

THE CORRESPONDENCE
of
HEINRICH MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG

VOLUME 3

1753-1756



H. M. Mühlenberg

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Correspondence* *The Correspondence of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg*, edited and translated by Helmut T. Lehmann and John W. Kleiner, 2 vols. (Camden, Me.: Picton Press, 1993-1997). This present Volume 3, published in 2009, continues this series.
- Detailed Reports* *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . . Edited by Samuel Urlsperger*, edited and translated by George F. Jones et al., 18 vols. (vols.1–17: Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1968–1993; vol. 18: Camden, Me.: Picton Press, 1995).
- Documentary History* *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States: Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821*, translated and edited by Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America (Philadelphia: Board of Publication, 1898).
- HN 1* *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch=Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord=America, absonderlich in Pensylvanien. Mit einer Vorrede von D. Johann Ludewig Schulze* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1787). This edition is a compilation of *Kurtze Nachricht*, published in 1744, and its sixteen *Fortsetzungen* (installments), printed in Halle until 1787. This series of seventeen missionary publications was issued by the Waisenhaus-Buchhandlung (Orphanage Press) of the *Franckesche Stiftungen* (Francke Foundations) and is commonly referred to as *Hallesche Nachrichten* (*Halle Reports*).

- HN 2/1 and HN 2/2* *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America, absonderlich in Pensylvanien. Mit einer Vorrede von D. Johann Ludewig Schulze*, re-edited by William J. Mann, Beale M. Schmucker, and Wilhelm Germann, 2 vols. (vol. 1: Allentown, Pa.: Brobst, Diehl & Co.; Halle: Waisenhaus, 1886; vol. 2: Philadelphia: Eisenhardt; Halle: Waisenhaus, 1895). This edition is a reprint of the earlier edition of the same title (see above, *HN 1*).
- Journals* *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-1958). Reprinted by the Lutheran Historical Society of Eastern Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Whipporwill Publications (Evansville, Ind., 1982). Vol. 2, pp. 773-808 ("Travel Diary of Henry Muhlenberg, May 1-26, 1772" and "July 20 – August 17, 1772") translated by Helmut T. Lehmann and John W. Kleiner (Philadelphia: Lutheran Historical Society of Eastern Pennsylvania, 1982).
- Korrespondenz* *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs: Aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luther-tums in Nordamerika*, edited by Kurt Aland (vols. 1-4) and Hermann Wellenreuther (vol. 5), 5 vols to date (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986-2002).
- Lutheran Church in PA* Theodore E. Schmauck, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1638-1820* (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1903).
- LW* *Luther's Works (American Edition)*, edited and translated by Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann et al., 55 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955-1986).

- Minutes and Letters* *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1744-1792; Together with Three Preliminary Reports of the Rev. John Philip Boehm, 1733-1744*, translated and edited by William J. Hinke (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903).
- Pastors and People* Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, 2 vols. (Breinigsville, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980-1981).
- Selbstbiographie* *Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, Patriarch der Lutherischen Kirche Nordamerika's: Selbstbiographie, 1711-1743*, edited by Wilhelm Germann (Allentown, Pa.: Brobst, Diehl & Co.; Halle: Waisenhaus, 1881).
- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 120 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883-2005). This edition is commonly referred to as *Weimarer Ausgabe* (*Weimar Edition*).

INTRODUCTION

More than a decade after the second volume of *The Correspondence of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg* by Prof. John W. Kleiner and Prof. Helmut T. Lehmann appeared in print, we take great pleasure in continuing this series by presenting the third volume to the English reading public. An even greater need for resuming the translation of this correspondence has arisen with the publication of a fifth volume to the original German edition (*Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs*, ed. Kurt Aland and Hermann Wellenreuther, 5 vols. [Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986-2002]). Moreover, in 2007 work started on a supplementary sixth volume that will include letters omitted earlier or discovered in the past few years. Since the 1990s, scholars, students and other interested readers have increasingly come to acknowledge the fact that, compared to Mühlenberg's journals (*The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, 3 vols. [Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-1958]), Mühlenberg's correspondence offers even more intimate and authentic insights into his personality. At the same time, it illumines more impressively the many roles Mühlenberg played at various levels of colonial life: as a German missionary and American clergyman, as a British subject and Pennsylvania citizen, as a self-avowed non-political pastor and a backstage political manipulator, as a religious leader and an ethnic spokesman, as head of a typical Lutheran parsonage and of a large family, and simply as a public figure and private individual.

While scholarly interest in the social and political history of Colonial America continues unabated, the number of researchers with a basic knowledge of German is fast dwindling in the English speaking world. Thus, only a complete translation of the German edition of the correspondence can preserve this amply stocked treasure trove of American history and culture, even as the final volume of *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs* is finding its way into research libraries in the United States and the United Kingdom. Translating several hundred letters authored by and addressed to Mühlenberg, in addition to the 138 letters published by Kleiner and Lehmann, will give scholars, students and others interested in the American colonies an extraordinary new collection of data to mine for information about life among early German settlers in North America, and about life in the Middle Colonies and across eighteenth-century British America. Following the pattern set by the earlier translation, we will issue the English translation of each volume of the German edition in two smaller volumes to make the letters available in print in shorter intervals.

This volume contains forty-eight letters written between 1753 and 1756, including one (Letter 153A) that is not in the German edition of Mühlenberg's correspondence. The number of surviving letters per year decreases from seventeen in 1753 and twelve in 1754 to ten in 1755 and nine in 1756, the biggest gaps being those between Letters 144 and 145 (four months), Letters 168 and 169 (four months) and Letters 160 and 161 (three months). Although one can only speculate about the reasons for these gaps and

for several minor ones of two months (see Letters 128/129, 146/147, 154/155A-C, 155A-C/156, 158/159 and 171/172), there is no doubt that the imponderables of eighteenth-century transatlantic communication account for some of these discontinuities. "I pray the letters do not get lost!", Mühlenberg wrote to the German pastor, Samuel Urlsperger, on his forty-second birthday in 1753 when requesting an important attestation from a German consistory to exonerate his colleague Peter Brunnholz from false charges with embezzling foreign donations (see Letter 138). "In the local newspapers we read that Captain Davis's ship went down [on the Thames River] off Gravesend, and we are afraid that letters addressed to us were on board of it," he noted half a year later (see Letter 145). At the same time in Halle, Gotthilf August Francke, the director of the Francke Foundations and, hence, Mühlenberg's superior, wrote to Brunnholz, informing the troubled pastor that "all letters sent to Pennsylvania in the previous shipment went down with the ship" and that he had asked the consistory to procure duplicates. "After it arrived, I [immediately] sent the original off and also forwarded a certified copy in the hope that at least one of them will arrive properly so that you can defend your innocence from that malicious calumny." In this way, Francke took precautions against the many risks of long-distance communication in those days.

More than two-thirds of the letters published in this volume were written or co-authored by Mühlenberg. His principal correspondents were "the Very Reverend Fathers," Director Francke in Halle and the Lutheran court preacher in London, Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen. Mühlenberg sent a total of eleven letters either to both of them (Letters 134, 136, 142, 143, 146, 148 [also addressed to Johann Philipp Fresenius], 150 and 151) or to Francke only (Letters 153, 165 and 167), partly on behalf of Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania (Letters 142 and 143) or in conjunction with some of his colleagues (Letters 136 and 151). During the same period, Francke addressed ten letters either to Mühlenberg alone (Letters 132, 144, 169, 170 and 171) or jointly to him and to some or all of his "brothers" in office (Letters 140, 156, 158, 160 and 161).

With other recipients, Mühlenberg's efforts at keeping connected with overseas friends and benefactors and at attracting the attention of potential sponsors to the Francke Foundations' mission work in North America were less successful, as in the case of Samuel Theodor Albinus, who at the time of Mühlenberg's departure for Pennsylvania in 1742 had served as instructor in the *Paedagogium Regium* (the Royal Boarding School) in Halle before being appointed as assistant and, later, as court preacher at the German Chapel in London. After writing to Albinus three times in 1751 and 1752 (Letters 94, 113, 120 [see *Correspondence* 2]), from 1753 to 1756 Mühlenberg sent another five letters (Letters 145, 157, 159, 168 and 172), obviously receiving only one letter of 1754 in response, which is not extant. Whether Albinus, who in 1756 once more "wished to leave the answer" to a letter from Pennsylvania in the hands of Ziegenhagen and Francke, really did so only because he was "not in touch" with Mühlenberg, as he told Francke (see Letter 170), we do not know. What we do know for sure, however, is that the absence of any reaction to some of his communications forwarded to Europe caused Mühlenberg to grow despondent about his

friends and sponsors seemingly abandoning him to the hazards and temptations of the “American wilderness.” “Being pressured from within and without on all sides” by the “war with the cruel and inhumane savages [a reference to the French and Indian War],” by “[p]overty” and “other plagues . . . and even abandoned by our best friends and patrons is almost too hard for us,” he confided to Albinus in his eighth and last letter to him in late 1756 (see Letter 172).

This letter is but one indication of how Mühlenberg was experiencing something akin to what modern psychologists might call a “midlife crisis” or “burn-out.” Already in a letter to Francke and Ziegenhagen in the spring of 1754 (see Letter 146), he had shown unmistakable signs of overwork that sharply contrast with the picture of the vigorous clergyman of indefatigable energy that many later scholars have depicted. Forty-two years of age and a father of five children aged one to seven years, Mühlenberg felt so exhausted that he asked his superiors to “grant me for the little rest of my life to weep in secret over my innumerable sins in office and station and over my mistakes, to feed and raise my own underage children, to search in the wounds of Jesus for salvation and mercy for my poor soul, and to get prepared for a blessed end.” Besides other reasons for his request, he noted the fact that, first, he had served four times longer than the three-year trial period, with which his call to Pennsylvania had begun; that, second, “[m]y strength is gone so that I need to wear glasses even in broad daylight;” and that, third and last, “I see no way of keeping an assistant and still cannot discharge my onerous duties alone but have to neglect much.” Although Mühlenberg would eventually carry on for many more years until his death in 1787, it took him some time to overcome this serious life crisis, before in 1762/63 the deep rift among the Philadelphia German Lutherans would trigger another phase of depression in him (see *Correspondence 5*, Letter 279). It is interesting to note that those years also mark the most extensive gaps in his otherwise diligently kept journals. Although one cannot know for certain whether and to what extent these gaps might have been caused by the loss of manuscript pages due to later handling or might have resulted from the removal of certain parts of the journals by Mühlenberg himself at a later time, it is striking that this period coincided with his suspension of the annual synodical conventions of the Pennsylvania Ministerium from 1755 to 1759, whereas their Swedish Lutheran and German Reformed peers continued to meet regularly despite the ongoing French and Indian War. After all, to Mühlenberg “such a lovely and fraternal conference with theologians of our Augsburg Confession” was “a true refreshment in this extensive western wilderness,” which he did not wish to forego except for weighty reasons (see Letter 164).

Mühlenberg had more than just personal motives for seriously considering retirement from the ministry. For him, a crucial experience was the painful quarrel in the Germantown congregation in 1752/53 that pitted a very mixed anti-Halle majority against a small group of Lutherans gathering around Mühlenberg’s colleague Johann Friedrich Handschuh. This lingering strife ended in bitterness and with the Halleliesians’ defeat by “disgruntled” parishioners whom Mühlenberg suspected to have been “instigated by some tavern keepers and petty shopkeepers” under the leadership of one

“loudmouth” and of a “Godless” preacher (see Letters 131, 134, 136 and 138 et passim). At issue were charges by many congregational members and several representatives of the local church council that the pastors’ European patrons were high-handedly encroaching on parochial affairs in Germantown by having their subordinates in America impose tight rules of order and discipline on them. To these colonists, this seemed to contradict the Pennsylvanian spirit of voluntarism, liberty and equality. Like most European immigrants, many Lutherans were reluctant to take orders from secular or ecclesial officials who overreached their authority and thus appeared to them to be autocratic.

