Pennsylvania colony and eventually migrated to the west beyond the Susquehanna River. Religion and economy were primary on the minds of these immigrants. Beginning in the early 1720s the first of the German migration waves hit the port of Philadelphia. They migrated from Philadelphia along the Blue Ridge Mountains into what was considered the Great Valley, this valley began just west of present-day Carlisle, Pennsylvania and moved Southwest into Maryland, and Virginia and ending in Rowan, North Carolina. These Germans clung to beliefs and their folkways for generations to come. They brought with them Lutheranism, Pietism, Calvinism, and other minor religions such as that of the Amish and Mennonite today.<sup>261</sup>

The Scotch-Irish also began their mass migration into Pennsylvania after 1718. This migration was triggered by the ascension of George I. With a new era of toleration and the ability to move without being harassed by the English military and government officials, the protestant Irish and the Presbyterian Scottish were given new freedoms, but with the Jacobite invasion scare of 1715 and 1719 the greatest migration appeared to happen after this. Although the Toleration Act gave Presbyterians in Ireland official recognition, they continued to be confronted by the Test Act, although it was never fully enforced. It was the freedom to migrate

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<sup>260</sup> John R Seeley, *The Expansion of England; Two Courses of Lectures* (Boston, 1883), 10-11.

<sup>261</sup> “Germans were of two distinct groups, Lutherans and Reformed (Calvinists), who were far more individualistic...Although these two groups were almost always from different districts in Europe, they become much intermingled in Pennsylvania, often sharing the same church building...general regional pattern of German settlement was therefore broadly ethnic rather than one of tight religious clusters.” Meinig, 138-139.

rather than the fear of reprisals that lead these Welsh, Irish and Scottish, as well as the Germans to the North American shores and to colonial Virginia.<sup>262</sup>

### Sectarians and Dissenters in the Colonial American Frontier

From the moment Europeans set foot on the North American shores, from Newfoundland to Florida, Europeans sought out a life of religious freedom, the conversion of the Native people, and a new life free from persecution. At the onset of the seventeenth century the European continent was dotted with pockets of religious sects that seemed to spring up overnight. From the Huguenots in France, Anabaptists, Mennonites, Socinians, Pietists in the various Germanic provinces, Puritans, Quakers, Unitarians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists in England all fighting for domination in their various areas and churches.<sup>263</sup> While the Reformation broke the Catholic Church's extreme hold on the European continent, it fragmented society into these pockets that fought for dominance. A common enemy of these sects were those who practiced the arts of witchcraft or Druidism, however, most Europeans still practiced folk magic or folk healing that would be considered today as holistic, but in the early centuries of the Reformation, was considered witchcraft.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Bardon, 173.

<sup>263</sup> In France, the Reformation caused thousands of citizens to question their religious teaching, following John Calvin's teaching had reached the French countryside after Calvin's Confession of Faith was published in 1558 and Church Ordinance of 1559. By the end of 1561 the French had established over 2500 Protestant congregations in France as well as church leaders trained at Calvin's Geneva Academy. These French, who are now called Huguenots, had to worship in secret, however on August 23, 1572, King Charles IX ordered the extermination of all who are dissenters. What was known as the St. Bartholomew Massacre left over 100,000 French Protestants slaughtered, 10,000 in Paris alone. After Charles' teenage death, his sister's Huguenot husband, Henry IV, took the throne. While he renounced his religion, he more importantly announced the Edict of Nantes of 1598, allowing Huguenots freedom of conscience and worship, granting them full and equal religious freedom with the Catholics. Lasting only a meager eight decades, Louis XIV revoked the edict in 1685, forcing hundreds of thousands of French Protestants to flee the country. No historian knows the number or their final destinations, however Scandinavia, Russia, Switzerland, Germany, England and America are all reported as destinations for these French Huguenots. See Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots*, (New Haven, 2013), 123-24, 173, 180, 226, 317.

<sup>264</sup> While witchcraft and magic are relatively new terms, the pre-reformation European world was full of those who believed magic and folkcraft were common in the Catholic world. In this homogenous world, with a unified Church, people were taught the magical elements of transubstantiation, or the magical transformation of the elements of the Eucharist into the body and blood of the Christ. In post-Reformation society, the leaders preached against this religious ritual of sacred power and superstition that was prevalent in Catholicism. While the magic that

## Crossing the Blue Ridge

The landscape changed little between the Glorious Revolution and the year 1721, however, migration continued to trickle in from England and, to a very minor extent other British areas, but the greatest change began in the year 1721.<sup>265</sup> The second most influential Governor of Virginia was that of Alexander Spotswood under the absentee governorship of George Hamilton, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Orkney. Spotswood put down a rebellion in North Carolina, established a German colony and led the expedition to explore the Shenandoah Valley. His actions during his governorship did more to change the political and religious landscape of colonial Virginia than any outside force, or internal struggle. This chapter will explore the immigration and acceptance of non-Anglicans, the impact of the governors' actions on the future of colonial Virginia, and how the colony of Pennsylvania, under the leadership of one man, helped to clear the way for the mass migration of Germans and Scots Irish into the Shenandoah Valley.

Germans, Scots, and Irish had travelled to North America as some of the earliest settlers, but not in continuous droves as they did after 1720. Those who did come mostly came as indentured servants or criminals who, found guilty of any number of crimes, were shipped off as

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was exercised in Europe was focused on both the preternatural effects of material objects (relics) but also the control over nature by human events assisted by entities more powerful than the practitioners (witchcraft), Reformation changed the perception of both relics as well as practice. For more on magic and witchcraft see, Scribner, Robert W. "The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the "Disenchantment of the World"." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 3 (1993): 475-94. Accessed January 22, 2021. doi:10.2307/206099, also Philip Carr-Gomm and Richard Heygate, *The Book of English Magic*, (New York, 2009).

<sup>265</sup> According to Harry Ward after 1698, the changes in the colonies between 1698 and 1721 were designed more towards stability rather than immigration. Military, economic and political stability was foremost on the minds of those who sat on the Board of Trade, however, there was many detractors of this plan, mainly, those who held proprietary claims in the colonies, those like Penn, the Maryland Proprietaries and the Jersey and Carolina as well as the Northern Neck Proprietary. "Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, recommended to the Board of Trade that all the crown's civil officers be appointed and held accountable to the Board" and that all the colonies be treated just as the English are in Great Britain. Ward., 18. However, the Board of Trade was more concerned about security rather than uniformity. In 1717 the Board of Trade began to focus on the French incursions from the South, West and North. "Other developments also encouraged the Board of Trade to adopt a continental perspective on American frontiers...reports filtered into London of massive efforts by the newly formed Compagnie des Indes to expanded French colonies in Louisiana, including the dispatch of eighteen hundred engages or settlers." Hofstra., 70.

indentured servants to the colonies across the east coast of North America. Germans began fleeing their homelands throughout the wars, but few made it much further than London or Holland. Fewer still made it to the colonies, and those who did, were mostly those of skilled labor suitable to the governors of those various colonies and were indentured out to them or rendering significant aid to the colony by using their labor. One such area was that of New York's turpentine production.<sup>266</sup>

Germans first immigrated to the area just west of London, England, a very popular place for German dissidents. England had struggled for some time as to what to do with the German population, many talked of sending them to Ireland, and others thought of shipping them overseas to the colonies. It was determined that these Germans would be offered the opportunity to migrate to the colonies under the indentured servant program. One such immigrant was the famous Pennsylvania Indian Agent Conrad Weiser and his family who "embarked around Christmas 1709 on what must immediately have seemed a dreadful mistake."<sup>267</sup> In Weiser's case the Lieutenant Governor of New York sponsored them to work the turpentine production. However, migration was an expensive endeavor in the American Colonial era, the British found multiple ways of helping the would-be colonists to immigrate to the various colonies. New York came up with a very interesting and imaginative idea to "help" England alleviate the German problem it was having because of the strife on the Continent. The Lieutenant Governor of New York, Robert Hunter, proposed that the colony pay for the immigrants on the condition that they work on the frontier of his colony, bill them for their passage, then have them work off the bill.

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<sup>266</sup> Many devices were used to keep the population growing in the colonies. One such method was kidnapping of women and children to fill the need, but others were just as barbaric. However, many judges believed that it was more decent and humane to allow those who were sentenced to death for any number of reasons to have their sentence commuted to an overseas establishment or colony. It was in this way that many found themselves in the American Colonies. These individuals were called "redemptioners" and were bound to servitude either before or after they arrived in the colonies. This made up many immigrants up to 1720 in the colonies. Ogg, 485.

<sup>267</sup> Wallace, Paul A.W. *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*. (Lewisburg, 1996). 10.

As a result, the indentured servant was shipped to the colony to work. Conrad Weiser Junior spent his youth working the turpentine and tar woods of New York just east of the Hudson River.

The business of turpentine did not produce many results as the white pine had little available pitch to make the venture worthwhile. The Germans and English were both becoming very impatient with the progress. “The governor cut them loose, and Weiser (Senior), emerged as a leader of the Germans.”<sup>268</sup> Weiser Senior looked to the Mohawks for an answer to the problems of fertile lands. Weiser attempted to negotiate with the Mohawks, but had little, if any, durable goods to trade for the land and neither could communicate with each other. It would become more important to Weiser, who aided not only New York and Pennsylvania in his later years as an Indian Agent, but also Maryland and Virginia, that this struggle bore fruit, as he was given as security to the Mohawks in exchange for durable goods and aid to those Germans on the New York frontier at the time.

Weiser’s story was mimicked in Pennsylvania, Virginia and in North Carolina as well, and about the same time. Spotswood had sent out explorers to thoroughly map out the Virginia Frontier for exploitation of its natural resources. However, prior to Spotswood’s appointment to Virginia’s Lieutenant Governorship a man by the name of Franz Ludwig Michel landed off the shore in the York River from what is now Bern Switzerland. Of the many who travelled the Atlantic to reach Virginia’s shores, he alone was free; all others were indentured servants. During the next two years, Michel would explore the vast reaches of Virginia’s frontier, and while not everyone agrees with where he did reach, he certainly made it beyond the Shenandoah Valley. “He drew a crude, yet unmistakable, map of the Potomac-Shenandoah area which shows

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<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 14-15.

for the first time the Massanutten range as ‘the Mountains of Cenuntua.’”<sup>269</sup> Michel had grand ideas of settlement in the Shenandoah Valley.

Both Weiser and Michel arrived on the New World around the same time, and with the consent of the Board of Trade, Weiser’s passage was paid via the New York Governor and Michel’s proposal to settle a group of Germans on the southwest branch of the Potomac River. This venture for Michel would take turns like those of Weiser’s and would have unexpected consequences for both. During negotiations with the Board of Trade, Michel had contacted a notable aristocrat in Berne, Switzerland, by the name of Baron Christoph von Graffenried. How the two of them met has never been discovered, but the role that Graffenried had in the German/Swiss migration cannot be discounted. Michel travelled back to London during the negotiations and met with Graffenried. The two were at that time approached by an agent of North Carolina, John Lawson, who convinced them that settlement in North Carolina was more advantageous than in Virginia. The settlement of New Bern would be founded by Michel and funded by Graffenried with Swiss and German recruits.<sup>270</sup>

Graffenried had other ventures in Virginia both with Michel and with Governor Spotswood after he took office. Spotswood wanted to take advantage of the iron deposits in southwestern Virginia, however, the Board of Trade discouraged iron production. Spotswood attempted to mask his iron mines as silver mines and contracted with Graffenried to negotiate the recruitment of skilled miners from Palatinate, Germany. Those recruited grew impatient and travelled to London to move the process along. The agent for Spotswood made the decision to send them at the governor’s expense and Spotswood settled them along the Rapidan River,

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<sup>269</sup> Klaus Wust. *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969), 19.

<sup>270</sup> Wust, 19.

which they named Germanna, Virginia in honor of Queen Anne.<sup>271</sup> Even though Michel had travelled repeatedly along the Potomac River and stating that he had discovered the headwaters, they settled for Germanna and New Bern, North Carolina.<sup>272</sup>

Governor Spotswood made every effort to help the German immigrants settle the fort at Germanna, and even had the General Assembly pass an ordinance allowing them to freely worship and no enforced tithing for seven years.<sup>273</sup> It appears that Spotswood had some concern for his own frontier and thought it best to have German immigrants create a frontier cushion against some threats from the French and Indians to the west. There were many reasons why Spotswood recruited outside of England. Spotswood was getting miners for a steal in terms of cost. “English servants were in short supply, of doubtful quality, and increasingly costly...for a bargain price- £ 150 for the lot of forty Swiss Germans.”<sup>274</sup> Benefit, especially when it came to indentured servants, outweighed the cost and Spotswood got a great bargain for his output, or at least that is what he had hoped. Mining did not come to much in the Virginia Piedmont, nor

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<sup>271</sup> Wust, 21.

<sup>272</sup> “Whom by his repeated travels in the Dominion of Great Britain in North America has Discover’d on the Hed of Potomack River and its branches a considerable tract of wild and uncultivated deserts being the Westward part of her Majestys Province of Virginia, which Land by the Industry of a Necessitous and Laborious people may in Probability be made a Habitation for man.” Charles E Kemper. “Documents Relating to Early Projected Swiss Colonies in the Valley of Virginia” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 29, no. 1 (Jan 1921): 15.

<sup>273</sup> “The Governor acquainting the Council that sundry Germans to the number of forty two men women & children who were invited hither by the Baron de Graffinried are now arrived, but that the Said Baron not being here to take care of their Settlement The Governor therefore proposed to settle them above the falls of Rappahannock River to serve as a Barrier to the Inhabitants of that part of the Country against the Incursions of the Indians, & desiring the opinion of the Council whether in consideration of their usefulness for that purpose the Charge of building them a Fort, clearing a road to their Settlement & carrying thither two pieces of Canon & some Ammunition may not properly be defrayed by the publick. It is the unanimous opinion of this Board that the sd Settlement tending so much to the security of that part of the Frontiers. It is reasonable that the expence proposed by the Governor in making thereof should be defray at the publick Charge of the Government & that a quantity of powder & ball be delivered for their use out of her Majesties Magazine. And because the sd Germans arriving so late cannot possibly this year cultivate the ground for their Subsistance much less be able to pay the publick Levies of the Government. It is the opinion of this Board that they be put under the denomination of the Rangers to exempt them from that Charge. And for the better enabling the sd Germans to Supply by hunting the want of other provisions. It is also ordered that all other persons be restrained from hunting on any unpatented Lands near that settlement.” H.R. McIlwaine. *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia Vol III* (Richmond, 1928), 371-372.

<sup>274</sup> David Hackett Fischer and James C Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville, 2000), 111.

were the Germans content with staying enclosed in a fort, they wanted room to move. When their indenture ended, many migrated west to settle Germantown, the furthest west settlement on the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in 1721. Virginia wasted no time in replacing those families and seventy more came from Germany into Germanna. The age of Virginia's English hegemony was at an end and what Berkeley had strived for was torn apart by his generational successor Spotswood. This was not done on purpose, to create a heterogonous society, but for reasons yet to be determined.

To understand the reasons for bringing migrants outside of England's shores to the colonies and economic analysis must be conducted. When Berkeley was governor, his love of economic diversity in the colony died with him, his silk plantation withered, his crop rotation and tobacco distaste were all lost to the economic gain of the cash crop. Between 1677 and 1720, Virginia laid in a microcosm of economic stagnation. It relied on tobacco as a cash crop, harvesting annually more than any other region on the Atlantic coast. The Chesapeake Bay watershed became a crescent of tobacco farming, with very little else being produced. Those farmers relied on the outlying farms to produce the grains necessary for life. "By the 1760s the region resembled a horseshoe, with a plantation district raising tobacco for export to Europe in the center and a farming area yielding foodstuffs, forest products, hemp, and flax for a variety of markets around the periphery."<sup>275</sup> Williamsburg was the center of a profitable tobacco empire, the Virginia Piedmont, offering little more than economic commodity market, dealing in a single cash crop, and importing almost everything else.

### The Shenandoah Valley

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<sup>275</sup> John J McCusker and Russell R Menard. *The Economy of British America 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1991), 129.



The first permanent settler in the Shenandoah Valley was around the year 1720. The first English settlers crossed the Potomac River around present-day Shepherdstown, West Virginia and began settlement along the Potomac tributaries of Opequon and Sleepy Creeks. Around 1730 the first of the German, Swiss and Alsatian “pioneers” arrived from Pennsylvania seeking out solitude to practice their version of Christianity. Other immigrants to the Shenandoah Valley were those from the Scottish Lowlands, the Ulster or Northern Irish and later, the Hebrides and Western Highlands immigrants came after the 1745 defeat at Culloden. Over the next 30 years, various religious communities were created along the Shenandoah Valley to include Lutherans, German Reformed, Anabaptists, Baptists, Methodists, Catholics, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkards, Mennonites, Quakers, groups of Jewish settlers as well as various French Huguenots. Lesser-known German Pietists as well as Schwenkfelders and even smaller Moravians and Harmonists also crossed paths as various groups trotted down the Philadelphia Wagon Road. Many of these religious groups are still dotted across the landscape of the Shenandoah Valley, however, they were most prominent throughout the valley between 1740 and 1770. The most diverse group of individuals spread out west beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Who were the various groups and what were their religious practices between 1720 and 1749?

As these various groups suffered endless wars in Europe, the establishment of official state religious dominances in England, the Germanic provinces and France’s reestablishment of the Catholic faith, these smaller sects began to be pushed out, exiled in a sense.<sup>276</sup> Many sought

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<sup>276</sup> Even as France was confronting the aspects and effects of permanent exile of their Protestant citizens, Ireland, a territory subject to the English crown, began forcing their Catholics out of the countryside. The exiled Irish traveled to France, in support of the religious wars as part of the Irish Brigade, others sought refuge in Maryland and other colonies. Both Catholics and Protestants sought America as a refuge to practice their religion in their own manner. See Ronald Hoffman, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland*, (Chapel Hill, 2000) & Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans*, (New York, 2008), & Antoinette Sutto, *Loyal Protestants & Dangerous Papists*, (Charlottesville, 2015),

refuges in England or the Low Countries of present-day Netherlands and Belgium, but even those countries showed an enormous amount of intolerance in their adopted country. With the establishment of the Puritan haven in North America with the founding of Plymouth in 1620, waves of religious sects began pouring into the American continent. Scattered along the Atlantic coastline America looked more like a patchwork of small settlements separated by land and ocean. Between 1607 when Jamestown was established, and Anglicanism declared the official religion of that settlement, to the settlement of Philadelphia in 1682 with Quakerism as its cornerstone, settlements between present day Maine to Georgia sprang up to support the religious diversity that mirrored Europe.

The American colonial sectarian experience continued to flourish throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, culminating in the American Revolution, however, nowhere on the American continent prior to the Revolution was there a more diverse sectarian population than that of the frontier. From the colonies of Pennsylvania south through Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina the lives of sectarians or dissenters lived side by side, traded together and lived not in fear of each other, but rather in fear of a common enemy, the Native Population and their French allies.<sup>277</sup> The American frontier is unique in the English society, the peopling of the frontier sought religious solitude, religious freedom, an abundance of land, and a peaceful life

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& Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, (Dublin, 2009), & L. M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600 – 1900*, (New York, 1981).

<sup>277</sup> Between about 1730 until the settlement of the British dominance of North America with the Treaty of Paris of 1763, American colonists who spread into the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina were plagued with attacks from the French and their Native American allies. While these attacks culminated in the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War in America) when George Washington and his company of Virginia militia attacked the French at the glen of Jumonville, current day Pennsylvania. At which point the North American continent, and indeed much of the known world ignited into a war that brought England and its allies into conflict with France and its allies. Much of the frontier was drug into a conflict that continued and Native American tactics of the guerilla warfare caused thousands of frontiersmen to flee to the east. For more on the Seven Years' war, see Marcel Trudel, *The Jumonville Affair; The French Perspective of the Jumonville Skirmish and the Prelude to the Battle of Fort Necessity*, (Washington DC, 1989), & John Grenier, *The First Way of War; American War Making on the Frontier*, (New York, 2005), & Norman Baker, *French & Indian War in Frederick County, Virginia*, (Winchester, 2000).

that suited them.<sup>278</sup> However, the governors of Virginia saw these individuals as a buffer to the Piedmont of the more cultured Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge. They simply allowed the region to be inhabited merely to protect and warn the colony from the French and Native populations west beyond the Appalachian Mountains.

Anglicanism continued to dominate the legal system in colonial Virginia, however, in 1738 the Anglican church of Augusta County was established, but the vestry was not organized until 1746 and of the first twelve vestrymen, eight were Presbyterian.<sup>279</sup> While this Anglican legal system prevailed in government via its taxation, it had little ability to halt the influx of religious sectarians into the valley. The settlement of this frontier was legally under the auspices of two individuals, Jost Hite and Alexander Ross.<sup>280</sup> They then divided the land into large tracts of sprawling farmland which was neither defensive nor created settlements like towns or villages. This also led to the inability to create religious centers within the valley. Most of these settlers travelled along what was then just called the Valley Road, a winding path that went from

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<sup>278</sup> In the beginning of the great Protestant migration from Europe to America, settlements were established on the periphery of almost all the colonies in English America. From New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolina's all had dissenter populations about the time of the Glorious Revolution. Once William of Orange took the thrown with his wife Mary, daughter of James II, dissenters flocked to America in droves. German sectarians, English Quakers and Congregationalists, Irish Catholics, Irish Protestants, and many more. When they arrived in America most were not welcome in the established towns and ports, however, the frontier was wide open for migration and as the Great Wagon Road continued to wind its way from Philadelphia west and south through the Shenandoah Valley down beyond Rowan North Carolina and eventually further West into Kentucky and Tennessee. New Immigrants and first-generation Americans migrated west seeking out a better life. See, David Colin Crass, Steven D. Smith, Martha A. Zierden and Richard D. Brooks, *The Southern Colonial Backcountry*, (Knoxville, 1998), & Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790*, (Chapel Hill, 1982), & Warren R Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, (Baltimore, 2004).

<sup>279</sup> The frontier counties of Augusta, Frederick and the rest of the Shenandoah Valley had the established Anglican Church, but most were in name only and had the authority to collect the tax, then called Tithable. Anglicans continued to intermingle with Presbyterians through the colonial era in the frontier, and even beyond the Revolution to around 1818 where Anglicanism was dominated by Presbyterians. See Stephen L. Longenecker, *Shenandoah Religion; Outsiders and the Mainstream, 1716-1865*, (Waco, 2002), 21-23.

<sup>280</sup> The Virginia Governor and the Council transferred most of the colony's power to survey and to sell land to both Hite and Ross. They were not granted land, but rather they received land orders from the Council. However, it was thought, that Hite and Ross would survey the entirety of the land and then sell the land in compact settlements, however both took advantage of the land order method and granted themselves each one hundred thousand acres and Van Meter took another ten thousand and twenty thousand continuous acres. See Warren R Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia; Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley*, (Baltimore, 2004), 113.

the mouth of the Opequon Creek on the Potomac River south through the Valley into Rowan North Carolina. This was little more than a walking path, as it was also known as the Tuscarora Warriors Path. What would eventually become the Great Wagon Road, was little more than a deer trail in 1721.<sup>281</sup> Between 1721 and 1740 waves of migrations occurred, primarily from the Quaker colonies of Delaware, East and West Jersey and Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley. Cultural and religious diversity flourished in the pocketed and scattered backcountry of the valley, forming “backcountry neighborhoods...comprising twenty to thirty farmsteads ranging from one hundred to four hundred acres in size.”<sup>282</sup> However, these were not necessarily culturally or ethnically pure neighborhoods. In fact, the first Quaker minister, Joseph Gill, was an Irish immigrant from Dublin, who visited the valley in 1734. Alexander Ross (see above) was Quaker, and his partner, Morgan Bryan, who was Scotch-Irish, settled a Quaker land. Robert McKay, Jacob Stover, Johan Ochs, Yost Hite, all Quakers, but of non-British decent, all settled land in the valley.

The Great Awakening changed the valley and its inhabitants. Previous to 1739, Quaker Friends were the only organized dissenters in Virginia, however, during George Whitefield’s Great Awakening, Presbyterians on the Opequon, Scotch-Irish began migrating into the valley and further into the frontier Baptists settled in what they called Mill Creek (now Garrardstown,

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<sup>281</sup> The Great Warriors’ Path was first laid out in 1721 in Pennsylvania through Lancaster and York, then into Chambersburg and Hagerstown. In Pennsylvania, known now as the Conestoga Trail, the Great Wagon Road, then turned South, and traveled through the Shenandoah Valley following the natural terrain of the valley. By 1726 the path became more of a muddy road, able to take a Conestoga wagon but little more. By 1744 the Warriors Path meandered through Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and led to the Great Ohio Valley (although not officially part of the Great Wagon Road, it did give people a path from Winchester, Virginia into Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, then beyond into the Ohio Valley). See Parke Rouse, *The Great Wagon Road; From Philadelphia to the South*, (Richmond, 2008).

<sup>282</sup> Focusing on singular neighborhoods, one Quaker and the other Presbyterian, the authors of the work, *The Southern Colonial Backcountry*, explains that they were primarily British or Scotch-Irish and German. See David Colin Crass, Steven D Smith, Martha A Zierden, and Richard D Brooks, *The Southern Colonial Backcountry; Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities*, (Knoxville, 1998), 23. However, one cannot expect only British Quakers in the various Meeting Houses, nor only Scotch-Irish and German in the Presbyterian communities.

West Virginia), all from New Jersey.<sup>283</sup> Between 1700 and 1750 more than six new religious organizations were established in Pennsylvania alone, Presbyterians in Philadelphia in 1706, Baptists formally organized in 1707, 1747 German Reformed Church was established in the same city, and the same year, German Calvinists were formed and in 1748 the German Lutheran Church was established. In other areas of Pennsylvania, religious minorities were created, such as the community in Bethlehem, circa, 1741 by Count Zinzendorf and his Pietist Moravians, the religious community of Ephrata in 1732, by Johann Conrad Beissel, a descendant of the pietistic Schwarzenau Brethren after the separation from the Seventh Day Dunkers in 1728, and the Dutch Reformed revival led by Theodorus Frelinghuysen in the 1720s.<sup>284</sup> According to Samuel Kercheval, author of *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, the immigrants who arrived in the valley “brought with them the religion, habits and customs, of their ancestors, [they were] Lutherans, Mennonites, and Calvinists, with a few Tunkers.”<sup>285</sup> While none of the Moravian missionaries who traveled the valley between the South Branch in the west to the Blue Ridge in the east and beyond as far as Whitefield’s Bethesda orphanage in Georgia, mentioned

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<sup>283</sup> While the valley saw a massive influx of migration from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware as well as Maryland saw migrants moving out of the old colonial grasps into what would become called Greater Pennsylvania between 1740 and 1776. This great migration of Germans, Irish, Scottish, French, and British created a robust and often contentious frontier community. However, one specific act brought these communities into a closer-knit community, that was marriage. The marriage ways of the Shenandoah Valley were outside the normal folkways of the established communities and colonies. Quakers intermarried Baptists, German-Reformed married Presbyterians, this changed the folkways of generations of individuals descended from these pioneers. See Wilbur S. Johnson, *The Battles of Milburn*, (Winchester, 2012), & Jay Worrall. *The Friendly Virginians, America’s First Quakers*, (Athens, 1994).

<sup>284</sup> While not all these minority religious groups migrated into the valley, many of the pioneers that Matthew Gottlieb Gottschalk (German), John Brandmueller (Swiss), Leonhard Schnell (German) and Robert Hussey (English), all of the Moravian religion, witnessed to and comforted during their travels between the South Branch of the Potomac and the Blue Ridge Mountains, were of various religious groups. Schell typically attempted to explain in his diaries where these people originated, using High German as those who came from Germany, Switzerland or Austria, Low German as those who came from the Netherlands or Belgium, English and the Scotch-Irish. They also encountered Swedes in their first journey into the Valley. Hinke, William J., and Charles E. Kemper. “Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia.” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no 2 (1903).

<sup>285</sup> This is contrary to the various accounts of Brother Leonhard Schnell who encountered many different Germans and others in the valley, some with an established religion, but many more who were religious, or accepting of the Moravian religious teachings but others who saw the Moravian religion as heretical, even in the back woods of the frontier. See Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, (Woodstock, 1902), 56-64.

encountering Tunkers, they did mention Calvinists, Mennonites, Moravians, Lutherans, Catholics, Lutheran or German Reformed (they did not differentiate), Presbyterians, Seventh Day Baptists who they called Dunkers, Quakers, and Hallensians.<sup>286</sup> As noted in the diaries of the Moravian missionaries, all these groups resided in the valley between 1730 and 1749, and while many of these groups eventually developed into larger religious denominations, all of these various religious minorities existed.

Fredericktown, now called Winchester, was dominated by the largest of religious groups in the valley, however Winchester was not formally created until 1753, it remains the primary city in the Northern Shenandoah Valley. Frederick County originally encompassed most of the northern counties above Augusta county (see fig 1), which also was part of Lord Fairfax's Northern Neck Proprietary.<sup>287</sup> Winchester had its first Friends' Meeting, five in total both north and south by 1733, most of these initial settlers in the Winchester area could trace their heritage from Chester and Bucks county in Pennsylvania and Burlington county in New Jersey, and most of these ancestors came with William Penn to settle Pennsylvania. They traveled from Philadelphia, presumably on Conestoga Wagons, on the Great Wagon Road, to Lancaster, then

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<sup>286</sup> Hallensians are considered Pietists but there was a conflict between Zinzendorf and Henry Melchior Mühlberg, the Halle-Hernhut conflict in America, Mühlberg, to build an orderly structure in America of the German Lutheran and German Reformed communities in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, saw the Moravians as rivals to his efforts. Instead of unifying with the Moravians he zealously fought against what he called Zinzendorffianism. The two spirited individuals met in Philadelphia, Zinzendorf saw that Mühlberg's presence was another "spiteful trick" by his leaders in Germany, Gotthilf August Francke of Halle and Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen of the Court of St. James. Zinzendorf had distanced himself from Halle while in Germany. Hallensians are followers of the Pietistic teachings of Francke, however Zinzendorf is considered a radical Pietist. See, Craig D. Atwood, "The Hallensians Are Pietists; Aren't You a Hallensian?": Mühlberg's Conflict with the Moravians in America." *Journal of Moravian History* 12 no.1 (2012): 47-92. Accessed March 3, 2021. Doi:10.5325/jmorahist.12.1.0047.

<sup>287</sup> While an Anglican himself, Thomas sixth Lord Fairfax allowed, when he permanently moved into the valley, religious heterogamy in the valley, however he remained one of the valley's largest patrons of the Anglican Church. He arrived in the valley in 1747 and lived his life, supported by the Quitrents he had secured from landowners, after a fight in Virginia's Legislature over his rights. Many were angry that their land, which they purchased from Hite and others, was no longer really theirs, even after the Legislature had granted the agents the right to sell the land. For more information on Lord Fairfax and his dealing in the Valley see, Stuart E Brown, *Virginia Baron, The History of Thomas 6<sup>th</sup> Lord Fairfax*, (Berryville, 1965).

onto the Great Warriors Path, which was no wider than one horse, from the Susquehanna River to the Potomac was another 100 miles, then crossing at Pack Horse Ford in present day Shepherdstown, West Virginia, they had arrived in the valley.<sup>288</sup> While the Quakers found the land primitive and wild, they readily took to the development of communities for their religion and began to tame the wilds of the valley.

In the Shenandoah Valley, land was extremely cheap, and the land speculators of Hite and Ross sold land for as little as 0.7 shillings sterling an acre between the early 1730s and mid 1740s.<sup>289</sup> Native American Treaties continued to keep any large settlement out of the west, and indeed, even as early as 1732 when the Quakers were arriving in the Shenandoah Valley, they were trespassing on Native American lands. According to the Treaty of Albany of 1722 between the Five Nations, the Mahicans, and the Colonies of New York, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, no European would settle beyond, or west of the Blue Ridge. The Blue Ridge ran along Virginia into Maryland and through Pennsylvania ending at the Delaware River, however Virginia's interpretation of the treaty was that they would not settle beyond the Great Ridge of Mountains, rather than the single Blue Ridge. However, the Treaty of Lancaster of 1744 opened the back parts of Virginia to be settled, clarifying the term Great Ridge as the Alleghany Mountain range rather than the Blue Ridge. Moreover, there were larger concerns that this treaty settled,

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<sup>288</sup> Five total meetings were established in 1733 and those are Providence, Hopewell, Hollingsworth, Crooked Run, and Linville Creek Meetings. Quakers reigned supreme but for a few years in the Shenandoah Valley, soon to be outnumbered by both Germans and the Scots Irish. See Jay Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians; America's First Quakers*, (Athens, 1994), 128-129.

<sup>289</sup> Virginia was not the only colony to provide individuals with a large quantity of land to speculate to others, Hite and Ross were not alone in investing large sums in land to sell off at a profit. However, Georgia alone, was the one colony who did not allow speculation in the 1730s and 1740s. Daniel Dulany the elder may have been the one individual who enticed the larger migration of German people into the valley as he owned much of western Maryland and sold thousands of acres and even gave more than 5,000 acres away to Germans at below his cost, only to make a huge profit on his remaining property. As he closed sales, Germans continued to pour into the upper Potomac valley, and as the Shenandoah Valley was opening with cheap land, the Germans then migrated south into the valley. See, Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers*, (Chapel Hill, 2000), 154-155.

Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania were fighting a quasi-war with each other over boundaries as well as the Six Nations. This treaty repaired not only relations with these British colonies, but also settled the constant Native American war parties, placing most of the Native Americans east of the Appalachian Mountains in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania under the management and control of the Six Nations.<sup>290</sup>

After the Lancaster Treaty was signed, the valley changed, Lord Fairfax was here to stay and many of those who owned land purchased from the land speculators now no longer owned their land, but rather were renting their land permanently from Lord Fairfax. Land was still cheap, but now that the valley was squarely in the hands of Lord Fairfax from the first spring of the Rappahannock to the corner of Maryland at the first spring of the Potomac. (See Map 2). In 1744, before the 1746 survey was completed, Christopher Gist created a warehouse in what is now Cumberland, Maryland on a hilltop along Wills Creek and had a warehouse on the south side of the Potomac which was considered the valley during that time.<sup>291</sup> In the following years, British migration continued west, as evidenced by the vast amount of land patents that Lord Fairfax or his secretary, Col. William Fairfax continued to sign. In 1746, a young George Washington seeking out work, and learning surveying, walked into the life of Thomas Lord

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<sup>290</sup> Conrad Weiser, an Ephrata Cloister adherent, was the primary interpreter of the Treaty of Lancaster of 1744 which outlined not only the extent of European habitation on the Frontier but also an agreement between Pennsylvania and Virginia which settled the constant border disputes, primarily between Maryland and Pennsylvania. Known as the Penn-Calvert Boundary Dispute, saw individuals from both sides arrested for violation of the borders of Pennsylvania and Maryland, then Cresaps War brought further depredations between the two colonies. Eventually, after the French and Indian War, Maryland and Pennsylvania agreed to the terms of the Court of Chancery ruling that occurred in 1732, however, the continued border disputes did not end until Mason and Dixon surveyed the land between Delaware (still owned by Penn and his descendants) and Maryland, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and in 1779 between Pennsylvania and Virginia. See, Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist & Mohawk*, (Lewisburg, 1996), 184-188.

<sup>291</sup> Christopher Gist, while not mentioned in the Moravian Brothers Mission from Bethlehem to Virginia, by way of the South Branch and Wells Creek, they did mention, with fondness, Gist's partner, Thomas Cresap, who eventually took over the fortress at Cumberland in Maryland, which was a Virginia and Maryland joint fort. See William M Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his Contemporaries*, (Pittsburgh, 1893).



Fairfax. Washington worked with James Genn, a known surveyor in the Shenandoah Valley, who both trod through the wilderness of the valley and in 1748 he wrote in his diary that the area had “the worst road ever was trod by man or Beast, [and that] neither Cloth upon the Table nor a Knife to eat with [he complained about the German immigrants and stated that they were] as Ignorant a Set of People as the Indians, a parcel of Barbarians’ and an uncouth set of People,” speaking of the Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the South through the Shenandoah Valley.<sup>292293</sup>

Throughout the 1740s the only organized religious activity, other than the Moravian missionaries’ travels through the valley at different times in the 1740s and 1750s, was that of the Quakers in the Valley. They brought with them the “Book of Discipline” which was written in 1738 by the London Yearly Meeting. This was a “formalized code of conduct to acculturate American converts and creoles into the Quaker fold.”<sup>294</sup> In the following decades other religious groups settled into and established foundational churches and denominations within the valley, Quakerism and the Quaker way of life was the only established religious organization within the valley for nearly two decades, from the first migration of the Quakers in 1721 to late 1740s when Lord Fairfax arrived. Germans also migrated into the area, one story perpetuated the German

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<sup>292</sup> Many have related the story of the road as part of Fairfax’s Northern Neck, however, according to Washington he “went over in a Canoe & Travell’d up Maryland side all Day in a Continued Rain to Collo. Cresaps right against the Mouth of the South Branch about 40 Miles from Polks I believe the Worst Road that ever was trod by Man or Beast.” Thomas Cresap was an agent for Lord Baltimore and lived most of his life in Allegany County Maryland, dying there in 1790. He is from Skipton, England. *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*. Charlottesville, 2008).