For Mühlenberg, the unrest in Germantown, which was preceded by no less a rancorous dispute in Lancaster that also troubled him and Handschuh, marked a watershed in the development of the *ecclesia plantanda*, of the [Lutheran] Church that was being planted in North America. By the early 1750s, Mühlenberg was still intent on setting up the infant church as a joint German-British—or, for that matter, European-American—venture. In a letter to Francke from 1752, he had suggested to establish an institution for orphans, a seminary for the education of pastors and teachers and a retirement home for them (see *Correspondence 2*, Letter 112). In order to put this miniature replication of Halle’s Francke Foundations on a sound financial footing, Mühlenberg considered having a pastor from Pennsylvania undertake a general collection in Germany. Whereas Francke dismissed the project and recommended instead that Mühlenberg “look still more closely to the hands of the gracious God and pay attention to his guidance” (see *Correspondence 2*, Letter 124), Johann Philipp Fresenius, the senior pastor of the Lutheran ministerium of the imperial city of Frankfurt on the Main, responded much more positively. In the very first letter of this volume, Fresenius makes very detailed proposals for raising capital in Europe on behalf of the American congregations and for dealing with church order in the colonies, including Lutheran relations with the Moravians, the influence of the German Reformed, and unauthorized itinerant preachers (see Letter 128). As Mühlenberg set about to entrust the three oldest parishes of Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence permanently to the care and financial resources of his patrons (see Letters 142 and 143), in his eyes Francke’s and Ziegenhagen’s subsequent refusal to assume the superintendency of the colonial German Lutherans proved once more that the “Very Reverend Fathers” had no realistic understanding of the peculiar problems the Halle-trained pastors confronted in Pennsylvania, such as voluntary church membership, unprecedented religious pluralism, or the clergy’s lower social prestige, economic insecurity and lack of legal means by which to enforce ministerial acts. This experience, in which Francke (and Ziegenhagen) put him off while Fresenius, though not involved in Halle’s mission work, endorsed his plans for a Lutheran Church in North America, prompted Mühlenberg to rely in the coming years on support from other ecclesial authorities in Germany and America and finally to opt for an “all-American” solution that would improve the legal basis of individual congregations fully in accordance with Pennsylvania law.

Convinced of the need to have Lutheran parishes conform to the Anglican model of church order practiced in Pennsylvania rather than further to wait for his superiors

in Europe to change their minds, in 1755 Mühlenberg drew up a statute for the Germantown congregation that aimed to have the parish legally protected by the proprietary charter issued to the newly founded Philadelphia College (see Letter 165). The first Lutheran ordinance to do so, this statute appointed two politicians as trustees: former Anglican priests William Smith, the provost of the college, and Richard Peters, the provincial secretary. In this way, Mühlenberg managed to integrate the Anglican Church and the provincial government into his plan. In exchange for defraying one-third of the construction costs of the newly built church for the Halle faction in Germantown (and thus reducing their dependence on German donors), the statute allowed the Anglicans to use the Lutheran church. It no longer named Francke and Ziegenhagen as supreme ecclesial authorities but merely referred to them as spiritual leaders responsible for liturgical issues. By virtue of its proprietary charter awarded shortly before, the college henceforth protected the rights, liberties and properties of the Germantown congregation.

Mühlenberg's engagement of Smith and Peters in his model project of restructuring the Germantown parish was part of the more extensive negotiations between the Halle-trained clergy and the proprietary party that Mühlenberg inaugurated by a letter to Benjamin Franklin in 1754 (see Letter 153A). In this communication he intimated his willingness actively to participate in a program to open English charity schools for German children in Pennsylvania, with a view to securing the backing of secular and ecclesial leaders for the Hallensians in their struggle against wandering preachers and rival regular ministers. Mühlenberg offered no less than to enter into an anti-Quaker agreement under Anglican leadership, in whom he saw a natural ally that (mainly for political reasons) shared his distaste for "sectarians" such as Moravians, Mennonites, Schwenckfelders and other radical Protestant groups. Although he was perfectly aware of the schools' political purpose of neutralizing Pennsylvania's large German element by anglicizing German youth and driving their parents away from the ruling Quaker party, he and his associates ignored Francke's admonition that, "as regards political purposes, we rightly do not interfere with them" (see Letter 169). On the contrary: ready to serve as teachers, they were open to disseminating proprietary views and to putting students of parochial schools against "such Vagabonds . . . who pretend to be Preachers but are inordinate, vicious persons, . . . corrupt the Morals of People and make great disturbances," as Mühlenberg and other Lutheran pastors told Governor Robert Hunter Morris in a congratulatory address on his assumption of office in 1754 (see Letter 155B). Those itinerants, the ministers warned the governor, were not only a terrible nuisance to "orderly preachers" but even posed a vital danger to the security of Pennsylvania in the French and Indian War, as they allegedly stirred up colonial Germans against the British crown and the provincial government. Furthermore, Mühlenberg, whose plans for establishing a Lutheran printing house in the colonies Francke finally rejected in 1753 after putting him off again and again, persuaded proprietary leaders to publishing a German-language weekly. From 1755 to 1757, under Handschuh's editorship, the *Philadelphische Zeitung* sought to combat Christoph Sauer's *Pen[n]sylvanische Berichte*, a popular pro-Quaker journal with a strictly anti-

Halle stance and a circulation in all of North America that the short-lived proprietary paper was never able to match (see Letter 165).

This third volume of *The Correspondence of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg* plainly documents Mühlenberg's development from parish pastor to pastor-politician, from (in the words of Leonard R. Rigorgiato) a "missionary of moderation," who effected a viable balance between orthodox and pietist Lutherans, to a visionary moderator of a mission that, once started as a one-man pastoral enterprise in three loosely joined congregations in eastern Pennsylvania, endeavored to put the Lutheran *ecclesia plantanda* on solid legal, financial and doctrinal footing completely in the terms of the Anglo-American body politic. In the mid-1750s Mühlenberg began gradually to reduce his own and his congregations' dependence on Francke and Ziegenhagen and to search for new sources of assistance for the colonial Lutherans by bringing in other ecclesial dignitaries in Europe (e.g., Fresenius and—though unsuccessfully—Albinus) and colonial leaders in America (e.g., Franklin, Peters and Smith). In attempting to gain more freedom for himself and his pastoral colleagues to make decisions, Mühlenberg realized that it was the strict separation of church and state, of all constitutional principles observed in Pennsylvania, as well as the concomitant lack of the clergy's special social status and governmental protection that they had enjoyed in Germany, which forced him to move into the public limelight, even at the risk of jeopardizing his vow of political neutrality.

As we continue the English translation of Mühlenberg's correspondence, we are mindful of the shortcomings of any translation, especially of 250 year-old documents. The peculiarities of the late baroque style and language, in which the letters by and to Mühlenberg were written, required compromises between efforts to preserve the authors' individual idiosyncracies and the need to ensure clarity, readability and consistency. Facing the peculiar problems of standardizing the names of persons and places that were arbitrarily and inconsistently spelled in the eighteenth-century, this translation renders these names in modern spelling throughout rather than employing the spelling of Mühlenberg and his contemporaries (e.g., "Franklin," not "Fräncklin;" "New York," not "Neuyork"). Names of places in America that were abbreviated and/or corrupted have likewise been given in modern spelling and in full (e.g., "Tulpehocken," not "Tolp[ehoken]"). In the case of names, ranks, and titles that Mühlenberg and his correspondents abbreviated for convenience or confidentiality, we have supplied the missing letters (e.g., "G[eneral] L[ee]"), except for common abbreviations (e.g. "Rev. Dr. A[lison]"). The title of *Magister [Theologiae]*, which was common for university-trained theologians in eighteenth-century Germany, has been retained in italics in the English translation, since using its English equivalent ("master") for divines would have sounded outlandish to English-speaking readers (e.g., "*Magister* Wagner not "Master Wagner"). Abbreviated names of months have always been written in full. In English, the term "evangelical" has a variety of meanings, whereas in Mühlenberg's German, it was a designation for the Lutheran church and its theology. In this translation, we have retained the term "Evangelical" but have capitalized it to alert the reader to this difference.

Many letters that Mühlenberg wrote or received contain words, expressions, quotations, or abbreviations in Latin, Greek, or even Hebrew. Except for adages and certain biblical terms (e.g., “*ultra posse nemo obligatur*,” “*Nethinim*”), the English meaning of which we have explained in a footnote, we have translated foreign-language quotations into English, providing the original Latin, Greek or Hebrew text in a footnote. However, with medical and ecclesial terms that Mühlenberg frequently uses in his correspondence we have left the technical Latin in place to highlight his familiarity with those fields and also because such terms usually have no other name in modern English or because their English circumlocutions would have made the style too cumbersome (e.g., “*conus cordis*,” “*ius episcopale* and *patronatus*”). Abbreviations that were common in Mühlenberg’s time have been put in italics and given authentically (e.g., “*S[alvo] T[itulo]*”). In all cases, English translations appear in the footnotes. Latin words, phrases, or abbreviations that have long since been part of modern English standard vocabulary have not been italicized (e.g., “p[ro] t[empore],” not “*p[ro] t[empore]*”). English words in the original text, complete, corrupted or abbreviated, have been distinguished by italics and rendered in modern spelling (e.g., “*indep[endence]*,” not “*Indep[endence]*”). This rule also applies to English words (e.g., “*to annex*”) that Mühlenberg Germanized by adding German prefixes or suffixes (e.g., “*annectiren*”). By observing this practice we want to document Mühlenberg’s progressive linguistic adaptation to his English-speaking environment that may be of interest not only to future researchers but also to casual readers. Titles of books, pamphlets, and periodicals have likewise been put in italics (e.g., “*Common Sense*”).

Mühlenberg and his correspondents employed German ecclesial terms the literal English equivalents of which can be misleading today. The German words *Prediger*, *Lehrer*, and *Diakonus* all refer to a pastor, but their connotations varied depending on the context or the writer’s intention. When *Prediger* designates a duly ordained minister, we have usually translated it as “pastor.” When it is intended to denounce someone as an uneducated itinerant, however, we have literally rendered it as “preacher.” Similarly, in eighteenth-century Germany a *Lehrer* could be a “schoolteacher” or “schoolmaster” or a “pastor.” In translating this word we have decided on a case by case basis. The German term *Diakon* or, alternately, *Diakonus* can be confusing too because it has two different meanings like the related English word “deacon.” In Mühlenberg’s times, *Diakon(us)* could connote an “assistant pastor” or a “vicar” and hence refer to a clerical office (as in the Anglican, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholic churches). In other instances, it was employed as an equivalent to German *Vorsteher*, thus designating a lay office in local congregations (as in various Protestant churches), which Mühlenberg otherwise rendered as “presbyter” [congregational elder] or “vestryman” in English. Because “deacon” emerged as the general, but not universal, rendering for *Vorsteher*, we have used this translation throughout. Another important post in Lutheran parishes was the office of *Ältester*. In Mühlenberg’s own rendition it appears as “elder,” “warden,” or “vestryman.” He borrowed the two latter expressions from the Anglican Church, where they denote two different offices. To avoid confusion, we have always used “elder” for *Ältester*. No less

ambiguous for contemporary readers is the word *Lehramt*, which was a “pastoral office” in Mühlenberg’s day but refers to a “teaching post” at church, school or university in modern German. For those German expressions that defy standardization, we have preserved the original variety of terms in the hope that a literal English translation does not invite misinterpretation.

Following the writing style of the baroque age, Mühlenberg and his correspondents composed sentences that often stretched over nine or ten up to thirty lines or more in print, full of complex dependent clauses that even native German speakers find hard to follow. Whenever possible, we have kept the original sentences intact to give readers a flavor of this highly stylized form of letter-writing. For the sake of clarity, however, we have subdivided overlong sentences into shorter units.