<sup>293</sup> A biographical account of Thomas Cresap can be found in the following resource guide, See Patrick Stakem. *Fort Cumberland, Global War in the Appalachians: A Resource Guide*. (Columbia, 2010), 36.

<sup>294</sup> Author John Smolenski, in his work *Friends and Strangers*, defines creole as anyone born in a British colony of mixed descent. He states that his use of the word “creole” and “creolization” was describing the cultural development of Quaker Pennsylvania, suggesting that that definition of the word creole meant anyone born in an area but has foreign ancestry. By historians not using the word creole to describe British Americans who settled in various colonies, historians have perpetuated a stigma that British Americans are different, or exceptional. Smolenski suggests that Anglo-Americans should and are creole as well. See John Smolenski, *Friends and Strangers*, (Philadelphia, 2010), 1-2, 235.

condition, and most historians agree, that they were a clean, energetic bunch, however, Lutheran missionary and minister Henry Melchior Muhlenberg opined of the Virginia German, “Oh dear, people in that country roam about like cattle, like cows and oxen. They have no schools, nor any German churches.”<sup>295</sup>

While itinerancy continued unabated throughout the 1740s, Lieutenant Governor William Gooch denounced the “false teachings” of the various itinerant preaching of the Moravians, Lutherans and others who were travelling through the piedmont and the valley both preaching and baptizing as well as traveling through the colony into North Carolina. This did not start with George Whitefield, although it was aided by his appearance in Williamsburg and his subsequent meetings throughout Virginia. The main culprits were men such as Reverend William Dawson and other New Light preachers. They garnered the attention of Reverend Patrick Henry Sr, who was an Anglican Rector at St. Paul’s Parish in Hanover County. While the New Light itinerant preachers acted upon the Act of Toleration, passed by Parliament decades before, the colony attempted to close, or limit these itinerant preachers.<sup>296</sup> The New Lights or the Whitefieldian itinerants would not be stopped, and Moravian mission work continued throughout the 1750s, and as Methodism crept its way into the valley, churches of all denominations mentioned above began to be established. It was not until after 1750 that churches, aside from the Quaker Meeting

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<sup>295</sup> While Germans were spread throughout the Valley from the Blue Ridge to the South Fork, most were solitary, as evidenced by the Moravian missionaries, however, Klaus Wust, in his work, *The Virginia Germans*, suggest similarly that the Germans in the valley were isolated and unorganized. According to George Washington’s Journals, they found squatters on land that surveyors had found no one only eleven years before. Communities of Hollanders, Scotch-Irish and even French was found by surveyors in the 1750s. See Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, (Charlottesville, 1969), 56-57 and Warren R. Hofstra, *George Washington and the Virginia Backcountry*, (Madison, 1998), 102-104.

<sup>296</sup> A grand jury was created to denounce such false preachers as the colony saw fit. Reverend John Roan was indicted for “vilifying the established religion” and brought much alarm to those on the Piedmont, however, much remained the same in the backcountry. Even after Gooch issued a proclamation on April 3, 1747, restraining all itinerant preachers from Virginia, this did not stop those from entering the colony. See Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, (Chapel Hill, 1982), 149.

Houses, prepared for building. While the Parish, in Virginia continued to remain the single recognized church in the colony, the clash continued between the Old Light Anglican clergy and the New Light itinerancy. Even with the Presbyterian itinerants licensed from Virginia to assist the Scottish and Irish people who settled in the backcountry, others used that as a license to spread their gospel.<sup>297</sup>

The road for dissenters was not an easy one however, and while they were less prone to direct attacks from the establishment, at times they found themselves the brunt of attacks. One such attack, in Fauquier County a Baptist meeting house was attacked with the pulpit and communion table broken. The threats towards dissenters continued even as dissenters outnumbered the establishment, “the efforts to break up meetings and physically abuse pastors and congregants were far from rare, and contemporaneous accounts make clear that such abuse was seen by dissenting preachers as an omnipresent risk.”<sup>298</sup> From the fragmented population to a heterogony of freedom loving citizens, the valley became a melting pot of religious dissention and sectarian pockets, however, much of the landscape of the valley changed after Lord Fairfax immigrated and settled his inherited estate, living out his life, allowing dissenters to prosper under his protection and quitrents. From the German Hallensians and Mennonites to the Inspirationists and Moravians, the British Quakers, Dunkers, and Presbyterians, and the Scottish

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<sup>297</sup> The clash between Parish and dissenters did not begin with the settlement of the valley, however, it was the largest fight, which the Anglican Church and Virginia would ultimately not win. The Anglican Parishes and their leadership continued to press for uniformity even in the backcountry but received little more than the tithable that had owed them by law. Gooch even licensed itinerant preachers to preach only temporarily in established meeting houses, but nowhere else, not to or from the meetinghouse or anywhere in between. Stiff opposition to Gooch’s act began almost immediately, and everyone used the Act of Toleration as their license to preach. Dissenting settlers required itinerancy as vacancies grew and the frontier grew. See Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries, Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World*, (Durham, 1994), 117-119.

<sup>298</sup> While white dissenters felt unsafe from time to time, the major omnipresent threat came from those who were enslaved who were evangelized to. Some 45 percent of Virginia’s population was enslaved, and those increasingly became Baptist and evangelical Presbyterian under the influence of itinerant preaching as well as the Great Awakening. Baptists faced the most extreme punishment for attracting the enslaved population. See John A Ragosta, *Wellspring of Liberty, How Virginia’s Religious Dissenters Helped Win the American Revolution & Secured Religious Liberty*, (New York, 2010), 30-1.

and Irish intermingled throughout these various groups, the Shenandoah Valley indeed represented Greater Pennsylvania in both religious diversity and peacefulness. The coming French and Indian War would ravage the valley and change its landscape and bloody its inhabitants, the American Revolution would again challenge the landscape and its people with the introduction of the Prisoner of War camps of Winchester and its countryside, however, nothing would impact the valley more than the American Civil War, and the destruction that followed. Remnants and reminders of that war, nearly 160 years ago, continue to be found, although those ghosts are fading with the passing of time and waves of new immigration into the valley.

Dunkerism took many forms, as did their leadership and the theology they professed, and emerged from groups of people who struggled to identify their beliefs and followed their conscience and thoughts rather than following leaders and experts. Quietism, Mysticism, feminism, Labadism, all fed into the Pietism of the seventeenth century. Even John Wesley, in his formation Wesleyan Arminianism, lauded such Pietist leaders as both Jacobus Arminius, (the Dutch Reformed theologian who articulated the Five Articles of Remonstrance which attempted to moderate the Calvinism doctrine of predestination), and Johann Heinrich Horb, who influenced both Francke and Wesley's soteriology to incorporate perfectionism.<sup>299</sup> As many Pietists believed that sharing one's conversion experience was a testament to salvation, many

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<sup>299</sup> John Wesley, taking from many theologians before him, defined his soteriology of Christian Perfection as one that is neither Adamic Perfection, full restoration of the moral image, nor the full restoration of the political image. However, Wesley's Christian Perfection does mean that Christian Perfection means freedom from sin and Perfect Love. While John Wesley influenced the next generation of Pietists through Methodism and other denominations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both Francke and Wesley were influenced by similar individuals such as Thomas Aquinas, Johann Hienrich Horb and others. Francke took it one step further, in which individuals had a three-tiered approach to salvation, which will be discussed below, see E. A. Colón-Emeric, *Wesley, Aquinas, and Christian Perfection: An Ecumenical Dialogue*, (Waco, 2009), 30 -39.; Peter James Yoder, *Pietism and the Sacraments, the Life and Theology of August Hermann Francke*, (University Park, 2021), 15-19.

institutions' lecturers not only educated but evangelized, as Francke did both in Halle but also Leipzig.

Section 2  
Chapter V

Migration and Religious Community of the Dunkers and Their Allies in America

The Dunkers, as they have been found to be called, go by many names today. There are still Dunkers in the United States, however, most are now found within the confines of the Brethren Church or the United Brethren Church, which is scattered across the country and world. The foundation of the Brethren Church took place over approximately a century of schism, friendship, hardship, and warfare in Pennsylvania and the frontier. Discovering the roots of the current Brethren Church seems daunting, and has many faucets to its beginnings, however, the conglomeration of the current Brethren Church must start somewhere, and that point in history must be Schwarzenau, the Palatinate, modern day Germany, and the person most influential is Alexander Mack, a person of prosperous means, originating from Schriesheim where he was forced to flee due to his Pietist religious beliefs. However, Germans had migrated to America in the seventeenth century, most notably, the high society lawyer, Pietist and Lutheran, Franz Daniel Pastorius. Pastorius was one of the first Germans after William Penn's grant was established and his claim was completed. Pastorius grew up in a life of privilege, his father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, gave his son a life of privilege, a strong Lutheran upbringing, and taught him what a good education would bring to him. Pastorius, while one of the first Germans in America, was not the first to dream of a better life, away from the pomp and societal restrictions of early modern Europe, however. He was a leader within Frankfurt in 1682 when William Penn offered up land to the German Pietists, however only he, among the many, heeded the call to join Penn in his Holy Experiment.

The New World held many uncertainties, from the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean to the barren wastes of the wilderness itself, North America was unsettled, enormous and uncivilized,

lacking both commercial food and commodities as well as the necessities of life in Europe. However, Pastorius braved that wilderness, paving the way for other Germans to immigrate to the Anglo-American world. Pastorius founded the town of Germantown, Pennsylvania, where he envisioned an autonomous German colony within the confines of the greater Pennsylvania colony, moreover, he saw America as the land without “a church hierarchy, inordinate power of the rich, the insidious decline of morality”, and the ability to create a spiritual rebirth and social reforms.<sup>300</sup> Pastorius found his way to Pennsylvania, eventually amassing wealth, status and the foundation of Germantown, however, his migration to Pennsylvania caused an estrangement between himself and his father. However, the two did write, and their letters offer a glimpse into the early German American life in Pennsylvania and the continued strife in Europe. Pastorius never returned to Germany, choosing, instead to remain committed to Pennsylvania, eventually being a minority in the Assembly. His religious Piety and his friendship with the Quakers and other Pietist communities in Pennsylvania, gave him a unique perspective within the Assembly. However, enticing fellow Germans to the Pennsylvania was a task that seemed without reward, and even after William Penn opened the colony to the Pietists on the Rhine, it did not open the floodgates of immigration.

The Pietist movement began, as we saw above, during the time of Martin Luther, however, it continued to grow, split, manifest, and cultivate religiously diverse theologies, methodologies, dogma, and evangelism over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

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<sup>300</sup> Pastorius, while remaining committed to the Lutheran Church in America, he welcomed all Pietists, Mennonites, Schwenckfelders, and other Sectarians, and even Calvinists, Orthodox Lutherans, and Roman Catholics. His writings enticed many Germans to seek out a better life in Pennsylvania, even if they were disappointed with the early American society, or lack thereof. Pastorius tended to idealize American life, however, he did draw mostly poor and oppressed in Germany. The effects of the Thirty Years’ Wars and the Palatinate War caused much social upheaval, the reconstruction that sporadically occurred in the aftermath, still did not create a large-scale exodus from Germany in the seventeenth century. But it was the religious upheaval of the growing Pietist movement in Germany that brought mass migration of Germans to America. See, John Weaver, *Franz Daniel Pastorius and Transatlantic Culture*, (Bamberg, 2016).

culminating in the eighteenth century as a loose conglomeration of distinct yet connected groups of German and English-speaking peoples who settled in North America. Religious toleration was not granted to any German or English-speaking individual living in Europe until after 1689, and even then, only the English saw a relative easing of religious persecution under the Act of Toleration 1689, whereas all non-conformists who pledged Allegiance to the Crown and to the supremacy of the same, but who also rejected the dogma of transubstantiation were relatively free to worship in England. Only the Catholic Church believed in transubstantiation, or the change of the bread and wine into the actual Body and Blood of Christ.<sup>301</sup> German Pietists continued to be persecuted both by their own people and their rulers, forcing them to migrate from area to area, at times, they found themselves seeking shelter among other Pietists such as the Mennonite of the Netherlands or under the protection of other rulers in distant lands. Their beliefs were radical, revolutionary, non-conformist, their dress, at times outlandish, unorthodox, and embarrassing to the locals, their willingness to suffer was seen as obstinate by individual rulers but more so by war, in which the War between the Palatinate and France forced the Pfalz to pay over 250,000 florin in war taxes to France forcing a mass Pietist migration to the newly established colony of Pennsylvania, settling Germantown.<sup>302</sup> Individuals such as Franz Daniel

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<sup>301</sup> Transubstantiation theory began in the early thirteenth century when documents were used in the Lateran Council of the Church in 1215. The theory revealed in the Lateran Council of 1215 was based on Aristotle's discussion on the nature of existence. Thomas Aquinas expounded on this idea that objects only existed in two forms, substance, and accident. According to Aquinas, the Mass consists of Bread and Wine, both consist of substance and accidents, its substance is its participation in the universal quality of being bread or wine, while its accident is the appearance of bread and wine. Aquinas stated that during Mass, the substance changes but the accident (or quality of) the bread or wine does not. It no longer remains bread or wine, but rather it now consists of the Body and Blood of Christ. However even beyond the fourteenth century most northern European Catholics rejected the idea of Aristotle's theory and Aquinas's scientific methodology of transubstantiation, rather rejecting the Thomist (the ideas and scientific methods of Thomas Aquinas) theory and merely accepted Mass as a matter of faith. However, even in the sixteenth century thousands of Christians died at the stake for arguing that Aristotle did not even know Jesus Christ so how one belief in a theory that the bread and wine was the Body and Blood of Christ? See Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation, A History*, (New York, 2003), 25-27.

<sup>302</sup> Franz Daniel Pastorius, a Pietist, settled in Pennsylvania and founded the town of Germantown in 1683, when Pennsylvania as an English Colony was in its infancy. Pastorius found his life in Pennsylvania difficult, but fulfilling, he became an important member of not only German society in Pennsylvania but also in the English



Pastorius encouraged Germans to immigrate to Pennsylvania not only to escape religious persecution and heavy taxation, but to create a German colony within the Pennsylvania colony. Pastorius envisioned a separate German state within the colony of Pennsylvania, autonomous and culturally different from the Quaker dominated Pennsylvania settlement. The Germans were slow to immigrate, however between 1683 and 1710, the quantity of Germans who migrated are vastly incomplete, however the causes of which are responsible for the German immigration to Pennsylvania are known and well understood to modern historians (see above), moreover, the constant destruction, warfare, invasion, or threat of invasion, and desolation of the German people all led to the dissatisfaction of local conditions and favored the invitation of William Penn and of Franz Daniel Pastorius to immigrate to Pennsylvania, to see a life renewed, away from the ruination of their homelands.

Germanic Pietism took on radical forms within the colonies of the British Empire in America, however, radicalism was not birthed in the American frontier, rather it was inspired by successive generations of dissenters across the European continent. The Reformation did not suddenly create a new dissenter class of church goer, but rather it brought the Protestant fervor to the forefront of Christian European thought. However, Catholicism did not suddenly find itself losing its grip on hegemony in Europe, it had lost that centuries ago. Moreover, the Reformation only created an outlet for those dissenters to stand up against the Church and establish a new authority.<sup>303</sup> While Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries became the largest

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society that he had adopted. Being like the Quakers who dominated Pennsylvania politics, his faith allowed him to rise in prominence in both Germantown and in the Assembly of Pennsylvania. See below for further information on Franz Daniel Pastorius and, John Weaver, *Franz Daniel Pastorius and Transatlantic Culture, German Beginnings, Pennsylvania Conclusions*, (Bamberg, 2016).

<sup>303</sup> The history of Protestantism does not start with the Reformation, centuries of conflict between the Pope in Rome and various remote and small congregations such as the Waldenses of the Piedmont of Italy and eventually to the mountains of North Carolina, culminating in a century of struggle between the Catholic Church and the earliest lasting dissenters. The Waldenses or Waldensians struggled to maintain independence from the Pope and Rome for centuries and were nestled in the Cottian Alps on the boarder of Italy and France. The Catholic dominated French

religious groups in Europe and eventually in America, it would be a mistake to state that all Protestants were similar in attitude and spirit. Most European Protestants fell into the Lutheran Church of Germany, the Reformed Church of Switzerland, or the Anglican Church in England, however, thousands of Europeans followed various evangelical leaders such as Menno Simons (1496 – 1561) founder of the Mennonites, Jakob Ammann (1644 – 1712) founder of the Amish sect splitting from the Mennonites, Huldrych Zwingli (1484 – 1531) leader of the Reformation in Switzerland and founder of the Reformed Church, Calvinist Churches such as the Presbyterian Church in Scotland sprang forth as England tore itself from the Catholic Church. Eventually the various groups who found themselves at the least, anti-infant baptism became known as Anabaptist, such as the Moravians, Mennonites, Amish, and various smaller groups such as the Dunkers or Tunker or Sieventägner Tunker (Seventh Day Baptist) or Dimpler. The Dunker, as this paper will call them, began migration into Pennsylvania following their exile from the Rhineland during the Palatinate War (see above). Some of the first immigrants from the Schwarzenau Baptists, known as Dunkers, followed the leader Peter Becker and Alexander Mack in 1719.

One of the most predominant aspects of the Pietists in Germany was the idea of baptism, who should be baptized and at one point in their life should they be baptized. This was not the only belief that separated the Pietists from the various established churches in Europe, however

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persecuted this sect until the Edict of 1848 finally put an end to the deadly attempt at extermination. The Waldese colonies sprang up in New York City, Chicago, Missouri, Texas, and Utah, but most notably in Burke County North Carolina. While The Waldenses or Waldensians were some of the earliest Protestants in Europe, defying the Pope and Rome, winning their Independence, they create an interesting view into the plurality of the Catholic Church as the Middle Ages gave way to the Renaissance and the Age of Reason. For more on the Waldenses see, J. A. Wylie, *The History of the Waldenses*, (North Haven, 2016); Samuel Morland, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont*, (London, 1658); Emilio Comba, *History of the Waldenses of Italy*, (London, 1889); Adam Blair, *History of the Waldenses*, (Edinburgh, 1882).

adult baptism was still punishable by death in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>304</sup> Many Pietists remained faithful to Lutheranism or Reformism, and even some within the Catholic Church, but as rulers within the German speaking Provinces changed hands Pietists were forced out of their homelands, many settled in Ireland, many travelled from Province to Province, and even more landed on America's shores, scattered along the Delaware River basin. Franz Daniel Pastorius was one of the first Germans to immigrate to the British colonies in America and was among those who assisted William Penn in establishing a permanent German presence in what would become Pennsylvania. Pietism took on many forms, which even today is found in many denominations as heretical, such as that of the Lutheran denomination.

#### Religious Understanding and Other Practices

In Seventeenth Century Europe, Pietism grew through various mystical and theological means, and no Pietist group remained uncontaminated from their predecessors or its contemporaries. Mysticism grew in phases, each following its natural paths as individuals gained leadership positions within the various sects. Mysticism, a term that may conjure negative connotations today, developed by leaders, who envisioned an “entirely different intellectual and religious environment” to those dominant religions such as Lutheran or Reformed. While the dominant religions in Germany and German speaking countries remained so, Pietist followings waxed and waned, and eventually many migrated to Pennsylvania, where their mysticism grew exponentially in the vacuum of religious freedom. A definition of mysticism should be discussed; however, no single definition can be deciphered by either

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<sup>304</sup> The Recovery of Adult or Believers Baptism remained difficult for those in Europe, particularly those in the Catholic Controlled regions. A decree issued by Emperor Charles V in 1529, aimed at the Anabaptists in his lands, ruled that forbade adult baptism on pain of death. This decree remained in use for centuries, condemning those who practiced adult, or believers Baptism were criminals. See, V. Norskov Olsen, “The Recovery of Adult Baptism,” *Ministry*, 51 no. 9 (Sept 1978), 10 -12, [https://cdn.ministrymagazine.org/issues/1978/issues/MIN1978-09.pdf?\\_ga=2.44724066.734534202.1673373527-252886047.1673373527](https://cdn.ministrymagazine.org/issues/1978/issues/MIN1978-09.pdf?_ga=2.44724066.734534202.1673373527-252886047.1673373527).

primary sources or by historians. In modernity, these historical terms must be viewed in context of the religious Pietism rather than by modern examples of religious theology and dogma.<sup>305</sup>

These Mystical leaders can be categorized in the same group of the Humanists of the Medieval world, following the Aristotelian tradition of examining the world around them and attempting to understand it. The age-old Aristotelian problem of *De primo et ultimo instanti* [on the first and last instant] was popularized by Walter Burley and his treatise on the first and last instant became the standard for future philosophers. “*De primo et ultimo instanti* became relatively standard for most natural philosophers who devoted themselves to the problem. In this treatise and in most other, the criteria for ascribing limits seem to have been based on a rigorous distinction between the kinds of things that are limited: permanent things, all of the parts of which exist simultaneously (such as a stone, or Socrates’ being white); and successive things, whose parts necessarily exist one after the other (such as a given motion or a given stretch of time).”<sup>306</sup> The understanding of past, present and future in Burley’s treatise was quite an undertaking of epic proportions. While the permanence of the past, the present and the future are understandable to both Burley and this author, it may be wise to speak more on this subject.

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<sup>305</sup> Much like the witchcraft that arose in the English countryside in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and the idea that magic was a way to explain the natural world must be examined. Prior to the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, the world has explained in magical and unscientific terms. Humanists first began to explain their world, “The way in which Christianity portrayed divinity proved particularly appealing. While Judaism, to some extent, combines both awesome power and tender regard in one God, Christianity increasingly relegated God to a more august, distant role. Where God in Christianity seemed to preside over the entire universe, Jesus as God seemed concerned almost exclusively with humankind, particularly with the drama of forgiveness and salvation. In this sense, Jesus provided a tender or accessible bridge into permanence. See Craig Eisendrath, *Beyond Permanence; The Great Ideas of the West*, (Bloomington, 2011), 81.

<sup>306</sup> Further, Burley’s treatise was interpreted “as a *proposition* in which one or the two “limit words” “Incipit’ or ‘desinit’ occurred. Secondly, the positing or removal of the present, past, or future of which these treatises spoke could be interpreted, respectively, as an affirmative or a negative *proposition* stated in the present, past, or future tense. All elements were, therefore, on the ‘propositional level’. This meant that one solved the ‘limit problem’ at hand by giving a proper logical exposition of the proposition in which the term ‘incipit’ or ‘desipit’ occurs in terms of a conjunction of affirmative and negative propositions stated in present, past, or future tense. Thus, to return to the example of the onset of Socrates’ run, the limit problem involved can now be states as “Socrates’ begins to run’ and solved as soon as one realizes that the proper logical exposition of this proposition amounts to resolving it into the conjunction of the two propositions “Socrates is not running at this instant’ and Immediately after this instant Socrates will run’.” David C Lindberg, *Science in the Middle Ages*, (Chicago, 1978), 242-244.

Burley believed that tense created the very physical permanence science sought. In his treatise he believed that the idea that everything became permanent every second of time moved seamlessly through space and thus became the permanent “cosmic” record of sorts. “What we then have is, again, Burley’s results, but now meta linguistically expressed. The elements in the analysis of the limit problem in question are not propositions that speak about Socrates’ run. Further, even the distinction Burley made between permanent and successive things received a metalinguistic equivalent in speaking of propositions composed of *terms* dealing with permanent things or with successive things.”<sup>307</sup> While this sounds like an over deliberation of fourteenth-century philosophical pseudo-science, it is in truth, a very early form of the understanding of motion and the invention of new examples, new conceptions and new techniques on how to resolve the idea of change, motion and permanence. These complex or outlandish examples, as we have seen is called a “sophism” or sophisma.<sup>308</sup>

The very idea of creating an outlandish idea or example to discover something new sounds a bit outlandish, but the fourteenth century philosopher was at the forefront of the reemergence of human thought, guided by Plato and Aristotle, and followed by the humanists of the Renaissance. While they did not know they were going to be the fathers of those humanists, their ideas and even their sophisma created a new wave of thinkers and philosophers who led the world into a rebirth of ideas. This is the world that the Pietist adherents found themselves in and attempted to create a new wave of their own, of religious change and spiritual enlightenment that they believed was lacking in the dominant religions. This included mysticism from the world of Judaism, Mohammedanism, and other philosophies from both the East and the West, however, each leader placed their own stamp of mysticism on their ideas and find that the mystics all

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

attempted to persuade their adherents by these means. However, the idea of mysticism must be trodden on carefully, as modern interpretations of mysticism can be extremely different compared to the historical definition and what it meant to be a mystic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to E. Ernest Stoeffler, the mystical way is “the noumenous apprehension as “natural” or as a supernatural manifestation of divine grace.”<sup>309</sup> The form of mysticism that can be identified with the Pietist movement within Germany and later in the American colonies must be separated from the various Catholic mystics of the previous eras, such as Madame de Chantal or Suso, rather the difference is more in terms of temperament, such as austere asceticism and rapturous ecstasy. These extremes are evident in studies conducted in the early twentieth century over the idea of Soul-Mysticism and God-Mysticisms, or Conative and Cognitive mystics.<sup>310</sup> Into this world the New German Baptists became a small but important part of the German epoch and American landscape.

The Longbeards, another name given to the New German Baptists, or the Dunkers was founded quite by accident, as individuals who saw that the Pietists had important lessons to be learned through spiritual renewal and theological understanding. Many of these German Pietists fled their native areas, seeking refuge from religious rivals or leaders who sought out pietists to persecute them. The Dunkers were one such group who found themselves together and of similar mindset. They grew out of the leadership and teachings of the men and women who studied and read tracts from various leaders and influencers of the Pietist movement.

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<sup>309</sup> Understanding the German mystic, the word *Sehnsucht* must also be used as it is a prerequisite for mysticism. This *Sehnsucht* or expressiveness, explains the fulness and satisfaction that God gives the soul, a feeling of *Sehnsucht* or expression of fulness. The author suggests that this was a mystical experience and that it only happened to the few, and not the many. The author discusses the various studies that produced classifications of mystics within the colonial Pennsylvania German populations. See E. Ernest Stoeffler, *Mysticism in the German Devotional Literature of Colonial Pennsylvania*, (Allentown, 1950), 5-12.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

## The Leaders and Influencers

### Philip Jacob Spener

While there were other men who were described as pious and earnest men, such as those of Valentine Andrea, John Arndt, Gisbert Voetius and finally Gerhard Tersteegen, the strongest, reluctant, reformer in the Lutheran Church during the seventeenth century in Germany was Philip Jacob Spener. Spener was one of the most prominent of Pietist reformers, born in 1635, in Upper Alsace, his baptism was sponsored by Countess Agathe of Rappoldstein. Early in his life, Spener spent much of his free time reading Arndt's *True Christianity*. His education was under the court preacher under Rappoldstein, Joachim Stall, later also became his brother-in-law. Spener's teacher provided him with Greek, Latin, Philosophical Sciences, History and Geology, through a Pietist lens. Spener's early life was filled with learning, and in his eighteenth year, he earned a Master of Philosophy after his disputation on the English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes.<sup>311</sup>

Spener suffered bouts of illness which struck him severely and caused him great pains throughout his life, however this did not limit his learning or teaching. He learned Genealogy through another mentor, a Waldensian named Cyrillus Lukaris, who also taught him about the history and condition of his sect. He also became acquainted with Jean de Labadie. Later in his life, Spener married and promoted to a senior Councilor of the Spiritual Ministerium in Frankfort, and later found himself drafting documents concerning other the struggles of the

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<sup>311</sup> Thomas Hobbes was one of the most prominent of English Philosophers whose most famous work, *Leviathan* which found greater fame in Europe than in England, was very monarchist, and anti-democratic, hence, Hobbes had to flee from England during Cromwell's reign. Part III of the work entitled, "Of a Christian Common-wealth" examines the idea of a universal Church, of which Hobbes thoroughly disagrees with, and that any church must rely on civil government. That each government, a king shall be the head of the church, in which he or she rules over. While Spener gave a disputation on Hobbes, no copy remains. See, Bertrand Russell, *The History of Western Philosophy*, (New York, 1972), 548 – 557.

confessional in the Lutheran Church and the responsibilities of the church in spiritual manners. He felt that morals should not be the sole position of the church in terms of preaching, but rather he expected the preachers to point out the necessity of spiritual growth and scholastic theology. Spener was reluctant, however, to speak out fully against the established churches in Germany, both the Lutheran and the Reformed church. It was his desire, in his work *Pia Desideria*, to reform the church rather than separate from the church. Moreover, his work was immensely popular, and was published in 1675. His work outlined the corruption of the church, defects within the civil authority as well as the clergy, but also the common people of the church. The work can be separated into three parts, but the third part contains the proposals for creating stronger, spiritual connections with God and the church:

1. That "thought should be given to a more extensive use of the word of God among us."
2. That there be "the establishment and diligent exercise of the spiritual priesthood."
3. That "the people must have impressed upon them and must accustom themselves to believing that it is by no means enough to have knowledge of the Christian faith, for Christianity consists rather of practice."
4. That "we must beware how we conduct ourselves in religious controversies with unbelievers and heretics.... We must remind ourselves of our duty to the erring."
5. That both integrity of life and sound education which includes spiritual development be considered necessary when calling persons to be pastors.
6. That sermons be so prepared by all that their purpose (faith and its fruits) may be achieved in the hearers to the greatest possible degree."<sup>312</sup>

Spener's indirect attack on the established church in Germany did not immediately send shockwaves into the hierarchy of the church and local government. His idea that one must not only learn from the head, but also from the heart, and that "mere knowledge is insufficient in

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<sup>312</sup> Spener's proposals created the beginning of the Pietist movement that spread throughout present day Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria and brought together, for the first time, his forebears of Catholic mystics and Luther's directors. Such individuals as Johann Arndt, Johannes Staupitz, Thomas A Kempis, Johannes Tauler, Bernard of Clairvaux and Angela of Foligno all were individuals who Luther and Spener read, and influenced Arndt's work, *True Christianity*. See, Peter Sandstrom, "Philip Jacob Spener's Proposals," *Pietisten*, Vol III, no 1 (Fall 1988). <http://pietisten.org/iii/3/spener.html>.



Christianity, which is expressed rather in action.”<sup>313</sup> Spener was the individual who set the foundations of the Pietist movement, created a more institutionalized movement, which would ebb and flow for the next century in both Germany and in North America. His establishment of the University of Halle, along with August Herрман Franke created an institutionalized instructional movement that taught thousands of individuals in the Pietistic ideals.

While Spener is considered by most Pietist historians as the father of modern pietism, he considered himself a reformer and an individual to bring back the conversion narrative to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. However, his work, along with his successor at the University of Halle, Augustus Hermann Francke, changed the very fabric of the religious conversion experience for the German and North American population. His publication, *Einfältige Erklärung der Christlichen Lehr nach der Ordnung des kleinen Catechismi: des teueren Mann Gottes Lutheri*, (A Simple Explanation of Christian Doctrine According to the Order of the Small Catechism of the Dear Man of God, Luther), was a success with the younger people of Germany and brought to them a “living faith” and a commitment to Christ.<sup>314</sup> Spener’s political and educational strength allowed him to appoint Franke to the position of head professor at Halle, which educated thousands of children from the corresponding orphanage. The University of Halle also had a school for children of nobility, a school for peasant children, a publishing house and housing for all who attended.

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<sup>313</sup> Spener’s increasing Pietistic thought continued to grow throughout his life, culminating in becoming the father of modern Pietism. Spener’s outline on how Christians should be instructed, how worship should be done, how individuals should have a deeper relationship with Christ were not radical ideas, but he was in a place, the official in Brandenburg, the principal instructor at the Institute at Halle, all gave Spener the ability to reach thousands of students and the leader of the Pietist movement. His activities included being the leader of the *collegium* in Leipzig, the deacon in Erfurt and working with August Hermann Franke to build the Halle institute to instruct these Pietist ideals. While Franke became the most prominent individual in Halle, he was directly influenced by Spener. See, Dale R. Stoffer, *Background and Development of Brethren Doctrines 1650 – 2015*, (Philadelphia, 2018), 14 -15.

<sup>314</sup> Spener’s publication was his crowning achievement to date, however, his crowning achievement was the *Pia Desideria*, a publication that is still used today in many Pietist writings and theology, see, K. James Stein, *From Head to Heart, a Compendium of the Theology of Philipp Jakob Spener*, (Chicago, 2020), 11.

## Augustus Hermann Francke

Augustus or August Hermann Francke was born in the city of Lübeck and educated in Gotha, then at the universities of Erfurt and Kiel under various pietist individuals such as Christian Kortholt. His expertise was both Hebrew and Greek, and eventually befriended an individual named Paul Anton who brought him into the influences of Philipp Jakob Spener. He visited Spener while he was in Dresden and with Spener's assistance formed the *Collegium Philobiblicum* in Leipzig which focused on the exegesis of the Old and New Testaments and to study the Bible more closely. Francke also struggled, as Spener did, with his Pietism and the various Lutheran and Reformed theologies which he felt was superficial and struggled with his spiritual inspiration. Francke's theology was much more refined than Spener's, he was freer to challenge the state of the church than Spener.

One of Francke's greatest contributions to the Pietist movement, aside from his prolific publishing and subscription services the University of Halle and himself created, was of a theological nature, of a personal relationship with God. Much like John Wesley, Francke saw that this personal relationship with God gave mankind the opportunity to live a perfect life on earth. Francke was a fervent reader of theological discussions, he was also a disrupter of social norms, according to his detractors. Many of these detractors lumped Francke into the same people as those teachings of the Anabaptists, Enthusiasts, Schwenckfelders, and Quakers, however his teachings were constantly under threat, and many of the faculty at Leipzig argued that his theology was in disdain of the Lutheran Church.<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> While Francke is best known now for his activities in Halle at the Orphanage and the College that he helped in creating, he was no stranger to the Pietist movement and its constant shift in thought and theology. He was constantly under attack for his various writings, which are included in his autobiography. See, Peter James Yoder, *Pietism, and the Sacraments*, (University Park, 2021); Augustus Hermann Francke, *Memoirs of Augustus Hermann Francke*, (Philadelphia, 1831).

Francke began his Halle career as the professor of Greek and Hebrew in the department of philosophy. While he also remained the pastor in the town outside of Halle named Glaucha, where he was attacked for his Pietistic statements, however, Halle soon became his to command. His command of the sacraments, by elevating them to a greater provenance soon cemented his place at Halle. His theological program which included a greater reverence of baptism and the Lord's Supper elevated him to the Pietist cause. He also saw that the conversion experience was a stepped process, in which salvation was done in a continual basis only with the evidenced help of the Holy Spirit. This repentant struggle, which Francke called *Bußkampf*, would inevitably lead to the rebirth of the individual through a transformational process he called *Wiedergeburt*, or "new creation" lead finally to the *Taufbund* or baptismal covenant. This *Taufbund* had a significant impact across the German speaking world both in Europe and in the New World.

In Francke's work entitled *Der Große Aufsatz* (The Big Essay), he outlined three doctrines that he believed were central to a Christian life:

1. The degenerate state of individuals and communities
2. The great commandment to love one's neighbor
3. The universal call of the gospel

Francke believed that all humanity was degenerate and in need of salvation, and the lack of a reverence for God, "its lack of faith, and its concupiscence was wrapped up in the idea of unbelief."<sup>316</sup> Furthermore, Francke believed both in inward and outward tests of faith, such as the outward participation in the sacraments' of the Lord's Supper and the baptism. Francke

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<sup>316</sup> According to Yoder, Francke felt that entire communities of church attendees were degenerate because of their lack of faith due to the lack of teaching the church provided to its flock. He also believed in humanity's right to argue with their leadership, and to question and test their own actions, however, Francke's theology crossed lines between Lutheran and Reformed to Calvinistic depending on the subject. However, these three central items remained the center of his theological inclinations. Yoder, 60-61.

perceived baptism as the most significant outward act one could do to, which, according to Francke, was rooted in the Trinity, and a demonstration of one's hope for rebirth. Doubtless, many individuals who took Francke's *Taufbund*, would backslide, hence, Francke's theology "rested on the believer's constant revisiting of the baptismal oath."<sup>317</sup> Francke attempted to reinvigorate the New Testament Church as it was represented by the Bible however his greatest accomplishments were laying the foundations for his followers and successors to reestablish a church based, in part, on the lay ministry of an unprofessional staff, learned and willing to provide comfort and testimony for their fellow members of a specific congregation. Little did Francke know, however, that his foundations would stretch into the frontier of colonial American and create the platform for leaders and itinerates to create and minister to hundreds of individuals from all walks of life.

Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau

Ernst Christoph Hochmann was one of the first to join the Mack's in Schwarzenau in 1703. His early life Hochmann's conversion began in Halle in 1693 under the tutelage of Christian Thomasius, August Hermann Francke, Johann Wilhelm Petersen, and Johann Christian Lange. Hochmann also had another influence, Count Rudolf Ferdinand von der Lippe-Biesterfeld, who was a soldier and sister of Julianne Elizabeth who had embraced the Pietist cause. Many of Hochmann's early contacts with pietists, including Count Ferdinand who had participated in the energy of the predecessor of the Dunker movement. During these turbulent years in all of Germany, many individuals were arrested for their practice of pietism.

Hochmann assisted the group in Schwarzenau, before Alexander Mack's settlement there, in setting up what he called the *Labortorium* which he saw as a Kingdom of Christ, which also

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<sup>317</sup> Ibid., 87.

should be an earthly and political structure. As a quietist Hochmann believed that they could influence the return of Christ by establishing a community of believers who were devote and according to his letter to Dr. Vergenius in Wetzlar;

In respect to the community – we have with body, soul, and spirit turned over to Christ all our earthly goods, present and future. We are all equal in this society and are to be viewed as brothers and sisters. Whoever enters the community loses all his animal-like forces of domination, which God in His judgment has rejected.<sup>318</sup>

Much of Hohmann's thoughts were later transformed into actions by yet another wonderer, Conrad Beissel, however he took it to a more extreme than even Hochmann could have imagined. Hochmann was in Schwenau when an independent group of like-minded individuals decided that they would perform a baptism of each other, resulting in the formation of the New Baptists. These individuals launched this new religious sect based on believers' baptism through full immersion and that the Lord's Supper should be recognized as a Love Feast.

The New Baptists' actions eventually came to the attention of the Administrative Council of the Prince (of the area of Marienborn) as was Count Karl August of Isenburg-Büdingen-Marienborn, who called the New Baptists or Dompelaers to the Consistory. The Consistory and the Council felt they had no right or permission to perform baptisms or to practice a new religion. They were given a choice between giving up their relationships or alliances or to leave, the New Baptists, eight families and two single men, left the province. Hochmann and the other

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<sup>318</sup> Hochmann's letter is transcribed and translated from its original text. The contents of this letter can be found in its original form in the work; Heinz Renkewitz, *Hochmann von Hochenau (1670 – 1721) Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Pietismus*, (Dramstadt, 1969), 169 -170, and the translated version can be found in the work; William G. Willoughby, *Hochmann von Hochenau 1670 – 1721*, (Winona Lake, 1993), 69 – 70.

New Baptists moved to Krefelder, where they visited with the Mennonite Congregations within the Palatinate. However, Hochmann believed that the established church was as much of a problem as the government, and he deemed the Mennonite's a denomination along with Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic and disassociated himself from them. Hochmann did seek to recruit from the Mennonites, especially those who accepted immersion. Hochmann had by this time, 1708, created a Confession of Faith, but this did not stop the war of the sects, and many both left the established churches and his own sect. He decided that he would no longer be the leader, but instead a fosterer of a spirit of fellowship.<sup>319</sup> However, Hochmann and Alexander Mack did have a falling out, over the theology of the Dunkers, and while Hochmann was in prison, he and Mack did split on this question of total immersion, which lead Hochmann to relieve himself of leadership. Moreover, Hochmann was and is still seen as the father of the German New Baptists, even if the two leaders no longer saw eye to eye.

#### Alexander Mack

Alexander Mack was born to a relatively well to do family in the Palatinate, but felt the call to Pietism due to its overwhelming message the unwillingness of the local ministry to harness the enthusiasm of the lay ministry of the Pietist movement. The Local church that his parents and grand-parents had attended at an early age was authorized to be utilized by Catholics, Lutheran and Reformed congregations. However, the current pastor, Pastor Agricola, was an aging man, who faced the mounting problem of the growing Pietist movement within his church. The Church that he controlled was in Schriesheim, where Mack and his family attended. The growing discontentment only increased with Mack when Agricola appointed his own son,

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<sup>319</sup> By 1724 Hochmann was associated with many different sects in Germany and in America to include, Baptists, Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonites, Schwenkelders, Inspirationists, Quitists, Sabbatarians, Separatists, hermits, and Hernhutters. However, he was no longer associated with the Dunkers, as they would be called in America, once Alexander Mack and his followers migrated to Pennsylvania in 1719. Ibid., 106.

associate Pastor (something he never wanted in his own church). They began meeting in small groups and were called Separatists. Mack felt a strong affinity for the Mennonites, who lived and worshipped close to his home town. These Anabaptists gave him a foothold into their beliefs, but ultimately Mack chose to follow the Pietist movement.

In 1706 Mack invited Hockmann, Erb, and other Pietists to lead the growing Pietist movement in Schriesheim, and with the exuberance of Hockmann and the street preaching of Erb, many joined the Pietist movement, but at a cost. The law enforcement of the day found that, after the Reformed Church Council reported them, that they were meeting in Mack's family mill. The officer stated that if this meeting were to persist that he would call the regiment to disperse the crowd. Mack and his family fled the town, along with Hochmann, Erb and a man named Martin Lucas. Hochmann, Lucas, and Erb were arrested in Mannheim along with all who were present, however, Mack and his family immigrated to Wittgenstein and Marienborn. Mack, by this time, had become a Pietist leader himself, and had a strong affiliation with Hochmann, Lucas and Erb. It was about this time that Mack, along with those arrested, summarized their beliefs:

1. Infant baptism is totally rejected
2. There should be no taking of oaths
3. The church, composed of true Christians, should not tolerate blatant sinners
4. There should be no force in religion
5. The Christian can attain perfection through gradual growth
6. A professional clergy is not biblically sanctioned, for any Christian who receives the gift of the Holy Spirit may rise up in a congregation and teach

By 1708 both Mack's family and Hochmann were living in Schwarzenau where other Anabaptists were taking up refuge under Mack and Hochmann's protection. Mennonites also

took refuge there, as did another family, a man named Michael Eckerlin who had been banished from Strassburg. Mack, the wealthiest of the group, was responsible for their financial well-being, and was forced to sell most of his land and belongings to support these refugees.

Hochman was again arrested, and by this time, was urging Mack and his followers to perform an adult baptism, which was illegal however, in their enthusiasm, someone, author unknown, wrote a letter stating the reasoning for adult baptism as being, 1. The example of Christ's baptism in the Jordan River, 2. The commandment of Jesus in Matthew 28 to "make disciples of all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," 3. The example of the early church.<sup>320</sup> These 8 who were immersed in the river now were a collection of individuals who were now a congregation or *Gemeinde*. They called themselves New Baptists or Schwarzenau Baptists.

Mack took up his mantle as the leader of his church, he rejected the major practices of Catholicism including the hierarchy of priests, the Mass, and the veneration of the Virgin Mary as well as the Pope. He also accepted the direct authority of the scriptures just as Luther and Calvin did. However, he did view the Reformation through the eyes of Arndt, Spener, Francke, Arnold and others, rather than Calvin, especially in his idea of predestination. Mack was responsible for the Love Feast, or the Lord Supper where the congregants' washed feet, ate a meal and then broke bread and drank wine. This self-examination remains unchanged in the Dunker sect today. Mack also detested war and violence, and added pacifism to their belief system.

Mack remained in Germany, specifically Schwarzenau and was a missionary to other Pietists seeking the New Lights. While travelling to various areas, Mack did baptize new

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<sup>320</sup> This was all the proof the 8 individuals who were baptized first needed to perform the illegal adult baptism. See, William G. Willoughby, *Counting the Cost, the Life of Alexander Mack*, (Elgin, 1979).



members, however, he was also arrested for doing so. In 1711 he was banished from Düdelsheim as were all who were baptized. All fled to either Schwarzenau or Krefeld, where baptisms were still performed. Mack was also banished from Marienborn, in 1712. Mack's New Baptists were also being evangelized to by the Inspirationists, who were also seeking refuge in Schwarzenau. When their leader died, Eberhard Gruber, in 1717, many of the Inspirationists fell into the New Baptists and Mack as the leader, even though Mack and Gruber did not see eye to eye. Although Mack had the blessing of Count Henry, the prince of the land that included Schwarzenau, the friendliness was still tenuous. Mack was to be unmolested, but Mack, by 1720, felt disheartened by the lack of new members to his sect, and with so many migrating to America, he felt that the American church he was the leader of, had again lost their way, and suffered from dissent even in America. Mack settled in Germantown, and was the leader of a local church, his strength and his willingness to remain humble created the strong church that would remain today.

#### Conrad Beissel

Conrad Beissel cannot simply be overlooked as a significant contributor to the Dunker movement in colonial America. While the only primary source material on this individual can be found in the work written by his fellow monk in Ephrata, as a life work of the chief priest in the mystical cloister of Pennsylvania, his life and his beginnings are still quite clouded in the unknown or even unprovable. The single primary source of material, the *Chronicon Ephratense*, written by Brothers Lamech and Agrippa, known historically as Peter Miller, Conrad Beissel's second in command. While Beissel professed to be a follower of Alexander Mack or at least Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau, this may have been the reason Mack and Beissel had a parting of ways. Mack and Hochmann were at odds and eventually parted ways, but both

remained faithful to the Dunker ideals, adult baptism, expectant of the second coming of Christ, and a striving for communion with God. However, Beissel took it further, he believed in the mystical turning of the mind, where many pietists turned, striving for Christian perfection using piety, experimental faith, attempting a sinless lifestyle and strict biblical standards. This led Beissel first to seek a hermit's life, where he settled in with the followers of Johannes Kelpius and the Society of the Women in the Wilderness, however, by the time Beissel was able to get to American shores, Kelpius was dead and the Society at Wissahickon Creek was all but gone, scattered throughout rural Pennsylvania. However, Beissel was not alone in seeking a hermit's life, George Stiefel, whom he traveled to America with, sought solitude as well.

Beissel eventually found himself in a unique situation, in America Germans were migrating to and through Pennsylvania to escape the dreadful life conditions in Europe. They all found themselves in a position which they were not only landing in a port where freedom reigned, but freedom to follow anyone who was willing to lead, some of these were Lutheran preachers, ordained or not, others were various sects of pietists some ordained others were not, and even more were uneducated. This offered up a mixture that Beissel could not refuse, the ability to influence a growing group of German Pietists who realized that they did not have to follow Mack and become what they wanted to be, especially those who sought solitude. Beissel offered them what he considered the clear path to salvation, a mystical union with the Virgin Sophia (the female form of God). There were three types of members in this commune, Male celibates, Female celibates, and married families who lived around the Cloister (such as Conrad Weiser). Many individuals and families moved in and out of the Cloister, led by Beissel until his death, then lead by Peter Miller. While both claimed to be German Baptists, Beissel differentiated his followers with the Sabbatarians, those who believed the Sabbath was Saturday

not Sunday. Beissel shared his responsibility in the leadership, unwillingly, with Alexander Mack, who claimed the overall responsibility for the Dunkers in America.<sup>321</sup> Over seven hundred individuals and families would live in Ephrata Cloister between its inception and the middle of the twentieth century, with most of the individuals living and supporting the cloister before the French and Indian War.<sup>322</sup> Beissel and Mack attempted reconciliation no less than twice, however, both refused to back down from their positions as leader, and neither reconciled. It was not until Alexander Mack Jr and Peter Miller took over the leadership positions that any sort of reconciliation occurred.

### Largest Migrations of Dunkers

The single largest immigration of those who are called the Dunkers occurred between 1714 and 1734, however, other Germans had come to North America to then be converted into the German Pietist movement, many of whom became Dunkers. While there was a small number of Dunker's on America's soil by 1740, most Germans remained Lutheran or Reformed, but delved into the Mysticism of what Pietism meant in America as they migrated further west and found themselves lacking pastoral care or even itineracy, following, instead, the teachings and writings of the author and publisher, August Hermann Francke, the German Americans during the colonial era found themselves lacking both leadership and or formal congregational meeting places.

As these Germans landed in Philadelphia, many thousands were greeted by fellow Germans who had migrated there previously, most were asked the single question first, *Bist du*

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<sup>321</sup> The only reference to Conrad Beissel's early life was gathered from the *Chronicon Ephratense*; a History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Penn'a. While historians assume that both Lamech and Agrippa were one individual, Peter Miller, they are not in agreement entirely. However, many of the stories that were told of Beissel's early life would not have been told to anyone, and only one individual had close contact with Beissel throughout his later life at the cloister. A translated version is available see, J. Max Hark, *Chronicon Ephrantense*, (Lancaster, 1889).

<sup>322</sup> See Appendix C for a list of members of the Ephrata Cloister

*frei*, are you free? This question was asked of thousands of Germans who struggled to pay for their passage to the new world. This indenture caused many Germans to be shipped off to their masters who paid their debt. This Indenture, sometimes willing and other times unwilling, scattered thousands of Germans throughout Pennsylvania, allowing many to eventually create their own form of Pietistic Anabaptism that fell into the Dunker sphere of influence later in the eighteenth century.

### Controversy in Ephrata

Between Mack and Beissel, the community of the German Dunkers were splitting at the seams. The loose knit group of German Baptists were separated by the two very similar, yet completely different charismatic individuals, who argued on the intricacies of two issues. These two issues were which should take precedence, full immersion baptism or keeping the sabbath holy. While historians such as Walter C. Klein and Julius Friedrich Sachse refuse to acknowledge the controversy between Alexander Mack and Conrad Beissel, there is clear evidence that both Mack and Beissel refused to come to the table and negotiate to bring the confederated congregations back into a single fold. What was left was two distinct, yet theologically similar sects, the German New Baptists (Mack), and the Seventh Day Baptists (Beissel). Beissel struggled with his identity before arriving in both Schwenau and the new world, but once in the new world he found that the freedom to practice one's religion was more important as a personal relationship with God rather than the outward or physical practice of one's religion. Beissel was free to be what he wanted to be, and as the senior Dunker in America at the time, his personality allowed him to attract individuals who needed guidance and he was all too willing to accept the roll as the spiritual leader.

While he honed his ideas on celibacy and the Sabbath, he caused himself to be split from the small Dunker Congregation in Conestoga and moved to the Cocalico Creek in northern Lancaster County. He and his followers attracted those who required spiritual guidance like those who seek out to be monks and nuns. The Ephrata Community continued to grow, and when Mack and his ship landed in Philadelphia many moved to Ephrata including the Eckerlin brothers. However, it was another individual, Peter Becker, who filled the ears of Mack on the wrongs that Beissel and the Conestogans were perpetrating. The ageing Mack traveled to Conestoga in an attempt at reunion, but Beissel was not there, most likely aware that Mack had already been warned of Beissel's controversy. The next year, Mack and his associates visited Falkner Swamp and received a cold reception from Beissel and his parishioners. After a few years of cool tension between Beissel and Mack, more were attracted to the life that Beissel offered.<sup>323</sup>

In 1730, something new began to happen. Wives were leaving their husbands to be rebaptized as virgins and lived solitary lives until the commune was built for the women. Christopher Saur's wife left him for years, Philip Hanselmann's wife also left, and Beissel met this "problem" with creating three houses for the members, married Householders, Brotherhood of the Angels, and the Spiritual Virgins.<sup>324</sup> Neither Beissel nor Mack ever reconciled their problems, however, eventually all of Mack's children who survived spent some time in the commune, but Sander Mack eventually left for the west to seek a more solitary life. The largest controversy was that of Israel Eckerlin and the Order of Melchizedek. There became some

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<sup>323</sup> With Mack and Beissel at odds, Beissel was free to move to the fringe of both society and his religion. He created a world in which individuals were able to freely leave their marriage vows and live solitary lives as celibate individuals, created much pain in various families, eventually this, even was too much to survive beyond the French and Indian War. See, E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune*, (Pittsburgh, 1985), 44.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

discontentedness in the Brotherhood and Israel was also the Prior Onesimus over the Brotherhood, and he welded a heavy hand and demanded obedience from the Brotherhood. This caused at least two, Sander Mack and Johann Conrad Riesmann to leave the commune. In January of 1744 Prior Onesimus (Israel Eckerlin) usurped the leadership of Beissel, while he was ill, and attempted to become the new spiritual leader of Ephrata.

For the remainder of this paper, both the Ephratarians and the Dunkers will be considered Dunker leaning or full-fledged Dunkers. Unfortunately for the historian, the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunker community shared in ministry and after both Beissel and Mack Senior died, the two groups were at times indistinguishable especially on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia.

#### The First Attempt to Create a Single German Pietist Church in America

Another interesting chapter in Dunker history was the attempt to unite the various German Pietist sects within Pennsylvania under the banner of Moravianism. Why unite the German sects to begin with? Douglas H. Shantz suggests that nearly one hundred thousand German speaking individuals immigrated to North America in the eighteenth century, and only about a tenth of those, or ten thousand, were born again Pietists, however, he suggests that by 1776, nearly a quarter of those who still spoke German were now Pietists, due to proselytizing. The Pietist movement, although largely forgotten today, was a conglomeration of Radical Pietism, Mysticism, Anabaptism, and their ambivalent relationship with the outside world. Strong in the belief that all life was sacred and warfare an abomination, the various sects in Pennsylvania and Germany did differ in their other beliefs. Most took the stand that adult, conscientious baptism was the only baptism, Alexander Mack called it the believers' baptism,

other sects felt more strongly on keeping the sabbath, or missionary work, or devoting oneself to a life of solitude, but most sects did co-mingle, work together to certain ends, and performed various sacraments together at times. Many Pietists never left the two established churches of the Lutheran and German or Swiss Reformed Churches.<sup>325</sup>

Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf felt that the sectarian churches of the German language people in Pennsylvania and elsewhere needed guidance and stabilization in terms of the ministry and in missionary work. Zinzendorf saw a flood of recognizable groups now worshiping in various ways in Pennsylvania and the rest of the New World. English, Swedish, and German Lutherans; Reformed Church worshipers from the Scottish plains and Dutch and Palatinites from the Rhine Valley; English and German Baptists (not to be confused with the later Baptist movement), Mennonites, Arians, Quakers, New and Old German Baptists, Socinians, New Lights, Sabbatarians, Independents, Freethinkers, Boehmists, Schwenkfelders, Labadists, Amish, and Inspired and Newborns, all professing similar theology but lacking a structured foundation of a united Protestantism.<sup>326</sup> Zinzendorf landed in New York in 1741 then traveled to Philadelphia and Germantown. He had attempted to unify these various sects under one Moravian rule, however his *Unitas Fratrum* failed to unify the various sects, partly because

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<sup>325</sup> Few native English works on Pietism have been produced, much more in the twenty-first century than the entirety of the previous century, however, this does not mean to say there is not a great deal of data provided by these authors. The German Pietist movement in both Germany and America has been well documented but lacks a sense of cohesiveness. For example, *Brethren*, a term used to denote the German Pietist movement in both the eighteenth and nineteenth century does not lend the reader the history of which *Brethren* one is reading about. The technical terms of German Baptist, Seventh Day Germans, Mennonites, German Quakers, as an example, helps the reader understand more closely which Pietist movement one is researching. See, Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*, (Baltimore, 2013).

<sup>326</sup> While Zinzendorf mentions some of the names of groups in Pennsylvania, he does omit even his own Moravian's from the list of Protestant sects. In his work, *Naturelle Reflexiones*, he talks about the need for a unified or Protestant Union of Pennsylvania and indeed the New World. John Joseph Stoudt in his work, *Count Zinzendorf and the Pennsylvania Congregation of God in the Spirit*, discusses the roll in which Zinzendorf and others played in an attempt to unify the American Protestant sects into one congregation, and failed. See, John Joseph Stoudt, "Count Zinzendorf and the Pennsylvania Congregation of God in the Spirit", *Church History*, 9, no 4 (Dec, 1940), 366 – 380. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3160914>.

of the attacks on the Virgin Sophia and the learned men of Ephrata, Peter Miller had a doctorate from Heidelberg and an Eckerlin a doctorate from Strassburg both, according to Peter Miller, outwitted Zinzendorf and his fellow Synod members and left the third Synod in shambles after they defeated the angry Zinzendorf and the meeting was ended in an angry spirit.<sup>327</sup> Zinzendorf went on to conduct a total of seven Synod's but after the printing of the various tracts, the Synod's had the opposite effect to Zinzendorf's plans. It caused the crystallization of denominational splintering in Pennsylvania and the south. Before the 1742 Synod's various sects worked together, lived together and at times even worshipped together, however after the Synod's all sects became stronger on their own accord and each unified under a specific leader. The Dunkers, Mack Jr., the Ephrata Sabbatarians, Beissel and Miller, but even the Moravians lost their leader, as Zinzendorf was replaced by Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg. Christopher Saur found his press working overtime as various sects began requesting printings of various religious tracts for their congregants. The Mennonites published a hymnal and works by Menno Simons and Phillip Schababalie. The Dunkers also published the book *Glaubens-Bekennniss* (Confession Creed) from Hockmann and solidified their place as a denomination (something Hockmann did not want to happen). Various tracts were written about the Synod's and their lack of theological standing. Many of the smaller sects would eventually get absorbed by the turmoil that Zinzendorf had caused in his wake of Synod failures. What he attempted was out of Spener's *Diaspora*, small churches within the church.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Stoudt, 275.

<sup>328</sup> In Jakob Speners, *Pia Desideria*, he suggests that "if any prospect of a union of most of the confessions among Christians [were to occur], the primary way of achieving it...that we do not stake everything on argumentation." Of course, this is exactly what occurred when Count Zinzendorf attempted to unite the Pennsylvania confessions under a single order. More than likely, it had to do more with Zinzendorf's attempt to pronounce Moravianism as the primary unifier, which caused the greatest argument against unification. See, Jakob Spener, *Pia Desideria*, (Minneapolis, 1967), 99.



### Chasing the Frontier

Alexander Mack Junior initially took over the German Baptists congregation after his father Mack Senior passed. However, he was still one of two strong leaders of the still fractured German Baptist Sect, the other one being Conrad Beissel. Mack Junior later left Germantown and traveled west, presumably on the Great Wagon Road, eventually settling at the Dunker settlement of Antietam where he served as leader, then living in Waynesboro, Pennsylvania until his death in 1803. Sander, as Mack Jr requested to be called, was one of the most outspoken of his contemporaries, writing several books, poetry, and history of the Dunkers. His migration to the frontier along with the Eckerlin brothers was triggered by the bitterness they found at the Ephrata Cloister after the death of Alexander Mack Sr. While Sander Mack remained in Waynesboro, his descendants would move further west to Morrison's Cover, in the New River Valley in what is now West Virginia.

In the wake of the death of Alexander Mack Sr, the frontier remained to the east of the Blue Ridge Mountain range which runs southwest from just east of the Susquehanna River, it slowly curved south to the Potomac, creating the Cumberland Valley to its west. The land between the Blue Ridge and the Appalachian Plateau creates both the Cumberland Valley and the Shenandoah Valley. Before the 1741 treaty at Lancaster, the Cumberland and Shenandoah Valleys were off limits to settlement, however this did not stop Europeans from squatting on Native American lands, however very little evidence proves that the Dunkers violated the treaties and squatted on Native land. It was only after the Eckerlin brothers moved to the New River valley positioned below Pittsburgh that any Dunker family or individual moved beyond that

Appalachian eastern ridge to push west beyond that point. As Appendix A shows, the Eckerlin brothers immigrated into Philadelphia and then Germantown with the Mack's. They are the most well-known of the Dunker settlers to first go beyond this ridge.

### The Frontier in Modern Memory

The word frontier, in American lexicon, brings images and characters as found in many wild west tales and folklores spanning centuries. From Pecos Bill and Zorro to Wild Bill Hickock and Jesse James, the frontier reminds most of the Wild West of the Nineteenth Century rather than the Alleghany Mountains and the overall Appalachian Mountain range in the east. The frontier settlement of the mid-eighteenth century was slow and fluid, as were the people who tamed the wilderness. While little is known of most of the individuals who migrated into and through the frontier in Pennsylvania, Virginia, North and South Carolina and into Georgia and Kentucky, their impact and contributions remain today. The Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, the Yadkin River Valley in North Carolina and the Wateree and Santee River Valleys in South Carolina all were initially settled by those immigrants' fleeing persecution in Europe and in Great Britain. Religious persecution against religious minorities in Europe continued through the eighteenth century, however, much of the persecution ended in Great Britain, apart from Catholics, however, the continued poverty in both Scotland and Ireland drove many to seek better lives in America. These groups immigrated through the English ports in America but quickly found that the eastern lands were overpopulated and land expensive and overused. The way west had no roads, no mass transportation centers, but it did have paths. These paths had been traversed for centuries by the Native populations of North America.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> The various Native American tribes that scattered across North America created paths, which traversed great distances but with little evidence today of their existence. The Lenni Lenape, as an example, were fiercely

The frontier afforded the hardy migrant abundant land, fertile and well drained, to plow, plant, and harvest a substantial crop. However, the seasons were hard, harsh, and unpredictable, the continent and indeed the world, was still struggling to remove itself from the Little Ice Age and remained firmly in its grip. Land had been bought by the Treaty of Lancaster 1743, granting settlement into the Shenandoah Valley and the second Treaty of Lancaster 1748 granted the lands west of the Blue Ridge in Pennsylvania to settlement. These treaties both granted free passage of both European and Natives on the lands and paths that remained continued to be traveled and grew because of the Native Americans' tendency to traverse gently elevated lands away from flood plains and climb hills and mountains at an angle to lessen the incline, then travel along the ridges until necessary to descend. While the early immigration of Europeans to the area west of the Blue Ridge Mountains remained steady few villages and towns sprang up, with few notable exceptions such as Winchester and Funkstown (Strasburg) Virginia. While the frontier gave the pioneer many fruits and blessings before the French and Indian War, it was still a difficult and toilsome land, full of hazards, disease, short on supplies, goods and services, and a fair distance from the larger metropolitan areas of the east. The land was untamed and required a massive amount of manpower to transform it for agricultural use.

#### How the Frontier Impacted the Dunkers

Few historians look to the elements as not only witnesses to the human struggle for existence, but also its impact on the occupier. The frontier as a hazard in and of itself was one of

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independent, and lacked any "public works" construction or financial spending, however, this did not mean that the Native population of Pennsylvania and its neighbors did not create mass transit lines. Their highways were built for foot traffic, smooth, easily traveled, and over time, and as the Native populations gave way to European populations, those footpaths grew into a bridle path, then a wagon road, then rail and motor highways. The Native Americans made these paths dry, level, and direct, which took advantage of the Appalachian rolling hills, valleys and mountains. The immigrants who migrated west and south took full advantage of these footpaths and made them into many wagon roads, including the Great Wagon Road. See, Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*, (Harrisburg, 1965).

the main protagonists within the Dunker experiment in North America. While the Dunkers succeeded in their migration from Europe, some 1,700 of them landing in Philadelphia between 1712 and 1745, the Atlantic Ocean was not their main nemesis. The victory over the ocean was a large one, especially in the Eighteenth Century, however it was the frontier that molded, transformed, and impacted the Dunker community from the beginning. Beginning with Johann Conrad Beissel and his experiment into the frontier of Pennsylvania creating a solitary community, he experimented with Hermitism, chastity, plain living, and even vegetarianism. Ephrata, Beissel's greatest achievement, survived the frontier, but changed his fundamental ideals. His cloister changed after his passing, into a haven for Dunkers and Pietists alike, who sought a refuge to recover their spiritual strength rather than experimenting with new facets of mystical Christianity. The very idea of Dunkerism commanded its followers to seek out a lifestyle of inward spirituality and outward plainness that mimicked their "plain" friends the Mennonite, Quaker, and Moravian Christians. However, the weak leadership standards the Dunker community purposely created allowed the frontier wilderness to impact them in ways its founder could not have imagined.

The frontier separated communities of believers into small pockets of fellow Dunkers, German and English Quakers, Mennonite, and Moravian followers scattered along rivers, valleys, streams, and fertile land that offered them hardship, labor, and little else for decades. This separation from the east also allowed the Dunker communities to experiment with ideas both internal and external to their leaders. Many adopted their neighbors' religious practices, but they also lent their practices to their neighbors as well. The Dunker's began ordaining Monthly, Quarterly, and held Annual Meetings to discuss community as well as denominational theology, dogma, and doctrine. They set up rules on absolutes which they deemed fundamental to Dunker

Spiritual life. This did not occur in a vacuum, rather it was because of the distance they had traveled to settle the frontier, their isolationist methodology, and their fundamentally plain manners, that drove them to seek out a way to set standards for living and believing. The model they created for themselves was wrought from the frontier conditions. Although the colonies who administered the frontier demanded cities be built on the interior, very few were settled, rather all frontier folk sought their fortunes in a singular way, choosing to settle with kin and close friends and other family in small communities that permitted each to worship communally but as a family. Few Dunkers, and indeed few Quakers, Mennonites, and Moravians, established a community-based church building, and alternatively chose to remain at worship in members' homes.

The theology and doctrine of the Dunker changed in various ways in the Eighteenth Century but were "codified" in the Nineteenth due to the controversies between the Dunkers and their friends, however, it was the frontier which initially led them together in the first place. The rugged country of the frontier forced similar minded individuals to settle close enough to each other that they could rely on one another for assistance in harvesting, felling trees, building homes, etc. The near forced comingling of likeminded and ethnically similar individuals such as the German speaking peoples who settled the Shenandoah Valley in the Eighteenth Century, who were Lutheran, Reformed, Dunker, or Mennonite all shared a single common bond, their language. Pockets of German frontiersman and women created that all too familiar term, hardy Germans, who pressed into the frontier further and deeper than others who remained along the main concourses of travel. The frontier molded these individuals, creating a unique culture, which remains, albeit diminished, today called Appalachia. The unique blend of German, Irish, Scots, and English pioneers who transformed and were transformed by the frontier scrape out a

living much like their ancestors did generations ago. The frontier, which stretched from Reading, Pennsylvania to Columbia, South Carolina offered little in terms of real financial freedom, an escape from poverty, and a life of leisure. What the frontier did give them was subsistence living, wild foraging, and a reliance on folkways, folk healing, and folk life that created a strong and fiercely independent group of frontier or now Appalachian folk. The Dunkers may have moved on to seek further isolation, but those who remained, created a culturally vibrant and through history, a people who were looked down on for their classic, folkways.

### Dunkers Who Impacted the Frontier

#### Conrad Weiser, Dunker, Indian Agent, and Friend

Pennsylvania had a very interesting colonial period, with open arms, Pennsylvania's founder, William Penn, accepted all manner of religious sects into its borders. While Pennsylvania became the hub for English Quakers, the German, Swiss, Dutch, and other religious dissenters also migrated into the port of Philadelphia seeking a place where they could freely worship the way they felt or believed was correct. While Pennsylvania became the hub for religious heterodoxy, they were also the land of from pre-history of the Native American and continued to be so well into the eighteenth century. The Pennsylvania government employed individuals which they called Indian agents who led negotiations with the American Indians. These individuals were present at all major treaty negotiations, acting as translators and represented not only the interests of the provincial government but also the interests of the Native American. These agents spent time with the Native Americans, learned their ways, spoke their language and often were witness to both the various Native American legislative process, but also the colonies. The Native Americans had to also trust these agents, they were not merely

appointed by the provincial government because they were political appointees, they were trusted Native American insiders. “In 1754, the Iroquois requested interpreters in whom they had the most confidence to be present at land transactions, in order to ensure against deliberate mistranslations.”<sup>330</sup> The Native Americans learned early on, never to trust the provincial government, and demanded agents who were apolitical, or at the least, representative of the Native Americans’ interests.

There was discontent in the Native American population, primarily surrounding such ideologies as Nativism, which Conrad Weiser, one of the most well-known, Indian Agents stated was one of a “vision from God”.<sup>331</sup> One of the greatest problems these agents faced were due to the ever-growing discontent between the Native population, the frontier woodsman and settlers who continued to encroach on lands owned by the tribesman. Pennsylvania had narrowed their focus with regards to the use of agents for negotiations. Even though the colony went from no less than ten agents in 1728 to only two by the end of the 1732, one of which was Conrad Weiser, the other, George Croghan, appointed in the 1740s, together “they possessed unmatched skill, subtlety, and power,” over the art of negotiations.<sup>332</sup> Aggressively asserting their authority and art in negotiations was key to stemming the bloodshed that many saw coming, and these agents did so to great ends. Using learned language and traditions from years of trade and living,

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<sup>330</sup> Francis Jennings, William Fenton, & Mary Druke. *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide To the Treaties of the 6 Nations and Their League (Iroquois and Their Neighbors)*. (New York, 1985): 87.

<sup>331</sup> While Weiser believed that the Native American population was of Jewish origin, this was the thought process of the day. During the colonial era, Europeans had difficulty describing paganism, and thus, most assigned a known religious practice to those Native Americans they encountered. Weiser believed that the natives he worked with provided ample proof that they were, in fact, Jewish. In his journals, he stated that “they agree by rite; they reckon by the moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar on twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women, with many other things they do not now occur.” Weiser treated them as adherents to the Jewish faith, and worked with them, in this manner. See, C. Z. Weiser, *The Life of (John) Conrad Weiser, the German Pioneer, Patriot, and Patron of Two Races*, (Reading, 1876), 131.

<sup>332</sup> James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. (New York, 1999): 158. Also, for more information on George Croghan, see, Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Western Movement 1741 – 1782*, (Cleveland, 1926).

Conrad Weiser was one of the most trusted throughout the colony of Pennsylvania as well as New York, Maryland, and Virginia.

Conrad Weiser was a very interesting man, who struggled with his theology and his manners and customs. Weiser was a sometime follower of Conrad Beissel and the Seventh Day Baptists, but at other times he was a follower of the German New Baptists and the Conestoga Congregation of Alexander Mack, eventually settling with the Moravian Congregation close to his Tulpehocken estate. However, once Alexander Mack Junior moved to the Waynesboro Area of Pennsylvania, Weiser relied primarily on the Ephrata Congregation to feed his religious hunger. Weiser discusses religion, both of his own account, and those of Native Americans often, and of the various acquaintances which he considered friends. In his journal of 1750, Weiser discusses his relationship with a settlement in Bethlehem settled by Zinzendorffians, beyond Bethlehem, where he met with Bishop Cammerhoff and supped.<sup>333</sup> Later Christian Clause stated that they moved to Nazareth, another Zinzendorf settlement, of which Weiser was acquainted with many of the inhabitants. This close relationship between Moravians and Weiser has proven invaluable to the larger relationship between Moravians, the Seventh Day Baptists and the German New Baptists throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey and eventually Maryland and Virginia. Weiser had rejected his Lutheran upbringing and tuned to the teaching of Johann Conrad Beissel of Ephrata. The religious aspect of both parties, many times at odds, helped to solidify their bonds. But it was still “hard to reconcile the journeyman mystic-proselytizing in German communities in the late 1730’s, wearing a robe belted with rope like some Old

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<sup>333</sup> While many Moravians, or what Weiser called Zinzendorffians, had a low opinion of the German New Baptists and the Seventh Day Baptists (Ephrata Germans), Weiser and John Christopher Frederic Cammerhoff had a good relationship. In both Bishop Cammerhoff’s Journal and Weiser’s Journal mention their relationship. See, John W. Jordan, *Bishop J. C. F. Cammerhoff’s Narrative of a Journey to Shamokin, Penna in the Winter of 1748*, (Philadelphia, 1905); Helga Doblin and William A. Starna, *The Journals of Christian Daniel Clause and Conrad Weiser; A Journey to Onondaga, 1750*, (Philadelphia, 1994).



Testament figure – with the pragmatic, tough-as-nails Indian interpreter.”<sup>334</sup> Weiser did move in and out of the Ephrata Cloister from time to time, but he never completely converted to the faith.

As the Europeans continued to migrate further west, as the East became more populated and difficult for new settlers to create a living and establish homesteads, the west became an ever increasingly interest to both new immigrants and older families. But it was not just the frontier folk who pressed for the ever-expanding colonial influence, it was also in religion that the Europeans pressed westward, seeking out the Native Americans, who suffered from the religious fervor of the colonists. Although many Europeans who settled in the Middle colonies held “a more polyglot colonial presence...they were more tolerant but also land hungry, and the net effect of their greater presence was to shove such Indian people into new habitats in western Pennsylvania.”<sup>335</sup> This in turn led to the growing anxiety between extra-tribal relationships. Again, much of the agents’ time was spent tending wounds brought on by the encroachment of colonial peoples. Agents also attempted to sooth the wounds of the various minor tribes within and without Pennsylvania, even between smaller nations.