Although the first letter of our English translation, dated February 16, 1753, was written five months after the Gregorian calendar—in force in Germany since 1583 (in Catholic areas) and 1700 (in Protestant areas)—was introduced in Great Britain (on September 14, 1752), the eleven-day difference between the (old) Julian and the (new) Gregorian calendars is of importance to our edition in some early communications that refer to previous correspondence. We have given all dates, whether “old” or “new style,” according to the original text. If necessary, footnotes provide explanations. For consistency we have emulated the practice of Kleiner and Lehmann of writing dates in the following order: day, month, year, as nearly all the authors of these letters did.

Mühlenberg and some of his correspondents employed all the fulsome “edifying” phraseology of Pietism that not only abounded with biblical imagery and verbatim quotations from and hidden allusions to Scripture but also was replete with references to Lutheran hymns. Since many of these phrases and expressions are not easy to understand, we have identified the passages so that readers can easily look them up. We have cited Scripture according to the *Authorized Version* (King James Bible) and to the *New Revised Standard Version*, depending on which English wording captures best Mühlenberg’s references to the Bible and comes closest in usage, style, and spirit to Luther’s German translation of the Bible. In the same way, we have quoted from German hymns according to *The Lutheran Hymnal*, authorized by the synods constituting the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, and to modern Lutheran hymnbooks. If not available there or not rendered literally in modern translations, we have supplied our own translation.

This volume includes four different index: a biographic index, a geographic index, a general index and a scriptural index. The general index provides overviews of subjects through the entire correspondence; the other three indexes give exhaustive listings in order to facilitate cross-references to earlier and subsequent volumes of this series and to the German *Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs*, on which this edition is based.

The identification of the many persons and places mentioned in the letters proved to be an enormous challenge. While we, unlike our German and American predecessors in the 1980s and early 1990s, enjoy the great advantage of being able to retrieve a fast growing wealth of data from the worldwide web, the sheer amount of information requires researchers more so than ever before carefully to distinguish hard facts from

speculation and outright errors. Wherever possible, these sources have been double-checked.

Regarding geography, we have not only given the (former and present) names of individual places in eighteenth-century Germany and North America but have also identified the larger administrative body (county, colony, duchy, principality, etc.) of which that place was then a part. Besides avoiding confusion that similar place names in Europe and America may cause, this rule makes it possible for readers to consult the geographic index for references to a certain region even if it is not expressly mentioned in the letters.

In the scriptural index, the numbering of chapters and verses of the Bible follows the *Authorized Version*. Differences in numbering between the King James Version and Martin Luther's German translation of the Bible, which mostly occur in the Psalms, are clearly marked in the text. It should further be noted that the vast majority of biblical citations are not explicitly made by Mühlenberg or his correspondents in their letters but rather have been ascertained by the editors from the original wording of the letters. Therefore, readers comparing passages from our English edition of Mühlenberg's correspondence with the Bible in English translation should keep in mind that some such references become obvious only when compared to the eighteenth-century standard Lutheran translation of the Bible.

The continuation of *The Correspondence of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg* would have been impossible without the help of numerous persons and institutions. The Rev. Martin Lohrmann, Ph.D. candidate at The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, provided the editorial headings that faithfully summarize the main content of each letter. He reliably assisted with detecting scriptural references and making certain that the translations from early modern German are expressed in idiomatic English. Prof. Jon Pahl of the seminary carefully read the final manuscript and accompanied our work with valuable and much-needed advice and criticism, especially with a view to making our translations and explanations understandable and consistent to readers. Mary Watson also read the final manuscript and helped align Mühlenberg's prose with clear English. As the seminary's Library and Archives Project Manager, Mary A. Redline, M.A., in conjunction with Natalie Hand, Associate Director of the Seminary Foundation, was especially helpful in securing continuous funding of this project and keeping its principal participants in America and Europe connected and up-to-date anytime. For volunteering as members of our Advisory Committee we thank Dr. Charles H. Glatfelter, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Dr. Jack P. Greene, East Greenwich, Rhode Island, Dr. Karl-Otto Strohmidel, Münster, Germany, and the late Rev. Frederick S. Weiser, New Oxford, Pennsylvania. The Rev. Dr. Gordon Lathrop, formerly of The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, translated Letter 133 from eighteenth-century Dutch into modern English. We also appreciate the support that Prof. Hans-Jürgen Grabbe of Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany, has given to this project by adopting the English edition of Mühlenberg's correspondence as an official research project of that university's Center for United States Studies. The Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania kindly assisted our genealogical research by awarding an Andrews W. Mellon Foundation

Fellowship to Dr. Splitter in 2008-09. Lewis B. Rohrbach of Picton Press was instrumental in getting this volume out to the public. Immediately after learning about our plans to resume work on the translation of Mühlenberg's correspondence he strongly encouraged us by making a generous offer of publication. We are also grateful to Candy McMahan Perry for all her help in seeing this volume to press.

We are most grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for awarding us a substantial Collaborative Research Grant that not only enabled us to start work on translating another substantial portion of Mühlenberg's correspondence but also to get this volume published. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect those of the NEH. The NEH designated this project as one of its *We the People* projects in special recognition for model projects that advance the study, teaching and understanding of American history and culture. As the three-hundredth anniversary of Mühlenberg's birthday approaches in 2011, it is fitting to provide both his spiritual descendants and the country he finally called his own a more complete record of his life and thought as a colonial clergyman. We also wish to express our thanks to The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia for its assistance in this work. An additional grant was provided by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission to cover additional editorial and administrative costs for which the editors are most grateful. We would also like to thank the editors of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin for permission to publish letter 153A below from Franklin's correspondence.

According to the famous Italian Renaissance saying, "the translator is a traitor." Thus, in spite of going to great pains to render Mühlenberg's correspondence in modern standard English as faithfully as possible while carefully preserving the idiosyncracies of usage, style and mindset of each author and keeping the text clear and readable, this work, like all scholarly endeavors, is of course not immune to error. Although we have relied on the help and expertise of numerous people who readily contributed their particular expertise to it in one way or another, the responsibility for any, though inadvertent, misinterpretations or misrepresentations of thoughts, phrases, or expressions in the original letters is ours completely.

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Letter 128

Johann Philipp Fresenius¹ to Mühlenberg
Frankfurt [on the Main],² 16 February 1753

Fresenius begins and ends this letter with comments about his admiration for Mühlenberg and with his assurance that improvement is occurring in the Pennsylvania mission field, even if such progress is hard for Mühlenberg to see. In between, Fresenius discusses ways of raising capital in Europe for the American churches and of dealing with church order in the colonies, including Lutheran relations with the Moravians, the influence of Reformed congregations, and unauthorized ministers. Fresenius also comments on their mutual acquaintances, Pastors Stöver, Weigand, and Schlatter.

Text in German: Korrespondenz 2: 3-9. For further textual information, see Korrespondenz 2: 7.

Very reverend and most learned,

Venerable Pastor,

Very highly treasured Brother in Christ:³

If Your Reverence knew how much I love you in the Lord for your work, you would have quite a vivid idea of what heartfelt pleasure your two letters of 16 November 1751⁴ and 16 November 1752⁵ have given me. I have had the first one lying in front of me on my desk since the fall trade fair [at Frankfurt on the Main], so that I would not forget to answer it as soon as possible. But now I have received the other one from your loving heart, and thus I cannot possibly delay my reply any longer. I would rather cut back on sleep, which is brief enough as it is, so that I have the time to answer as I want. So that I may use this important time wisely, Your Reverence will allow me to skip over many things in order that I may concentrate on those matters that are the main purpose of my letter.

(1) I am heartily grateful for the inestimable love you feel toward your humble servant, and that you were moved to write to me twice, and for promising to keep doing so. If you knew my own humility, you would not have apologized at all for your kind letters. I write naturally and simply, just as I feel in my heart, without thinking of the proper style, and I would like you to do so too.

(2) In your first letter, Your Reverence's judgment on the Herrnhuters⁶ pleased me immensely.⁷ You looked at this sect from the right angle and also judged those fighting it quite well. It is only the realization of my lack of importance that forces me to make an exception concerning myself. They have lost their good reputation in Germany completely. In Herrnhag, the small group that remains must emigrate within 14 days.⁸ In England, they are still doing fairly well but their time of destiny⁹ is going to dawn soon. Oh, may they repent and seek the Lord in the dust and in ashes!

(3) According to Your Reverence's description, the state of our church in America still seems rather miserable. But when I compare it with the letters and with the oral information that I received from time to time before you got there, I see that God has already improved much through you and your faithful colleagues. Therefore, have no

qualms about continuing your work. The Lord will continue to help you. My words of encouragement are written in John 1:3-9 as they apply to your circumstances.

I must include the main point here. For many years now, God has imbued my heart with the ardent and indelible desire that I joyfully contribute something to the true and continuous welfare of the American congregations. Your Reverence will have noted some of this in my letters to you.¹⁰ But I have not been able to do anything up to now because the American congregations have not fulfilled my wish. Therefore, I am asking Your Reverence whether you could make it possible for me. My plans as regards the transitional support of which I am speaking are listed below.

- a) Capital must be invested in Europe so that only the interest is to be transferred annually; this will provide for what is most necessary. In this way, the funds will be more secure and the benefactors will contribute more willingly. Not to mention that in this way some people are more inclined to contribute a little than when a transfer to be made abroad. It is common knowledge that this is how the Reformed in Holland are doing it.
- b) The current procedure of collecting separately and spending the capital was good and necessary in the beginning. But it is not so in the long run. Therefore, collection needs to be made on a larger scale and enough capital must be raised to yield sufficient interest.
- c) The principal request for holding a general collection in all Evangelical countries must be submitted to the *Corpus Evangelicorum*.¹¹
- d) In addition to this, all upright and well-known theologians as well as pious politicians inclined to do such works must be asked quietly by their European friends so that everyone in their situation and in their correspondence will help with asking for as much as they can.
- e) The *Corpus Evangelicorum* could be asked to manage the capital as it is already doing this for the church of the Electoral Palatinate, the Salzburg emigrants,¹² etc. and therefore it is likely that it will do the same now too. In this way, the capital would be most safe and the envoys would assist all the more in increasing it.
- f) All private collectors as enumerated
- d)[sic] would have to send the total receipts to Regensburg.¹³
- g) In order to initiate the matter, Your Reverence should draft a memorandum signed by yourself, by all of your colleagues, and by the deacons of your congregations, to be printed in Germany and, in addition to the printed reports,¹⁴ distributed to the Evangelical envoys in Regensburg. In your petition, you would ask the Most and Very Reverend Sovereigns for permission for a general collection. At the same time, one would have to ask them to take over the management.
- h) Because it is not fitting for you to do all of this by yourself, it is necessary that you request a letter of assurance concerning this project from our benefactors in Halle¹⁵ and London.
- i) Once you have permission,¹⁶ you should start work without delay. In case there

are reservations in Halle about turning to the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, I offer my humble services, for I am well placed to promote the work at Regensburg.

k[sic] At the same time, I also want to stimulate the interest of my correspondents, who are generally eminent individuals, and ask them to hold the private collection. In this way, I think it could advance well with God's help. It is also the only way for the Evangelical Lutheran Church to accomplish what the Reformed synod in Holland and the cantons in Switzerland have been able to do.

(4) Your Reverence's report in the first letter about the matters of the congregations, elders, deacons, church councils, general assemblies, etc.¹⁷ pleases me very much. You have *ecclesia plantanda*¹⁸ and are wisely basing it on an apostolic foundation as much as possible. A description of that could be printed and distributed at Regensburg, which would make a good impression.

(5) Your Reverence's report on those footloose vagrants Andreae¹⁹ and Rapp²⁰ is quite amazing. It makes one think that the *jura episcopalia*, *jura patronatus*,²¹ consistories, etc., which otherwise have their substantial defects, are exceptionally beneficial precautions. But is it not possible to ask the authorities for enforcement and protection from such malicious scum?

(6) The news of Pastor Stöver's²² advances to you was very agreeable to me. I got to know him in 1723 as a young man in his father's home at Annweiler when I was on my way to Strasbourg.²³ After that, his father moved to a village three hours from Strasbourg to be a school teacher. My life was not safe from the Jesuits in Strasbourg since I managed to get quite a lot of children out of their clutches. Because his father Stöver, [Sr.] calls my late father a cousin through distant relations by marriage, I took refuge with him for three days. Afterwards the entire family moved to America. The old man²⁴ traveled from Virginia to Germany on a collection trip. After finishing that, he came to me in Darmstadt and, claiming his lack of knowledge and experience, asked me to put him up in my home for the winter and give him further lessons. I did so with pleasure. He was tremendously hard-working, comprehended much, and was wholeheartedly converted. In spring, he departed but died at sea. Since then, the young Mr. Stöver wrote to me many times and, together with Pastor Wagner,²⁵ presented me with the question whether they should join Your Reverence and your colleagues. They were confused because people said you were Pietists and Herrnhuters²⁶ and were also afraid that your church liturgy²⁷ was not completely orthodox. I considered it divine guidance that they turned to me, and was quite eager to answer but could not until this moment. I include unsealed²⁸ the reply here,²⁹ requesting that you read it, seal it and hand it over to them but that you keep silent about the content. Should circumstances be such that you believe it is not expedient to give the letter to them, I ask you to send it back to me.

(7) As Your Reverence writes, you have the files of all the proceedings of the Nyberg,³⁰ or Herrnhuter, church litigation in hand. If you would be so kind as to send me a copy of them, I would be much obliged to you. Perhaps I can use them for the general welfare.

(8) I am delighted to see that Mr. Weygand³¹ is doing so well. His conduct here was also good but his departure was so quick that he had no time to obtain a testimony from me, as I learned later on.

(9) While continuing to read your letter I now find that Your Reverence has already agreed to my humble advice regarding the capital to be invested. You only suggest that it should be invested some place other than Regensburg. It is beneficial for theologians who help care for the Lord's vinyard in America to also take care of the capital and interest, so that they will all be better able to exercise the very necessary *ius episcopale*.³² To this salutary end I know of no better place than Halle, and the *Corpus Evangelicorum* would love to transfer the money there. I cannot write to the beloved Professor Francke³³ prior to knowing that your congregations agree with us. After that, the matter should definitely be pursued in Germany. However, I am always concerned that your congregations want to remain independent, as you wrote to me about the Reformed congregations [wanting to do so] too.

(10) I am happy that Mr. Schlatter³⁴ has returned safely, but am amazed by the terrible ingratitude of his obstinate people.³⁵ The newlanders recently told this story here and there in this city and tried to defend the malice of those ungrateful people as a sign of their being independent. But they have been chastised for this as they deserve. Everyone feels sorry for good Mr. Schlatter and is surprised at Pennsylvania legislation in church affairs. If things develop in this way, it is not to be feared that the Synod of Dort³⁶ will gain the upper hand. If, however, our own people were to get it into their heads to become totally independent as well, all well-meaning efforts in Europe would be in vain, for it would not be likely that they would suffer those favors to be forced upon them. It is absolutely true that the Reformed people's dealing with Mr. Schlatter sets a very bad example, which is likely to make many people worry about taking care of the Christians in Pennsylvania. I wish all the more that our fellow believers there would immediately and jointly provide evidence to convince the Europeans of their being of a different mind, and perhaps you might profit well from the present dilemma of the Reformed.

(11) I have had Mr. Schlatter's report³⁷ printed in my collection of pastoral reports and procured additional copies that cost me some 40 reichstalers. The good man³⁸ offered to defray the cost, but I derived pleasure from contributing a little to the welfare of the Christians there. I was of the opinion that, if only a part of them would become more orderly, all of them would benefit to some extent. I will also include Your Reverence's reports gradually, as I have already begun to do.³⁹

(12) Once again I must return to the issue of improving church affairs in Pennsylvania. I read about a project⁴⁰ concerning church affairs, to be carried out in New England under the direction of Brigadier General Waldo.⁴¹ I am looking for simple and direct ways to bring my influence to bear for good proposals on this side [of the Atlantic Ocean]. One wonders⁴² whether a connection between the two ministerial bodies⁴³ in Pennsylvania and New England should be considered and what path should be followed. Your Reverence can reflect on the possibilities much better from close up. I will be glad to participate in whatever you consider to be good.

May Jesus Christ, to whom the heathen are given as his heirs and the end of the world as his property, be your sun, shield, and very good reward in that part of the world too! May he gather, build, and found his legacy there and give his tools so much light, wisdom, strength, grace, advancement, and blessing that everywhere one may see and feel with one's own hands that the rightful God is still in Zion. In sincere love and deep respect I remain

Frankfurt on the Main, 16 February 1753 Your Reverence's

Dr. Johann Philipp Fresenius,
Always ready for prayer and service

P.S. Your Reverence asked me to recommend a publisher with whom you might correspond and from whom you might from time to time obtain new books. Because I find the publisher Garbe,⁴⁴ who issues my pastoral collections,⁴⁵ to be so inexpensive and good in all things that I have been getting my books from him for some years now, I approached him in writing and have received from him the answer enclosed.⁴⁶ One more thing: Would it not be advisable to correspond with each other via mailboat? That would be faster and safer than it is with those newlanders traveling back and forth and wandering around. This letter, too, is being mailed that way, to wit in a package to Mr. Waldo in London, whom I mentioned on the previous page.

1. Johann Philipp Fresenius (1705-1761) was born in Nieder-Wiesen (then in the Electoral Palatinate; now in Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany). In 1723, he took up studies of theology in Strasbourg, France. In 1731, a polemical controversy with the Jesuit Johann Nikolaus Weislinger (1691-1755) forced him to flee to Darmstadt (then in the landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt; now in Hesse, Germany). In 1734, he was appointed as first castle preacher in Giessen [Gießen] (then in the landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt; now in Hesse, Germany), before being promoted to assistant court preacher in Darmstadt in 1736. After six years of service, he returned to Giessen as a minister and university professor. In 1743, he became pastor at the Barfüßerkirche and the Katharinenkirche in Frankfurt on the Main (then an imperial city; now in Hesse), and in 1748 senior of the Frankfurt Lutheran Ministerium. In 1749, he baptized the German poet Johann Wolfgang [since 1782: von] Goethe (1749-1832), whose parents he had united in marriage the year before. In his early years, Goethe received religious instruction from Fresenius. In the last volume of his four-volume autobiography *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* [Truth and Poetry: From My Own Life], written between 1808 and 1831, Goethe described Fresenius as "a gentle man of a nice [and] handsome appearance, who was venerated by his congregation, yea, by the entire city, as an exemplary divine and a good orator."

2. Then an imperial city; now in Hesse, Germany.

3. An addition on the margin reads: "or rather, poor little sinful mite which is worth nothing."

4. See *Correspondence 2*, Letter 106; entered by hand in Mühlenberg's journal PM 95 A, no. 3 (1751-52), 1-51, but dated 15 November 1751 (see p. 1).

5. See *Correspondence 2*, Letter 125.

6. I.e., Moravians. Fresenius, like Mühlenberg and other opponents of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von

Zinzendorf (1700-1760) and his followers, used to call this Protestant group derogatorily "Zinzendorfers" or "Herrnhuters" (after Herrnhut, a village near the Saxon town of Berthelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia in Southeast Germany, where Zinzendorf had established a colony of Protestant refugees from Bohemia on a part of a family estate). On Zinzendorf, see below, 89n43.

7. See *Correspondence* 2: 167-169.

8. Fresenius refers to an edict that Count Frederick of Isenburg [Ysenburg]-Büdingen (1700-1774) issued in 1750. It demanded from the Moravians to desert their preachers and deacons under oath and forced the Moravian community to emigrate the same year. This eviction was completed in 1753.

9. The text reads (Latin) *periodus fatalis*.

10. In 1753, the Moravian preachers in London were deep in debt. Only a guaranty by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) and Henry XXVIII (1726-1797), count of Reuss [Reuß] and lord of Plauen, prevented people stirred up by polemical tracts from rising in revolt.

11. Latin: Body of Evangelicals. Constituted in 1653 as an authority of the Holy Roman Empire in its own right, the *Corpus Evangelicorum* included all Lutheran and Reformed estates under the direction of the electorate of Saxony.

12. The patent of emigration issued by Leopold Anton Eleutherius von Firmian (1679-1744), the Catholic prince bishop of Salzburg, on Reformation Day (31 Oktober 1731) forced all Protestants who did not abandon their Evangelical faith to leave his territories. Through mediation by Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772) a part of the expelled Lutherans emigrated to North America from 1733 to 1741. In 1734, they founded Ebenezer (meaning "stone of help" in Hebrew [see 1 Sam. 7:12]), initially located about twenty-five miles northwest of Savannah and originally designed as a military defense for the newly established British town of Savannah, Georgia. In 1736, Ebenezer was moved to better farmland nearer to the Savannah River. Renamed St. Matthew's Parish in 1754, the settlement became a part of Effingham County, Georgia, in 1777. On Urlsperger, see *Correspondence* 1: 156n4.

13. Then an imperial city in Franconia and the seat of the headquarters for the Body of Evangelicals (*Corpus Evangelicorum*); now in Bavaria, Germany.

14. *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-America, absonderlich in Pensylvanien* (*Reports of the United German Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America, Especially in Pennsylvania*), started as *Kurtze Nachricht* in 1744 and followed by 16 *Fortsetzungen* ("installments") until 1787, printed in Halle. This series came to be known as *Hallesche Nachrichten* (*Halle Reports*). For further bibliographical information, see above, "Abbreviations," 8-9.

15. A Saxon town, then in the kingdom of Prussia; now in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany. Although the small town of Glaucha, the site of the Francke Foundations since 1695, would not be incorporated into Halle prior to 1817, Fresenius, Mühlenberg and others often used "Halle" synonymously with "Glaucha" when writing letters to or speaking about the Foundations and their missionaries, the *Hallenser* ("Hallensians").

16. The text reads (Latin) *fiat*.

17. See *Correspondence* 2: 169-177.

18. Latin: the [Lutheran] Church in the process of being planted [in America], a phrase describing Mühlenberg's work for which he later became famous. For a brief discussion of this phrase, see Theodore G. Tappert, "Was *Ecclesia Plantanda* Muhlenberg's Motto?" *Lutheran Quarterly* 5 (1953): 308-311.

19. Johann Conrad Andreae [Andreä] (~1703-1754). Born in Zweibrücken (then in the principality of Zweibrücken; now in Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany), he studied Lutheran theology at several universities and was ordained by the consistory of his home town. He served two congregations before being dismissed from the ministry in 1741 for unknown reasons. Arriving in America in 1743 of his own accord, he ministered to German immigrants in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania: in New Goshenhoppen (now Upper Hanover Township) until 1752, in Old Goshenhoppen (now Upper Salford Township) until 1750, and in Indianfield (now in Telford Borough) until 1750. He and Mühlenberg quickly developed a strong dislike for each other, which intensified after Andreae started to serve the

majority of the Germantown congregation in 1752 and his followers drove Halle's Pastor Johann Friedrich Handschuh (1714-1764) and his party out of the church. On Handschuh, see below, 48n22. On the incident in Germantown, see esp. Letters 136 and 138. See *Correspondence* 1, Letter 28, and *Correspondence* 2: 170-171; *HN* 2/1: 265-266; *Pastors and People* 1: 16.

20. Philipp Heinrich Rapp (†1779). Born in Sulz unterm Wald (now Soultz-sous-Forêts, France), in Lower Alsace, he arrived in America in 1750, he pretended to be a preacher but was in fact a commercial traveler. On the recommendation of Johann Conrad Andreae, who also ordained him, he served Christ Lutheran Church ("Old Swamp Church"), located on Cliff Street, in New York City from 1752 to 1756, succeeding Johann Friedrich Ries (†1791). From 1757 to 1765, he served the anti-Halle party of the Lutheran congregation in Germantown. See also below, 258n91, 259nn93,94, and *Correspondence* 2: 193n6; *HN* 2/1: 296, 591-592; *Pastors and People* 1: 106-107.

21. Plurals of the Latin *jus [ius] episcopale* and *jus [ius] patronatus*; i.e., the privileges of princes and their clerical representatives, acting in their capacity as bishops (superintendents) and patrons, to invest candidates with the pastoral office and to present candidates for the ministry.