The agents of Pennsylvania were not just employed as the diplomatic envoy for the colony; they were also deployed throughout the middle colonies establishing relationships with native people who, by many migration paths, travelled through Pennsylvania throughout the year. Conrad Weiser was employed by the colony to be the negotiator on behalf of Virginia and the Iroquois in New York. The agents did not negotiate with an entire tribe, but often faced terrible odds against diplomats in the Native ranks, many of whom were experts in European style negotiation, relying only on their translators to assist them in gaining as much for giving as

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<sup>334</sup> Scott Weidensaul, *The First Frontier: The Forgotten History of Struggle, Savagery, & Endurance in Early America*. (New York, 2012): 277.

<sup>335</sup> Jake Page, *In the Hands of the Great Spirit: The 20,000-year History of the American Indians*. (New York, 1999): 192.

little as they could. Canasatego, a leader in the Onondaga tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy proved to be such an adversary. Canasatego also had his own interests in mind but was keen to the outside political forces as well. “Canasatego’s take-charge stance, however, bolstered the Iroquois’ pretense of hegemony over its “tributaries” and kept the Delaware’s within the fold and away from the French.”<sup>336</sup> The Pennsylvania Agents had more at stake than just the colony; many times, the entire Empire was at stake. One such moment was the wooing of the Iroquois at Onondaga in 1752. At that point rumor circulated that Piquet had recruited nearly 400 native Iroquois to fight against the capital. Piquet had plans to drive the Virginians out of the Ohio, but his plans never came to fruition, thanks in part to the calming effect of Conrad Weiser.<sup>337</sup>

Conrad Weiser not only acted as agent for Pennsylvania and other colonies, but he was also a Colonel in the defense of the Pennsylvania frontier. In his military position he stood against the frontier squatters (colonists going against the various treaties) and forcibly removed them from the frontier if necessary. At the commencement of the invasions into Pennsylvania by the French and Indians from the west, Weiser was given direction to evacuate the frontier, remove by force if necessary and to fortify garrisons already located in the Susquehanna Valley. “For the remainder of the war, Colonel Weiser ranged between the Susquehanna and Schuylkill rivers, although the assembly failed to provide arms and funding to take war to the enemy.”<sup>338</sup> While Weiser probably went against his religious ideology of passivism, by the time of the French and Indian War, Weiser most likely was neither a Moravian nor a German Baptist, Henry

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<sup>336</sup> Willam Pencak, A and Daniel K Richter. *Friends & Enemies in Penn’s Woods: Indians Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*. (University Park, 2004): 152.

<sup>337</sup> Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, (New York, 1983).

<sup>338</sup> Seymore, Joseph. *The Pennsylvania Associators, 1747-1777*. (Yardley, 2012): 70-71.

Melchior Muhlenberg, Weise's son-in-law, did suggest that he was a backslider of the Lutheran faith, but still pining for the Moravian sect.<sup>339</sup>

Weiser met Count Zinzendorf on New Years' Day 1742 when he was a member of the delegation of Ephrata, along with Peter Miller at the house of Theobald Endt. They met with other delegates of Lutherans, Reformed, Moravians, Dunkers, Hermits, and other German Sects where Zinzendorf attempted to unite all Pennsylvania German Protestants in his Moravian religion. He believed that Zinzendorf could unite the German people under a religion that was tolerant of each other's Pietism. While Moravianism would not have been the primary religious political group, he did want to create a "Congregation of God in the Spirit."<sup>340</sup> Eventually Weiser came to hold great contempt for Beissel as did his new spiritual leader, Count Zinzendorf. Weiser, up to the point of 1745 had worn the traditional "Long Beard" which remained uncut and signified his connection to the German Sects of the Baptists and Sabbatarians, had cut his beard in half. However, Beissel lived too close to Weiser for Weiser to completely remove the past from him.

Conrad Weiser had an enormous reputation among both the Native Americans and the Germans on the frontier. As Weiser traveled from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and even made his way out to the banks of the Ohio, he was found by his contemporaries such as Sir John Sinclair, Quartermaster General, Edward Shippen, Sir William Johnson, Thomas Penn, and others all had admiration for their old friend. When Weiser passed in, 1760, Thomas Penn stated "I am much concerned to hear of Conrad Weiser's Death

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<sup>339</sup> While Weiser found his Ephrata fellowship completely in shambles, his relationship with the Dunkers and the Moravians flowed back and forth. He believed the Dunkers to be truer than the personality cult of Father Friedsam (Conrad Beissel). He also found that Conrad Beissel was looking to create a religion of his own, apart from the Dunkers who followed the teachings of Jakob Böhme, Hockmann and Mack. He wrote a condemning letter as a farewell to Beissel and the Cloister. See, Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist & Mohawk*, (Lewishburg, 1996); Paul A. W. Wallace, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1950).

<sup>340</sup> Wallace, 121.

as he was a very honest useful Man, and I think it will be long before we find another equal to him.”<sup>341</sup> Seneca George, one of Weiser’s most trusted allies and friends, stood and holding a white belt of wampum marked with four black streaks, spoke at the Treaty of Easton in August 3, 1761,

“Brother Onas: We, the seven Nations, and our Cousins are at a great loss, and sit in darkness, as well as you, by the death of Conrad Weiser, as since his Death we cannot so well understand one another; By this Belt we cover his body with Bark.”<sup>342</sup>

After his death and the opening of the 1761 Conference in Easton, Pennsylvania, Governor Thomas, and the Lieutenant Governor James Hamilton presided over a Requickening rite. “He begins by offering condolences to the Seven Nations, and to their cousins and warriors for the death among them...we mourn, with you, for his death, and heartily join in covering his body with bark.”<sup>343</sup> Although the emphasis has been around Conrad Weiser as being the only Indian Agent worth anything in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, it must be noted that there were up-wards of a dozen at one time, but most had been fired and only two remained. Conrad Weiser was a dynamic man, being religious, pious, a strong family man, an enormous friend and confidant to the Native Americans, and had made lifelong friends to many Native “Kings.”

#### Publishing Religious Documents

The colonial American print media experience began within 20 years of the first settlement of the Plymouth colony, the age of the American printing was born in New England

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<sup>341</sup> Peen Letter Books, VI, 311-4, H.S.P.

<sup>342</sup> Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist & Mohawk*, (Lewisburg, 1996), 574.

<sup>343</sup> Michael M. Pomedli, “Eighteenth-century treaties: Amended Iroquois condolence rituals” *American Indian Quarterly*. 19, no 3 (Summer 1995). 329. (Accessed 01/10/2014)  
<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy1.apus.edu/docview/216854228?accountid=8289>

when the first printing press arrived in Massachusetts in 1638. The press was installed in Cambridge for use at Harvard College. In no time it was printing out pamphlets for catechisms, sermons, schoolbooks for the college, legal documents for the colony of Massachusetts and various texts which were also translated into the Algonquian language. However, the English language Bible was not printed at the Harvard Printing Press because, according to law, publication of English-language Bibles was restricted and only one printer, Christopher Barker of London, was granted a license. In 1589, Barker's son Robert, printed the first King James version in 1611. Three other licenses were granted in the 1620's, one in Edinburgh and one in each Oxford and Cambridge. This restricted the publication of the English King James Bible to the ruling land, England, and Scotland.

One of the greatest restrictions of printing in America was not legal nor was it the lack of demand, but rather it was the cost. The cost of printing anything other than broadsides and other smaller pamphlets was astounding. Stephen Day, publisher of the Bay Psalm Book, stated that the cost, not including the paper was £33 in 1639, "a pound went a great deal farther then than it goes now, but it is not easy to believe that £33 would meet even at that time the necessary cash expenditures for a year of a family of five adults and three servants."<sup>344</sup> However, this met not only their needs, but also their cost of printing for the year. The cost of printing was enormous, and the equipment, until the late seventeenth century, was all imported, to include, the typeset, the press, the ink, as well as the paper.

William Bradford, the first printer in Pennsylvania, also set up a papermill on the banks of the Wissahickon River outside of Philadelphia, in what is now Fairmount Park, was the only papermill in the colonies for decades and continued well into the eighteenth century and

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<sup>344</sup> John Clyde Oswald, *Printing In The Americas*, (New York, 1968), 49-50.

remained a printer in both New York (1692) and Philadelphia (1685). Bradford became the official printer of New York, under the governorship of Fletcher, who at the time was both governor of New York, and Pennsylvania (to include East and West Jersey).<sup>345</sup> Although the prohibition of printing the Bible in America remained intact throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the prohibition was only on the English Bible. American printers were never granted a license to print the Bible in English but printers such as John Eliot, Thomas and Experience Mayhew, and Roger Williams were some of the first to translate various tracts for the “Christianization of the native tribesman.”<sup>346</sup> While the prohibition lasted until 1776, when America’s British colonies rebelled against the British government, this prohibition was only on the English text of the Bible, not any other languages.

The expense of producing quality prints was huge. There were only four font types allowed by English law, and they were essential for business. The English printer was unable, or even unwilling to secure new fonts of letters “and later, when the Caslon, The Wilson, the Martin, and other foundries were turning out excellent type in quantity, the cost of the fonts and of their transportation was a serious item in the calculations.”<sup>347</sup> A single bill from Caslon to

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<sup>345</sup> Bradford printed and published works specifically for Benjamin Fletcher entitled, *An account of several passages and letters between His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, captain general and governour in chief of the province of New-York, province of Pennsylvania, country of New-Castle, &c. : Commissionated by Their Majesties under the great seal of England, to be their Lieut. and commander in chief of the militia, and of all the forces by sea and land within Their Majesties collony of Connecticut, and of all the forts and places of strength within the same. And the present administrators of the laws in the collony of Connecticut, in the month of October, 1693*, however, this was not the first book published by Bradford, nor was it the first published in America. Bradford is attributed to be the publisher of the first book in America entitled, *New-England's spirit of persecution transmitted to Pennsylvania and the pretended Quaker found persecuting the true Christian-Quaker, in the tryal of Peter Boss, George Keith, Thomas Budd, and William Bradford, at the sessions held at Philadelphia the nineth, tenth and twelfth days of December, 1692. Giving an account of the most arbitrary procedure of that court.*

<sup>346</sup> By act of Parliament in 1649 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was established to advance Christianity and civilization among the Natives throughout North America, and through the financial contributions, the society was able to support those such as Eliot and Williams to print several pamphlets in Algonquian and in 1663 the first Bible was printed in the native language. They continued to print in the native language hoping to win the natives to Christ. (n.d.). Retrieved December 18, 2018, from <http://www.americanantiquarian.org/EnglishtoAlgonquian/>

<sup>347</sup> Lawrence C Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, (Charlottesville, 1964)., 90.

Benjamin Franklin was an astounding, £57 17s. 6d for a font of brevier for newspaper, which would equate to nearly \$15,800 in 2022. This was an exorbitant amount of money for the average American printer to absorb per annum just to continue printing a newspaper weekly. Most printers survived on subscriptions, rarely focusing on larger books, which was nearly always supported by commission, of which a benefactor would commission a book, with the guarantee that they would be granted a biography or at the least a dedication.

Rarely was anything more than the English alphabet used in American printers, however, at Cambridge, they owned a small amount of both Greek and Hebrew type letters, which was used for their Bay Psalm Book. In Maryland in 1764 the *Maryland Gazette* attempted to publish Jonas Green's transliterated Greek words but placed a note stating that "Greek, but we have no Greek types."<sup>348</sup> Religious pamphlets printed in colonial America were sermons, hymns, or portions of the Bible such as Psalms which provided an inexpensive selection of reading material and offered colonists both in the metropolitan areas and the rural areas opportunities for learning.<sup>349</sup> However, very few booksellers existed in colonial America, few colonials had means to have more than a few books in their possession, and the heart of the American printer was small jobs, preferably legal or advertising brochures.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Boston printers, J. Green & J. Russell, printed several stanzas in Greek type of the *Pietas et Greatulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis*. Type Founders never matured in the American colonies until after the Revolutionary War, and most printers never grew without first having the business to support it. Neither in Mexico nor in English America did the demand for print material move beyond the influence of the larger metropolitan areas. In the *Massachusetts Gazette* printed on September 7, 1769, it had announced that Abel Buell of Killingsworth had begun the operation of foundering of font, with a mastery of the type for printing. However, there were other type founders, such as David Mitchelson of Boston, Mein & Fleming of Boston, and others. *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>349</sup> These pamphlets became one of the primary ways for evangelizing to a people who rarely saw a member of clergy or other missionaries, especially on the frontiers and in Native lands. The Puritans' goal in printing religious pamphlets was to create a uniformity, or ecumenism in the colony, and attempt to spread it throughout settled America. Cotton Mather organized various religiously themed pamphlets because he saw print media to reaching a wider audience than any Church audience, however, many of his readers complained of his messages. Other tracts were merely imported from London to be distributed then sold around New England. Hugh Amory and David D Hall, *A History of the Book in America. Vol 1, The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, (Chapel Hill, 2007), 262.

<sup>350</sup> Daniel J Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience*, (New York, 1958), 325.

One of the largest books, which took fifteen men nearly three years to create, was the radical and most extraordinary books of the colonial era, *Der Blutige Schau-Platz ober Märtyrer Spiegel der Tauffs Gesinnten ober Wehrlosen-Christen* known colloquially as the Martyrs Mirror.<sup>351</sup> Previous to the Cloister's endeavor, Christopher Saur of Germantown, Pennsylvania printed the first type specimen in the new world. He had imported the Fraktur fonts which he had purchased from the Egenolff-Berner-Luthersche type foundry in Frankfurt. However, within 30 years, Germantown printers would be casting their own fonts, which created books using the German style fonts with an American made typeset. The Cloister also produced several hymnals at the print shop. The Turtle Dove, or in German the *Turtel-Taube* and probably some of the first to be produced in America. Many of the hymns were written by the founder of the cloister, Conrad Beissel. Other works included Birth Certificates, Baptismal Certificates, and other work considered masterworks for their calligraphy and pen-and-ink infill drawings. Other books from the Cloister include, but are not limited to, the *Christliches Gemuths – Gespräch* the Christian Spiritual Conversation, *Creutz-Schule* the School of the Cross and other spiritual books produced for the Mennonite congregation outside the Cloister.<sup>352</sup>

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<sup>351</sup>The Ephrata Cloister (located in present day Ephrata, Pennsylvania) manned the presses to print the Martyrs Mirror, and had four men on the press, four men setting type and six men making the paper, supervised by Johann Peter Miller, producing an unheard of 1300 copies of the book with over 1500 folio pages (a folio was a 12 inch by 19 inch page folded where there was two pages of text on each side, the reader would then have to trim or cut the pages open in order to read them). There were also men who did the bookbinding and who created the ink. Making ink by hand was much more efficient and cost effective however, you needed the equipment to do so, and required a great deal of carbon, which was scarce in the colonies. Stoltzfus, L. J. (n.d.). A History of Printing in Lancaster County PA. Retrieved December 18, 2018, from

[https://www.lancasterlyrics.com/b\\_peter\\_miller\\_the\\_ephrata\\_cloister/index.html](https://www.lancasterlyrics.com/b_peter_miller_the_ephrata_cloister/index.html)

<sup>352</sup>Print religious media was not always so kosher when it came to religious doctrine or nonresistance and passive obedience. Some, including Thomas Gordon of Scotland, and John Trenchard, a seasoned pamphleteer, began to publish pamphlets on radical polemics. The publication, under the name Independent Whig, published satirical pamphlets during the Bangorian Controversy. "The first entitled, An Apology for the Danger of the Church, proving that the Church I and ought to be always in danger, and that it would be dangerous for her to be out of danger, (1719), designed as the scourge of the high-church party." Another, subtitled, "a Denfence of Primitive Christianity, and of Our Ecclesiastical Establishment, Against the Exorbitant Claims and Encroachments of Fanatical and Disaffected Clergymen." Their fifty-three essays reeled against the extravagances of the Church and how it had made a mockery of Christianity (the Anglican Church) and how it had made themselves to be Popish, and of Popery as well as their establishment of Priestcraft. They also went on to publish other works, pointing to the



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“High-Church Jacobite Clergy of England’ as the greatest threat to liberty. Ibid. It was not until 1750 that the first print shop was set up in Virginia in Williamsburg. William Nuthead and William Parks established the first printing office in Williamsburg publishing the Virginia Gazette. A previous William Nuthead, attempted to establish a press in Jamestown in 1682 but was forced to Anne Arundel County Maryland then subsequently passed, leaving his estate and press to his wife Dinah, who became the first documented licensed female printer owner and operator in the colonies. She then moved to Annapolis and is attributed to be the first official printer for Maryland. Other printers moved in, securing titles such as *The Power of the Gospel in the Conversion of Sinner* in Annapolis, Maryland preached by George Keith, printed by Thomas Reading, and *The Necessity of an Early Religion Being a Sermon*, preached by Thomas Brat of Annapolis.

Colonists turned to many different forms of publications for their daily worship. In Virginia, where Anglicanism was practiced openly, but privately other forms were practiced, a varying degree of books were used for prayer, devotions and the like. The Bible was of course the first method of religious reading and published work, however the second was most likely the Book of Common Prayer. Other books found in colonial Virginia were; “*The Practice of Piety*, by the Puritan bishop Lewis Bayly, and *The Whole Duty of Man*, likely written by Richard Allestree a royalist minister; *A Weeks Preparation Towards a Worthy Receiving of the Lords Supper*; Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy Living and Holy Dying*; the sermons of Archbishop John Tillotson; and the Church Catechism, by the Whiggish English minister John Lewis, were all widely available in Virginia; Lewis’s volume of Church Catechism was published by the printer William Parks out of Williamsburg, who was then printing the Virginia Gazette, where he advertised the book.

Throughout Colonial Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Maryland, lay ministers would travel from settlement to settlement in the back country, serving people regardless of their proclaimed faith. Many records indicate that a few Catholic priests traveled through the Shenandoah Valley baptizing, marrying, and performing funerals for those in the back country. Many of these ministers would advertise in both London’s newspaper as well as the larger colonial news print requesting prayer books and other pamphlets for those who could not afford them or unable to purchase them. These individuals would then travel hundreds of miles distributing these papers, preaching and spreading the gospel to everyone they would meet. Reverend John Talbot, in 1703 wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, “requesting prayer books ‘new and old’, of all sorts & sizes, ‘explaining that if he received these volumes, he would ‘carry them 100 miles about and disperse them abroad to all that desired ‘em...’tis a comfort to the People in the Wilderness to see that some body takes care of them. Both the Anglican and Quaker publishers attempted to denounce the others religious beliefs by publishing tracts to convince the other of the formers misguided ideologies. The anti-Quaker tract called, *The Snake in the Grass*, was circulated in Virginia’s wilderness, and then the Quakers published their own, called *A Switch for the Snake* to combat the Anglican message. In the backcountry of Cumberland, in Lunenburg County, Virginia Reverend James Craig found that many people “which by Reason of their Distance from any place of Divine Worship, had never or seldom, been at Church, since they were baptized” and often were “ignorant of the very first Principles of Christianity.” This was not abnormal, but rather the normal course of migration. First the pioneers would establish the settlement, then trade would ensue, then the legal system was established, and lastly a Church was established, but by that time new migrants had moved further west, making it extremely difficult to establish any formal Church presence, this is where the tracts and pamphlets came into play.

However vibrant the religious institutions were in the colonies, they were never able to fully influence the populous let alone the Native population. Various means were attempted to Christianize the Native Americans, and to various degrees, however, both sides of the frontier, the Native American struggled with both Christian ideals and Native ways. “Natives on both sides of the frontier reaffirmed, re-crafted, or rejected their faiths alongside other core elements of their cultures and lifestyles to cope with the arresting changes brought by the European presence. By the mid-eighteenth century, those pressures gave rise to nothing less than an Indian Great Awakening in which religious reformers such as the Delaware Neolin typically called their people back to their ancient ways while also incorporating elements of Christian teaching The same society, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, attempted to preach and hand out pamphlets to the Blacks and Native populations found in the frontier in the mid-eighteenth century from the frontier of North Carolina to the backwoods of Pennsylvania and New York.

Colonial printers created a kaleidoscopic, ephemeral, and sometimes novel and shifting degree of printed newsprint, pamphlets, books and broadsides. Most of the printed material were both newsprint and broadsides, as the font type allowed, however, the varying degree of religious material that was pressed out of the American print media was astounding. From Boston to Williamsburg, from Philadelphia to Annapolis, print media served to evangelize, educate and even criticize religious beliefs and tolerances. Print media had become, as one contemporary printer observed, “the means of conveying, to every class in society, innumerable scraps of

## Christopher Sauer Printing, a Dunker Printer

Christopher Sauer, a native of modern-day Germany, arrived in Pennsylvania when he was about 31 years of age. He was from the area called Ladenburg in the Palatinate. While this is not far from the area of Schwarzenau, there is little evidence that Christopher Sauer Senior became a Dunker, however, he did work closely with the Dunkers and then the Ephrata Cloister Dunkers to print many religious tracts for and in German. When Sauer's family arrived in Pennsylvania, he was preceded by his friends Peter Becker and Conrad Beissel. Beissel, who surrounded himself with many knowledgeable individuals in both skill and intellect, had in his cloister, Jacob Gass and Johannes Hildebrand who were both printers and assisted in the printing of the *Turtle-Dove*. Sauer was not a printer by trade and used these individuals in Germantown to assist him in building a business. In 1738 Sauer acquired the type-set from the typefoundry from D. Stemple Type Foundry in Frankfort-on-the-Main, through a friend, Christian Schütz of Homburg von der Höhe. Sauer first reached out to an individual, Gottlieb August Francke, son of August Hermann Francke, wrote to Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen;

G. A. Francke to Ziegenhagen...I recently received a letter from Germantown in Pennsylvania dated June 15 (1735) from Johan Christian Sauer, who is probably no need to be rementioned to your Reverence...Who requested that type for printing be purchased here and sent to him. He would repay your Reverence for the expense.<sup>353</sup>

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knowledge, which have at once increased the public intelligence, and extended the taste for perusing periodical publications. Edward L Bond, *Spreading the Gospel in Colonial Virginia*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005., 43-44.; Chris Beneke and Christopher S Grenda, *The First Prejudice; Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America*, (Philadelphia, 2011)., 183.; Boorstin., 327.; & Daniel J Geyer,

<sup>353</sup> W. J. Mann et al, *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien*, (Hallke, 1744), I, 58-9.

Sauer evidently did not excite those who financed his original purchase of the type set, as Francke was worried that the mystical nature of the Ephrata members and leadership was worrisome to him. While Sauer never professed a religious following, he aligned himself with the Dunkers and other sectarians who closely aligned to Alexander Mack and his followers. While he did struggle to establish a press, and in 1739 it appears he has not only established a press but six other businesses according to Christian Schütz.<sup>354</sup> However, it is also known that Sauer also was the printer of the first German language almanac in Pennsylvania entitled, *Der Hoch-Deutsche Americanische Calender*, The High German American Almanac which had twenty-four pages, phases of the moon, sun rise and set, and road distances as well as an announcement of books for sale. In a letter written as a report from Germantown to a “secure friend” from Christopher Sauer in 1738, he states he has finally received his printing press and all materials required to print documents.

I have also wanted to establish a German printing press here in this country, which N bought and sent here.<sup>355</sup>

Sauer’s first printed book, a Hymnal for the Cloister at Ephrata, and their Seventh Day Brotherhood however, he did one thing that showed his leaning towards the Dunkers rather than Beissel’s Mystical brotherhood, he censored the hymn that he felt was unsatisfactory. Afterward, others took over the work of printing for Ephrata, for a time at least, printed by Samuel Eckerlin and Peter Miller.

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<sup>354</sup> According to Schütz Sauer had to following businesses, 1. A small apothecary shop, 2 Clockmaking shop, 3. Spinning Shop, 4. A Glazier Shop, 5. A Lampblack Factory, and 6. A Printing shop, which he has earned 1000 florin beyond his employee expenses. See, Edward W. Hocker, *The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times*, (Norristown, 1948), 17.

<sup>355</sup> (No. III) “J.C.S. Schreiben aus Germantown in Pensylvanien de data den 17. Novembr. 1738,” *Abdruck einiger wahrhafften Berichte und Briefe eines sichern Freundes zu Germantown in einiger Berichte und Briefe*, (Berleburg, 1739), 9.

Sauer endeavored, in 1740, to offer for sale, through subscription, a German Bible, which was never contested in a court to its legality, but was the largest book published to date in any colony in America. While he did not expect to receive any support by Count Zinzendorf, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, George Michael Weiss, or John Philip Boehm, he expected to receive support and subscription from the Mennonites and the Dunkers. He did not copy the Berleburg Bible, but rather the thirty-fourth edition of Luther's translation at Halle. He also included the Third and Fourth Books of Ezra, the Third Book of Maccabees, and the Apocrypha appendix which the Berleburg Bible contained. In 1742 he began publication, which cost 18 shillings which he stated that 7 shillings, 6 pence were his cost. He had agents who would sell his Bible throughout the Province, such individuals as Benjamin Franklin and Conrad Weiser. His Bible was completed in August of 1743 and consisted of 1267 pages. It took nearly twenty years for the original printed Bible to sell out.

While Christopher Sauer Senior remained a pacifist and against a public school system in Pennsylvania (intent on teaching only English), he also was strongly against the Ephrata Cloister, of which his wife, estranged from him for nearly 18 years, who became sub-prioress of the Sister House at the Cloister, he remained closely connected to the Quakers, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, and Dunkers, he remained his own man, and never settled into a specific Sect, although he always wore a long flowing beard, representative of the Longbeards (Dunkers). Sauer Senior died September 15, 1758, aged 65 years. His only son, Christopher Sauer Junior, took over the press before 1754, not long after his mother passed, December 14, 1752, and the first printed document that bore his name, Christopher Sower Jr. was in 1755. Sauer Junior married within the Dunker Church, to Catherine Sharpnack, and chose to marry later, because he leaned first towards the Wissahickon hermits in his youth, and had agreed never to marry, and

was baptized, February 24, 1737.<sup>356</sup> Christopher Sauer Junior was ordained as a Dunker minister and first married Alexander Mack Junior and Elizabeth Neiss, in turn, Mack married Sauer and Sharpnack. Both were ordained into the eldership on June 13, 1753. Christopher Sauer remained in Germantown until he was stripped of his entire enterprise for being a conscientious objector during the American Revolution. Despite his arrest, his property confiscated and his entire livelihood, he requested assistance both from George Washington and Peter Muhlenberg to no avail. He believed that he was going to be carried away to Virginia, along with Quakers from Germantown, but remained in Valley Forge. On May 29, he was allowed to leave camp but not travel to Philadelphia or Germantown, even though three of his children lived in Philadelphia at the time of the occupation of the town and Germantown. While arrested as a spy of the British by the military, his problems did not end there. In June of 1777 also, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed all white male inhabitants of the state to subscribe to the oath of allegiance to the United States, of which Sauer as with his Dunker Brethren and fellow Quakers, Mennonites and others disagreed with. He refused to comply with the proclamation and thus he suffered forfeiture of all property to the state.

#### Known Settlements of the Dunker Faithful

##### Pennsylvania:

- Germantown
- Coventry
- Conestoga
- Oley
- Great Swamp
- White Oak
- Conewago
- Little Swatara
- Great Swatara

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<sup>356</sup> Hocker, 68.

Codorus  
Bermudian  
Stony Creek  
Ten Mile  
Georges Creek

New Jersey  
Amwell

Maryland  
Pipe Creek  
Middletown Valley  
Marsh Creek  
Antietam  
Conococheague

Virginia (to include West Virginia)  
Cacapon  
Shenandoah  
Dunkard Bottom  
Holman's Creek  
Madison County  
Beaver Run  
South Branch  
Monongahela (Dunkard Creek)

In the early years of the Dunker's history many Mennonites and Amish clung to the leaders of the Dunkers and settled close to them and all shared in the use of meeting houses. Once the Dunkers came to America, they also found their allegiance to the Quakers amicable as well and shared in the use of meeting houses of the Quakers as well. This Mennonite / Amish / Dunker connection occurred in the 1715 escape of the Dunkers from Marienborn and Epstien to the Creyfeld Mennonite settlements in the county of Cleves, Pressue. They were called "Dompellaers" by those in the city which meant Baptizers. Peter Becker led the first forty families from Creyfeld to Germantown in 1719, where many moved to the backcountry seeking both solitude and land. When Count Henry of Wittgenstein passed in 1720 religious freedom

was restrained leaving the Dunkers in Schwarzenau susceptible to persecution and triggered the mass migration of the Dunkers to Ssurhuisterween in West Friesland, the Netherlands. This was also the same year the Conrad Beissel migrated to Germantown. In 1722 the Unitas Fratrum also was established under Nicolaus Ludwig Count Zinzendorf, now named the Moravians, who pledged to be the Missionaries of the World.

The earliest settlements of the Dunkers prior to 1724 were the following, Indian Creek, Falckner's Swamp, and Oley as well as Coventry Church where Martin Urner was minister and Conestoga Church where Conrad Beissel was minister. By 1728 the Dunkers alongside of the Quakers ventured west of the Susquehanna River and settled along the Monocacy Trail at Marsh Creek, in Maryland. While York County Pennsylvania also saw an increased presence of the Dunker's, most did not migrate beyond the Conewago Mountain range which separates the south-eastern Pennsylvania from the Cumberland Valley and the Blue Ridge Mountains beyond. The Conewago Mountain Range merges with the Blue Ridge Range just west of Harrisburg on the west shore of the Susquehanna River, which was still Native American territory by treaty. In September of 1729 Alexander Mack and some 55 families migrated from Friesland to Germantown on the Ship Allen, he settled in Germantown, while again, many of his followers migrated westward.<sup>357</sup>

#### Childrearing the Sectarian Dunker Way

Understandably, very little primary source material on the colonial Dunker childrearing is available, however, various diaries, memoirs, and oral histories of Dunkers in the nineteenth century have given a bit of insight on the eighteenth-century life of the child in the American

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<sup>357</sup> According to the ships log 62 men, 5 children under the age of fifteen and 65 women all arrived with Alexander Mack, including his son Alexander Mack Jr. Many of the names can be combined between men and women, however, without proof that these individuals were married, there is no further documentation. See, Appendix A for full list of passengers.

frontier in terms of the Dunker sect. One of the most important aspects of a sectarian is to promote the sect and encourage its growth. Therefore, aside from external recruitment, the best way to grow the sect is to bring forth children into the religion. The Dunker dogma of adult baptism also inferred that the child was not born with the understanding of an adult and therefore was not required to make a statement of faith by getting baptized. Individually, each young adult was responsible for making the decision of making their statement of faith at the appropriate time, which typically was sometime between 14 and 16 depending on the responsibility that the young adult had, which also included integrity. Adult integrity came from the youthful obedience, taught by the mother and father to the similar sex depending on the occupation of the father. Dunkers believed in integrity, paying off debts, a Dunker's word is his bond.

Dunker children lived a relatively easy life, along with most other American children, compared to the rest of the worlds' children (not to include enslaved children). There were many factors that contributed to the status of Dunker children. The first is that men esteemed their wives, a second is that the church was interested in growth, a third is that the theology of the church contained the idea of religious individualism, a fourth is that the New Worlds' frontier was fertile and had an abundance of game, and lastly the colonies required a growing population for stability and protection.<sup>358</sup> The early frontier in colonial America and the later frontier in America through the mid-twentieth century, required a rugged individualism of men, women, and children. The Children were mostly happy and willing to work with their parents to support the farm or the industry that the family owned or operated. "The Dunker family lived in close

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<sup>358</sup> According to the historian Alvin Conner, a Brethren doctor of divinity, the children suffered little in terms of want and had both time to work and time to play. The world in which the Dunkers lived on the frontier offered plenty of opportunity to support the endeavors of the child but also allowed them to be what they wanted to be in terms of vocation and education. While the Amish and Mennonites did not believe in a higher education beyond the eighth grade, in modern terms, the Dunkers argued that a higher education was worth the price if it opened up the vocation of the adult to bear more children and support the church. See, Alvin E. Conner, *Sectarian Childrearing The Dunkers 1708 – 1900*, (Gettysburg, 1987).



interaction in their rural environment. The child was with the parents in work, in worship, in social affairs, and in whatever recreational functions there were. He saw his father deal with the banker and with the other farmers as they bargained for livestock, land, or grain. He was exposed to ethical decisions that these transactions occasionally caused his father to make and to the aggravations that they posed.”<sup>359</sup> While the Dunkers were both pacifists and conscientious objectors, the Dunker individual still worked together with their neighbors and close associates through their connections in the community and in connection with the larger world via trade routes. However, children were made to participate in the family economic forum at an early age. Working on the farm in every capacity, in the marketplace, the child supported and learned from their parents while doing business, and at the worship services, the children participated with their parents as well.

While the Dunker parents at times did revert to spanking and other corporal punishments, not all children were the apple of their fathers’ eyes. Shirking chores, skipping school, skipping church, and even leaving the family for days was not outside of the social norm. However, most children were not disobedient, and most parents were not disgruntled with the relationship with their children. The American child was spoiled rather than spanked, but the Dunker family unit seemed less inclined to punish their young children, instead, they were more inclined to spoil the child and allow the children some sort of freedom of choice in terms of vocation and in terms of supporting their family. The American child was given the opportunity that very few other children around the world were offered, however, the American child was as varied in

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid., 159.

temperament and in obedience. Moreover, the Dunker child excelled at obedience and learning a vocation in terms of a college education.<sup>360</sup>

### Worship and Ritual

Many Anabaptists began, by the middle of the eighteenth century, to set up meeting houses where the faithful could gather and worship on Sunday morning. The Quaker Sect, which grew into a larger organization by the eighteenth century, became more organized, and enjoyed advantages over other Christian groups of the era. In the seventeenth century, Quakerism grew tremendously, partly because of its ease of access to religious services in the community. They required no large buildings; their meeting houses were much more affordable than elaborate churches of the era. Dunkers found themselves on a similar footing when they reached the new world. Their worship was simple, plain, and they met in members' houses, rather than even building a permanent structure to worship in. It was not until the 1830's that the Dunker Sect even began to build any structure that was used primarily for worship. The Dunkers found themselves, in the nineteenth century, much like the Quakers had found themselves in the eighteenth, reformed but turning inward.<sup>361</sup>

Worship began with a hymn, calling the faithful to come inside, the singing was congregational, rather than choirs or soloists. Preaching was a lay ministry only, no ordained

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<sup>360</sup> The German Baptist Brethren lived in difficult times: persecution in Europe, ocean crossings, frontier hazards, shifting political and religious doctrines, wars, and the development of industrial America with its concurrent assimilation of diverse groups of immigrants. They survived and prospered despite these obstacles, due no doubt to their work ethic and religious convictions. To these should be added their approach to childbearing. The world of religious diversity in terms of the Dunker Brethren allowed for a varied and complex idea of the family unit and the role of the child in the family, workplace, and worship. *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>361</sup> The Reforms of the Quakers, such as the prohibition of inter-denominational marriage, slowly lost potential converts to the denomination. We know also that the Quakers had also lost the political strength they enjoyed in Pennsylvania on the eve of the French and Indian War. Quakers began to turn inward rather than remain in the public eye. The early Quakers worshiped together with other similar faithful, such as the Mennonite and the Dunkers, as they have proven to do on the frontier in the eighteenth century, however by the turn of the eighteenth century, Quakerism began its popular accent, which led to reform, and decline. See, Geoffrey Plank, "Quaker Reform and Evangelization in the Eighteenth Century." *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 59, no. 2 (2014): 177–91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43486806>.

preacher remained solely a preacher, rather the ministry was a secondary occupation. The preaching centered on the New Testament, where many congregations followed chapter by chapter each Sunday and progressed through the books which also made it easier to preach, and many preachers “allowed” God to determine the preaching, rather than selecting sermons for themselves.<sup>362</sup> Prayer was done kneeling on the floor, silently then followed by the Lord’s Prayer. “There were no ushers, no acolytes, no offerings, no formal litanies, no worship aids, no special music, no worship themes, no altar calls, and no Holy Communion during the service,” and once they were done with the congregational singing, the reading of the text, the preaching, and the prayer, they were dismissed to sup together in the afternoon.<sup>363</sup>

Baptism is one of the hallmarks of the Dunker tradition, it is in their name. The Dunker baptism began with a body of water, preferably deep enough so that when the individual being baptized could kneel in the water without going under. The Baptizer would ask three questions of the individual being baptized,

1. Do you believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and came from Heaven to earth with the soul-saving Word?
2. Do you willingly renounce sin and Satan and all his pernicious ways?
3. Do you promise to be faithful unto death?