22. Johann Caspar Stöver, Jr. (1707-1779). Born in Lüdorf (then in the duchy of Berg; now a part of Remscheid, in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany), he studied Lutheran theology, French, and the classical languages under the guidance of his father, Johann Caspar Stöver, Sr. (1685-1739), and several pastors, including [Johann] Valentin Kraft (~1680-1752). Together with his father, he arrived in Philadelphia on 11 September 1728 aboard the ship "James Goodwill." In Pennsylvania he started an independent ministry, which he tried to regularize by seeking ordination from the Swedish Lutheran clergy. After his request was declined, Johann Christian Schultze (*1701), who himself had received ordination in Germany only the year before, ordained him on 8 April 1733. In the 1730s and early 1740s, Stöver extended his pioneering services throughout eastern Pennsylvania while diligently keeping registers of his ministerial acts.

Upon Mühlenberg's arrival in Philadelphia in late 1742, he joined his former mentor Kraft, who had landed in August of that year, and, later, Pastor Tobias Wagner (1702-1769) in opposing the Halle pastor's claims to the Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, Providence, and other places on doctrinal grounds and for personal reasons. While Stöver continued to serve numerous parishes in Pennsylvania throughout the 1740s and 1750s, relations between him and Mühlenberg and the other Hallensians continued to be very strained, although Stöver sought to enter into closer relations with the Halle-dominated Lutheran Ministerium and Johann Philipp Fresenius, a distant relative, repeatedly put in a good word for him with Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769). By 1763, however, Mühlenberg's view of Stöver and his pastorate had so much improved that the Ministerium, under Mühlenberg's presidency, finally accepted him as a member after strictly refusing him in 1748. When stopping by at Stöver's home near Lebanon Township late one evening in September of 1769, Mühlenberg noted that he was received "with joy" and readily supplied with "refreshments," even though his host "had already retired with his family for the night." "Here I found a collection of theological books, both old and new, such as I had not expected to find in a remote country district," he belatedly acknowledged Stöver's qualification for the ministry (see *Journals* 2: 421). On Stöver, Jr., see *Pastors and People* 1: 139-143 and Roy L. Winters, "John Caspar Stoever: Colonial Pastor and Founder of Churches," *Proceedings and Addresses of the Pennsylvania German Society* 53-3 (1948): 1-171; on his approaches to the Ministerium, see *Correspondence* 2: 69-70, 239n29. On Kraft, see below, 231n56; *Correspondence* 2: 52n7. On Schultze, see below 71n18. On Wagner, see below 28n25. On Francke, see below 29n33.

23. Formerly a free imperial city of the Holy Roman Empire, Strasbourg [Strassburg (Straßburg)], in Alsace, was annexed by France in 1681. In 1697, the Peace of Ryswick [Rijswijk] formally recognized this annexation. Whereas Strasbourg Cathedral was handed over from the Lutherans to the Catholics, the German Lutheran university persisted until the French Revolution in 1789.

24. Johann Caspar Stöver, Sr. (1685-1739). Born in Frankenberg (then in the landgravate of Hesse-Cassel; now in Hesse, Germany), he became a schoolmaster. After arriving in Philadelphia on 11 September 1728 aboard the ship "James Goodwill," together with his son, Johann Caspar Stöver, Jr.

(1707-1779), he probably spent some time in the German settlement of New Bern, in Craven County, North Carolina. Upon accepting a call to the Lutheran congregation in Hebron (just north of the present site of Madison), in Madison County, Virginia, he was ordained on 8 April 1733, together with his son, at Providence, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania by Pastor Johann Christian Schultze (*1701), who himself had received ordination in Germany only the year before. Because his new congregation in Virginia soon proved too poor to support him and his family, in the early fall of 1734 Stöver and two lay representatives went on a trip to Europe in an effort to secure contributions. Their collection of money, books, and communion vessels turned out very successful. Before embarking on his return voyage to Virginia, he went to Darmstadt to see Johann Philipp Fresenius, a distant relative, whom he asked to help improve his knowledge of doctrinal and practical theology during the winter of 1738-39 (as Fresenius confirms in this letter). Stöver left Europe in early 1739 but died at sea. On Stöver, Sr., see also *Pastors and People* 1:138-139 and *Correspondence* 2: 49n69. On Stöver, Jr., see above, 27n22. On Schultze, see below, 71n18.

25. Tobias Wagner (1702-1769). Born in Hausen ob Verena (then in the duchy of Württemberg; now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany), as a son of a pastor, he matriculated and probably studied Lutheran theology at Tübingen University and received the degree of *Magister* (master) in 1725. From 1733 to 1742, he was pastor in Horkheim, Württemberg, before accompanying a group of his countrymen to Waldoboro, Massachusetts (now in Lincoln County, Maine) in 1742. In 1743, he went to Pennsylvania, serving several congregations in the countryside but being unable to secure a permanent position. On 22 April 1745, he united Mühlenberg and Anna Maria Weiser (1727-1802) in marriage. Soon thereafter, he fell out with the pastors from Halle. In 1751, he attended the synodical convention of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania but never was a member of this body. After settling an early conflict with Johann Caspar Stöver, Jr. (1707-1779), he developed a close friendship with this wandering pioneer preacher, who was one of Mühlenberg's early opponents. In 1759, Wagner returned to Europe with a part of his family and in 1760 assumed ministerial duties in Oberflingen (then a village in Württemberg; now a part of Schopfloch, in Baden-Württemberg). In 1764, he became pastor in Meimsheim (then a village in Württemberg; now a part of Brackenheim, in Baden-Württemberg). See *Pastors and People* 1: 154-156. On Stöver, Jr., see above, 27n22.

26. See *Correspondence* 2: 171.

27. "Die Kirchen-Agende der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Vereinigten Gemeinen in Nord-America." Based on the 1694 liturgy of St. Mary's of Savoy Church in London and drafted by Mühlenberg in 1748, this document circulated in handwritten copies only. The version in *HN* 2/1: 211-216 was printed from Pastor Jacob van Buskerk's (1739-1800) 1763 copy and later completed by Peter Mühlenberg's (1746-1807) copy of 1769. See *Correspondence* 2: 20n9; *Journals* 1: 193; *Documentary History*, 13-18; *Pastors and People* 2: 247-249, 445-447.

28. The text reads (Latin) *sub volante [sigillo]*.

29. The copy of Fresenius's letter to Johann Caspar Stöver, Jr., of 16 February 1753 stored in the Library of Congress; see *Korrespondenz* 2: 8n21.

30. Laurentius Thorstonsen Nyberg (†1754). Born in West Gothland, Sweden, he served the Lutheran congregation in Lancaster. When he joined the Moravians in 1744, his charge split into two factions. After mediation attempts by Mühlenberg and [Johann] Conrad Weiser, Jr. (1696-1760) failed, the dispute over the right to use the church building in Lancaster was taken to court. See *Correspondence* 1: 181n10, and Letters 45-52; *Pastors and People* 1: 100-101. On Weiser, Jr., see below, 92n73.

31. Johann Albert Weygand (1722-1770). He was born near Frankfurt on the Main (then an imperial city; now in Hesse, Germany). After studying Lutheran theology at Halle University he became a teacher. Persuaded by a shipping agent to come to America, in Philadelphia on 7 September 1748. He first served as catechist in New Hanover, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. On 2 December 1750, he was ordained in New Germantown (now the village of Oldwick), in Hunterdon County, New Jersey. In 1750, the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania ("United Congregations") admitted him as a member. He ministered to the Lutherans in Raritan from 1748 to 1753 and in Pluckemin (now a part of Bedminster Township), in Somerset County, New Jersey, from about 1751 to 1753, before accepting

a call to New York City. While pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church (“Old Swamp Church”), located at Rector Street and Broadway in Lower Manhattan, he also served the congregations in Hackensack and Remersbach (now a part of Mahwah Township), in Bergen County, New Jersey, from 1753 to 1759. He was an ex officio governor of King’s College (now Columbia University) from 1755 to 1770. See *Pastors and People* 1: 162-163. See also *Correspondence* 2: 6 nn21+22, 14-16, 44, 174; *HN* 2/1: 495-497.

32. See *Correspondence* 2: 219-220, 278-279.

33. Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769). Born in Glaucha (then in the electorate of Brandenburg; now a part of Halle, in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany), he was the only son of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), the progenitor of Halle Pietism and founder of the Francke Foundations (*Franckesche Stiftungen*) near Halle on the Saale. After studies of Lutheran theology at Jena University and other institutions, in 1720 he was ordained as a regular pastor. He first served at the Halle prison before being called as adjunct to Mary’s Church in Halle in 1723, where he became *Archidiakon* (archdeacon) in 1740. Also in 1723, he became adjunct of the faculty of theology at Halle University, which in 1726 appointed him as associate professor.

Following the death of his father in 1727, who had held a professorship in theology, he was promoted to the rank of full professor. In 1730, he was entrusted with the superintendency of the first district of churches and schools in the Saale River territory. In 1739, he succeeded his late brother-in-law Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739) as director of the Francke Foundations, holding this position until his death in 1769. Also in 1739, he earned the degree of doctor of divinity, and in 1767 he was appointed as consistory councillor of the duchy of Magdeburg. During the three decades of his directorship of the Foundations, he considerably expanded their mission work overseas, especially by supporting the fast-growing German Lutheran congregations in North America and by consolidating the Halle mission in East India. On 6 September 1741, Mühlenberg’s thirtieth birthday, he presented the pastor with a call to the three oldest German Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, New Hanover, and Providence (now Trappe, a part of Upper Providence Township, in Montgomery County; in Mühlenberg’s day, also called “New Providence”).

34. Michael Schlatter (1716-1790). Born in St. Gall, Switzerland, he studied Reformed theology at Leyden University, in the Netherlands, in 1736, and was licensed to preach on 10 April 1739 (the date of his ordination is unknown). After ministering to Swiss parishes, in 1746 he offered his services to the Dutch Reformed Church, which sent him to Pennsylvania to inquire into the needs and circumstances of the Reformed congregations. Arriving in Philadelphia on 6 September 1746, he became pastor in the city and in nearby Germantown. Between 1746 and 1748 he visited most of the Reformed congregations in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. In 1747, he convened the first Reformed coetus (synod) in North America, but soon came under attack in his Philadelphia charge. In 1751, Schlatter set out on a trip to Europe to ask his superiors in Holland for financial aid for the Reformed congregations and informing them about the strife in Philadelphia. On his one-year tour he also met Fresenius in Frankfurt. As a result of his mission, in 1752 he returned to Philadelphia together with six Reformed pastors. His superintendency of the English charity schools from 1754 to 1756 provoked much resistance from his fellow believers, so that he left the synod in 1755. In 1757, he accepted a commission as chaplain in the British forces in America, which he held for several years while also preaching to German Reformed and Lutherans, first in Nova Scotia and later in Pennsylvania. In 1787, he attended Mühlenberg’s funeral. After marrying Maria Henrica Schleydorn (1730-<1785) in 1747, Schlatter was a son-in-law of Heinrich Schleydorn, Sr. (†1759), one of the most prominent Lutheran laymen in Philadelphia (see below, 33n6). See *Minutes and Letters*, 44; *Pastors and People* 1: 117-119, 136-137. On Schlatter’s role in the English charity movement, see below, Letter 148. For the six Reformed pastors whom Schlatter brought to Philadelphia, see below, 71n26.

35. One of the six pastors Schlatter brought with him from Europe in 1752, Johann Caspar Rübél (1719-1797) was elected by the former’s opponents as pastor of the Reformed church in Philadelphia. The conflict over the split in Philadelphia came to an end in 1754 when Rübél was sent to New York. See *Correspondence* 2: 290n6; *Pastors and People* 1: 112-113.

36. An unflattering nickname for the arch-Reformed adherents to the Synod of Dort (Dordrecht, Netherlands), which met in 1618-19 and condemned the Remonstrants especially for their rejection of double predestination.