After answering “I do” the baptizer would place his left hand over the face of the individual and his right on the back, and stated, “Then, with this confession of faith, in the presence of God and these witnesses, I baptize you for the remission of sins, in the name of the Father (plunging the

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<sup>362</sup> In his work, *Brethren Society*, Carl Bowman states that the early and even mid-eighteenth-century worship left little to the imagination. It was repeated each Sunday, befitting the “Plain” people that they suggested they were. The brothers, as they called each other, socialized with each other but very rarely worshiped with outside Sects. See, Carl F. Bowman, *Brethren Society*, (Baltimore, 1995), 65 – 67.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

individual into the water) and of the Son (plunging the individual into the water again), and of the Holy Ghost (plunging the individual for a third and final time).”<sup>364</sup> While this was one of the elaborate examples of the baptism of membership, Alexander Mack believed that this outward act, was a sacred ordinance and remained a central difference between the Dunkers and their cousins the Mennonite and the Quakers. The codification of this mode of baptism, while a standard practice since Mack’s inception, did not occur until 1848, however, it had not changed since its founders first baptism. This codification, upheld the “count the cost” that Mack saw as the admonition of church membership.<sup>365</sup>

The Love Feast was another of Alexander Mack’s examples of brotherly love towards fellow Dunkers, and was a celebration of purity, unity, and regeneration. This was their sacred and solemn commitment to their faith and the Dunkers’ worship and devotion to God. This was no ordinary ceremony. It was a series of rituals and celebrations that culminated the following day. Saturday was usually the beginning of the Love Feast, it began with services in the morning, followed by a dinner, which consisted of “beef, bread, butter, apple butter, pies, and coffee” which lasted for some time.<sup>366</sup> After the meal, they prepared themselves for another solemn service, which began with a hymn to call the Brethren together. “Following the hymn, the first thirty verses of the thirteenth chapter of John were read, admonitions given, feet washing began, one washing, one drying, then the holy kiss was given to the washer...the Lord’s Supper, which consisted of bread, beef (or mutton, and sop (broth) was eaten...More hymns sung...then communion bread and wine...Scripture read and exhortations heard...another holy kiss was

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<sup>364</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>365</sup> There were other codifications to the Baptism ordinance, such as nonresistance, non-swearing, and nonconformity. These other ordinances were “housekeeping” affirmations that ensured the applicants were “worthy” of baptism and committed to morality and community. Ibid., 57-8.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid., 59.

completed and forming a chain of unity and brotherly love that was pass all the way around the table and back to the elder, the unity and harmony sealed, communion could begin.”<sup>367</sup>

The Holy Kiss was a “Christian salutation” or “kiss of charity.” The kiss consisted of kissing, on the lips, of members of the same sex, which was then followed by a handshake of Christian fellowship. This kiss or greeting was grounded in the commands of Romans 16:16 and 1 Thessalonians 5:26. The kiss was originally given by those who were received through baptism but became a ritual through its continued use as a greeting. The Dunkers believed that it should never become cold, as the kiss was meant to show their inward love for one another. It was given both publicly and privately, and by and to both sexes. This kiss also separated Dunkers and non-Dunkers. Greeting a non-Dunker was only through a handshake, but when two Dunkers met, the Holy Kiss was rendered. According to Carl Bowman, this was one of the reasons the Dunkers were considered “peculiar.”<sup>368</sup>

Plain dress, before the turn of the nineteenth century, was not as formalized as it was after the 1848 Annual Meeting but was enforced after. Brethren or Dunkers were allowed to attend other “friends” meetings, such as Mennonite and Quaker, before 1843, and was unanimously agreed and in 1846, non-Dunker ministers were no longer allowed to preach at Brethren meetings. While there were boundaries being created by the middle of the nineteenth century, these boundaries did not exist during the colonial era of America. However, there were other ordinances that the Dunker’s used as rituals to differentiate themselves from others: Anointing: this was a symbol of the spiritual cleansing, particularly used when someone fell ill or was suffering from an ailment. Laying of Hands: like baptism, the laying of hands was another symbol of blessings and a gift of the Spirit. Kneeling: the Dunkers saw no other method of

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<sup>367</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid., 69.

prayer other than by kneeling. The Annual Visit: the church elders were required to visit all the members of their community once a year to discern their Holy Condition. Council Meetings: all members were required to attend and decided discipline and administration matters. Avoidance: this was a method of banning someone and a form of discipline. Disowning and disfellowshipping were common but were not transferable from one meeting to another.<sup>369</sup>

Dunkers believed that no man was an island or a judge unto himself and the council of their local church should always be consulted on matters that were questioned. However, the various annual meetings did rule on many things that would seem trivial today but were just as important to them then as it is now. Such things as plain dress, oaths of allegiance to the government, political officeholding, membership in the Masonic Lodge, Celebrating Independence Day, or carpets in homes, were all barred by annual meetings in the Mid-Nineteenth century. Others such as Sunday schools, obtaining patents, and praying without a veil were authorized at the same time. Prior to that, Sunday schools were seen as popular, and thus should not be practiced, because the “majority should mend their ways.”<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> For a more detailed examination between the Dunkers, Mennonite, Amish, and Quaker see, Bowman, 74.

<sup>370</sup> Like the other Plain people of our time, such as the Amish and Mennonite, the Dunkers of today and of yesterday did not want to follow popular culture or practice something the mainstream practiced. They remained awkwardly and faithfully non-compliant to the point of being plain and unique at the same time. Shaving the beard was barred in the middle of the nineteenth century and remains a cornerstone of male elders, as is immersion baptism, the Love Feast, and the Holy Kiss. See, Bowman, 86.

### Migration to the Frontier

Colonial America was divided into two spheres of influence in the year 1750, to the east, from present day Maine to the foothills of the Appalachian Mountain range, south to the northern part of present-day Georgia. To the west of the Appalachian range, lay the French, stretching from the range to the Mississippi River and north to Canada excluding the island of Newfoundland. The French settled multiple forts along the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Illinois River. The two powers struggled to control the interests of Native American trade and allegiances. While both the British and French struggled to maintain the power base in America, there was a third partner in America, the colonists who neglected the laws and boundaries, seizing the opportunities to live outside the grasp of colony and government. Hundreds of small settlements dotted the contested borders of the Appalachian Mountains and valleys. The colonial governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland both fought a quasi-war for dominance beyond the point at which Lord Fairfax claimed his proprietary ended, at the spring head of the Potomac River in Virginia, and along what is now the Mason-Dixon Line between Delaware/Maryland and Pennsylvania/Maryland.<sup>371</sup>

This area of the Virginia colony, called the Northern Neck Proprietary, may have been the root of which caused the conflict that eventually ignited the French and Indian War in America or the Seven Years' War in the rest of the world. The area beyond the eastern foothills of the Appalachian Mountains was sparsely settled but greatly contested. However, the land was

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<sup>371</sup> Maryland claimed much of Southern Pennsylvania was claimed by Maryland, but Pennsylvania also claimed below today's Mason-Dixon Line. The settlements that Maryland established were clearly in the Pennsylvania territory, but they were settled by Marylander's.

contested not only the French and the British, but also the British colonies of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. With many German sectarians and English dissenters migrating into the frontiers of these colonies, trade was the greatest mechanism to which the colonies gained control over the land which they claimed.

#### Cresap's War (the Conojocular War)

Cresap's War, named after the individual who styled himself Colonel of Provincial Maryland, was another quasi-war, brought about by the active encroachment and settlement of the area now known as Lancaster and York Counties Pennsylvania, by individuals from Maryland and Pennsylvania, but claimed by Maryland. Figure x shows the area in which Cresap asserted control, granting land, assessing taxes, and taking those taxes for himself. He even arrested those who did not or could not pay, even if they had proof that they had paid Pennsylvania taxes. The land he claimed was his and Maryland's was already deeded to individuals from Pennsylvania, many of which were German immigrants who sought out land for farming and settlement. Thomas Cresap was authorized only to survey Maryland lands, but he claimed the authority of Maryland to settle and sell land that was west of the Susquehanna River and south of the Codorus Creek. Much of this land was already settled by Quakers and various German Sects such as Dunkers and Mennonites. One such German was the Dunker, Michael Tanner / Danner. He was granted two hundred acres west of the Susquehanna River, and southwest of John Hendricks and built a cabin and other buildings in 1734 however, in 1735 Cresaps came to Tanner's land and claiming orders from the Maryland Governor, sold his buildings with all improvements to Daniel Law. Tanner was then made to pay eight pounds to regain possession of his buildings. Danner was no stranger to being harassed by Marylanders. He was arrested in 1728 for settling in land that Native Americans claimed was not released to



Maryland for settlement, even though it had been released to Pennsylvanians. He was arrested, along with all other settlers, and imprisoned in Annapolis.

Danner was eventually released after the Governor of Pennsylvania requested all to be released.<sup>372</sup> However, again in 1736, Cresap, along with militia, arrested more than forty individuals, to include Michael Tanner. The land agent for Pennsylvania, Samuel Blunston, wrote to the governor of Maryland, Samuel Ogle, stating that the aforementioned individuals renounced all affiliation of Maryland:

Signed by Our Own hands this Eleventh day of August Anno Dom. 1736  
Michael Tanner Jacob Welshoffer Charles Jones Nicholas Baun  
Henry Lib Hart Henry Hendricks Jacob Lawnius  
Martin Schultz. Christian Growler Francis Worley junr  
Tobias Fray Balthar Shambargier Jacob Seglaer his x mark  
Martin Fray George Scobell Nicholas Birij Jacob Grable  
Jacob Seglaer Philip Sanglaer Henry Stantz  
Caspar Sanglaer Tobias Bright & al<sup>373</sup>

However, the governor responded by authorizing the arrest and detention of the following individuals on his authority, as Tanner and others stood up to Cresap's demands for payments for the land. The governor of Maryland and Cresap were further angered when Tanner, representing all the Germans who settled in this area, had appealed for protection by the government of Pennsylvania. The governor of Maryland responded with the following proclamation:

Therefore it is advised resolved and ordered that a Proclamation or Proclamations issue for the apprehending all who have acted countenanced or abetted the Actors in any of the Matters afd And that a Reward of One hundred Pounds be offered for apprehending Each of the following Persons Viz. Samuel Smith Edward Smoute Samuel Blunstone and John

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<sup>372</sup> Michael Danner's / Tanner's arrest, petition, and release, Cresap's riots, arrest and release are well documented in the Colonial Archives of Pennsylvania, Volume I through XVI. Danner's petition to Pennsylvania's governor is copied in Appendix D. See, [For Danner], *Colonial Records*, 3:284, 4:67, 69, 75, 13:44. [For Cresap], 3:471-2, 476, 551, 4:48-68, 105, 108-111, 116-118.

<sup>373</sup> PCM, 1732 – 1753, Vol, 28, pg, 101. <https://msa.maryland.gov>

Wright; And a Reward of Twenty Pounds for apprehending Each of the following Persons Viz. Michael Tanner Christian Crowle Mark Evans Charles Jones and Joshua Minshul; And a Reward of Ten Pounds for apprehending Each of the following Persons Viz. Jacob Grable Jacob Seglaer Conrade Lowe Christian Lowe Jacob Seglaer junr Michael Arringall Philip Saglaer, Dennis Myer, Hans Stanner Tobias Spright, Tobias Hendricks Leonard Immel Balthar Sanger Michael Wallack, Michael Evato, Michael Miller, Jasper Carvell, George Swope George Philere Nicholas Butchiere Andrew Phlaviere Henry Stantz Henry Lephart Peter Gardiner Jacob Lawnius Nicholas Conn Conrade Stricklaer Henry Bowen Francis Worley junr Martin Sluys Jacob Hoopinder Michael Raisher Tobias Fray Martin Fray Henry Smith Jacob Welshoffer Henry Hendricks Adam Byar Godfrey Fray Methusalem Griffith Bartholomew Shambarrier Nicholas Hatchley Yorrick Cobell Henry Young Michael Waltz Kelyon Smith Caspar Varglass Martin Wyngall Nicholas Peery Bryonex Tander and Eurick Myer

And It is further ordered that Warrants issue from this Board for the apprehending any of such Persons as afd which Warrants shall be directed to such Person or Persons as his Excellency shall think proper for that Purpose; And It is the humble Advice of this Board to his Excellency that all proper and suitable Encouragements should be given to any Person who will bring any of the af d bold Offenders to Justice Which Proclamation and Warrants being read & approved of are, as follow

By His Excellency Samuel Ogle Esqr Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Province of Maryland.<sup>374</sup>

The real war began as Cresap and his militia of Marylanders attacked, burned, confiscated, and harassed the settlers in York County. It was not until the Sheriff of Lancaster County raised a small militia of men to arrest Cresap that the war ended. They caught up with Cresap at his home, and not giving up, the Sheriff's men set fire to his home, forcing him to

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<sup>374</sup> PCM, 1732 – 1753, Vol, 28, pg, 102-3. <https://msa.maryland.gov>

surrender. He was then taken to Philadelphia, and later was released on a prisoner exchange with Maryland. The Maryland governor requested that the King intervene in the war between Pennsylvania and Maryland, demanding a cessation of hostilities and a treaty be signed. It was not until the twenty-fifth of May, 1738 that the two colonies signed the treaty. The demands from King George II came in an eight-part request:

Ist That so much of his Majestys Order in Council of the 18th of August 1737 as orders — That the Governors of the respective Provinces of Maryland and Pensilvania for the time being do not upon Pain of incurring his Majestys highest Dis- pleasure permit or suffer any Tumults Riots or other Outragious Disorders to be committed on the Borders of their respective Provinces but that they do immediately put a Stop thereto

The remaining seven orders pertained to the continued dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania in terms of the Three Lower Counties (2<sup>nd</sup>), a temporary border set which ran 39 degrees, 43 minutes, 18 seconds latitude (3<sup>rd</sup>), the 15 mile circle radius was established for the Lower Counties (4<sup>th</sup>), both states shall be free to grant land at normal terms on their respective side of the temporary border (5<sup>th</sup>), all prisoners shall be released to their respective sides and await trial (6<sup>th</sup>), all peace and order shall be restored until a final border is established by the crown (7<sup>th</sup>), and that all other Petitions of Complaint will be withdrawn (8<sup>th</sup>).<sup>375</sup> However, this did not stop settlers from settling on either or both sides of the Pennsylvania / Maryland border, as Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkers and others continued to move west and south through the various valleys and rivers.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> PCM, 28, pg, 146 -48.

<sup>376</sup> The boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania reverted, almost, to the 1732 proposal of Lord Baltimore for the purposes of settling the dispute between the Penn's and himself. See Figure x. Also, for more information on the Conojocular War, see Patrick Spero, "The Conojocular War," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 136, No. 4 (October, 2012), 365 – 403.

## Crossing the Blue Ridge

While many Dunkers found solace in the larger town of Germantown or the peace and tranquility of Ephrata, most Dunkers, by some estimates five to eight hundred, migrated west, beyond the Susquehanna River, beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains into the Cumberland and Shenandoah Valley and even further west to the New River Valley in Western Virginia. Few settlements were regularly documented, however, one such settlement, the Conococheague Valley Settlement or communities was settled in the mid eighteenth century by the following Dunkers, many of which immigrated from Germany. Stephen Jr. and John Ulrich, Johann Jacob Stutzman, David Miller (or Müller), Johannes Micholas Martin, Ulrich Schaeublin, Hans Dieterich, Johann Ludwig Müller, and Heinrich Engel all purchased land in 1752 in the Conococheague Valley after first founding then leaving the Little Conawago Meeting. The Little Conawago Meeting house was founded in York County, in the Township of Hanover, in 1738. The Little Conawago Meeting House as of 1770 had forty members attending, but no ordained preachers at the time of its founding. Both Jacob Moyer and James Henrick were preachers, not ordained, but later received help from Nicholas Martin, who later left them to move to Conococheague also Daniel Leatherman who moved to Monocacy (Monocacy Maryland). The Little Conawago and the Conawago Meeting Houses laid in present day York County, both suffered under Cresap's War in the 1730's but created the Meetings after the treaty.

## Maryland Congregations

One of the major congregations in colonial Maryland was that of Monocasy / Managuasey / Monocacy, in Frederick County Maryland close to the present town of Monocacy. This congregation was later led by Daniel Leatherman who left Little Conawago. One of the

major features of the Dunker Congregations compared to the Lutheran and Reformed Congregations was the idea that lay ministers were authorized to perform all sacraments' as ordained ministers were. Lutheran and Reformed congregations suffered membership due to the inability to get ordained and authorized ministers to perform these sacraments and many German settlers moved to the Dunker Congregation to receive these. One such incident occurred in Monocacy in 1748 when elders from the Reformed community writing to a Reverend Michael Schlatter that many of their congregants were leaving to the Dunkers because of the lack of Holy Communion and preaching.<sup>377</sup> Poaching members from the Lutheran and Reformed Congregations in the frontier in Colonial America was more common the longer preachers remained away from the areas. The Moravians were great artists at performing Holy Communion and baptisms on frontier individuals throughout the eighteenth century, particularly in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania, and beyond in Ohio and Kentucky. However, not all settlers accepted the Moravians as proper ministers, and even more demanded that they baptize their young children, which the Moravians disagreed with, and perform marriages to individuals who had performed a hand-fasting ceremony when no minister or legal authority was available, particularly in the mountain areas of Virginia beyond the Blue Ridge.<sup>378</sup>

Closely connected to the Little and Big Conewago Congregations was the Conococheague and the Antietam Congregations, located along the tributaries of the Potomac by

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<sup>377</sup> The letter, contained in Donald Durnbaugh's work suggests that two prominent members of the Reformed congregation, Nicholas Pink and Henry Rotts were enticing other congregants to join the Dunkers as they receive Holy Communion and get regular preaching from their ministers. See, Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, (Elgin, 1967), 135-6. Reverend Michael Schlatter was an itinerate minister, who represented a large community of German Reformed churches in the Cumberland and Shenandoah Valleys, moving from congregation to congregation, he remained one of the larger ordained ministers in the frontier during the colonial era. For more information on Schlatter, see; H. Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter*, (Philadelphia, 1857).

<sup>378</sup> Various Moravian itinerate preachers complained repeatedly in their journals that the requirements to baptize infants and young children was something they felt strongly against, however to remain congenial with the settlers they performed these baptisms by request. See, Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel, *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger*, (University Park, 2005).

the same name. The first Antietam Congregation was in Pennsylvania but eventually removed to Maryland (but not the famous Dunker Church in Sharpsburg, that came in the 1840s). The most prominent ministers were George Adam Martin and William Stover, both became itinerate ministers travelling up the Shenandoah and down the Cumberland Valleys. These congregations never had established meeting houses, rather they remained to worship in family homes for over forty years, both congregations of Conococheague and Antietam remained primarily a home congregation. It was not until 1798 that Antietam Congregation built their meetinghouse close to present day Waynesboro, Pennsylvania (Also where Alexander Mack Jr settled and died).

### Virginia Congregations

#### Strasburg Settlement (Funkstown)

Smaller congregations emerged outside of Berkeley Springs (Bath) Virginia, now West Virginia, as well as a close relationship with the Tuscarora Quaker Congregation in Berkeley County Virginia (now West Virginia). It was not until after the Revolutionary War that West Virginia became the Dunker stronghold. The county of Preston became the home to hundreds of Dunkers, later Brethren, which remains today a large Brethren community. However, as early as the 1730's the Funk brothers, Jacob and John Funk, found themselves in the Shenandoah Valley, settling in what is now Strasburg Virginia, purchasing 320 acres on the North Branch of the Shenandoah River. The brothers settled what they called Funkstown, with a mill and became a resting point for Dunker settlers traveling south from Pennsylvania along the Great Philadelphia Road. The Funk family settled and owned thousands of acres which fell under the administration of Thomas Lord Fairfax, however when John Funk passed, his widow and son Samuel sold a portion of the 2032 acres that lay next to the mill.<sup>379</sup> It is also interesting to note that four Funk's

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<sup>379</sup> The recording of the sale of this portion of the land is found in Shenandoah County Deed Book H, Pages 429 – 433. The remaining land deeds can be found in the following locations in both Shenandoah and Frederick Counties:

served in the American Revolution in the Alexander Machir's Company of the Strasburg District 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Henry Funk Junior, Jacob Funk, John Funk, and Samuel Funk.<sup>380</sup>

#### New River Settlement (Mahanaim) and Dunker Bottom

The New River settlement became a squatter's paradise when it began to be settled by the Dunkers. The following individuals settled in what they called Mahanaim;

Gabriel Eckerlin	Emmanuel Eckerlin	William Mack
John Negley	Garrett Zinn	John Miller
Peter Shaver		

Other families included those of the Weiser, Wolfahrt, Graff, Weber, Grebil, Frey, Landis, and the Huffacre. The area originally was also called Mack's Meadows, even though there is no direct link to either Alexander Mack or Sander Mack Jr being in this area. William Mack is someone of mystery, as no historian has been able to find any other mention of a William Mack with the exception of an account written by Adam and Jacob Harmon and John Buchanan, who on October 17, 1745, took possession of the Mack estate as he could not be found, presumed dead. Sander Mack, did name his son born in 1749, William and Roger Sappington believed he had named his first son after an uncle who perished.<sup>381</sup> Eventually these squatters did acquire their land legally, and the idea was to create a second Ephrata, with Samuel Eckerlin as the

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Frederick County Order Book 7 page 347, Shenandoah County Va Will Book B Page 72, Frederick County Will Book 4, page 141, Shenandoah County Marriage Bonds, 1789 – 91 page 867.

<sup>380</sup> While it is unknown that all these Funk's remained Dunkers or that they were excommunicated during their service it is most likely, that while serving in the American Revolution, that they were indeed excommunicated by their meeting house and were subsequently readmitted after their service had expired. See, Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Revolutionary War Records, Virginia Army and Navy Forces with Bounty Land Warrants for Virginia Military District of Ohio, and Virginia Military Scrip; From Federal and State Archives, Vol 1*, (Washington D.C., 1936), 605-6.

<sup>381</sup> In Sappington's book, he suggests that William Mack died because Buchanan had taken care to ensure his estate was taken care of. He arranged to have another Dunker take care of the property until it could be divided but the author could find no other indication that the estate existed. See, Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, (Harrisonburg, 1973), 10.

business manager, however, the community never happened but the various Dunker “members” began purchasing their own property around what they called Dunker Bottom.

#### Monongahela River Settlement; Dunkard Creek

After wintering with the Funks in the fall of 1750, Samuel and Gabriel Eckerlin traveled to the Ohio River valley to settle where the Monongahela River joins the Alleghany River, a little town now called Pittsburgh, to begin their new adventure with their brother, Israel. This settlement became known as Dunkard Creek, and the little river they settled on where the border between Virginia and Pennsylvania (now West Virginia and Pennsylvania) meet, west of the Monongahela River. This area was inhabited then by the Delaware and Onondago Native Americans. To secure their rights to take up settlement on Native American property, Samuel Eckerlin began negotiations with the chief at Log’s Town, known as Logstown, where George Croghan, Andrew Montour, Conrad Weiser, Christopher Gist, and George Washington had visited the Native Americans there, in the Wyoming Valley in what is now Beaver County Pennsylvania but was unsuccessful as the Natives, through a treaty, were not authorized to negotiate land deals. The French also spent time with the Native Americans in Logstown, but because of their affiliation with the English, the leader, Scarouady burned Logstown before George Washington’s surrender at Fort Necessity.<sup>382</sup> Eckerlin arrived at Logstown on May 18, 1751, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> George Croghan and Andrew Montour recorded the following:

A Dunker from the Colony of Virginia came to the Log’s Town and requested Liberty of the Six Nation Chief’s to make [a settlement] on the River

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<sup>382</sup> On the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, 1754, Washington entered in his journal the following, Arrived an Indian, bringing News that Monacatoocha had burnt his village, (Loiston) and was gone by Water with his People to Red-Stone, and might be expected there in two Days. This Indian passed close by the Fort, and assures us, that the French had received no reinforcement, except a small number of Indians, who had killed, as he said, two or three of the Delawares. See, George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington*, (New York, 1889), 118.



Yogh-yo-gaine a branch of Ohio, to which the Indians made answer that it is not in their Power to dispose of Lands; that he must apply to the Council at Onondago, and further told him that he did not take a right method, for he should first recommended by their Brother the Governor of Pennsylvania, with whom all Publick Business of that sort must be transacted before he need expect to succeed.<sup>383</sup>

There is no other official record concerning Samuel Eckerlin's activities in which he secured his settlement, however the Eckerlin's were prosperous in terms of the settlement's well-being and their religious activism.

#### The Eckerlin Brothers

The Eckerlin Brothers pushed beyond the headwaters of the Potomac, landing outside the jurisdiction of the Northern Neck, and settled west of the known Fairfax Proprietary, beyond the authority of Virginia and Pennsylvania, in terms of county government, along the Monongahela River. The Eckerlin brothers were looking for a hermit life, as were a few contemporaries of theirs. Henry Sagmeister and Anthony Hoellenthal both left after the Eckerlin's departure from the Cloister to travel with them to the Shenandoah Valley. However, all found the Valley to be inhabited by too many individuals, both Irish, Scottish, and English, to properly live an "unfettered life to the discipline of God."<sup>384</sup> However even Sagmeister was too much for the Eckerlin's to handle, and Sagmeister created his own group, the "Awakened People" who were followers of John Martin but now followers of Sagmeister. These individuals settled around

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<sup>383</sup> Colonial Records, 5:531-2.

<sup>384</sup> Sagmeister produced a work entitled, *Leben und Wandel*, or Life and Wounds, which provides the only contrast to the *Chronicon Ephratense*. However, according to Felix Reichmann, Sagmeister's diary was rich in detail, but lacked anything new than what the *Chronicon* provides us. However, it is a second contemporary view of the acts and events that occurred during the time Peter Miller and Ezechieel Sagmeister wrote their respective documents. See, Felix Reichmann, "Notes and Documents: Ezechieel Sagmeister's Diary," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 68, no 3 (July, 1944), 292 – 313.

present-day Woodstock, Virginia. The Eckerlin brothers left Strasburg and traveled west where they eventually settled at Dunkard Creek and Dunker Bottom, endeavoring to produce furs, dried meats, maple sugar, and when Sagmeister visited them, he noted they owned, twenty-eight horses and worked with an indentured servant Johann Schilling.<sup>385</sup>

The Eckerlin brothers first found themselves at the most prominent positions at the Ephrata Cloister, but eventually found themselves captives of the French army and dying in France. Israel and Gabriel Eckerlin and their servant Johann Schilling were captured by Mohawk, traveling to Montreal they were lodged in a Jesuit College. Schilling eventually escaped and arrived back to Winchester to tell the tale. They were eventually transported the following spring (1757-1758) to France, where they both became ill and soon died of their afflictions. Samuel, who traveled back and forth from Dunkard Bottom to Winchester to sell his supplies was eventually arrested (1757) and was transported to Williamsburg as a French spy, but eventually released and with his former captors arrived back at Dunkard Bottom, but too late to rescue his brothers, and abandoned the settlement. Samuel and Sangmeister purchased some of the Funk brothers land in Strasburg and remained there creating the most complete Dunker settlement outside of Germantown and Ephrata.

The land the Eckerlins inhabited was fertile and they farmed it well. This secluded refuge was different from their Ephrata brethren, in that they did not build cloisters, rather each had their own home surrounded by the farms and other “householders” of the group. They were

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<sup>385</sup> Johann or John Schilling along with an elderly man, Daniel Hendricks, worked with the Eckerlin brothers, which were granted some 5,000 acres of land on November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1753 from the Virginia Council west of the Fairfax line and the line of the John Blair & Co of the Ohio Company. No mention of this land grant, nor the Eckerlin brothers are noted in the George Mercer Papers, or the papers of the John Blair or William Russell, who also owned the lands west of the Potomac Headwaters and along the river Yaughyaughane and the Red Stone Creek. These lands were surveyed in 1753, according to the George Mercer Papers. See, Klaus Wust, *The Saint-Adventurers of the Virginia Frontier*, (Edinburg, 1977), 31 – 35; also, Lois Mulkearn, *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*, (Pittsburgh, 1954), 240 – 242.

Sabbatarians, Dunkers who believed the Sabbath was on Saturday. The settlers formed both Dunkard Bottom and Sinking Creek communities. Doctor Thomas Walker, visited the area in April of 1750, and stated the following about the Dunker brethren who lived in Mahanaim:

(17<sup>th</sup>) and are commonly called the Duncards who are the upper inhabitants of the New River, which is about 400 yards wide at this place. They live on the west side, and we are obliged to swim our Horses over. The Duncards are an odd set of people, who make it a matter of Religion not to Shave their Beards, ly on Beds, or eat Flesh, though at present, in the last, they transgress, being constraint to it, as they say, by the want of sufficiency of Grain and Roots, they having not long been seated here. I doubt the plenty and deliciousness of Venison & Turkeys has contributed not a little to this. The unmarried have no private Property, but live in a common Stock. They don't baptize their Young or Old, they keep their Sabbath on Saturday, & hold that all men shall be happy hereafter, but first must pass through punishment according to their Sins. They are very hospitable.<sup>386</sup>

#### Settling in Lord Fairfax's Northern Neck

After the French and Indian war, the Shenandoah Valley became the main point of migration for the Dunker's leaving Ephrata and Germantown. While no large settlements were created, most Dunker's scraped out their living through the toil of the earth, worshipping God and baptizing their adults. Many individuals who traveled through the Shenandoah Valley between 1741 and 1776 reported that these Dunkers lived a very solitary life, close knit family units, attempting to scrape out a living, using primitive tools and trusted very few visitors to include

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<sup>386</sup> From Doctor Thomas Walker's Journal. See, J Stoddard Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky*, (Louisville, 1898), 39.

the Moravian missionaries such as Peter Brunnholtz (1716 – 1757), Johann Friedrich Handschuch (1714 – 1764), Johann Dietrich Matthias Heinzemann (1724 – 1756), and Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth (1745 – 1825). All found the Dunkers (or as two of them called them, the Long Beards), living solitary and of very ill temper.<sup>387</sup> While many settlers within Fairfax’s Northern Neck received land grants from the proprietor, many others did not. Moreover, the valley had become flooded with all manner of “Germanness” that it was nearly impossible to determine which religious group the Germans belonged to, but also where they had originally come from, from Pennsylvania first, or directly from the Rhineland.<sup>388</sup> These Reformed, Lutheran, and Anabaptist sectarians settled together, and with their German neighbors, created villages, towns, and communities which did not assimilate as quickly as the Virginian government would have liked. While this was not a problem before the Revolutionary War, it became a concern during the war of their allegiances.

Of the settlement in the Shenandoah Valley, documentary evidence is scarce, however, there are some primary sources that grant a small window into the works of the Dunkers within the Shenandoah Valley, and the operations of the Northern Neck to create an amicable living space for those who settled there. John Funk, the only Dunker known to live in the Shenandoah before the Revolutionary War, founded the town of Funkstown, or when he settled there, Funks

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<sup>387</sup> Not one of these missionaries had anything good to report of the Dunker’s in Pennsylvania or Virginia. While all these works have not been translated into English, from their original German, it is interesting to read the documents that pertain to both Dunkers and all the other individuals whom these individuals interacted with while they traveled. See, Wolfgang Splitter, Markus Berger, and Jan-Hendrik Evers, *Hallesche Pastoren in Pennsylvania 1743 -1825, Eine Kritische Quellenedition zu ihrer Amtstätigkeit in Nordamerika, Band 1-11*, (Berlin, 2020).

<sup>388</sup> George M. Smith calls the entire group Germans and that they had brought their “Germanness” to the valley, overwhelming the English who were already there. The customs and traditions that these Germans brought with them eventually, according to Smith, soon became a respectable proportion of the growing population within the Shenandoah Valley. It was apparent that the system of government that the Virginian’s were used to, was to be controlled in the Valley by the Germans, and therefore Lutheran and not Anglican pastors. For more information on the German “problem” in the Valley, see George M. Smith, “The Reverend Peter Muhlenberg, A Symbiotic Adventure in Virginia, 1772 – 1783,” *Reports*, XXXVI (1975), 51-65. <https://loyolanotredamelib.org/php/report05/articles/pdfs/Report36Smithp51-65.pdf>.

Mill, now Strasburg, Virginia, which was mentioned in the *Settlers by the Long Grey Trail*, by J. Houston Harrison. Augusta County had just been formed from a portion of Orange County in 1738, named after the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. In June of 1739, David Davis petitioned for roads to be built to stretch from the Blue Ridge. The portion that John Funk was responsible for was Nation's run, a road to be cleared from Cedar Creek to Funk's Mill and from Funk's Mill to the Augusta County line (Present day) where the Indian Road was to be joined. This road would later become the Great Wagon Road, which stretched from Philadelphia to Rowan, North Carolina and beyond to the west.<sup>389</sup>

The Funk brothers purchases land that would become the hub for weary travelers along the Great Wagon Road for the next thirty years, both from the north and from the south, becoming a waypoint where Brethren, Quaker, Mennonite, English, Scottish and Irish all used to refit their equipment and provisions. The Brethren settlement that became Strasburg in the years to come, became the center of Dunker activity in the Shenandoah Valley. As Edwards stated, most Dunkers did not settle in Virginia and the Fairfax Northern Neck but moved further south into the Carolina's to settle on fertile land. While Sappington and other historians state that the primary reason the Dunkers did not settle in the Virginia colony was because of the Church of England, the Quakers, in Tuscarora and Manakin Town (Winchester) did so heavily in the 1730s and 1740s which seems to counter the argument. The Dunkers intermingled with the Quakers to the extent that some of the Dunkers were considered Quakers by other historians. Jacob Stover Junior, son of Jacob Stover, was baptized as an adult, 14 March 1741, by Rev. John Craig in Augusta County Virginia. He is known by many to be a Quaker, a Mennonite by others, and by

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<sup>389</sup> See, J. Houston Harrison, *Settlers by the Long Grey Trail*, (Baltimore, 1984), 196.

some as a Dunker.<sup>390</sup> Stover also had two partners, to stake claims to the land in the Shenandoah Valley, Johan Ochs and Ezekiel Harlan both of Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. Stover, Ochs and Harlan all attracted Germans to the valley, who settled primarily below present-day Staunton, which lay outside Lord Fairfax's Northern Neck. According to Jay Worrall, Fairfax rejected all patents for land which came directly from Williamsburg, which Stover attempted to receive. Stover was forced to acquire land below the Fairfax line (the Augusta / Frederick County border).<sup>391</sup> Worrall states that in the Shenandoah Valley, the Mennonites, Brethren, and Quaker saw themselves as friends with one another and shared what the Germans called, *gemeinde* or communities, which makes it difficult to know what sect these Germans followed, as at times they melted together in communities.<sup>392</sup>

#### North Carolina and beyond during the Colonial Era

While the primary migration of the German population remained centered on the land west of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania, the Cumberland Valley in both Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, there were a few Germans who migrated further and beyond the bounds of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The settlement of Germans in North Carolina was not insignificant, nor can history dispute that the Germans migrating from the north did not participate in the migration from Pennsylvania along the Great

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<sup>390</sup> Stover may have been a Dunker; however, he was an Anabaptist at the very least, regardless of his affiliation with a sect, he believed in adult baptism. What is even more strange, is that he was baptized by Reverend Jhon Craig, a Presbyterian minister in Trickling Springs Church, Fort Defiance, Augusta County. See, L. B. Hatke, *List of Baptisms by Rev. John Craig, Augusta County, Virginia, 1740 – 1749*, (Staunton, 1979), 12.

<sup>391</sup> Worrall states that Stover was instrumental in attracting many Germans to the area of Staunton and south, however, he also states that Fairfax himself refused any patents for land that came directly from Williamsburg, as he was the sole proprietor of the Northern Neck, not Williamsburg or the governor. Stover did settle in Staunton, however it is completely unknown what Sect he followed, although he is buried in the Presbyterian Cemetery, most likely because he was friends with Craig rather than being a Presbyterian. Worrall claims he was Quaker; however, the author cites no primary evidence for this. See, Jay Worrall, *The Friendly Virginians, America's First Quakers*, (Athens, 1994), 125 – 130.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

Wagon Road, into Rowan, North Carolina, and from there dissipate west and south, however, very little evidence remains of the number and extent of those Germans were Dunker in belief. While originally there remained in the chronology of the Dunkers in North Carolina, a manuscript that was unpublished, from Morgan Edwards, it was presumed to be destroyed in a fire, however, it was later found and published by Joseph Crukshank and Isaac Collins. Volume one includes the Tunker Baptists of Pennsylvania. Edwards Tour of Pennsylvania and North Carolina from 1772 through to 1773 also preserved by Duke University, provides some evidence of all Baptists in the Shenandoah Valley and North Carolina.