37. *Getrouw verhaal van den waaren toestand der meest herderloze gemeentens in Pennsylvanien en angrensende provintien, Vorgesteld en opgedragen, met nederig verzoek om hulp en biystand, aan de 11 Erw Christelyke Synodens van Nederland, en Voorts aan alle milddadige Christenen* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1751). See *Correspondence* 2: 223n44.

38. The publisher.

39. *Johann Philip Fresenii Pastoral=Samlungen. Zwölfter Theil, Franckfurt/Leipzig bey Johann Gottlieb Garbe 1752*, ch. III: *Warhafte Erzählung von dem wahren Zustand der meist Hirtenlosen Gemeinden in Pensilvanien und den angrenzenden Provinzen von Michael Schlatter, Evangelisch Reformirten Prediger zu Philadelphia*, 181-360.

40. See below, 240, and 257n44.

41. The text reads *Wallot* throughout. Samuel Waldo (1696-1759). In 1753, he went to Europe to procure emigrants to settle the Waldo patent (now Waldoboro, Maine).

42. The text reads (Latin) [*quae*]ritur.

43. The text reads (Latin) *ministeriis ecclesiasticis*.

44. Johann Gottlieb Garbe (?-?), publisher in Frankfurt on the Main.

45. Johann Philipp Fresenius, *Johann Philipp Fresenii Pastoral=Sam[m]lungen*, 24 parts (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Wolfgang Ludwig Springs sel. Erben and Johann Gottlieb Garbe, 1748-1760).

46. Not extant.

Letter 129

Johann Georg Krause¹ to Mühlenberg
[Glogau],² 26 March 1753

Encouraged to write by Francke in Halle, Krause describes his original hope to provide a list of the Lutheran pastors in New York. Having lost that list, Krause gave Mühlenberg resources for finding the same information. He then explains the situation of Germans on Jamaican plantations and how Mühlenberg may want to incorporate the Jamaican settlement into his missionary work in Pennsylvania. Krause describes his travels throughout the English colonies, including his time in New York where he met Heinrich Schleydorn, Sr. and bought a slave, whom he took back to Prussia. The letter ends with a description of Krause's later service to the Prussian nobility. The postscript advises Mühlenberg to send a map of the colonies for printing in Halle so that German people can see the great distances North American pastors cover.

Text in German: Korrespondenz 2: 9-13. For further textual information, see Korrespondenz 2: 12

Copy of a letter from Mr. Krause in Silesia to³ Pastor Mühlenberg in Pennsylvania, 26 March 1753.

I would not have even dared to think of sending a letter to so distant a country as Pennsylvania if the Very Reverend Professor Francke⁴ had not had the kindness to

assure me that it would be pleasing to His Very Reverence and then offered its proper delivery. I first intended to send you a small, half-sheet manuscript by Pastor Wilhelm Christoph Berckenmeyer⁵, which lists the former Evangelical Lutheran ministers in the city of New York and the terms of their tenure of office. I also wanted to touch on the situation on the island of Jamaica, which may be useful to those German colonists in Pennsylvania who might want to move there. But I now realize, contrary to expectation, that it is impossible for me to present the former because I cannot find the above-mentioned manuscript that I thought I had among my papers. It had been sent to me by Mr. Heinrich Schleydorn,⁶ Evangelical deacon in New York. Yet I want to inform you officially that I sent a copy of it to Dr. Heinrich Walther Gerdes⁷, former pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Trinity Lane (the so-called Swedish Church), when I was in London in 1732 for some weeks. Therefore, it can be obtained from the archives of that church or from Dr. Gerdes's heirs. At that time, Dr. Gerdes told me that the candidate of theology, Mr. Michael Christian Knoll,⁸ born in Rendsburg,⁹ had left London for New York as a future pastor only a few weeks prior to my arrival. At the congregation's request, Dr. Gerdes had provided for his letter of call and transfer. Mr. Knoll had studied at Kiel,¹⁰ but was later employed as an instructor for young people with various masters in Denmark, Sweden, and Hamburg.¹¹ I do not doubt that Your Reverence will have heard that the Evangelical congregation has declined greatly owing to the frequent vacancies in the ministry, and that this has persuaded many to join the Reformed congregation. May God prevent this in the future!

As concerns the other point of my letter, the Breslau¹² newspapers of 8 July 1752, no. 78, publicly reported on the prospective colony of German people on the Bahama Islands.¹³ But it seems to me as if this project will not be carried out very soon. Because I was in Jamaica from 1725 to 1732 and fairly well respected for serving for six and a half years as harpsichord master, or piano instructor—for the English do not esteem the piano, I have the honor of telling Your Reverence that individuals versed in playing musical instruments, as well as masons, carpenters, smiths, tailors, and coopers can earn their bread on nearly all of the plantations. Therefore, should some of those in these trades decide to relocate there from Pennsylvania, I hope that the remaining Germans in Pennsylvania who presently live under cramped conditions and wish to live elsewhere may thereby get an opportunity to receive detailed information about the areas not yet settled and about the good quality of the land there. While I was still in that country, several areas in the northern part of the island were without proprietors. In the last Spanish War,¹⁴ peace was made with the rebellious blacks who previously had rendered the large mountain range stretching from one end of the island to the other uninhabitable. Because of this, good land, which was earlier considered unsafe due to their marauding should now be available for cultivation in those areas. Since then, those blacks cannot possibly have cultivated the entire mountain range, as their numbers could scarcely be more than 300. Besides them, many proprietors also do not need all of the land that belongs to their sugar plantations. They only farm parts that are not too far away from the mill. Moreover, some 150 Negroes are needed for a plantation to be farmed completely. That is why one can imagine that they would gladly let newly

arriving colonists have the remaining land for hereditary rent. Therefore, if some people versed in music feel like having a look at this land, my opinion would be to ask them what they think about the current state of the island. After all, once being in the country, they should be able to earn a living for themselves easily. The inhabitants there love music and let the Germans, Italians, and foreigners go first in this field while attributing a better understanding of other sciences, arts, and professions to the English nation and to themselves as a part of it. Hence, during my stay the musicians in the island were mostly Germans, although they lived scattered. When I include that surgeon and a goldsmith, together with the innkeeper of an inn at Kingston,¹⁵ one can easily estimate the number of Germans who were there at that time. For my part, I stayed mostly with Colonel Forster and Mr. Hall in the St. Elizabeth parish, which is equal in size to a district in Silesia and the Mark Brandenburg. I was treated with distinction and preference over the servants there, and [incognito] enjoyed conversations as Colonel Blake Campbell, Mr. Gale, etc. Later I also disseminated information on other plantations. At my departure Mr. Hall asked me to send over someone who could play the oboe. One place in this parish, called Lacova,¹⁶ was definitely meant to be a town. But at that time there were no more than twelve houses there: the above-mentioned tradesmen generally think it more secure to enter service with those proprietors of plantations for an annual salary. There also are no proper towns in the other parishes, as Spanish Town, Kingston, and Port Royal are the only ones that deserve this designation, although at the time they had intended to establish another one near Port Anthony in the northern part of the island. But there were no industries then in these areas, which in other countries provide a living for plenty of people. But trade was open to everyone, and because nearly all supplies of victuals, clothing, and household items from England and the northern colonies were partly assigned and partly shipped of one's own accord, many people who stocked up their warehouses from arriving ships in this way earned money hand over fist by doing that. Whether this trade can stand comparison with that in Pennsylvania and New York I cannot say because I was there only a short time, namely six weeks. Yet I remember having heard from some inhabitants that the merchants in Philadelphia paid them very poorly for their goods. I will leave it to Your Reverence's closer judgment if this information about Jamaica can be of some use. I have no other objective here than to demonstrate my good intentions toward my compatriots and fellow believers there. In order to prove it further, I want to send over the ten Reichstalers enclosed as a small contribution toward traveling expenses in case someone makes an attempt and decides on such a voyage and on changing his place of residence. Otherwise, I ask that they be used for other needs of your parishioners. In New York [City], I got to know Christian Geldermeister,¹⁷ H[einrich] Schleydorn and the printer Zenger.¹⁸ Should anyone of them still be alive, they will recall that I departed for England from there with a Negro slave.¹⁹ Therefore I ask that if you get the chance you give one of them my friendly greetings and let them know that due to the circumstances I could not but infer that divine guidance ordained that I should return [to Germany].

My Negro slave, instructed in the Christian faith and baptized at Potsdam, died in

blessedness in 1737 while in the service of Prince William, now Prince of Prussia.²⁰ I found my keep here to be better than I perhaps could have hoped for in New York, inasmuch as, after living on a royal stipend in Frankfurt [on the Oder],²¹ I successively served as private secretary and senior servant to His Royal Highness Frederick William²² in Schwedt²³ from 1737 to 1747. Thereafter, I was, among other things, assigned by the town council to the department of justice, orphans, and hospitals here in Glogau, which I may call my home town, so to speak, on account of my upbringing here from age three to fourteen. It has thus pleased our great God to use me for different duties, with which I would hardly have been entrusted in the English colonies. However, I do not regret having seen these colonies with my own eyes. I close with the cordial wish that God may always bless your person, your discharge of office, and the congregations under your care and may keep you well in all things. Most respectfully,

Your Reverence's

P.S. Since I know that there are several persons in Pennsylvania versed in mathematics, I would like someone to take pains to draw up at least a rough outline of the towns, places, and counties in Pennsylvania and neighboring areas.²⁴ In London, I sought the like in vain. If added to the Reports of the Evangelical Congregations in America printed in Halle,²⁵ it could give a clearer idea of the country as well as of the ministers' laborious discharge of office.

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1. Johann Georg Krause held an influential position as town councillor in the Prussian town of Glogau (see below, n2). In the 1730s he had been in America. See also *Correspondence* 2, Letter 103.
 2. A town in Lower Silesia; then in the kingdom of Prussia, now Głogów, Poland.
 3. "Your Reverence Dr. Francke at Halle" was later deleted by Krause.
 4. Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769). See above, 29n33.
 5. The text reads *Christian Wilhl.*: Wilhelm Christoph Berckenmeyer (1686-1751). See *Correspondence* 1: 189n1.
 6. Heinrich Schleydorn, Sr. (†1759). Born at Peine (then in the Catholic bishopric of Hildesheim; now in Lower Saxony, Germany), not far from Mühlenberg's home town of Einbeck. He was a confectioner by trade. As owner of a sugar factory in the island of St. Thomas, he made a fortune. Later he moved to New York, where he resided until 1737, when he went to Pennsylvania. He was naturalized in Philadelphia on 3 August 1740. He became a member of St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia and one of Mühlenberg's staunchest friends and allies in this congregation. In 1753, he fell seriously ill and lost most of his money in the Seven Years' War, weakening his steady influence in a congregation growing increasingly fractious. In the spring of 1752, he sent his son Heinrich [Henry], Jr. (~1742-<1785) to Halle to get a training as physician or apothecary at the Francke Foundations (see *Correspondence* 2: 218-219, 254). He was the father-in-law of Reformed Pastor Michael Schlatter (1716-1790, who married Maria Henrica Schleydorn (1730-<1785) in 1747. For references to Schleydorn, see *Journals* 1-3. See also *Correspondence* 1: 53n22; 2: 218-219 and Letter 98.
 7. Heinrich Walther Gerdes (1690-1741). Born in Hamburg, on the Elbe River (then an imperial city; now a state of Germany), he studied Lutheran theology in Giessen [Gießen] (then the landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt; now in Hesse, Germany), and later served as pastor of Trinity Church (also called "Hamburg Church") in London.