Both North Carlina (1742) and South Carolina (1748) had Germans who proclaimed the Dunker Faith. While the followers were few, they remained an important part of the history. Edwards named only four individuals in North Carolina, all of which he claimed were ministers, however, he claimed that there were twenty-eight Dunkers in South Carolina during his tour.<sup>393</sup> Edwards points to three groups or what he calls Societies in North Carolina: the Catawba Congregation, Ewarry Congregation, and the Yadkin Congregation. All the settlements, Edwards states, were on branches of the PeeDee River, which was the major tributary through North Carolina, eventually flowing into South Carolina and dumping into the Atlantic Ocean in Georgetown, South Carolina. However, the Catawba Congregation was, in fact, on the Wateree River, not the PeeDee, it was settled in the late 1740s. Samuel Saunder recorded that he had baptized thirty people and had a congregation of about forty. The earliest minister to this

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<sup>393</sup> It is important to note that Morgan Edwards' account seems to be as accurate as he could have possibly made it. According to Roger Sappington, he had been a meticulous record keeper, naming all seven hundred sixty-three baptized members of the Dunker Sect in Pennsylvania. His geographical descriptions also extremely accurate, although he had more precise locations in South Carolina than in North Carolina. This may be on account of the relationship Edwards had with David Martin, a Dunker minister of South Carolina, whom, we presume, he spent most of his time with. He gave more information about Martin than any other minister in any of his other accounts. See, Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in the Carolinas*, (Kingsport, 1971).

congregation was Christopher Guss, who had received land on the west side of the Catawba River along Middle Creek.<sup>394</sup>

Ewarry Congregation had another fourteen families, which minister Jacob Studeman baptized about thirty individuals. The families had followed Dan Leatherman into the area thirty years before Edwards had arrived. Edwards suggests also that Stutzman (Studeman) was a member of the Little Conewago congregation in Pennsylvania and had converted to the Dunker sect sometime just before 1738. Edwards also states that the first minister at Little Conewago was in fact, Daniel Leatherman. It could be suggested, that the Ewarry congregation was settled, at least by many, if not all, Little Conewago congregants. Sappington suggests that Daniel Leatherman is the same individual as Hans Devalt Letterman, who came from Europe on the same boat as other prominent Dunkers such as Michael Tanner, Ulrich Stauffer, Christian Miller and Henrich Wolff.<sup>395</sup> The leading member and minister of all the North Carolina Dunkers, according to Edwards, was Daniel Leatherman.

The Yadkin Congregation is not specifically known in terms of location; however, they had twenty-nine families at the time of Edwards visit. They were led by Hans and Conrad Kearn and had baptized forty persons. Conrad Michel, a prominent Dunker in the area, was granted some three hundred eight acres. He was also the uncle of the Kearns. Edwards also ties many of those Brethren from Yadkin to those of Pennsylvania as well as to those of the Quaker and Mennonite in the area. When various members inter-marry between Quaker, Mennonite, and Moravian, it makes for extremely difficult and accurate numbers of members in one sect.

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<sup>394</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>395</sup> J.M. Henry, in his work on the Brethren, suggests that Daniel Leatherman and Devalt Letterman are one and the same. He finds no contrary evidence to suggest that they are two separate individuals. See, J. M. Henry, *History of the Church of the Brethren in Maryland*, (Elgin, 1936), 58.



Edwards also ties a member of the Yadkin Congregation with the Little Conewago in Pennsylvania, James Hendricks.

Of all the Brethren in both North and South Carolina, the problem of war and rebellion tested their religious convictions. While the Carolinas had a larger population of Moravians and Quakers, they also had Mennonite and Dunkers. All agreed that political revolution was also against their belief, and the Brethren, along with their allies the Quaker, Moravian, and Mennonite refused to accept the affirmation the Carolina governments were imposing. The Brethren, in their Annual Meeting in 1779, stated:

On account of taking the attest, it has been concluded in unison as follows:

Inasmuch as it is the Lord our God who establishes kinds and removes kinds, and Ordains rules according to his own good pleasure, and we cannot know whether God has rejected a king and chosen the state, while the king had the government; Therefore, we could not, with a good conscience, repudiate the king and give Allegiance to the state.<sup>396</sup>

While the Revolutionary War began only a few years after Edwards' visit to the Carolinas, this does show that even in the event of revolution, the Dunkers and other Baptists refused to participate in the actions of a government against the rule of another government, nor did they participate in the war. North Carolina allowed or was at least tolerant of the non-conformists in their territory and were normally all grouped together in laws. They were forced to pay heavy fines for their refusal of military service, and they were even levied taxes which were first three-fold then four-fold who refused to take the oath of alliance.

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<sup>396</sup> Sappington, 16.

Settlement in South Carolina, first coming from the Connecheague Congregation on the Pennsylvania / Maryland border, was established in 1748. The Beaver Creek Congregation marked the date when Michael Millers, Jacob Canomore, Lawrence Free ,and their wives arrived in South Carolina. Frontier land was still cheap in the Carolinas up through the 1770s, and attracted many Dunkers, Quakers, Mennonite, and Moravians alike. The land values in the north, in Maryland and Pennsylvania were rising, as was the Shenandoah Valley, so seeking cheaper virgin soil was a driving force, according to Leah Townsend in her study of the South Carolina Baptists.<sup>397</sup> The largest contingent of Pietist Germans in South Carolina was of the Dunker faith, according to Sappington, and of those Germans, the majority were of Pennsylvanian in either birth or immigration. One of the most prominent men to travel around North and South Carolina during the 1750s was George Adam Martin, who was an itinerant preacher of the Dunker faith.<sup>398</sup> George Martin later broke with his Dunkers and created a Seventh Day Baptist community in Somerset County, called Brotherton in 1760, but returning to South Carolina, where his son David Martin, remained and was influential in building the Dunkers in the area. George Martin was one of the first Elders, along with Rev. Peter Livengood, who was to remain in Brotherton, to settle west of the Allegheny Mountains, in Pennsylvania, who were Brethren.

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<sup>397</sup> The land, according to Townsend, was particularly fertile and valuable to the Pietists because the frontier offered them a solitary life and an opportunity to grow both in spirit and financially. Whether it was for space, for financial gain or merely to own a tract of land that was never manipulated, one may never truly know, however it is still important to understand that the German migrants continued to move south and west until they found an area they deemed fit for their purposes. See, Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists, 1670 – 1805*, (Florence, 1935), 122 – 130.

<sup>398</sup> George Adam Martin was very popular with the younger generation of the Dunker faithful, especially in South Carolina. However, when he traveled back to Pennsylvania where he found himself being removed from communion. He fell under the Ephrata Sabbatarians and later, after travelling back to South Carolina, built what, Townsend and H. Austin Cooper called the center of Dunker activity in South Carolina. See, Townsend, *ibid*; & H. Austin Cooper, *Two Centuries of Brothersvalley Church of the Brethren, 1762 -1962*, (Westminster, 1962), 12.

The Clouds Creek congregation was established by David Martin in 1768, where he found both English Dunkers and Seventh Day Baptists gathering to worship, and he ministered with them. Edwards found that Clouds Creek was mainly of English origin rather than German, but stated that there were thirty families, led by James Warren in 1772. Another location that Martin helped establish was Edisto congregation. Edisto was organized in 1768 as well, and had two prominent families, the Elijah Patchet family, and the Thomas Taylor family. Edwards states that there were sixteen members of the congregation in 1772 and most were also English. The Dunkers of the early South Carolina frontier gathered for Annual Meetings, which they called Great Meetings at times, although no records, according to Sappington, of the location has been preserved.

The Broad River congregation was another large settlement of both Dunkers and Seventh Day Baptists who saw little difference between each other. It appeared that only the Dunkers and Seventh Day Baptists of eastern Pennsylvania were at odds with one another. In Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas they lived and worshipped side by side without clashing. People who settled the Broad River congregation came from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. There were eighteen families in the Broad River congregation when Edwards traveled there. They spread around the Broad River, and on the tributaries of Burkhalters Creek and Cedar Creek, as well as Taylor Creek and Crooked Creek on the Wateree River. Others lived on the Second Creek and the Reed Branch.

The Dutchmans Creek congregation was first identified by a Moravian, George Soelle, in 1771 then again by Edwards in 1772. This settlement was not only occupied by the Dunkers and the Seventh Day Baptists, but also Quakers. Daniel Lewis, a Quaker, was found there as well. This settlement was connected closely to both the Rowan County congregation in North

Carolina, but then later, the Brethren in Kentucky. One of the greater difficulties in Sappington's work, is that the author assumes at times that because individuals have Dunker names, that they were in fact, Dunkers.<sup>399</sup> The Fraternity congregation, settled just on the southern edge of the Moravian settlement of Wachovia, also was connected to the Dutchmans Settlement, but were purchasing land from the Moravians. Moravians were reporting that the community was growing and was holding "Dunkard Meetings."<sup>400</sup>

One last observation on Dunker remoteness and the seeking of solitary settlement was the Tuchosokin congregation. This settlement is found in modern day Georgia and was an extremely isolated Seventh Day Baptist community where they attempted to settle a monastic community. 1759, Edwards suggests, eight families crossed the Savannah River and settled in the eastern part of the colony. The leader, Richard Gregory, was in South Carolina in 1749, however, he died, and Robert Kirkland took the lead. However, they found themselves in trouble, when John Clayton, an assistant, made disparaging remarks against King George II, of which he was fined a mark. The settlement was eventually dissolved, and the leaders and their followers moved back to South Carolina to include Thomas Owen, Victor Nelly, Richard Gregory, and John Clayton.<sup>401</sup>

#### Frontier Forts of the French and Indian War

After the defeat of General Edward Braddock, along with his British and Colonial army, in July of 1755, against the French and Indians on a small field along the Monongahela River, left a vacuum to which the frontier became a hostile place to live. Raiding parties took full advantage of the retreating British regular and colonial soldiers, attacking settlers, villages, and

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<sup>399</sup> Sappington has used the names of Dunker allies as Dunkers from time to time, however, he does not use it as a count of Dunker or Seventh Day Baptists in his official counts.

<sup>400</sup> Sappington, 50.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid., 40.

communities all along the eastern Appalachian range. The colony of Virginia was one of the first to take defensive measures, even before the war started, by allowing settlers in areas previously uninhabited to move in, create frontier forts and attempt to defend the lands. The Dunker brethren of the Shenandoah Valley and Cumberland Valley refused to support the efforts of building forts, but they did take measures to defend themselves in their own methods. However, this was not enough in the attempt to stave off the formidable French and their Indian allies. The actions taken by the Virginia government became the foundation of the defense of the frontier against the French and their allies. The goal was to create a buffer, an area of defensive positions, that would keep the French and allies at least away from the Piedmont.

Prior to the defeat of Braddock, the only defensive position the English had beyond the Blue Ridge (the ridge of mountains that stretches from present day Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to northern Georgia) was Fort Cumberland, in present day Cumberland, Maryland. This fort, previously named Fort Mount Pleasant, was founded by a joint gubernatorial committee of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and built between August and October of 1754.<sup>402</sup> The purpose of this fort was to be defensive as well as a supply base for Virginia's Ohio Company. Braddock, along with men from Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland would all converge on Fort Cumberland using two roads, one of which was newly completed, from Winchester, Virginia to Fort Cumberland, the other road, not yet completed, from Frederick, Maryland to the same fort, before setting out for Fort Du Quesne and Braddock's destiny.<sup>403</sup> One point of interest, as Colonial Dunbar attempted to use the road from Frederick to Fort Cumberland, he found the road only completed as far as the Conococheague

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<sup>402</sup> Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland Being the History of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett Counties from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, (Philadelphia, 1882), loc 3133.

<sup>403</sup> Thomas Lynch Montgomery, *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania Vol 2*, (Harrisburg, 1916), 6.

Creek where it deposited into the Potomac on the north, and just west was a ford, which he used to move his troops to Winchester where he took advantage of the new road to Fort Cumberland. The road used, was used a great deal by the Eckerlin brothers traveling back and forth from their Dunkard Bottom settlement to the Conococheague settlement and the Strasburg settlement below Winchester. The road connected with the Great Wagon Road in what is now Hagerstown. The ford that crossed the Potomac would become very useful in the coming years and a place of interest where Washington felt a defensive position should be.<sup>404</sup> In April of 1755, Governor Sharpe of Maryland met with General Braddock, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin, then Postmaster General of the Colonies, to arrange for supplies, of which Franklin acquired one hundred and fifty wagons of the Conestoga variety from Pennsylvania to transport the needed supplies to Fort Cumberland.<sup>405</sup>

In July of 1755 Braddock and his army moved west towards Fort Du Quesne, with Indian scouts led by noted Pennsylvania Indian Agent and relative of Sir William Johnson, George Croghan. Croghan's life was full of adventure and disaster followed by great fortune throughout his service to Braddock and to Pennsylvania as well as New York, but his military service would end after his horrible defeat at the hands of the French. His continued service to the crown and to the colonies was invaluable, he was commissioned by the crown as a peace negotiator in the Pontiac wars.<sup>406</sup> Other Native American agents assisted Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland in

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<sup>404</sup> There were a few fords on the Potomac that allowed both settlers and soldiers to cross from Maryland into Virginia and back. What is now called Packhorse Ford, just east of present-day Shepherdstown, was one ford, another was the Conocacheague ford. During the American Civil War, there were more than a dozen fords between Great Falls and Shepherdstown, the last one on the west was Edwards ford. Beyond the Conocacheague ford, the land and landscape became more rugged, more difficult to traverse, and the river cut a meandering trail through mountains creating very few opportunities to cross the Potomac. The area known today as Oldtown, then Cresepostown, provided a ford which is now the only private toll bridge in America, and then another at Fort Cumberland, now Cumberland Maryland, allowed a fording of the river.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid., 3157.

<sup>406</sup> George Croghan, *A Selection of George Croghan's Letters and Journals Relating to Tours into the Western Country – November 16, 1750 – November 1765*, (Cleveland, 1904), Loc 47.

the attempt to negotiate peace or at least the end of hostilities throughout the French and Indian War, however, none were elevated to a more exemplary stature than George Croghan.

After the fateful day of July 9, 1755, war broke out all along the Blue Ridge Mountain range, from Pennsylvania to Georgia. As Washington made his way back to towards the Piedmont of Virginia, after he and General Braddock limped back towards Fort Necessity, the site of Washington's surrender the previous year, Braddock died on July 13<sup>th</sup> of his wounds. The Ohio Valley was surrendered to the French and their Indian allies as Washington moved east with what was left of Braddock's army.<sup>407</sup> Thus began the crippling, murderous rampage of the Native Americans on the frontier of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The areas were vastly underdeveloped, the Wilderness Road was nothing more than a deer trail (this was the road that Braddock used in his attempt to get to Fort Du Quesne), only the Winchester / Cumberland Road was wide enough for one wagon to move through it at a time. Washington arrived in Winchester by early August and arrived in Fredericksburg on September 6 and would be appointed Commander-in-chief of all Virginia forces.<sup>408</sup> Governor Dinwiddie had given up his grandiose plans of leading a "gentleman's" war against the French with himself as the ranking General.<sup>409</sup> This action caused the Samuel Eckerlin to migrate back from the area of Dunkard Bottom back to Strasburg where he remained, most other Dunkers remained in the east of the Appalachian plateau, and west of the Blue Ridge.

October saw the English in the "Most Deplorable Situation," as their only fort west of the Alleghany Mountains was cut off, and the bloodshed was moving east.<sup>410</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen, who found himself in command of Fort Cumberland surrounded by about 150

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<sup>407</sup> Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, (New York, 2001), 105.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>409</sup> Norman Baker, *French & Indian War in Frederick County Virginia*, (Winchester, 2000), 18-19.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

Indians had written that they found themselves in “Barbarous Circumstances, and unheard-of Instances of Cruelty. They Spare the Lives of the Young Woman and Carry them away to gratify the Brutal passions of Lawless Savages.”<sup>411</sup> Pennsylvania fared no better, nor did Maryland. The entire Blue Ridge had begun to bleed with the Briton’s losing ground and people. To make matters worse, the British high command had to divert those troops intended to be concentrated in America to the continent to aid Frederick and Ferdinand.<sup>412</sup> This left the colonials with little more than a contingent of British Regulars supported by the colonial militias. Pennsylvania and Virginia called for militia to be raised but allowed the local governments to pursue militia organization as well.<sup>413</sup> However, this did not stop the skilled Indians who relied on guerrilla warfare, using the forests, rivers, mountains, and valleys to escape with little to no trace. They had a keen interest in not only plunder and exploitation, but also were competitive between tribes. “While they are our Friends, they are the Cheapest and Strongest Barrier for the Protection of our Settlements; when Enemies, they are capable of ravaging in their method of War, in spite of all we can do, to render those Possessions almost useless.”<sup>414</sup> The Dunker’s remained on their property, refusing to abandon their holdings, sometimes to their own detriment but there is little documentary evidence that Dunkers suffered murder and massacre after 1758.

In late October of 1755, Washington began the fortification of the Frontier, working with local militia to build small local forts. Discussions commenced between Washington and Thomas Lord Fairfax, proprietor of the Northern Neck, as to how to properly defend the frontier. Small forts were key according to Fairfax, although nothing would stop the errant raids from the

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<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, (New York, 1994), 67.

<sup>413</sup> According to Brenden McConville, “the governor of Pennsylvania had the honor to receive from one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, the King’s Command...to furnish all the men so raised...with Arms, Ammunition and Tents.” Brendan McConville, *The King’s Three Faces; The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776*, (Chapel Hill, 2006), 151.

<sup>414</sup> Alan Taylor, *American Colonies; The Settling of North America*, (New York, 2004), 424.



Natives, he speculated (quite knowingly, more knowledgeable about Indian affairs than most), that large forts with smaller forts in between would have to do. However, drafting militia to build these forts or even to assist in Fort Cumberland's defense proved difficult.<sup>415</sup> "Most of the settlers [in the Shenandoah Valley through to the Blue Ridge] 'refused to stir', preferring to 'die with their wives and families'."<sup>416</sup> Pennsylvania had its share of rioting and refusals as well. In November of 1755, threats were pouring in from the frontier that the men were willing to march on Philadelphia to get supplies to defend themselves. Pennsylvania passed the Supply Act in November of 1755 authorizing its string of frontier forts that "would synchronize Pennsylvania's defenses with those of Maryland [as well as Virginia's]."<sup>417</sup>

These forts, as they were called, consisted mainly of a block house, materials were primarily of stone construction, which gave its defenders the ability to shoot, reload and cover while doing so and usually consisted of two stories, so that the defenders had ample space to defend the people inside. However, they did not spring up overnight, and many areas continued to refuse to build them as many considered themselves pacifists. By March of 1756, the Virginia Assembly had passed an act calling for the formation of frontier forts, a "chain of forts along the eastern slope of the Alleghenies."<sup>418</sup> After which, Washington and Fairfax strategized on how best to place these forts. In the Spring of 1756, the British formally declared war on the French. It was not until November of 1756 that Washington formally submitted his plan for the Valley's fortification and protection. Washington's plan extended from North Carolina to the Potomac River, many of which affected both Dunker and Quaker families.

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<sup>415</sup> While Fort Cumberland was sponsored by various colonies, Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia and South Carolina, it was difficult to know even what to do. Robert Orme received a letter from Governor Dinwiddie with £2000 from South Carolina, that he knew not what to do with. William M Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, (Pittsburgh, 1893), 269.

<sup>416</sup> Stuart E Brown, *Virginia Baron; The Story of Thomas 6<sup>th</sup> Lord Fairfax*, (Berryville, 1965), 137.

<sup>417</sup> Joseph Seymour, *The Pennsylvania Associators; 1747-1777*, (Yardley, 2012), 73.

<sup>418</sup> Brown, 139.

The fort to the north would protect the crossing of the Potomac on the south beach of the river opposite of the Conococheague Creek, that of Fort Maidstone. A second fort, approximately a day's ride south from Maidstone, was Fort Loudoun. No less than 25 forts sprang up within 25 miles of Fort Frederick, Maryland in the spring of 1757. Also, in the spring of 1757, the Philadelphia Conference, attended by the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, as well as George Washington and John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun met to discuss the war and its campaigns. By June of 1757, the chain of forts was partially completed, and Fort Loudoun in Winchester was provisioned. It was at this time that many Indians joined the British at Winchester, those being the Catawba, the Cherokee, Nottoways and Tuscaroras, and they announced their friendship, and requested gifts. However, by late September of 1757, the French and Indians were learning to avoid the string of forts, while none of the main forts, garrisoned by Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania militia were ever attacked directly, they provided a valuable piece towards the wars end.

Forts Frederick and Cumberland in Maryland, Forts Maidstone and Loudoun in Virginia, and Pomfret Castle, Fort Augusta and Shirley in Pennsylvania all supported the frontier line of defensive forts spread out along the Blue Ridge Mountain range. Their positioning was integral to the plan that Washington had to support and supply the frontier with weapons, ammunition, and other supplies to defend against large scale attacks, but they were no good at repelling small scale Indian raids that plagued the rich valley for nearly three years before Fort Du Quesne fell in September 1758, after the French abandoned and burned the fort, and the British renamed it Fort Pitt. The collaboration between the Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland governments to create a unified series of forts was unprecedented, and at times, difficult to manage, but all governors offered their services to each other assisting in building and supplying the forts. After the

victories of 1759 and 1760, the larger forts changed focus, from supply bases to check points, “designed to ensure that firearms and other contraband were not transported across the Appalachian Mountains for the Indians by unscrupulous traders.”<sup>419</sup>

The fall of Fort Vause to the French, Shawnee, Miami, and Ottawa troops on June 25, 1756, caused an increased panic on the frontier. “Covered wagons, loaded with the belongings of families heading for safety, blocked the roads.”<sup>420</sup> Hordes of families loaded up their prized possessions and migrated back towards eastern cities, such as Lancaster, Fredericksburg, York, and other points east. The sheer volume of men women and children fleeing the frontier became troublesome to many of the leaders in the area. Refugees were in such number that some garrisons had nearly three hundred which they had to provide shelter for. Leaders such as Conrad Weiser, James Burd and Edward Shippen stayed if they could, but even they only were able to hold out for so long. “In May 1756 James Wood, the founder of Winchester, did decide to evacuate his family from his plantation near the town. His decision created a panic in Winchester and ‘caused many to think their Case desperate’.”<sup>421</sup> The Funks and Samuel Eckerlin refused to abandon their settlements or their brethren. Those brethren who did flee did not quickly forget the fertile land that the Shenandoah Valley provided, and they re-migrated back to the valley as soon as the Treaty of Paris was signed.

For two years the frontier was dotted with raiding parties which laid waste to the land and property in both Pennsylvania and Virginia. Rifts became apparent between the elite of the frontier and the ordinary settlers. Many frontiersmen, who were of German, Irish, Scot, or Welsh descent harbored ill feelings towards the leadership of the elite. “Ethic and social disputes

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<sup>419</sup> Lawrence Babits, *The Archaeology of French and Indian War frontier Forts*, (Gainsville, 2013)., 161.

<sup>420</sup> Matthew C Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry*,(Pittsburgh, 2003)., 56.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

emerged as neighbors sought safety and refuge.”<sup>422</sup> What made it worse was that the Pennsylvania Assembly failed to authorize a well-funded defense bill. In Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie failed to comprehend the magnitude of the divisions in the frontier of Virginia. The authorities in many counties refused to march their militias outside of their county lines, and when Fort Vause fell in 1756, the commander of Frederick County militia refused to assist James Patton in Augusta County.

The Dunkers, while remaining committed to being pacifist or anti-violent, they did make use of forts for protection and as a persuasion tool against the Native Americans and French on the border country. The initial groups of Dunkers who pressed west, following the similar trails that Washington and Braddock utilized to meet the French in the West, settled on such places as those of Sandy Creek, Georges Creek, Dunkard Creek, and Ten Mile Creek, all of which are within present day West Virginia, beyond the Maryland border. Further, the Dunkers did not only press west along the Potomac River, they also pressed southward, settling places like Back Creek, Cacapon, North River, South Branch, New Creek and Pattersons Creek. They also settled in the Shenandoah Valley primarily in Strassburg. This pattern of settlement was rapid and gave rise to depredations that occurred against the Dunkers for multiple reasons, firstly, they were beyond the reach of the militia of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Secondly, they were beyond the functional protection of the frontier forts that Washington and others established. Thirdly, they primarily migrated as a group, or as bloodlines, both assisting mutually in building the settlement, but lacking any protection from other settlers as they all were Dunkers.

When Washington was appointed commander of the twelve hundred strong Virginia Regiment, Fort Cumberland was receiving daily attacks. Adam Stephen, founder of Martinsburg

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<sup>422</sup> Ibid., 59.

(in present day West Virginia), was the commander of Fort Cumberland, wrote that the forces attacking or raiding the frontier were about 150 strong, but were divided so that he could not pursue any one of the groups at a time. “One party descended on settlements on the Greenbrier River in Augusta County, and another attacked the settlements on Patterson’s Creek east of Fort Cumberland and then pressed down the Potomac to Town Creek, Maryland...A third part, composed principally of Delaware’s, commanded by Shingas, descended on the south branch of the Potomac.”<sup>423</sup>

In North Carolina, that colony was not as taken off guard when the attacks began, as the governor there, Arthur Dobbs, had visited the frontier in 1756, and owning several thousand acres of which he was receiving quitrents, he was seriously concerned about the wellbeing of his tenants. Before leaving the frontier, he ordered that Fort Dobbs be constructed. Francis Brown wrote that “the oblong square fifty-three feet by forty, the opposite angles twenty-four and twenty-two; in height of oak logs regularly diminished from sixteen inches to sixty it contains three floors and there may be discharged from each floor at one and the same about a hundred muskets.”<sup>424</sup> The Cherokees and North Carolina settled with a temporary peace in February of 1756 and the Catawba continued their raids, however peace did not last long. In late 1758, the Cherokee, urged by the French, soon attacked Fort Dobbs. The Commander, Hugh Waddell carried the war to the Cherokee, forming an expedition and taking to the field between 1759 and 1760. “The fighting in 1760 virtually destroyed the power of the Cherokees to make war, and peace resulted the following year.”<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>424</sup> Robert W Ramsey, *Carolina Cradle; Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier; 1747-1762*, (Chapel Hill, 1964), `94.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid., 198.

Today many of these forts can be found in various states of repair. One of the best preserved is that of Fort Frederick, found in Washington County, Maryland. Others, such as many of the stone block houses in Berkeley County, West Virginia or Franklin County, Pennsylvania are in such disrepair that they are hardly recognizable, others have left no trace of their presence. Another well preserved fort is that of Fort Hunter in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, along the Susquehanna River. The French and Indian War was a defining moment for this area along the Blue Ridge and marked the first time in history that various colonies worked in concert to provide a common defense and witnessed the first large scale military action in North America. The Blue Ridge saw the transference from frontier life to a militarized zone, changing the area indelibly.

#### Dunker Massacres During the French and Indian War

##### Dunkard Bottom

Dunkard Bottom, or the Eckerlin Hermitage, was mentioned by George Washington in a letter dated Sept, 28, 1756, to Governor Dinwiddie that Capt Spotswood had led an expedition to the site to bring in the people, no mention to the success of the adventure, however, there was an attack on the settlement. The attack on Dunkard Bottom was quite quick and did not cause any death as Draper's Bottom did. The Native Americans swept into Dunkard Bottom, and because there were only three individuals, none were killed but all were captured. Washington, in Winchester, had Israel Eckerlin arrested as a spy, and forced him to be the guide to his brothers' settlement, however, when they arrived no one was there and the place was in ruins. This attack was evidence enough that the Eckerlin brothers were not spies. The three individuals who were captured were John Schilling, Israel, and Gabriel Eckerlin. Schilling later escaped and explained

that the Eckerlin brothers were sold to the French. They were taken to Quebec and later died in France.

#### Valentine Powers

Valentine Powers, who had settled in the area of South Branch around 1750, had been captured by the Native Americans in 1758. There were dozens of inhabitants along the South Branch who were killed during the French and Indian war. Valentine Powers' brother, Michael was one of the unlucky men to be killed by a Native American raiding party, Valentine was captured during this attack he, along with Jacob Peterson, had six children captured during the same time, with only one child escaping.

#### Other Settlers and Settlements affected by the French and Indian War

The great migration of Dunker settlers occurred almost simultaneously with the Great Awakening in North America. Individuals used the Great Wagon Road to migrate from Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley then south or west. By 1745, the areas of Berkeley, Morgan, Jefferson, and Hampshire Counties were being settled by all manner of individuals. Germans, Irish, English, Scottish, all moved towards the Shenandoah and beyond to find land and settle. Many Dunkers found that the areas other inhabitants, the English speaking one's, were amiable to their religious activity and joined them as English Baptists. Another movement, the Baptists, were also spreading through Virginia at this time. Dunker ministers such as George Adam and Nicholas, and David Martin were working with other leaders to establish the Great Awakening in Virginia's backcountry. Also joining the migration were English Quakers, who shared in the belief of pacifism.

Individuals such as Joseph and George Tarvin, who were English in origin, were of the Dunker faith, according to Durnbaugh.<sup>426</sup> John Corbley, Elijah Craig, and Thomas Chambers were found guilty of being Anabaptists in Culpepper County, who all lived in Cacapon Valley but were either Dunker or Baptist. Others such as John Keith, Daniel Newcomb, Richard Arnold, the Patterson Creek group of Jacob and John Bossertdt, the Rinker Families, Nixon Families, Arnold Family, Hoover Family, Christopher Guss, John Titer, John Horn, and many others all suffered during the French and Indian War through displacement, raids and other depredations.

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<sup>426</sup> While it is likely that both were ministers, there is no primary evidence to the fact.



Section 3  
Chapter VIII

The American Revolution and the Impact on the Dunkers

Germantown and Philadelphia Captured by the British

Germantown remained a stronghold of the Dunker religious community, and as such, the Dunkers, men in particular, suffered the war as non-combatant enemies of the state.

Pennsylvania declared that all men of military age who were unwilling to support the war were deemed enemies or were found guilty of treason. Pennsylvania did not initially consider the Dunkers as treasonous, but after Philadelphia and Germantown were captured by the British and then relieved the state pursued these pacifists with disregard and malice, confiscating property and imprisoning many without trial.

General William Howe, of the British Army, began his invasion of Pennsylvania with the aid of his brother, Naval Admiral Richard Howe, the two generals set sail from Delaware for the head of the Chesapeake Bay, landing on the Northern end of the bay, on the west bank of the Elk about six miles north of Turkey Point, with some 15,000 men using several hundred transports. His objective, to capture Philadelphia, and lay waste to the magazines of York and Carlisle, and “reconquest the colonies beginning in Pennsylvania and make full use of the loyalists living there.”<sup>427</sup> After several days of navigating both the unknown Chesapeake and the fertile unknown lands outside America’s largest city, Philadelphia, Howe struck at the Continental Army, led by General Washington, which culminated in the largest single day battle of the war, Brandywine.

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<sup>427</sup> Ira D. Gruber, *The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution*, (New York, 1972),. 239.

The battle and its aftermath brought problems to both the German population as well as the English/Scottish/Welsh Quaker population. Hundreds of individuals were forced to surrender their personal property because they were denounced as traitors and according to the Colonial Archives, many individuals were stripped of their possessions because they refused to either support or defend the new American Nation financially or militarily. One such Dunker found himself at the wrong end of the new legal entity of the State of Pennsylvania and that was Christopher Sauer Junior. His property confiscated, he was also arrested and placed in custody for a length of time.<sup>428</sup> Another Dunker, Martin Urner, was convicted of misdemeanors in connection with attempting to free British Prisoners who were in a prison camp close to his home. He was fined originally seventy-five pounds and then an additional twelve pounds ten shillings because he was late in paying his thirty-seven pounds ten shillings.<sup>429</sup>

The Revolutionary War, and the actions of Pennsylvania, forced many of the sectarians, Mennonite, Quaker, and Dunker to move out of their homelands, and travel south where Virginia, North and South Carolina and Kentucky (territory of Virginia at the time) were more lenient of their objections against war and supporting the war effort. While the Shenandoah Valley remained one of the most densely populated German populations in the west, it was not until the war that Pennsylvania Dunker's and Mennonites began traveling to purchase land in the Valley. "Mennonite bishop Peter Blosser and Dunker elder John Garber, both from York County, Pennsylvania, spearheaded the permanent movement to Virginia...outright persecution and pressure of their increasing families caused both sects to seek new homes."<sup>430</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>429</sup> According to the *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council*, Martin Urner had missed a deadline to pay his fine, and then was both additionally fined and then required to pay even more because of it. See, *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council*, (Harrisburg, 1853), 13.501-2, 13.546, 13.690-1.

<sup>430</sup> The Valley offered a community that they were familiar with, Germans and the German language, both were congenial to them. This was the first organized settlement or re-settlement of Dunker families. Between 1783 and

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1787 thirty-two Dunker families moved into the Shenandoah Valley. See, Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, (Charlottesville, 1969), 95.

### Section III Conclusion

On the fateful days of September 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> in the year 1862, saw death and destruction, two strong militaries struggled to take small parcels of land along the Hagerstown turnpike north of Sharpstown, Maryland, where stands a single white building, which contemporaries called the Dunkard Church. This famous church not only symbolizes a very difficult time in American history, but also a conundrum. A religious group, who espoused piety, had lost its mysticism, but remained committed in its anti-war stance, became the center of a battlefield which became one of the bloodiest battles in American history and prompted Abraham Lincoln to sign the Emancipation Proclamation which freed the enslaved African population of the rebellious southern states (incidentally, the Dunker's took a strong stand against slavery in 1813).<sup>431</sup>

However, understanding the Dunker Sect from its beginnings, its slow transformation, its troubles, controversies, and its eventual creation of a denomination brings its history to light in a way that the National Park Service and American Civil War history never has. The Dunker sect, its pietism, mysticism, and its dance with solitary meditation all create a fascinating history of the sect which transformed the American frontier landscape in a way that today can barely be seen. Moreover, the history of the Dunker Sect is further complicated by both the problem of unification and its founders' want of individualism and a personal relationship with Christ. The Reformation, begun by Martin Luther, further complicated by passionate and convicted individuals such as Zwingli and Thomas Cromwell, created a landscape across Europe which brought unification, division, conflict, and compromise on a continent not only troubled by

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<sup>431</sup> Bowman, 81.

plague and pestilence, but threatened with invasion by a common enemy, the Ottoman Empire, once threatened Vienna, then subdued, now brought a militarized continent to war with itself over which version of Christianity was right or true.

A generation later, while Zwingli pursued an orthodox religion under what is now the Reformed Church, saw further splintering of Christianity, and more importantly, brought God to the individual, through both the Printing Press and a loosening of travel restrictions that Feudalism incurred. While both the Printing Press, economic development, and the slow erosion of the Feudal system allowed for increased communication and the sharing of ideas, many of the early Pietist leaders remained localized and caused problems only on local leaders both in the church and in government (sometimes one and the same). Various Principalities in what is now Germany followed different convictions, causing struggles both inside these government structures and outside as individuals traveled from place to place. It was not until the Thirty Years' War, however, that any reconciliation occurred within Europe that allowed Lutheranism, Reformism, and Catholicism to worship freely.

The Thirty Year's War brought conflict on Europe like no other war before or until after World War 2. The memory of the Thirty Years' War lasted well beyond the death of all combatants and civilians not only because of its destruction upon the land, but also its outcome. The belligerents did not always fall in line with religion, nor did it always fall in line with a single territory, however, it saw France side with Protestant Principalities, the Catholic League side with Protestants as well. This war was not solely a religious war, as it is sometimes construed, rather it was a war for domination of the continent, pitting France and its Bourbon dynasty, against the Habsburg dynasty and its controlling land. This Bourbon/Habsburg quasi-war broke out into all-out war, and its resulting Peace of Westphalia (in three parts) left between

four and eight million dead and predicated further conflicts in the future. The Peace of Westphalia, with its resulting Peace of Münster, which connected Spain and the Dutch Republic, the Peace of Osnabrück, between the Holy Roman Empire and Sweden, and a second Treaty of Münster, between the Holy Roman Empire and France. These series of treaties secured the Dutch independence, created Antwerp as the capital of Spanish Netherlands and created a commercial hub for trade in Amsterdam. Also, the treaties allowed for independence and autonomy of the states within the Holy Roman Empire and forced the emperor to submit to the Imperial Diet. However, Article 5 was the most important part of this treaty, allowing for self-determination or dominant religion of the state and allowed for freedom of worship for religious minorities. Article 7 also removed the requirement that if a ruler changed his religion, then his subjects would also have to change their religion.