8. Michael Christian Knoll (1696-1774). See *Correspondence* 1: 189n5. See also *ibid.*, Letter 42, and *Correspondence* 2: 90n1, 127-128, and Leonard R. Riforgiato, *Missionary of Moderation: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Lutheran Church in America* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1980), 108-130.
9. Then a town in the duchy of Holstein, bordering what was the Danish-ruled duchy of Schleswig; now in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany.
10. A port on the Baltic Sea, then in the duchy of Holstein, bordering what was the Danish-ruled duchy of Schleswig; now the capital of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany.
11. A port on the Elbe River; then an imperial city, now a state of Germany.
12. A town in Silesia; then in the Kingdom of Prussia, now Wrocław, Poland.
13. On 8 September 1751, Krause had turned to Francke for the first time, suggesting that, in view of the cramped conditions in Pennsylvania, the German colonists emigrate to the sparsely populated Bahamas. See *Correspondence* 2, Letter 103.
14. In the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) Britain was at war with Spain only (the War of Jenkins' Ear) before entering on King George's War with France on 15 March 1744. See *Correspondence* 1: 18n23, 105n2, 159.
15. The text reads *Kingstoum*.
16. This place could not be identified.
17. This person could not be identified.
18. Johann Peter Zenger (1697-1746). Born in Germany, he immigrated to New York in 1710. After his apprenticeship with the only printer in the city, William Bradford (1663-1752), which ended in 1718, he published the *New York Weekly Journal*. In 1725, he and Bradford became partners until Zenger started his own business the following year. On the initiative of New York Attorney General James Alexander (~1690-1756) he printed America's first party newspaper. His publication of unflattering reports about Governor William Cosby (1690-1736) led to his imprisonment for publishing "seditious libels." In a spectacular litigation in August of 1735 he and his defense attorney, Andrew Hamilton (~1676-1741) from Philadelphia, successfully fought for freedom of speech and the press, so that the New York jurors unexpectedly acquitted him. See Leonard W. Levy, *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960), 126-128.
19. The text reads *Mohren=Sclave[n]*.
20. August William, prince of Prussia (1722-1758), a son of Frederick William I (1688-1740), king of Prussia (the "Soldier-King").
21. Then a university town in the kingdom of Prussia; now in Brandenburg, Germany.
22. Frederick William (1700-1771), margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt.
23. Then a town in the kingdom of Prussia; now in Brandenburg, Germany. Under Brandenburg rule since 1609, Schwedt was placed under the jurisdiction of Philip William (1669-1711), margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt, by a 1692 agreement with his stepbrother, Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg (1657-1713), who became King Frederick I of Prussia in 1701.
24. 1754 saw publication of *A Map of the British American Plantations, extending from Boston in New England to Georgia; including all the back Settlements in the respective Province as far as the Mississippi*. By Eman[uel] Bowen.
25. A Saxon town, then in the kingdom of Prussia; now in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany. Although the small town of Glaucha, the site of the Francke Foundations since 1695, would not be incorporated into Halle prior to 1817, Mühlberg, Francke and others often used "Halle" synonymously with "Glaucha" when writing letters to or speaking about the Foundations and their missionaries, the *Hallenser* ("Hallensians").

Letter 130

Mühlenberg to [an unknown recipient]

[April 1753]

Because the end of this letter is missing, we do not know to whom Mühlenberg sent it. In it, Mühlenberg asks for assistance in a dispute over the inheritance of a parishioner, Hans Jürg Boger, and hopes that the courts will be able to solve the matter properly. Mühlenberg also details the conditions of pastors in North America, mentioning Pastors Wagner, Gerock, Schertlin and Engelland, and says that people observing the ministers' struggles "would rather be a cowhand in Germany than a pastor here" due to the great distances to cover and anarchic religious scene. Mühlenberg once again recounts the story of his proper call through civil and ecclesial authorities in England and Germany.

Text in German: Korrespondenz 2: 13-16. For further textual information, see Korrespondenz 2: 16.

Very Reverend Pastor,

Most learned *Magister*, Especially highly respected Colleague and Benefactor:

Your Reverence has honored me with a kind response of 5 May 1752¹, in which you showed me your willingness to help Hans Jürg Boger² with his petition if possible, and also comforted me and my pastoral colleagues given the heavy burden of our office, and in which you extended cordial complements to *Magister Wagner*³. I admit that in this wilderness of the West⁴ such a friendly letter from our former fatherland serves us all the more as refreshment for a weary heart and as balm for the mind, especially since we are away from edifying conversation with faithful and experienced pastoral colleagues. As concerns Hans Jürg Boger and his wife,⁵ I read to him the order of the most noble court at Lomersheim⁶ and examined him accordingly. He admits that he has received, like the other children, the quarters of arable land, vineyards, and meadows as marriage gifts mentioned therein and says, secondly, that each of the other children received 100 Reichstalers from their late father to start their own households. He, however, did not get anything but the 40 florins⁷ that his brother Adam⁸ had lent him, and he refers to a letter of his father, which says that his father had paid those 40 florins back to Adam Boger. If this is the case, Hans Jürg Boger would have to be reimbursed for the remainder of 100 reichstalers and be given a child's share of his late father's inheritance. The most noble court objects to this in that the father left debts. If it can be proved that the elder Joseph Boger⁹ bequeathed more debts than possessions, then Hans Jürg Boger would no longer be able to claim anything. I am neutral in this case and wrote as was reported to me. Therefore I respectfully ask that Your Reverences and the most noble court make allowances for me. In order that these people in their old age may not suffer want and so that their souls may be well treated, I have obligated myself and my family legally to take care of them up to the end [of their lives]. No matter how strictly I examined them, they still testified in tears that the rest of those 100 Reichstalers and one child's share of their late father's inheritance belonged to them. But they cannot do anything else in this matter but leave it to the fair investigation and

judgment of a most noble court and to the conscience of their relatives by blood and to acquiesce [in this matter]. If it would become clear in some later inquest, regardless of the initial inquiry of the most noble court, that Hans Jürg Boger is indeed legally entitled to something, the church in Lomersheim should receive satisfaction from this, because in that case their friends' consciences would be relieved.

As regards our present church and general affairs, we are ten pastors who are united for service to a great number of Evangelical congregations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York through the grace of God. Up to now, the faithful Lord and Savior, who promised to be with his church where the word of God and the holy sacraments are administered to the end of the age¹⁰, has loyally kept his promise toward us little ones and not abandoned us as orphans¹¹, although we must experience the salutary and necessary cross. Among other things, we have experienced much suffering and grief here, caused by those preachers who came on their own with no proper calling. The so-called newlanders who annually go back and forth bring with them many sorts of so-called Lutheran preachers. When such individuals enter the country, seeking fortune and food, they like to unite with newlanders, disorderly innkeepers, fiddlers, pipers, buyers, and sellers. In this free country, they claim the *jus episcopale* and *patronatus*¹² in a tumultuous manner¹³ and do not let things rest until they have caused conflict, mob rule, and outrage, have denounced us, have trampled on discipline and order, and have made our Evangelical religion odious to so many cunning parties and sects, making themselves most unhappy.

My colleagues and I were properly called by the royal court preacher in London¹⁴ and by other corresponding members¹⁵ from Germany, were examined and ordained by a consistory and were sent here with instructions. We have, to the best of our abilities and by the grace of God, tried to gather the scattered [German-speaking Lutherans] around Christ. We are also ready to continue our pilgrimage and shake off the dust if the ungrateful world wants to expel us.¹⁶ However, those who are going where they were not sent, are to be blamed for that and are heading for the rocks fast because they do not know God, do not account for anything, and for the sake of their bodies teach and conduct themselves in a manner that, for a while, pleases the unbridled flesh. I really feel sorry for *Magister* Wagner,¹⁷ Your Reverence's old acquaintance. When one deviates from the path of an orderly calling and follows one's own seemingly good track, many sad consequences arise that cause a host of bitter temptations and pangs of conscience. Augsburg¹⁸ has reported to me that *Magister* Wagner left a large congregation in Horkheim¹⁹ contrary to the paternal counsel of the very reverend consistory [in Stuttgart] and of his relatives, and moved with a party and his family to the outermost frontiers of New England in the wilderness. He left the poor sheep in the desert, came to Pennsylvania, sought and served several congregations with great difficulty and physical effort until he eventually grew tired, resigned his office, and started a little general store to make an honest living for himself and his family.²⁰

Last March, a decent pastor, *Magister* Gerock²¹, arrived safe and sound in Philadelphia and moved to Lancaster²² to serve a congregation there by virtue of an orderly call and instruction from the right honorable consistory of the duchy of

Württemberg [in Stuttgart]. He has to suffer much from those preachers that came of their own accord and he complains bitterly about the confused and sad circumstances!

Late last year *Magister* Schertlin²³ arrived here from Württemberg, looking for a refuge. He took over several congregations in the hill country,²⁴ bought a tract of land, and now in his old age must put up with much trouble and inconvenience, almost always sitting on horseback and riding in all sorts of harsh weather uphill and down if he wants to provide pastoral care in any way²⁵ and earn a living. Here, too, the saying holds: one's presence puts an end to gossip.²⁶ One forms mental images from afar that are better than [the reality that] one finds here. Even simple-minded people who look at the burden of our office with honest eyes are heard to say that they would rather be a cowherd in Germany than a pastor here.

A *S[ine] T[itulo]*²⁷ Master of Philosophy named Engelland²⁸ from Württemberg arrived here and looked for some congregations up in the country. As *Magister* Gerock told me, Monsieur Engelland left Tübingen²⁹ in a hurry. Be that as it may, he still passes for a Lutheran minister and is said to have had himself ordained for a pistole³⁰ by a pastor of the name of Conrad Andreae,³¹ who had been dismissed in Zweibrücken and was imprisoned for his violations. He [= Engelland] is doing everything he can to denounce and slander honest, orderly pastors as long as God permits it.

The letter's conclusion is missing and the addressee is unknown.

1. Not extant.
2. Hans Jürg [= Johann Georg] Boger (1681->1753) was born in Lomersheim (then in the duchy of Württemberg; now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany). His marriage took place at Lomersheim on 27 January 1705. In 1749 or 1750, he arrived in Philadelphia but returned to Germany sometime later. He died in Lomersheim. Mühlenberg's surviving journals and letters make no mention of the Bogers or the inheritance conflict mentioned below. On the Boger case, see A. Gregg Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 253-254.
3. Tobias Wagner (1702-1769). See above, 28n25.
4. The text reads *Abendwüste*, Mühlenberg's favorite term for America.
5. Anna Barbara Boger, née Dürr (1680->1753).
6. Now a part of Mühlacker, then in the duchy of Württemberg; now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany. The text reads *Lommersheim*.
7. The text reads (Latin) *fl[oreni]*.
8. [Johann] Adam Boger (1690-1765).
9. Joseph Boger [Sr.] (*1655).
10. See Matt. 28:20.
11. See John 14:18.
12. Latin: the right of patronage and oversight; i.e., the privileges of princes and their clerical representatives, acting in their capacity of bishops (superintendents) and patrons, to invest candidates with the pastoral office and to present candidates for the ministry.
13. The text reads (Latin) *methodo tumultuaria*.
14. For the call Ziegenhagen issued to Mühlenberg in May of 1742, see *Correspondence* 1, Letters 8 and 9. Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694-1776). Born near Stettin (then in Swedish-occupied West Pomerania; now Szczecin, Poland), he enrolled in the faculty of Lutheran theology of Halle University on 24 April 1714. As a student in Halle, he made the acquaintance of August Hermann

Francke (1663-1727), the founder of the *Franckesche Stiftungen* (Francke Foundations) and progenitor of Halle Pietism, who became his mentor and sponsor. On 22 July 1717, he transferred to the university of Jena (then in the duchy of Saxe-Eisenach; now in Thuringia, Germany). Following graduation, in September of 1718, he moved to Monplaisir Castle at Linden (now a part of the city of Hanover [Hannover], Germany) to accept a position as chaplain for the household of a descendant of the late Ernst Franz, (1632-1709), Count von Platen, who had been intimately connected with the ruling house of Hanover.