War remained a constant threat in central Europe for the foreseeable future in the seventeenth century. The Palatinate was forced to function as both an independent state and an occupied state for nearly three-quarters of the century, and into the eighteenth century, while religious extremism began to grow tremendously. However, the Germans had little room to travel or escape the wars and punishments in the seventeenth century. The German states, now firmly entrenched, but independent, in the Holy Roman Empire, remained in turmoil in religion and in power. The German states lacked the ability to set up colonial outposts in the New World as the French, English, Spanish, Dutch, and Swedish did. Further, these colonial empires rarely allowed foreign migrants into their colonies during the seventeenth century. Few Germans immigrated from central Europe until the end of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. These Germans settled into small pockets, primarily being granted permission by Sweden or the Netherlands to travel and settle in those colonies such as the New Sweden and

New Netherland in America. Moreover, until the Glorious Revolution, very few English tradesman conducted trade with the Germans. The Glorious Revolution created a new flood of immigrants from the Rhineland, which allowed migrants to travel down the Rhine into the port of Rotterdam, which was maintained by the Stadtholder, William of Orange, King William III of England. Furthermore, William Penn authorized the settlement of Germans and other Protestants in Europe. This Holy Experiment, 1682, allowed Protestants to worship freely in the colonial Province of Pennsylvania. Most other English colonies disallowed freedom of worship. Maryland was Catholic until 1698, Virginia remained staunchly Anglican, the New England colonies remained Puritan and even after the execution of the German, Jacob Leisler (a Reformed soldier from the Dutch East India Company) in New York, after his rebellion in response to the Glorious Revolution, New York remained firmly Anglican. Only East and West Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania offered any sort of religious freedom, with East Jersey more aligned to New York and West Jersey more aligned to Pennsylvania until 1702 when the violence was ungovernable, and the Proprietors of both East and West gave up their rights to Queen Anne, who created New Jersey, and authorized Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, and cousin to the queen, governor of both New York and New Jersey in 1702.

The Dunker Sect sprung from the violence and troubles that the Rhineland produced or experienced at the turn of the eighteenth century. With individuals such as Jakob Spener, Earnst Christoph Hochmann, Count Rudolf Ferdinand, and Alexander Mack pressed the Anabaptist narrative to its culmination with the birth of the Dunkers, they came from a long line of Anabaptist forerunners in central Europe. From before Martin Luther nailed his Ninety-five Theses to the door of All Saints' Church in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517, sects, then known as heretics, fought against the Catholic Church. Once the veil was torn and the Protestant

factions were at least recognized as a faith, this opened the ability for various religious leaders to experiment and discuss openly their ideas, however this did not mean they were free to do so. Antiquated laws, despotic leadership, religious zealots, and others schemed and plotted against dissenting opinions until Jakob Spener was appointed as Superintendent of the Lutheran Church in Berlin that Pietism had a voice, albeit small voice in the German pantheon of sects. The ability of various individuals to learn and discuss religious doctrine at the school in Halle marked the turning point in religious conversation. The zenith of Pietism occurred within the eighteenth century in Europe, and then immigrated by in large to the British North American colonies during the same century. This created a microcosm of German religious piety in North America, centering on the colony of Pennsylvania then migrated to the west via the Great Wagon Road into the Appalachian Mountains and valleys.

As shown, the Dunker religious community was fractured, disorganized, and remained so, throughout the colonial era. With small communities each Dunker meetinghouse supported themselves through hard work and religious toleration and piety, sometimes diving into the mystical aspects of Christianity, such as what occurred in Ephrata, however, the primary goal of most Dunkers was to settle their own land and support each other. In Virginia, with the settlement of Funkstown and Dunkard Bottom, in Maryland with multiple settlements, in North Carolina and in Pennsylvania, small pockets of Dunker families settled. It was not until after the Revolutionary War that the Dunkers predominately migrated further west to escape the growth of population, migrating as far as California and Oregon. The frontier enticed the Dunker population to seek solitude, carve out a living for themselves and their family, enjoy communing with both nature and the Holy Spirit, as well as cheap and plentiful arable land. The population density of the frontier through the colonial era was less than 2 persons per square mile, affording



Dunkers and others to live this solitary life, however the solitary life did come at a cost, Native Americans and French did travel through these frontier areas on a regular basis, at least until 1763, attracting raids and thefts. The wilderness was also formidable due to its climate, the average temperature even today is around 10 degrees colder than their eastern neighbors on the same latitude lines, however the global phenomenon of the Little Ice Age affected the frontier dwellers more harshly due more to inadequate domiciles rather than by direct exposure.<sup>432</sup> However, the fleeing masses of Germans arriving on the shores of colonial North America were escaping harsh treatment for their faith, they sought the promise of a new life, free from persecution, abundant land, and a welcoming hand. What they found was a crowded land, already too populated to afford newcomers, so they traveled west. What Europe offered them by submitting to the established religion, America gave them through no establishment, but also took from them at a heavy cost for this freedom, from toil and struggle, hunger and want for food.<sup>433</sup> But the Germans survived and thrived, by migrating to low or no populated areas, creating homesteads, and worshiping as they saw fit.

The frontier also changed the way the Dunker's worshiped and communed with God. Through the interrelationship with fellow Pietists and Anabaptists, the Dunker's adopted various theological and liturgical practices they found suitable from the Mennonites, Quakers, and Moravians, creating a more uniform religious sect by the turn of the Nineteenth Century. Although they remained friendly with both the Mennonites and Quakers directly after the

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<sup>432</sup> The world during the Eighteenth Century had been suffering from the Little Ice Age from about the Twelfth Century off and on. While both Fagan and Blom focused on Europe more than they did North America, both suggest there is evidence that proves the Colonial Era and Early Republic Era of North America did see lower temperatures and more extreme weather than is experienced today. Fagan, 214., Blom, 281.

<sup>433</sup> According to Joseph Doddridge, the western reaches of the frontier in both Pennsylvania and Virginia offered some of the most fertile land, but some of the most hostile weather. He stated that crops failed on a regular basis, due to late spring frosts that are unpredictable. Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, (Pittsburgh, 1912), 55.

American Revolution, they did begin to distance themselves from both as they formulated to a greater extent their own doctrine. The Moravian religious community was the only sect they remained in contact with after the War of 1812, while migrating further west to remained isolated from others.

The three ideals, or features that the Dunkers formulated in Europe, “freedom of conscience”, “noncreedalism”, and “Christian unity”, became de-emphasized after the migration from Europe to America in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, however it became part of their revitalization to safeguard their individual autonomy in the twentieth century. These particular symbols of Dunkerism remain today, but in a diminished form yet again. While these symbols do remain, they have been transformed, partly because many could not be explained, so they were discarded, and partly because of the new stance on missionary, evangelism, and Kingdom expansion. Many symbols were imported by the Dunker’s wholesale such as; “acolytes, organs, choirs, pulpits, stained glass and steeples, trained and salaried pastors, hats and ties, bread and cup communion, revival meetings, Sunday schools, gospel songs, temperance groups, Boy Scouts, and more.”<sup>434</sup> Most Dunkers, by the turn of the Twenty-First Century, belong to the Church of the Brethren, however, there are those who remained hardline Dunkers.

Today the remaining 1000 members of the Dunker Brethren Church, in some 26 different congregations live in a pluralistic society, in which their values and traditions are consistently tested through political challenges and the debate of Christology, denominational structure all bring tension to the small branch of the Brethren World Assembly. However, their differences also bring them together. “The appeal of distinctly Brethren symbolism also bridges the divide...Love feasts, triune immersion baptism, quilting, disaster relief, the Mack seal, Brethren

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<sup>434</sup> Bowman, 379.

hymns, and historical photographs” all bring the Dunker community together.<sup>435</sup> What will become of the Dunker community in the decades to come is yet unknown, but if their history is anything to go by, the Schwarzenau Brethren will surely stand the test of time, and defy the odds yet again to become strong, fresh, and vibrant for years to come.

Of the remaining members of the Dunker Brethren Church, most of which fall under the wider Church of the Brethren in the United States. The Dunkers are similar in dress to the Mennonite; however, they are not as strict as the Amish as they do utilize the automobile. Almost all of the 1,000 members of the Dunker Brethren are members of the larger Church of the Brethren, however there are a few congregations, primarily the Gettysburg and the Antietam Congregations, who have remained separated and united together under the name Independent Brethren Church and are the most conservative of the Dunkers. There are other small groups of Dunkers such as the Old Order German Baptist Brethren Church in Covington Ohio and the Primitive Dunker Brethren who later joined the Conservative German Baptist Brethren. While there are many distinct Dunkers spread across the Middle Eastern United States, most are associated with the Church of the Brethren and the National Council of Churches.<sup>436</sup> The impact of the frontier on the Dunkers, and the Dunkers impact on the frontier can be summarized in part by the author Helen Reimensnyder Martin, in her stereotyped novel, *The Crossways*, in which a character, Lizzie Kuntz, a Pennsylvania German farmers daughter, states, “To be sure we ain’t towners.”<sup>437</sup> This represents the antithesis of what these Germans, indeed the Dunkers, were

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<sup>435</sup> Carl F. Bowman, *Brethren Society, The Cultural Transformation of a ‘Peculiar People’*, (Baltimore, 1995), 411.

<sup>436</sup> For more information on the Dunker Churches of today, see James R. Lewis, *The Encyclopedia of Cults, Sects, and New Religions*, (Amherst, 1998), 93 – 98.

<sup>437</sup> Martin’s 1910 novel about the Pennsylvania Dutch sheds light on the stereotypes that were generated by those who saw them as backward, uneducated, and “dirty”. But most were far from this. Drive through any back road through Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland or the Carolinas and you will find both neat and well-kept farms and cluttered ill-kept farms. These differences are not unique to a culture but can be seen throughout the world. What is unique about America is the absence of a state religion, a freedom to worship and live how one sees fit to do. See, Helen Reimensnyder Martin, *The Crossways*, (New York, 1910).

seeking when they migrated to the frontier. They did not want to be “towners” as Lizzie suggests, but rather live a life away from the hustle and bustle of life in the urban areas and work hard to make a living and worship the way they saw fit.



## Appendix

### Appendix A

List of Passengers Imported in the Ship Allen from Rotterdam, James Graiges, Master, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1729.<sup>438</sup>

Alexander Mack	Reeinhart Hammer
John Mack	Samuel Galler
Valentine Mack	Conrad Oellen
Alexander Mack Jr.	John Caspar Kelb
John Henry Kalcklöser	John Martin Kress
Jacob Kalcklöser	John Jacob Hopback
Immanuel Kalcklöser	John Mointerfeer
Andrew Boni	Christian Kitsenlander
William Knepper	Leonard Amweg
Eisbert Bender	Mathew Scneider
Peter Lesle	Joseph Bruner
John Gunde	John Bruner (Sick)
Jacob Bessert	Mathew Ulland
Jacob Wiss	Jorick / George / Hoffart
Christian Schneider	John Perger
Jacob Schneider	John Wightman
John Flickiger	Philip Michael Fiersler
Valentine Becker	Vallentine Perhart / Bernhard Hisle
Jacob Lesle	John Jorick / George / Klauser
Christopher Marte	Henry Holstein, Germ <sup>t</sup>
Paul Lipkip	Valentine Rafer
Christopher Kalcklöser	Jorick Fetter
Christian Kropf	John Jacob Knecht
Andrew Kropf	Alexander Dihell
Jacob Kropf (Sick)	Henry Peter Middeldorf
Christian Knopf Jr.	Mathew Bradford English
John Slaughter (Schlachter)	Nicholas Bayly English
John Pettenkoffer	David Lesle
John Kipping	Jacob Bossert
John George Koch	Daniel Kropf (Sick)
John Michael Amweg	
John George Kiessel	

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<sup>438</sup> Transcribed from the Durnbaugh collection of the Elizabethtown College High Library, *List of Passengers Imported in the Ship Allen From Rotterdam, 1729*. Box 18, Folder 15.

John Jacob Kiessel (Sick)  
John Ulrich Oelen

These following are under the age of  
fifteen.

John Bossert  
Christopher Gottlieb Marte  
John Henry Drunder  
John Ulland  
Christian Hoffart

These following are female passangers.

Chrisine Margaret Kiessel  
Ann Barbara Kiessel  
Eve Tabaek Oelen  
Susan Hammer  
Dorothy Galler  
Margaret Oellen  
Elizabeth Oellen  
Ann Phillis Felicitas Kelb  
Ann Catherine Kress  
Magdallene Hopback  
Veronica Mcinterfeer / Mickendorfer  
Ann Barbara Kitsenlander  
Magdalene Amweg  
Magdalene Schneider  
Catherine Elizabeth Bruner  
Ann Marie Latrine  
Catherine Ulland  
Ann Margaret Hoffart  
Ann Margaret Hoffart Jr.  
Ann Ursula Perger  
Maria Phillis Felicitas Wightman  
Marie Catherine Fiersler  
Susan Catherine Hisle  
Ann Marie Klauser

Marie Magalene Kamp / wife or widow /  
Ann Marie Barbara Rafer  
Agnes Kalcklöser  
Joanna Margaret Boni  
Veronica Knipper  
Ann Margaret Mack  
Catherine Bender  
Ann Catherine Lesle  
Marie Elizabeth Lesle  
Susan Bossert  
Susan Schneider  
Stinchen / Christine / Becker  
Elizabeth Lesle  
Marie Agnes Marte  
Christine Lipkip  
Ann Margaret Mack / Wife /  
Phillipine Mack / Wife /  
Rosine Kropf  
Catherine Slaughter / Schlachter  
Ann Elizabeth Pettinghofer  
Maeta Lina Pettighofer  
Gertrud Pettighofer  
Ann Kipping  
Sybil Kipping  
Ann Catherine Koch  
Ann Marie Ackhorden  
Magdelene Ackhorden  
Christine Lesle  
Eve Bossert  
Joanna Kipping  
Catherine Oellen  
James Craigie / Captain /

## Appendix B

List of the members who joined the German Baptist Brethren in Europe Pages 54-70.

Albertus, (Brother)  
Amwigh (Amweg), Leonard  
Amwigh, Magdalena, wife of Leonard  
Amwigh, John Michael - Son of above  
Arian, Peter  
Augustin, (Brother)  
Bayly, Nicholas  
Becker, Peter  
Becker, Dorothea, wife of Peter  
Becker, Valentine  
Becker, Stinkee, wife of Valentine  
Bender (Benter), Hisbert  
Bender, Catharine, wife of Hisbert  
Bony, Andrew, one of the original Scharwarzenau Eight - Died 10/08/1741  
Bony, Joanna Margaret, wife of Andrew, also one of the Scharwarzenau Eight  
Bossertd, (Possert) Jacob, Sr.  
Bossertd, Jacob, Jr., son of Jacob Sr.  
Bossertd, Susanna, first wife of Jacob, Sr.  
Bossertd, Marilis, second wife of Jacob, Sr.  
Bradford, Matthew  
Brunner, Joseph  
Campbin, Maria Magdalena  
Cate, Den (Kate?)  
Clemens (Brother)  
Charitas (Sister)  
Christina (Sister)  
Contee, Hans  
Crist, John Martin (brother of Anna?)  
Crist, Anna Catherine (sister of John?)  
Cropp (Kropf, Crolf) Daniel  
Cropp, Jacob  
Cropp, Andrew  
Cropp, Christian  
Cropp, Christian, Jr.  
Dieter, George  
Diehl (Dihll), Alexander  
Du Boy, Abraham, a minister  
Durster, Philip Michael  
Eckerlin, Michael  
Eckerlin, ????, wife of Michael  
Eckerlin, Samuel  
Eckerlin, Israel



Eckerlin, Imanuel  
Eckerlin, Daniel  
Eckerlin, Gabriel  
Eley (Ellen, Elee), Ulrich  
Eley, Eve Tabatha, wife of Ulrich  
Eicher, Daniel  
Eicher, ????, wife of Daniel, and died at Ephrata Cloister in 1737  
Eicher, Anna, daughter of Daniel  
Eicher, Maria, daughter of Daniel  
Fiersler, Philip Michael  
Fiersler, Maria Catherine, wife of Philip  
Fischer, Johanna  
Flickinger (Fluckiger) Johannes  
Frantz, Michael  
Frantz, ????, wife of Michael  
Frantz, ????, daughter of Michael  
Frey, Andreas, first Elder of the Falckner's Swamp congregation  
Fritz, Daniel  
Fritz, Lisz, wife of Daniel  
Galler, Samuel  
Galler, Dorothea, wife of Samuel  
Gansz, George Balsler, came from Umstatt  
Gansz, Angenes Joanna, wife of George  
Gomerry (Gommere), John, first love feast in his house 12/24/1723  
Gomerry, Anna, wife of John  
Gorgas, ????, (widow)  
Gosen, Gojen, Mennonite preacher rebaptized in Rhine river September 1724  
Grau (Grahe), William, married a daughter of John Naas  
Grau, ????, wife of William  
Grau, Jacob, brother of William  
Gramo, (Brother)  
Grebi, (Graben), George, one of the Schwarzenau Eight  
Grebi, ????, wife of George  
Gundi (Gunde), Hans  
Hacker (Hager, Hoecker), Henry  
Hacker (Hoecker), (Brother) his Creyfelt marriage divided the church  
Hacker, ????, wife of above, her father was a Mennonite preacher  
Hacker, (Brother)  
Hageman, John Henry  
Hammer, Rinehart  
Hammer, Susan  
Hendrickson, Dirck  
Henkle, Johann  
Hinschle (Hisle), Valentine Gerhart  
Hissle (Hisle), John  
Hissle, Susannah Catrina

Hildebrand, Johannis, father-in-law of Valentine Mack  
Hildebrand, Maria, wife of John  
Hirsch (Brother)  
Hoffart, Christian  
Hoffart, Anna Margaret  
Hoffart, Jorick  
Hoffart, Anna Margaret, Jr.  
Hopbach, John Jacob  
Hopbach, Magdalena  
Holtzstein, Heinrich  
Hoening, John George  
Holzapple (Holzapfel), Henry  
Holzapple, Lena  
Hockmann, Ernst Christoph, (claimed as a Brother by Alexander Mack, Jr.)  
Hoheim, (Brother)  
Hubert, Jerrich  
Huisinga, Jacob Dircks  
Iller, Conrad  
Iller, Margaret  
Iller, Maria  
Iller, Elizabeth  
Jans, Albert  
Kalckglasser (Kalkliesser, Kalckloser), John Henry, a minister of note  
Kalckglasser, Anna Margareta, wife of John Henry  
Kalckglasser, ????  
Kalckglasser, ????  
Kalckglasser, Emanuel  
Kalckglasser, Katharine, wife of Emanuel  
Kalckglasser, Christophel  
Kalckglasser, Marie Liesel, wife of Christophel  
Kalckglasser, Agnes  
Kalkglasser, Jacob  
Kalb (Kolb, Kulp, Culp), Conrad  
Kalb Hans Gasper  
Kalb (Kulp), Anna Phillis  
Kempfer, Johannis  
Kebinger, Will  
Kitzinger, Johannis  
Kitzinger, Johanna, wife of Johannis  
Kitzintander, Anna Barbara  
Kitzintander, Christian  
Kipping, Johannis, one of the Schwarzenau Eight  
Kipping, Johanna, wife of Johannis  
Kipping, Sivilla  
Kipping, Anna  
Kissle (Kessell), John Jacob

Kissle, Hans Urick  
Kissle, Christina Margaret  
Kissle, Anna Barbara  
Kiebel, Hans Jacob  
Klauser, Anna Maria  
Klauser, Hans George  
Knipper (Knepper), Wilhelmus  
Knipper (Knepper), Veronica, wife of Wilhelmus  
Knight, John Jacob  
Knecht, John Jacob  
Kocker, Peterde  
Kocker, Yellis  
Kocker, Michael de  
Koch, Hans Georg  
Kock, ????, wife of Hans Georg  
Koch, Stephen  
Koch, Jacob  
Koster, John Peter  
Kress, John Martin  
Krolf, John Christian  
Latrine, Anna Marie  
Libe (Liebi, Levy), Christian, a preacher  
Lingen, ????  
Lisley (Leslie), David  
Lisley, Peter  
Lisley, Jacob  
Lisley, Anna Catharine  
Lisley, Maryles  
Liskes, Paul  
Lipkip (Lipekip), Paul  
Loback (Laubach), John  
Loser, ????  
Loser, ????, wife of above  
Mack, Alexander, Sr., founder of the Schwarzenau Eight  
Mack, Anna Margaretha, wife of Alexander, Sr.  
Mack, Alexander, Jr., son of Alexander, Sr.  
Mack, ????, wife of Alexander, Jr.  
Mack, John Valentine, son of Alexander, Sr.  
Mack, ????, wife of Valentine and daughter of John Hildebrand  
Mack, Johannes, son of Alexander, Sr.  
Mack, ????, wife of John  
Matten, Christopher  
Matler, Christian  
Martin, Christopher  
Martin, ????, wife of above  
Martin, ????, mother of Christopher

Meinterfeer (Mickinterfer), Johannis  
Meinterfeer, Phronik  
Miller, ????  
Mittledorff, Heinrich Peter  
Mumertin, Maria  
Naas, John  
Naas, ????, first wife of above, died in Kreyfelt  
Naas, Margaret, second wife of above  
Naas, ????, daughter of John, by first wife  
Naas, Jacob Wilhelm, son of John  
Naas, Mary, wife of Jacob Wilhelm  
Noethiger, Joanna, one of Schwarzenau Eight, married Andrew Bony  
Perger, Johannes  
Perger, Anna Ursella  
Peterson, Pardoldt  
Pettikofer (Petenkoffer), John  
Pettikofer, ????, wife of John  
Pfau, Adrian, a nobleman of Holland  
Pfau, Michael  
Pfau, ????, wife of Michael  
Ponne, Andreas  
Ponne, Joanna Margaret  
Price (Priesz), Johannis, a minister  
Price, Jacob, Sr., accompanied John Naas in 1715 German missionary tour  
Prunder, Johannis  
Prunder, Joseph  
Prunder, John  
Prunder, Catharine Lisbet  
Ritter, Daniel  
Rafer, Feltin  
Rafer, Anna M. Barbara  
Rose, Livi  
Rohr, ????  
Schneider (Snyder), Matheis  
Schneider, Jacob  
Schneider, Christian  
Schneider, Heinrich, a member at Conshohocken  
Schneider, Heinrich, a member in Germantown  
Schneider, Magdelin  
Schneider, Susanna  
Schneider, Peter  
Schreder, Jacob  
Schreder, ????, wife of Jacob and first woman elder  
Schlachter (Slaughters), Hans  
Schmit, Hans George  
Schmit, ????, wife of Hans George

Stetzius, Luther  
Strizka, ????  
Sweitzer, Lorentz  
Sweitzer, ????, wife of Lorentz  
Till, Alexander  
Traut, Johann Heinrich  
Traut, Jeremiah  
Traut, Balsler  
Traut, ????, first wife of above  
Traut, ????, second wife of above  
Traut, Magdalena  
Ulland, Matthias  
Ulland, Johannis  
Vetter, George  
Vetter (Fetter), Lucas, and one of the Schwarzenau Eight  
Vetter, ????, wife of Lucas  
Weiss (Wiss), Jacob  
Whitman, Maria Phillis  
Wichtman (Whitman), Johannis  
Wintersee, Johannis  
Zettel, Philip  
Zettel, ????, wife of Philip  
Zwingenberg, ????

## Appendix C

This index was compiled by the Ephrata Cloister from three death registers, day books, tax records, census records, wills, and deeds.

S = Solitary or celibate members between 1732 and 1814.

H = Householder, a married member or child between 1732 and 1814.

C = congregation members of the Ephrata German Seventh Day Baptist Church, after 1814.<sup>439</sup>

Last Name, First Name	Affiliation	Birth Date	Death Date	Spiritual Name
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S	00/00/0000	00/00/1748	Amalia
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1712	10/23/1744	Armella
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1724	11/24/1803	Athanasia
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S			Barbara
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S			Benjamin
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1736	04/23/1799	Blandina
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S			Catharine
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S			Eufrasia
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1712	00/00/1791	Flavia
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S			Jacob
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S		00/00/1781	Jemini
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S			Johannes
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S		00/00/1742	Jonadab
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1720	12/01/1762	Joseba
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S			Joseph
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S		03/01/1755	Julianna
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S			Just
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S		00/00/1740	Louisa
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1720	02/03/1806	Martha
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S			Melchy
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S		03/08/1803	Moses
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S			Naema
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S		03/03/1761	Peligia
Unknown, Unknown (M)	S			Solomon
Unknown, Unknown [M]	S		03/05/1773	Theonis
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S			Zernia (Lernia)
Unknown, Unknown [F]	S			Zeruja
Unknown, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1742	Jonadab

<sup>439</sup> Originally compiled from the Ephrata Cloister website, <https://ephratacloister.org/ephrata-cloister-members/>. 2022.

Unknown, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1740	
Unknown, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1751	
Unknown, Anna [F]	S	c 00/00/1702	10/14/1792	Unknown
Unknown, Anna Maria (F)	H		00/00/1795	
Unknown, Margaret J. [F]	H		00/00/1777	
Unknown, Susanna [F]	H			
Angus, Unknown [F]	H			
Angus, Unknown [F]	H	c 00/00/1789	10/21/1811	
Angus, Jacob	C	c 00/00/1756	11/00/1848	
Angus, James	H		03/04/1778	
Angus, Mary (née Gorgas)	H		05/20/1776	Miriam
Angus, Susanna	H	c 00/00/1759	11/10/1811	
Baer, Unknown [F]	H		09/05/1795	
Baer, Jacob	H		12/13/1768	
Bauman, Benjamin	H	00/00/1732	12/27/1809	
Bauman, Christian	H	00/00/1755	07/04/1815	
Bauman, Christina	H		08/22/1794	
Bauman, Christianna	C	03/19/1824	11/12/1900	
Bauman, Daniel	C	04/01/1796	05/25/1871	
Bauman, Henry	C	00/00/1803	00/00/1875	
Bauman, Jeremiah	C	12/07/1820	00/00/1875	
Bauman, John	H		00/00/1755	
Bauman, John	H	c 00/00/1703	08/05/1771	
Bauman, John	H	c 00/00/1732	11/09/1809	
Bauman, John	C	c 00/00/1799	07/00/1819	
Bauman, Joseba	C	07/10/1796	05/11/1872	
Bauman, Margaret	C	10/14/1817	00/00/1905	
Bauman, Margareth	H	12/08/1768	12/08/1809	
Bauman, Margreta	H		12/06/1760	
Bauman, Maria	S	c 00/00/1726	06/11/1754	Unknown
Bauman, Mary	H	c 00/00/1771	07/00/1845	
Bauman, Mary (Polly)	C	06/04/1803	09/22/1886	
Bauman, Sarah	H	04/30/1758	06/30/1792	
Bauman, Sarah	C	05/21/1806	07/28/1893	
Bauman, Susanna	C	10/07/1788	10/09/1875	
Bayer, Henry	C			
Bechtel, Iva A.	C			
Bechtel, Prisscilla A.	C			
Bechtel, William King	C			
Beissel, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1722	09/05/1758	Eusebia

Beissel, Georg Conrad	S	03/01/1691	07/06/1768	Friedsam
Beissel, Louisa	S	c 00/00/1712	08/29/1786	Sevoram
Beissel, Peter	S		01/04/1794	Zadock
Beissel, Philip	H		00/00/1817	
Beller, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1728	
Beller, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1748	
Beller, Peter	H			
Belsner, John	H		05/21/1785	
Bender, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1781	
Bender, Eissbert	H		00/00/1747	
Bender, Ludwig	H		00/00/1781	
Bentz, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1775	
Bentz, Johannes	H		00/00/1777	
Bentz, Margaret	H		00/00/1789	
Binkley, Hannah	C	11/04/1829	7/26/09	
Binkley, Harry	C			
Bixler, Minne Mae (née Zerfass)	C	05/01/1901	00/00/1986	
Blum, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1739	
Blum, Ludwig	H		03/00/1751	
Bohler, Catharina	S	c 00/00/1733	03/01/1763	Catharina
Bohler, Christopher	H		c 00/00/1779	
Bohler, Esther	H		00/00/1741	Esther
Boldhaus, Catharina	H		03/14/1761	
Boldhaus, Conrad	H		01/31/1782	
Bollinger, Catharine	C			
Bollinger, Christian	H		07/05/1796	
Bollinger, Elizabeth	H	c 00/00/1723	07/12/1800	
Bollinger, Emanuel	C			
Bollinger, Hannah	C	c 00/00/1781	00/00/1867	
Bollinger, John	C	03/12/1799	10/18/1850	
Bolsner, Michael	H		00/00/1751	
Borwe, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1781	
Brame, Jacob	C			
Bramin, Barbara	S	c 00/00/1726	09/18/1813	Melonia
Brand, Ester	H		00/00/1815	
Braun, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1767	
Braun, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1760	
Bremer, Martin	S		03/03/1738	Unknown
Brendle, Henry	C		00/0/1833	
Brubaker, Susanna	C	03/08/1777	00/00/1847	



Bruckman, Valentine	S			Unknown
Bucher, Marie E. (née Kachel)	C	00/00/1909	00/00/2008	
Bucher, Peter	S	c 00/00/1696	00/00/1748	Joel
Burger, Samuel	C	06/12/1801	09/02/1857	
Collingwood, Earl D.	C			
Collingwood, Erla M.	C			
Connor, Harry	C			
Connor, Sallie M.	C			
Crothausen, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1785	
Debahe, Conrad	H			
Deshong, Hanna	H	c 00/00/1735	10/30/1806	
Deshong, Hannah	H/C	c 00/00/1768	06/29/1830	
Deshong, William	H		01/02/1807	
Dibo, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1737	
Double, Laurence	H			
Dubbel, Anna Maria	H		c 00/00/1775	
Durborow, Dorothea	H		00/00/1765	
Durborow, John	H		00/00/1748	
Eckerlin, Catharina	H		00/00/1733	
Eckerlin, Emmanuel	S			Elimelich
Eckerlin, Gabriel	S			Jotham
Eckerlin, Israel	S			Onesimus
Eckerlin, Samuel	S/H	c 00/00/1705	00/00/1782	Jephune
Eckstein, Barbara	H	c 00/00/1730	08/25/1797	
Eckstein, Christian	S	c 00/00/1717	07/26/1787	Gideon
Eckstein, Elizabeth	S	c 00/00/1715	04/23/1796	Eugenia
Eicher, Unknown [M]	S	c 00/00/1709	08/20/1791	Eleaser
Eicher, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1724	09/14/1757	Naemi
Eicher, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1737	
Eicher, Anna	S		00/00/1748	Anna
Eicher, Daniel	H		02/01/1773	
Eicher, Jacob	S	c 00/00/1715	05/24/1790	Nathaniel
Eicher, Maria	S	c 00/00/1710	12/24/1784	Maria
Enck, Milton D.	C			
Endt, Heinrich	H		00/00/1755	
Erb, Jacob B.	C			
Erlenwein, Andreas	H		00/00/1744	
Fahnesock, Borius	C	08/21/1798	07/20/1876	
Fahnestock, Andrew (Andreas)	C	11/27/1780	02/05/1863	
Fahnestock, Benjamin	H	05/02/1747	07/27/1820	

Fahnestock, Borius	C	05/09/1749	06/09/1820	
Fahnestock, Caspar	H	04/11/1724	08/17/1808	
Fahnestock, Catharine	C	c 00/00/1745	05/15/1822	
Fahnestock, Catherine Barbara	H	02/26/1750	07/17/1793	
Fahnestock, Christina	H/C	09/18/1763	03/19/1853	
Fahnestock, Dietrich	H	02/02/1696	10/10/1775	
Fahnestock,/C Dietrich	H/C	12/25/1733	12/20/1816	
Fahnestock, Eleanora	H	05/03/1744	09/22/1781	
Fahnestock, Elizabeth	H		07/23/1781	
Fahnestock, Elizabeth	H	12/00/1752	c 00/00/1836	
Fahnestock, Elizabeth	C	03/24/1779	05/20/1837	
Fahnestock, Esther	H	03/27/1740	12/06/1792	
Fahnestock, George	C	09/07/1772	11/17/1851	
Fahnestock, Hannah	H/C	10/15/1755	10/13/1825	
Fahnestock, Jacob	C	12/05/1769	08/27/1856	
Fahnestock, Jacob, Jr.	C	01/26/1801	09/09/1841	
Fahnestock, Johannes	H	c 00/00/1735	05/22/1812	
Fahnestock, Margaretha	H	07/27/1702	12/29/1783	
Fahnestock, Obed	C	02/25/1770	03/02/1840	
Fahnestock, Peter	H	03/03/1730	09/15/1805	
Fahnestock, Rebecca	H	c 00/00/1742	01/17/1773	
Fahnestock, Salome (Sally)	C	11/04/1773	08/27/1856	
Fahnestock, Samuel	H/C	03/27/1761	06/29/1830	
Fahnestock, Samuel	C	03/10/1796	01/15/1861	
Fahnestock, William Morrell	C	04/10/1802	12/11/1854	
Fasig, Catherine	C			
Faust, Elizabeth	C			
Faust, Jacob	C			
Feather, Barbara (née Kimmel)	H			Unknown
Fluss, Catharine	S	00/00/1716	05/19/1785	Augusta
Foltz, Catherine	S		00/00/1813	Lucia
Frederick, John	C		10/00/1819	
Freidrich, Unknown [F]	H		c 00/00/1773	
Freidrich, Isaac	H		c 00/00/1773	
Fridlib, Caleb (Kaleb)	H		00/00/1749	
Frig, Catharina	H			
Funk, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1727	08/12/1750	Genoveva
Funk, Christiana	S	00/00/1729	07/14/1811	Sophia
Funk, Heinrich	H	00/00/1720	04/17/1751	
Funk, Jacob	S	03/24/1725	05/12/1798	Kenan

Funk, Magdalena	H	c 00/00/1690	01/14/1746	
Funk, Martin	H	c 00/00/1693	04/19/1773	Unknown
Funk, Martin	H	c 00/00/1723	10/05/1777	
Funk, Samuel	S	c 00/00/1719	12/07/1779	Obadia (Obadiah)
Funk, Veronica	S	c 00/00/1717	03/29/1803	Efigenia
Fyock, Hannah	C	02/06/1805		
Fyock, Jeremiah	C	05/17/1856	10/21/22	
Fyock, Peter	C	c 00/00/1810	c 00/00/1890	
Gable, Sophia	H/C			
Garber, Unknown [F]	H			
Garber, John	H			
Gardner, Catherine	S	c 00/00/1708	04/16/1786	Eufrosina
Gass, Elisabeth	H		00/00/1754	
Gass, Freidrich	H		10/28/1778	
Gass, Jacob	S		10/12/1749	Jethro
Gass, Jacob	H		06/13/1764	Lamech
Gaten, Christina	C		02/00/1812	
Gehr, Peter	H		05/12/1763	
Gehr, Unknown [F]	H/S	c 00/00/1711	05/30/1746	Rebecca
Gerder, Elizabeth	H		06/12/1794	
German, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1739	
German, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1744	
Girter, Magdalene	H			
Givler, Mary (Mollie)	C	10/11/1795	02/15/1884	
Givler, Samuel M.	C	00/00/1879	00/00/1942	
Glime, Maria	C			
Gohnauer, Maria	H		00/00/1746	
Good, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1757	
Good, Unknown [F]	H			
Good, Christian	H	c 00/00/1745	08/24/1809	
Good, Christina	H			
Good, Christina	H	c 00/00/1754	11/00/1820	
Good, Daniel	H		11/13/1771	
Good, Elizabeth	H		03/27/1784	
Good, Heinrich	H		00/00/1754	
Gorgas, Juliana	H		10/24/1805	
Good, Polly	C			
Good, Rosina	S			Unknown
Good, Salome	S	c 00/00/1730	02/06/1808	Sarah (Serah)
Good, Samuel	H			

Gorgas, Benjamin	H	c 00/00/1722	12/26/1789	Hoseas
Gorgas, Benjamin	H/C	09/30/1762	10/05/1836	
Gorgas, Cathrina	H	06/10/1774	05/31/1748	
Gorgas, Christena	H	03/29/1734	10/20/1804	
Gorgas, Jacob	H	08/09/1728	03/21/1798	Zennah
Gorgas, Jacob	H		10/24/1794	
Gorgas, Jacob	C		00/00/1824	
Gorgas, Jacob	C			
Gorgas, Joseph	H		00/00/1766	Christomas
Gorgas, Joseph	C			
Gorgas, Justina	C	c 00/00/1756	03/00/1819	
Gorgas, Nancy	C		00/00/1824	
Gorgas, Salome	H	00/00/1721	03/30/1798	
Gorgas, Solomon	H/C			
Gorgas, Sophia	H		00/00/1748	
Gorgas, Sophia	C			
Gorgas, Susanna	C		07/31/1835	
Gorgas, William Rittenhouse	C	05/08/1806	12/07/1892	
Goshert, Susanna	C			
Grabill, Dorothy Mae (née Kachel)	C	00/00/1913	1/24/92	
Gramar, Anna Maria	S			Unknown
Griffith, Abel	S			Abel
Groff, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1721	02/20/1749	Priscam
Groff, Unknown [M]	H		07/00/1800	
Groff, Abraham	H		03/09/1788	
Groff, Christian	H		00/00/1748	
Groff, Jacob	H		05/06/1776	
Groff, Jacob	C			
Groff, Joseph	H		c 00/00/1786	
Groff, Marx	H		03/22/1771	
Groff, Maria	H		01/19/1772	
Gunkel, Margaretha	H		00/00/1790	
Habberecht, Gottlieb	S			Gottlieb
Hageman, Unknown [M]	S		04/14/1754	Nehemia
Hageman, Catherine	S	c 00/00/1718	10/10/1797	Ketura
Hageman, Jacob	S		00/00/1757	Nathan
Hageman, John Heinrich	H		04/01/1754	
Hageman, Magdale	H		00/00/1758	
Hageman, Magdalena	H		07/28/1754	

Hageman, Maria	H		00/00/1753	
Hageman, William	H		00/00/1753	
Hagy, Unknown [M]	H		03/04/1806	
Hahn, Louisa	C			
Hahn, Unknown [F]	H			
Hahn, Mary (Polly)	C	c 00/00/1821	07/13/1909	
Han, Georg	H		03/07/1773	
Hartman, Caspar	H		00/00/1744	
Hartman, Christina	H		00/00/1750	
Hartman, Regina	H		10/20/1770	
Hartman, Susanna	H		05/28/1786	
Hartman, Ursula	H		00/00/1750	
Hardy, Thomas	H		00/00/1783	Theodorus
Heffley, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1720	12/07/1748	Drusiana
Heffley, Barbara	H		07/03/1768	
Heffley, Elizabeth	S	c 00/00/1722	11/09/1770	Basilla
Heffley, Elizabeth	H	c 00/00/1730	09/07/1795	
Heffley, Hanna	H			
Heffley, Jacob	H		01/01/1774	
Heffley, Johannes	H	c 00/00/1722	08/03/1793	
Heffley, Joseph	H		c 00/00/1807	
Heffley, Mary (Maria)	C		00/00/1849	
Heffley, Peter	H		03/18/1770	
Heffley, Rahel	H	c 00/00/1743	03/08/1825	
Heffley, Salma	H	c 00/00/1727	09/26/1807	Salma
Heffner, David	H		06/00/1791	
Heidt, Barbara	H		00/00/1748	
Heidt, Leonhard	H		01/25/1761	
Heidt, Unknown	S	c 00/00/1712	01/30/1744	Bernice
Heinrich, Ann Elizabeth	H	c 00/00/1704	00/00/1782	
Heinrich, Anna Maria	S	11/17/1743		Unknown
Heinrich, Anna Maria	S	c 00/00/1721	03/03/1782	Armella
Heinrich, Johan Valentiin	H	00/00/1705	00/00/1767	
Heinrich, Johann Peter	H		00/00/1793	
Heinrich, Johann Peter	H	09/18/1734	05/22/1796	
Heinrich, Maria Catharina	S	07/04/1737	07/05/1812	Maecha
Henry, Elizabeth	H		00/00/1809	
Hershberger, Rosina	H		02/23/1793	
Hershey, Bentz	H		00/00/1758 ?	
Heupel, Unknown [F]	H			

Heupel, Agnes	H		04/22/1787	
Heupel, Elizabeth (Betti)	H	c 00/00/1728	01/01/1798	
Heupel, Henry	H		09/02/1804	
Heupel, John	S			Unknown
Heupel, Paul	H		00/00/1748	
Hildebrand, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1757	
Hildebrand, Johannes	H		00/00/1765	
Hill, Hattie D.	C			
Hill, Martin L.	C			
Hill, William L.	C			
Hirsch, Lens	H		c 00/00/1761	
Hoch, Catharina	C			
Hoch, Charles	C			
Hock, Annalis	H		00/00/1785	
Höcker, Heinrich	H			
Höcker, Jonathan	S	c 00/00/1717	06/30/1784	Jonathan
Höcker, Ludwig	S/H	c 00/00/1717	07/27/1792	Obed
Höcker, Margaretha	S/H		04/29/1767	Albina
Höcker, Maria	S	c 00/00/1738	07/27/1791	Petronella
Hoffman, Heinrich	H		00/00/1780	
Hoffman, John	H			
Höhn, Christina	H		02/02/1769	
Höhn, Heinrich	H		00/00/1744	
Höhnly, Jacob	S		00/00/1748	Epfraim
Hollenthal, Anthony	S			Anton
Hook, Unknown [F]	H			
Hook, Andrew	H			
Hoover, Katie	C			
Hostetter, Henry	C	08/14/1796	06/09/1833	
Hostetter, Susanna	C		00/00/1847	
Huber, Anna Maria	H		01/19/1778	
Huber, John	H		c 00/00/1792	
Inebenet, Anna	H		00/00/1764	
Inebenet, Hildebrand	H		00/00/1764	
Ittis, Ursula	H		00/00/1747	
Jacobs, Christina	H		09/10/1758	
Jacobs, John	H		08/11/1769	Simeon
Jager, Margreta	H		00/00/1748	
Jans, Catherine	H			
Jun, Magealena	H		00/00/1752	

Kachel, Daniel S.	C	00/00/1908	00/00/1997	
Kachel, M. Kathryn (née Zerfass)	C	08/20/1882	12/18/53	
Kachel, Reuben S.	C	00/00/1878	00/00/1967	
Kalcklosser, Agnes	H		00/00/1758	
Kalcklosser, Johann Heinrich	H		c 00/00/1748	
Kapp, Unknown [F]	H		09/30/1793	
Kapp, Cathrina	H		09/30/1792	
Kapp, Marx	H			
Keiper, Barbara	C	12/20/1771	03/16/1852	
Keller, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1765	
Keller, Unknown [F]	H			
Keller, Unknown [F]	H			
Keller, Elisabeth	H	02/02/1708	05/24/1787	
Keller, Ester	C	12/14/1838	01/18/1826	
Keller, Frederick	H	00/00/1737	11/10/1771	
Keller, George	H		02/21/1788	
Keller, Jacob	H	11/14/1706	03/10/1794	
Keller, Jacob	H		08/20/1804	
Keller, Joseph	H			
Keller, Sebastian	H	c 00/00/1729	02/00/1808	
Kelp, Catharine	S	09/29/1739	c 00/00/1817	none
Kelp, John Adam	S	01/23/1737	00/00/1818	none
Kelp, John Adam (Jonathan)	S	12/30/1742	c 00/00/1815	none
Kiehl, Jacob	C		01/00/1908	
Kiessner, Philip	H		00/00/1735	
Kimmel, Anna Maria	H		00/00/1767	
Kimmel, Daniel	C	c 00/00/1793	08/21/1813	
Kimmel, Elisabeth	H		12/00/1804	
Kimmel, Elizabeth	H	09/11/1777	02/01/1861	
Kimmel, Esther	H	04/26/1767	08/14/1796	
Kimmel, Jacob	H	08/28/1757	02/06/1814	
Kimmel, Johann Adam	H	09/12/1733	01/27/1778	
Kimmel, Johann Jacob	H	01/13/1739	12/12/1823	
Kimmel, Johann Jacob	H	10/14/1705	11/25/1784	
Kimmel, Johann Valentin	H	07/31/1701	12/28/1768	
Kimmel, Maria Barbara	H		00/00/1753	
Kimmel, Susanna	H	c 00/00/1732	11/25/1804	
Kimmel, Susanna	H	c 00/00/1759	00/00/1806	
Kimmel, Veronica	H		06/00/1791	
King, Christian	C			

King, David	C			
King, Esther	C			
King, John S.	C	c 00/00/1840	5/23/08	
Klop, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1718	10/06/1748	Tecla
Klop, Magdalena (Maudlin)	H		c 00/00/1765	
Klop, Peter	H		00/00/1794	
Klop, Peter	H		00/00/1753	
Knepper, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1794	
Knepper, Josua	H		00/00/1774	
Knepper, Peter	H		00/00/1791	
Knepper, Veronica	H		04/27/1769	
Knotel, Cathrina	H		00/00/1768	
Koch, Johannes	H		c 00/00/1778	
Koch, Stephen	S		06/07/1763	Agabus
Koebal, Philip	H		01/16/1780	
Kohl, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1748	
Kohl, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1753	
Konigmacher, Abraham	H	11/14/1769	09/17/1825	
Konigmacher, Adam	C	12/24/1821	11/11/1889	
Konigmacher, Benjamin	H/C	09/12/1773	03/24/1850	
Konigmacher, Christina	H	c 00/00/1745	01/19/1816	
Konigmacher, Edwin	C	09/19/1820	08/28/1896	
Konigmacher, Emma	C	03/29/1847	11/20/1892	
Konigmacher, Hannah	C	06/18/1808	12/30/1884	
Konigmacher, Jacob	H/C	06/04/1771	09/18/1839	
Konigmacher, Johann Adam	S/H	06/29/1738	01/31/1793	Naeman
Konigmacher, Joseph	C	12/12/1805	04/04/1861	
Konigmacher, Louisiana	C	02/05/1815	10/17/1885	
Konigmacher, Margaretha	H/C	03/05/1772	06/12/1847	
Konigmacher, Rebecca	H/C	07/07/1775	12/05/1832	
Konigmacher, Susan	H/C	12/15/1780	03/27/1868	
Konigmacher, Susanna	C	01/01/1831	08/29/1913	
Konigmacher, Susanna	C	05/20/1798	06/15/1833	
Konigmacher, Timothy Coover	C	01/08/1811	3/16/06	
Konigmacher, William	C	01/05/1797	02/10/1881	
Kreig, Elizabeth	C		00/00/1819	
Kroll, Martin	S		03/04/1806	Haggai
Landert, Unknown [F]	S			Deborah
Landert, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1728	
Landert, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1735	



Landert, Maria	S	c 00/00/1724	11/11/1773	Rahel
Landert, Sigmund	S/H		00/00/1757	Sealthiel
Landes, Anna	H		02/17/1779	
Landes, Barbara	S		03/29/1776	none
Landes, Hannah	C	06/25/1776	11/11/1849	
Landes, Hetty	C			
Landes, Mary	S			Unknown
Landis, Esther	C	12/20/1797	12/02/1873	
Landis, John	H	c 00/00/1725	03/07/1801	
Lassle, Unknown [M]	S	c 00/00/1715	00/00/1744	Isai
Lassle, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1728	12/13/1747	Rosa
Lassle, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1742	Lewie
Lassle, Anna	S			Unknown
Lassle, Catharina	H		09/06/1747	
Lassle, Christianna	S	c 00/00/1717	03/04/1784	Foben/Pheobe
Lassle, Jacob	H		02/00/1733	
Lassle, Peter	H		04/11/1734	
Lassle, Valentin	H		00/00/1769	
Lebrecht, William	S			Unknown
Leed, Harry B.	C			
Leed, Susan	C			
Leshner, Jacob	H		00/00/1754	
Leshner, Magdalena	H			
Lichty, Hannah	S	c 00/00/1714	10/31/1793	Hanna
Liebig, Maria Magdalena	H	00/00/1716	00/00/1751	
Logenecker, Abraham	C			
Lohman, Anna Catharina	H		01/21/1782	
Lohman, Johann Heinrich	H		01/24/1782	
Long, David C.	C	03/01/1826		
Long, Joseph	C			
Luther, Christian	H/C		00/00/1808	
Luther, Christian	C	c 00/00/1763	00/00/1832	
Luther, Christiana	H/C	07/31/1732	00/00/1812	
Mack, Alexander II	S			Timotheus
Mack, Elizabeth	S	c 00/00/1732	10/31/1782	Constantia
Mack, Margaretha	H		08/11/1758	
Mack, Valentin	H		00/00/1755	
Madlem, Elizabeth	C	07/07/1811	12/01/1877	
Madlem, William	C	02/19/1816	09/30/1890	
Man, John	C			

Martin, Unknown [F]	H		c 00/00/1765	
Martin, Anna Mary	H	01/04/1735		
Martin, Elizabeth	H		10/14/1794	
Martin, Elizabeth	H		01/03/1798	
Martin, George Adam	H		08/26/1794	
Martin, Jacob	H	06/10/1725	07/19/1790	
Martin, Johannes	C			
Martin, Susanna	C	10/05/1818	02/03/1891	
Mayer, Unknown [F]	S		00/00/1747	Migdonia
Mayer, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1739	
Mayer, Barbara	S	c 00/00/1712	01/14/1787	Jael
Mayer, Benjamin	H	00/00/1762	05/18/1824	
Mayer, Hansley	H		10/14/1769	Amethay
Mayer, Jacob	S			Unknown
Mayer, Salome	H	01/07/1755		
Mayle, Anna	H		00/00/1734	
Mayle, Barbara	H			
Mayle, John (Hans)	H	c 00/00/1701	08/06/1783	Amos
Mayle, Samuel	H		10/10/1794	
Mayley, John	C			
Meck, Harry Leed	C	04/16/1899	02/14/1965	
Meck, Helen Mae (née Zerfass)	C	00/00/1901	00/00/1965	
Medlem, Adam Fahnestock	C	00/00/1841	9/19/18	
Mellinger, Christoph	H		00/00/1746	
Mellinger, Gertraut	H		02/03/1778	
Mentzer, Georg	H		00/00/1774	
Merckel, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1770	
Merckel, Adam	H		00/00/1790	
Merckel, Martin	H		00/00/1771	
Miller, Unknown [F]	H			
Miller, Unknown [F]	H			
Miller, Catharina	C		c 00/00/1785	
Miller, Catharine	C	11/24/1758	10/10/1829	
Miller, Clara	H		00/00/1748	
Miller, Elon	H			
Miller, George	S			Unknown
Miller, Hanna	H		00/00/1746	
Miller, Henry	H		00/00/1757	
Miller, Henry	C	04/05/1760	11/24/1832	
Miller, Jeremiah	H			

Miller, John	H		05/28/1776	
Miller, John	H		12/18/1788	
Miller, Maria	S	c 00/00/1721	02/05/1799	Paulina
Miller, Maria Catharina (née Klop)	H		12/03/1786	
Miller, Michael	H		09/11/1785	
Miller, Peter	S	12/25/1709	09/25/1796	Jaebez
Miller, Sybilla	H		00/00/1780	
Mohr, Magdalena	H		00/00/1766	
Mohr, Peter	H		04/22/1786	
Moonshower, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1791	
Moonshower, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1793	
Moonshower, Catharine	C	09/11/1815	03/08/1885	
Moonshower, Dorothy	S			Unknown
Musser, John	C			
Musser, Rachel	C			
Myle, John (Hans)	S	c 00/00/1701	08/06/1783	Amos
Nagle, Unknown [F]	H	c 00/00/1725	03/03/1805	
Nagle, Peter	H	c 00/00/1725	03/07/1805	
Nagley, Unknown [M]	S		01/28/1749	Zephania
Nagley, Unknown [F]	H			
Nagley, Unknown [F]	H		08/31/1799	
Nagley, Barbara	H	c 00/00/1722	08/14/1808	
Nagley, Elisabeth	H		00/00/1754	
Nagley, Hans	H		03/31/1793	
Nagley, Jacob	H	c 00/00/1763	12/02/1793	
Nagley, Jacob	H	c 00/00/1721	08/08/1790	
Nagley, John George	H		c 00/00/1789	
Nagley, Rudolph	H		04/01/1765	Joiada
Nies, Annalis	H		07/25/1784	
Nies, Jeremias	H		00/00/1790	
Nolde, Lorenz	C	3/07/1811	02/22/1892	
Owen, John	H		00/00/1770	
Pearsol, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1755	
Pearsol, Jeremia	H			
Pentz, John A.	C			
Perter, Unknown [M]	H			
Perter, Anna Maria	H		00/00/1795	
Petticoffer, Unknown [F]	H			
Petticoffer, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1748	

Petticoffer, Elizabeth	H/C	c 00/00/1721	09/07/1802	
Petticoffer, Isaac	H		00/00/1805	
Petticoffer, John	H		c 00/00/1845	
Petticoffer, John	H		09/11/1769	
Ranck, Unknown [F]	H			
Ranck, Unknown [F]	H			
Reb, Christian	S		09/20/1787	Rufinus
Rebman, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1746	
Reimberg, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1754	
Reimberg, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1754	
Reissman, John Conrad	S	c 00/00/1809	03/30/1785	Philemon
Reiter, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1794	
Reiter, Heinrich	H		02/23/1795	
Reiter, Maria	H			
Resser, Andrew	C			
Resser, Mary	C			
Resser, William	C			
Riddlesberger, John	C			
Ries, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1784	
Ritter, Henry	C			
Ritter, Martha	C			
Ritter, Paul	C			
Rohrbach, Barbara	H	c 00/00/1709	07/14/1794	
Rohrer, Unknown [M]	H			
Rohrer, Unknown [F]	H			
Rohrer, Unknown [F]	H			
Rohrer, Jacob	H		00/00/1772	
Rosenberger, Juliana	H			
Roth, Anna	H		00/00/1747	
Roth, George	H			
Roth, Heinrich	H	c 00/00/1712	00/00/1774	
Royer, Samuel K.	C	11/06/1797	03/23/1864	
Royer, Seth	C		c 00/00/1875	
Ruff, Darius	S		c 00/00/1775	Unknown
Sander, Mary	S			Unknown
Sangmeister, Johan Heinrich	S	08/09/1723	12/30/1784	Ezechial
Saur, Maria Christina	S		00/00/1752	Marcella
Schabley, Rudolph	H		03/00/1764	
Schack, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1741	
Schack, Christina	H		09/10/1758	

Schack, Johan	H			
Schaffer, Unknown [M]	S		00/00/1757	Elkana
Schaffer, Joseph	S/H		09/14/1757	Beno
Schanschlag, Unknown [M]	H		11/04/1788	
Schenck, Rosina	H		03/28/1811	
Schmidt, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1784	
Schmidt, Casper	H		11/30/1811	
Schmidt, Ester	H	c 00/00/1766	01/00/1844	
Schmidt, Heinrich	C			
Schneidmann, Maria Margaretha	H	c 00/00/1719	00/00/1749	
Schreid, Englbert	H		00/00/1745	
Schreid, Margaretha	H		10/31/1787	
Schuck, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1717	07/03/1761	Persida
Schuh, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1748	
Schuh, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1739	
Schuh, Jacob	H			
Schuhly, Hannes	H		00/00/1737	
Schuk, Ulrich	H		00/00/1758 ?	
Schunck, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1761	
Schwartzbach, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1767	
Seiber, Unknown [M]	H			
Seiber, Unknown [F]	H			
Seifert, Anna	H	c 00/00/1729	05/12/1772	
Seifert, Jacob	H			
Senseman, Agnes	H		03/14/1778	
Senseman, Anna	H	03/05/1780	04/09/1836	
Senseman, Jacob	H	c 00/00/1722	12/23/1778	
Senseman, Jacob	H	c 00/00/1779	07/15/1806	
Senseman, Japhet	H		09/22/1757	
Senseman, Johannes	H	c 00/00/1685	11/25/1766	
Senseman, Johannes	H	07/17/1754	03/11/1819	
Senseman, Joseph	H	06/25/1785	03/10/1810	
Senseman, Justina	H/C	07/19/1760	09/14/1843	
Senseman, Margareth	H		03/09/1794	
Shoemaker, Peter	H		11/17/1773	
Simeon, Martha	H			
Simon, Barbara	S			Unknown
Simony, Catharina	H	c 00/00/1754	06/00/1824	
Simony, John Jacob	S	c 00/00/1715	11/02/1789	Unknown
Smith, Esther	H	00/00/1766	00/00/1844	

Smith, Veronica	C	08/26/1794	08/25/1879	
Smitin, Catharina	H		00/00/1766	
Snowberger, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1777	
Snowberger, Barbara	C			
Snowberger, Samuel	C			
Spangler, Jacob S.	C	09/09/1839	6/29/23	
Specht, Emanuel	C			
Sprigel, Unknown [F]	H			
Sprigel, Unknown [F]	H		08/31/1758	
Sprigel, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1755	
Sprigel, Anna	H		05/21/1808	
Sprigel, Jacob	H		12/23/1797	
Sprigel, Johan	H		03/04/1811	
Sprigel, Maria	C			
Sprigel, Michael	H	c 00/00/1760	02/16/1814	
Sprigel, Veronica	H		12/12/1791	
Sprigel, Maria	H		00/00/1809	
Stattler, Unknown [F]	S	c 00/00/1720	04/02/1750	Theresia
Stattler, Unknown [M]	H	c 00/00/1665	00/00/1757	Manoah
Stattler, Barbara	H		00/00/1748	
Stattler, Maria	S	c 00/00/1702	07/05/1753	Sinletica
Stattler, Susanna	S	c 00/00/1725	03/14/1798	Zenobia
Stein, Heinrich	H			
Stein, Maria	H		00/00/1735	
Steiner, Johannes	H		05/28/1769	
Stimmer, Unknown [M]	H		00/00/1796	
Stober, Mary H.	C			
Stober, Samuel M.	C			
Strickler, Katherine M. (née Kachel)	C	00/00/1911	00/00/1959	
Thoma, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1742	
Thoma, Anna	S	00/00/1720	00/00/1778	Tabea/Anastasia
Thoma, Catharina	H	c 00/00/1702	00/00/1742	
Thoma, Durst	H		00/00/1749	
Thoma, Hans Jacob	H		00/00/1739	
Thoma, Jacob	H		00/00/1745	
Traut, Unknown [F]	S		05/03/1753	Eufemia
Traut, Unknown [F]	H		00/00/1754	
Traut, Philip	H			
Trego, Susanna	C			

Urich, Sara	C		01/20/1816	
Wagely, Michael	H		00/00/1748	
Waid, David Lester	C			
Waid, Katie B.	C	c 00/00/1874	03/00/1920	
Walk, John	C	c 00/00/1828	00/00/1911	
Walter, Unknown [F]	H		c 00/00/1776	
Walter, Anna	H		00/00/1741	
Walter, Casper	H		00/00/1734	
Walter, Casper	H		c 00/00/1776	
Warner, Sally	C			
Weaver, Betsy	H			
Weber, Anna	H		02/11/1771	
Weber, Conrad	H	c 00/00/1721	04/11/1810	
Weber, Magdalena	H	c 00/00/1721	06/01/1793	
Weidenbach, Unknown [F]	H	c 00/00/1680	10/24/1750	Eunicke
Weidler, Lee R.	C			
Weidner, Catharina	H		00/00/1742	
Weiser, Unknown [F]	H		07/00/1800	
Weiser, Conrad	S	11/02/1696	07/13/1760	Enoch
Weiser, Magdalena	H	09/13/1725	00/00/1741	
Weiser, Philip	H	09/07/1722	03/27/1761	
Weiss, Rosa	C			
Wenger, Elisabeth	H		00/00/1740	
Wiker, Elizabeth Young (née Zerfass)	C	10/08/1861		9/1/09
Windeck, Theobald	S		00/00/1761	Theobald
Witt, Wilhelmus	S		00/00/1740	William
Witwer, Abel	H/C	c 00/00/1767	09/00/1821	
Wohlfarth, Michael	S	c 00/00/1687	05/20/1741	Agonius
Yuckley, Benedict	S	00/00/1710	11/00/1741	Benedict
Zeisinger, Elisabeth	H		08/23/1772	
Zeisinger, Eva	H		02/08/1791	
Zeisinger, Godfreid	H		00/00/1771	
Zeisinger, Polli	H		05/18/1810	
Zerfass, Annie S.	C	09/20/1866		10/27/26
Zerfass, Elizabeth	C	10/01/1799	04/12/1860	
Zerfass, Elizabeth (née Klop)	H			
Zerfass, Johann Nicholas	H	00/00/1720	00/00/1784	
Zerfass, Joseph Clarence	C	04/24/1893		6/20/19
Zerfass, Joseph Josias Royer	C	09/11/1836		10/27/11

Zerfass, Judith	C	05/11/1809	04/24/1891	
Zerfass, Laura Elizabeth	C	09/12/1873	10/29/08	
Zerfass, Maria	C	09/03/1843	4/15/07	
Zerfass, Samuel Grant	C	05/14/1866	4/22/29	
Zerfass, Samuel, Jr.	C	05/12/1802	04/25/1872	
Zerfass, Sarah	C	12/06/1799	07/18/1852	
Zerfass, Theodore Samuel	C	00/00/1906	00/00/1986	
Zerfass, William Young	C	07/07/1871	02/14/1950	
Zinn, Unknown [F]	H		11/10/1776	Perpetua
Zinn, Elizabeth	S			Unknown
Zinn, George	H	01/02/1730	03/12/1802	
Zinn, Herman	H		03/14/1777	Marcarius
Zinn, Jacob	H		00/00/1747	
Zinn, Veronica	H	11/17/1734	01/04/1815	
Zittel, Philip	H		00/00/1739	



Appendix D

*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, Volume IV, Published by the State, Harrisburg: Theo. Penn & Co., 1851.*

Sept. ye 5<sup>th</sup>, 1736,  
To Mr. Saml. Smith, High Sherr.  
Of Lancaster County.

When the Sherrif & his forces had Left John Hendrick's on Sunday Evening to Return to Cresaps, Col. Edwd. Hall Came to Our People at John Wrights. Dureing his stay the following paper was drawn up & Signed & delivered to him to take down to the Sherrif whom he followed that Evening:

From John Wright's, Junr, in Lancast. County, Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen:

By a Letter from us Directed to Mr. White, we thought our Reasons for adhering to the Government of Pennsylvania had been fully set forth, and we hoped it would have Given such Satisfaction that we should have met with no further Disturbance; but perceiving you are Come up with armed force, and that your Business is with us, we desire you would please to Comit what you have in Comand to writing, that we may better Consider thereof, and we should return an answer with as much Expedition as to nature of the Case will admit. Signed for Our Selves & in behalf of as many of Our Neighbouras as are here present.

Michael Tanner,  
Henry Liphart,  
Christn. Crawl.

Sept. the 5<sup>th</sup>, 1736.  
To Capt. Guest, or whom Elce it may Concern.

To which they returned no answer.

The Sherif of Baltimre, & some of the Officers, having appointed to meet Our Sherif & Magistrates at John Wright's, on Monday at ten a Clock, to Confer with them (and the Dutch with whom they said their Business was), and not sending any Answer to the above paper, nor coming According to Appointment, the following paper was sent to them at Cressap's, on Monday about noon:

From John Wright's, Junr., Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

SR.

I received your Answer, Dated yesterday from John Hendrick's, whereby you acquaint me that the People of your Province, are not to disturb the peace of the Province of Pennsylvania in any Manner whatsoever. But notwithstanding what is there said, I am to Let you Know that coming & entering with force & arms, & in a warlike manner, with a Multitude of People up the Lands & Plantations seated by, & in possession of His Majesty's Peaceable Subjects, of the Province of Pennsylvania, Is a High Violation of the Peace of Our Sovereign Lord the King. Nevertheless, if you Have any thing to Offer in a Peaceable Manner, that may tend to settle the present Disturbances unhappily subsisting Between the inhabitants of the two Provinces, I am, with some fo the Magistrates of the County, here ready to receive it. Otherwise I have it in Charge to Require you to Deliver up to me, Thomas Cressap, Daniel Low, John Low, & Edward Evans, as Incediarys, Rioters, Authors & Promoters of these troubles; And to Command you, and Every Other of you, In His Majesty's Name, to Depart about your Lawfull Occassions from amongst the Peaceable Inabitants of this Government.

Sam'l Smith, Sher. Lancast. County.

Septr. The 6<sup>th</sup>, 1736.

To Wm. Hammond,  
High Sherif of Baltimore County.

To which they returned the following answer:

From Capt. Thomas Cressap's, Baltimore County, Maryland,  
Sept. 6<sup>th</sup>, 1736.

SR.:

I again assure you that the People of Baltimore County, within this Province, are not come to disturb the peace of the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania; But to Assist & Support me in preserving his Lordship's Peace & Our fellow Tenants, His Majesty's subjects, in their Possessions. And Inasmuch as we have not Attempted to Enter within the Bounds of the Province of Pennsylvania, there is no reason to Expect Our violating the Peace thereof, more Especially since on your first Application to me I had declared the same, the veracity where of you have so ungenerously questioned.

Had I any thing to Offer to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, you might Depend it shod be done in a peacable manner. But as my call here is on my Lawfull Business & in the Execution of my Duty, Desire you will Give me no further trouble.

Your Demand to Surrender any of his Lordship's Tennants, Inhabitants of this Province, having no Authority to Comply with, do disregard, and acquaint you that I will do the Utmost Resolution Defend their persons whilst in my Bailiwick, strictly Charge & Require you & all others whatsoever Riotously met & assembled within this County Imediately to Disperse. Otherwise you may Expect I shal Discharge my Duty in Endeavoring to Bring such offenders to publick Justice.

WM. Hammond, Sher. Balt. County.

To Samuel Smith,  
High Sherif of Lancaster County.

After this no more papers past Between us, Except on from Michel Tanner for a passport for himself & two of Our Company, whe should Come with him (they having sent word by his Wife they desired to see him) ; they sent him a pass, but refused it for the Other, so on Tuesday Morning he went alone to them, & overtook them about six miles Back from the River, as they were plundering the Dutch people's house, by taking out at the Windows Cloth & what they Could meet with, under pretence of publick Dues. They also threatened to Burn their houses, but did not after Michel Tanner had talked with them & told the reason of their Revolt, and that they would rather quit their place then live under such treatment, they Promis them, if they would return, a Remission of their Taxes til they were grown Better able to pay, & that they should be better used for the future & Desired him to go with them to the Govr. Or write to him, Both of which he refused. But he promised them to speak to his Country men if they would give him in writeing what favours they would Grant them, but they Refused, & said they would promise on Honor, and Michel Tanner telling them most of his Country men were Gone, he Could not Give them an answer in Less than two weeks; they agreed on that time & promised that none who sign'd the Letter sent to Mr. White should be molested in the Interim; But at the End thereof, if they did not Comply, the Govr. Would Come up with a Greater number of arm'd men, turn them out of Doors, and Bring up Others with him, such as would be true to him, whom He would put into their possessions.

Such was the Spirit & Courage of our Sherif & People, that had they Been provided with arms, they had without all doubt made most of these Invaders prisoners, but as they were not, they Could only stad on the Defencive, yet there was this Advantage by their Going Over, that they kept them from putting those who live under Our Government Out of possession, as they intended to have done, and Gain'd time for the Dutch, till the thing might be made known to you, & further instructions sent how they should act.

I subscribe in behalf of my self & Justices present. –The President & Councils assured ffrds.

Edward Smout  
Andrew Galbreath  
Derrick Updegraff  
Sa. Blumston

Appendix E

*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, Volume XIII, Published by the State, Harrisburg: Theo. Penn & Co., 1851.*

The Council met.

Lancaster, Thursday, May 21, 1778.

Present:

Hon'ble George Bryan Esq'r Vice President.

Joseph Hart,	James Edgar,	\	
Jonathan Hoge,	Jacob Arndt, &		Esq'rs
----- Mackay,	John Hambright,	/	

Letter from the Board of War.

On motion, the Council now take into consideration the issuing of a Proclamation under the State Seal, requiring divers person, who, it is said to have joined the Armies of the Enemy, to render themselves, and abide their legal trial for such their Treasons, & ca., according to Law ; and thereupon,

*Ordered,* That a Proclamation be now issued under the State Seal, requiring the following named persons, late & heretofore inhabitants of this State, that is to say: Able James, Merchant; James Humphreys, the Elder, Esq'r; James Humphreys, the Younger, Printer; Henry Lisle, John Hart, Charmless Hart, David Sproat, Thomas Story, Malcolm Ross, William Price, Thomas Roker, & Tench Coxe, Merchants; Abel Evens, Esq'r, Attorney at Law; Benjamin Titley & Peter Howard, Traders, Coleman Fisher, (Son of William Fisher, Esq'r) William Clifton, Gentleman; James Stevens, late Backer; Bowyer Brooks, Ship Carpenter; John Allen, Carpenter & Tallow Chandler; William, Austin, Yeoman, late keeper of the New Jersey Ferry; Kenneth McCullough, Yeoman; Charles Stedman, the Younger, Esq'r, Attorney at Law; John Shepperd, Stablekeeper; James Delaplane, late Barber; Robert Currie, leather Breeches Maker; Thomas Badge & William Compton, Tallow Chandlers; Peter Sutter, Hatter; James Riddle, Tavern-keeper; John Parvock, Yeoman; John Young, heretofore of Grameme Park, Gentleman; & Ozwald Eve, late of the Northern Liberties of the City of Philadelphia, Merch't & Gunpowder Maker; all now or late of the City of Philadelphia: And David Potts, of Pottsgrove Merchand (Son of John Potts;) & Christopher Saur, the Elder, & Christopher Saur, the Younger; Printers; Joseph Shoemaker, & Abraham Pastorius, Tanners; Andrew Hathe, Innkeeper; Mechoir Ming, Carter & Baker, & Jacob Meng, all now or late of Germantown Township: and Peter Robeson, & Johnathen Robeson, the Younger, Millers, (sons of Jonathan Robeson) now or late of the Township of White Marsh; and Abraham Iredell, Surveyor; James Davis, William Christy,

Mason ; & John Roberts, Laborer; all now or late of the Township of Hersham: And John Roberts, Blacksmith; Nathan Carver, Wheelwright; and Israel Evans, Blacksmith; all now or late of upper Dublin Township: And John Huntsman, miller; Robert Cunrad, Mason; Enock Supplee, farmer; & William, Evans, Carpenter; all now or late of the Township of Norrington: Nicholas Knight, Limeburner; John Parker, John Lisle, & Robert Lisle, laborers; all or late of the Township of Plymouth : And Jacob Richardson, Carpenter, of Upper Merion Township; and Stephen Stiger, Yeoman; now or late of the Township of Whitpain: And William McMurtrey, Merchant; and Edwards Stiles, Mariner & Merchant; both now or late of the Township of Oxford; all late or now of the Township of Newlin; Curtis Lewis, Blacksmith; now or late of the Township of East Caln; Timothy Hurst, Gentleman; and Richard Swanwick, now or late of the Custom House, Philadelphia; all now or late of the County of Chester: And Caleb Pyle, of the Township of West Malborough; Isaac Green, the younger, now or late of the Township of East Caln, Husbandman & William Armstrong, Shoemaker, both now or late of the Township of Sadsbury; all now or late of the said County of Chester: And Henry Skyes, Yeoman, now or late of the County of Lancaster: And Alexander Irwin, Carter, now or late of East Pennsborough Township, in the County of Cumberland: And Joseph Romiets, Yeoman, now or late of the County of Northampton: And Daniel Coxe, Hertofore of Trenton, in the State of New Jersey, Esq'r: And James Chalmers, formerly of the City of Philadelphia, Merchant, late of Kent County, Maryland, Yeoman: And Francis Armstrong, Dealer in Horses, now or late of the Township of Aldsbury, in the County of Chester; to render themselves respectively to some or one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, or of the Justices of the Peace of one of the Counties within this State, on or before Monday the Sixth Day of July next ensuing, & also abide their legal trial for such their Treasons, on pain that every one of them not rendering himself as aforesaid, and abiding the trial aforesaid, shall from & after the said Sixth day of July next, stand & be attainted of High Treason, to all intents & purposes, & shall suffer such pains & penalties, & undergo all such forfeitures as persons attainted of High Treason ought to do.

And a Proclamation in due form being accordingly prepared & read,

*Ordered*, That the same as sealed with the State Seal, signed by the Honorable Vice President & Attested by the Secretary; And that the same be Published in Mr. John Dunlap's General Advertiser, on Wednesday next.

*Ordered*, That four hundred Copies of the before mentioned Proclamation be printed, & Copies thereof sent to the Sheriff of the respective Counties of this State, where the persons therein named have heretofore resided, with orders to read, or cause the same to be done; & in the respective County Towns where it can with safety be done; & in cases where that cannot be done, that the same be done in some public place, as near the County Town as the Sheriff shall judge to be safe so to do & that he set up or cause to be set up, on Copy at each of at least Ten different places, where he shall judge the same shall be most publicly known, so far as the same shall be found to be practicable.



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