After the death of Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673-1722), who also had been one of Francke's former students at Halle University, on 11 December 1722 King George I issued a call to him to succeed Böhme as court preacher at St. James's Chapel in London. In this capacity Ziegenhagen successively served three British kings of Hanoverian descent and Lutheran persuasion—George I (1660-1727), George II (1683-1760) and George III (1738-1820)—for more than half a century. Received as a corresponding member into the ranks of the prestigious Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), established in 1698, he became a crucial figure in coordinating and promoting the work of the Francke Foundations in East India and North America, especially as all their missionaries invariably went via London to reach their destinations overseas. While his actual powers as spiritual counsellor to the king were quite limited, his informal authority and political influence at the royal court were much significant. In the worldwide Halle Pietist network he was the most important liaison between Germany and Europe on the one hand and Asia and America on the other. Mühlenberg met Ziegenhagen during his stopover in England from early April to mid-June of 1742 and stayed in his home until leaving England in mid-June of 1742. As Mühlenberg reported in his journals, during that time "I had withal the great pleasure of regularly taking my meals with the Court Preacher and of conferring with him as often as often as time and circumstances would allow" (see *Journals* 1: 18).

15. Of the highly influential Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London, to which German-born Lutheran Court Preacher Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694-1776), an alumnus of the Francke Foundations in Halle, and both the late August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) and his son Gotthilf August (1696-1769), directors of the Foundations, belonged as corresponding members. On Francke, see above, 29n33.

16. See Matt. 10:14.

17. On Wagner, see above, 28n25.

18. Mühlenberg probably refers to Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772), from 1722 to 1765 senior of the Lutheran ministerium in Augsburg, an imperial city in Swabia (now in Bavaria, Germany). See *Correspondence* 1: 156n4.

19. A town in Swabia on the Neckar River; then in the duchy of Württemberg, now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany.

20. See *Correspondence* 2:293n5.

21. Johann Siegfried Gerock (1724-1788). Born in Schwaikheim (then in the duchy of Württemberg; now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany), as a son of a pastor, he matriculated and probably studied Lutheran theology at Tübingen University. After accepting a call to Lancaster, Pennsylvania at the urging of his colleague and fellow countryman Tobias Wagner (1702-1769), he was ordained by the Stuttgart consistory on 30 May 1752. In November, 1752, he arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, together with Pastor Christian Rabenhorst (1728-1776). In March, 1753, he assumed ministerial duties in Lancaster, also ministering to the Lutherans in Beaver Creek, in Lancaster County. From 1767 to 1773, he was pastor in Christ Lutheran Church ("Old Swamp Church") in New York City, located on Cliff Street, and from 1773 to 1788 served Zion Lutheran Church in Baltimore, now the oldest Lutheran congregation with continuous German service in North America (since 1756). See *Pastors and People* 1: 43. On Wagner, see above, 28n25. On Rabenhorst, see below, 127n32.

22. See *Correspondence* 2: 293n5; *HN* 2/1: 433-438; *Lutheran Church in PA*, 522-542. Lancaster is now a city in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

23. Jakob Friedrich Schertlin (1696--1768). Born in Hornberg (then in the margravate of Baden; now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany), he took up studies of Lutheran theology at Tübingen University in 1715, graduating in 1717 with the degree of *Magister* (master). He became a pastor and in 1733 succeeded his father in Zell and Altbach (then in the duchy of Württemberg; now in Baden-Württemberg). In 1748, he was dismissed from his parish for unknown reasons. Emigrating of his own accord to America, he arrived in Philadelphia on 27 September 1752. After briefly serving the congregation in Reading, Berks County, he moved to Macungy, in what is now Lehigh County. From there he served numerous congregations in this county of Pennsylvania from 1753 to 1768. Although he attended the 1754 synodical convention of the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania ("United Congregations"), he was never a member of this ecclesial board. See *HN 2/1*: 592; *Pastors and People 1*: 116-117.
24. After a brief stay in the congregation in Reading, Berks County, in 1753 Schertlin began to serve congregations in Heidelberg, Weisenberg, Jordan (now South Whitehall Township), and Macungie in what is now Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. See *Pastors and People 1*: 116-117.
25. The text reads (Latin) *aliqualem curam animarum*.
26. The text reads (Latin) *praesentia minuit famam*.
27. Latin: without title (according to the German rendering in *Korrespondenz 2*: 15). In Mühlenberg's correspondence, the Latin abbreviation *S.T.* usually refers to *Salvo Titulo*, meaning "title omitted without prejudice."
28. The text reads *England* throughout. Johann Theophil Engelland (†1775). Born in Böblingen (then in the duchy of Württemberg; now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany), he matriculated at Tübingen University. After a ministry in Hamburg (then an imperial city; now a state of Germany), he arrived with no call in Pennsylvania about 1751. He settled in Strasburg, Lancaster County, and started an irregular ministry. During the next twenty-two years he served churches there, in Ephrata and Elizabethtown, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in Stone Arabia, Fulton County (now in Palatine, Montgomery County), New York, and finally in Lower Swatara (now Bethel Township), Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. See *Correspondence 2*: 290n4; *Pastors and People 1*: 35. *Lutheran Church in PA*, 322.
29. A university town on the Neckar River, then in the duchy of Württemberg; now in Baden-Württemberg, Germany.
30. An obsolete gold coin of varying value, formerly current in Europe, earlier called an *écu*.
31. Johann Conrad Andreae [Andreaä] (~1703-1754). See above, 26n19. See also *Correspondence 1*: 173-174, 180, 236.

Letter 131

Mühlenberg to the Congregations on the Raritan River¹
 Providence,² 1 May 1753

A malicious letter against Mühlenberg and his colleagues had reached the congregation in Raritan, New Jersey from opponents at St. Michael's in Germantown. To counter such slander, Mühlenberg, using an apostolic style, retells the ways that division had spread in the Raritan church, as well as in the Lancaster and Germantown congregations. His letter gives an intimate look at the struggles within those early Lutheran congregations and the actions of various pastors, including Weygand, Handschuh, Wagner and Mühlenberg himself. At several points, disagreements grew so contentious that Mühlenberg turned to the civil authorities to maintain order.

Mühlenberg here invokes Scripture and the testimony of other Christians in Pennsylvania and abroad to encourage the Raritan congregation to keep unity, piety and good order.

Text in German: Korrespondenz 2: 17-25. For further textual information, see Korrespondenz 2: 24.

Beloved Friends and Fellow Believers

On the Raritan River:

I learned that an angry conflict has arisen among you that increased after some of your elders publicly read a libel from Germantown³ last Good Friday.⁴ With this libel your unruly elders in Rockaway⁵ and some pitiful, petty shopkeepers, innkeepers, and fiddlers from Germantown and Philadelphia have shown what kind of persons they are. It was timed very well that they read aloud such a pamphlet after the sermon on holy Good Friday. The more reasonable Christians among you can thus understand quite clearly what our Lord meant when he said in Matt. 10:25, "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they malign those of his household." On Good Friday, our Highly Praised Savior was blasphemed, vilified, spat upon, mocked, ridiculed, beaten, condemned, and killed and also accused by an inscription on the cross over his head. This inscription, contrary to his enemies' intention, actually served as the crown of his innocence. That is what happened to the most innocent Lamb of God on Good Friday. How much more should it not give us, his most humble members and poor sinful mites, honor if a false Judas and his accomplices disparage and revile us for the little piety we obtained by grace! God forbid that we may be praised by miserly, arrogant, lustful, and unconverted people of the world than be considered pure teachers [of God's word]. That would bring disgrace upon us before God and all true Evangelical Christians in Europe and America! When John came and did not eat and drink, the unreasonable people of the world said that the devil was in him. The Savior of humankind came and ate and drank. So they could not but call him a glutton and drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners.⁶ If even the Highest Wisdom could not please the wicked worldly race and the hypocrites, how much less can we, without being scolded and disparaged, make demands of people who call themselves Lutherans but do not experience anything of the true Evangelical faith in their hearts and about which Luther wrote in his prologue to the Epistle to the Romans.⁷ Anyone with even limited vision can easily see that on nearly every page of the Bible and in all other Christian writings, that from the beginning of the world, especially after the Fall, and up to this day *everyone, everyone*, be they teachers, governmental authorities, or householders—that everyone who wants to live godly in Jesus Christ has suffered persecution and hatred and must still do so (2 Tim. 3:12, Matt. 16:24, Acts 14:22). The greatest comfort is knowing the one in whom we believe and with whom we suffer for the sake of truth and godliness. As our Lord and Master himself says in Matt. 5:11-12: "Blessed are you when people revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account," n[ota] b[ene], because they are lying, etc., etc.

Having said this in advance, beloved and distressed sheep in Raritan, I ask you to listen to my answer and recall how we acted toward you and you towards us.

(1) In Germany, I was called to be Evangelical pastor for several congregations in Pennsylvania, was rightfully ordained, sent here with valid testimonies,⁸ joyfully received by my congregations, and recognized in Europe and here as a Lutheran minister in accordance with the word of God and our Symbolical Books.⁹

(2) After my arrival, more and more congregations united with the first ones. They approached me about asking our patrons and fathers in Europe for more pastors, who were gradually dispatched here at the request of my congregations and myself.

(3) My pastoral colleagues and myself I have never imposed ourselves on anyone. You on the Raritan River can not truthfully say that we imposed ourselves on you. Rather, you urged me with much begging and many entreaties to take care of your sad and very confused circumstances.

(4) I released you from that twelve-year controversy¹⁰ and suffered much for your sake.

(5) I gathered your neglected youth together again and instructed and confirmed them. My pastoral colleagues Brunnholz,¹¹ Kurz,¹² and Schaum¹³ taught and converted you.¹⁴

(6) Can you now say with a good conscience and without lies and nasty remarks that we taught you wrongly and lived offensively? Should not your own consciences tell you that we taught the law and the gospel and administered the holy sacraments according to the apostles and the prophets and on the basis of our symbolical writings?

(7) Should not you and your children testify before God that by God's grace and our humble service the congregations were gathered together and edified and provided with a church?

How often you besought us in writing and orally to engage a pastor and send him to you! And when we were unable to present you with one immediately as you would have wished, some unruly heads proved their poor judgment and, to the disgrace of our religion and as an offense to our youth, became involved with that infamous vagrant called Karl Rudolf Pumpernickel,¹⁵ who had already roamed all barren places in America as an unclean spirit.¹⁶ You requested our service again after you were redeemed from this evil.

We proposed Mr. Weygand¹⁷ to you on a trial basis after examining him ourselves for a quarter of a year and finding him to be impeccable in Evangelical teaching and conduct. Our pastoral colleague was not imposed on you, but you requested his transfer. You had him with you for nearly one year and were able to examine his teaching and conduct. When I came to you after that time and asked how you liked Mr. Weygand, all of the elders and deacons answered that they wanted no one else and that there was no better one than he was as he had taught purely, conducted himself exemplarily, and took good care of the sick and especially the youth. At your request I drew up an orderly call, which most of you signed. You asked me to approach our spiritual fathers in Europe for consent to his ordination. This matter was scarcely done before some of you were disgruntled with the marriage,¹⁸ finding now this, now that, which we censured and

punished lovingly. But we clearly saw and noticed in various letters and oral reports that little by little two parties were forming. In order to prevent this, we were inclined to make a change as time and opportunity permitted, something, however, that could not be accomplished as quickly as many had thought. Any of you who still have open minds can very easily discern the circumstances. It is the same here in Pennsylvania as it is in New Jersey and everywhere on earth. Many people feel no real thirst for the word of God and the holy sacraments. Many so-called Lutherans allow themselves to be governed by miserliness, arrogance, and lust. If need be, they want to have preachers, but those preachers had better not touch their rotten core. No, worldly people want vain honor or temporary gain or a cooling plaster for their festering wounds from the pastor and the church. If some unruly heads cannot reach their false goals, they get the poor ignorant church members on their side and under the pretense of being in the right cause a lot of destruction. Then fuss and fury erupts as in Acts 19:23-40: "Great is Diana!" . . . Many shouted this, many that, etc., etc." We have seen examples of this in Lancaster¹⁹ and Germantown!²⁰

(1) The leaders of the Lancaster congregation were looking to us, begging and entreating, when they were involved in a nasty feud with the Zinzendorfers.²¹ We stood by them when they were right and served them to the best of our ability and at their request also placed our colleague Handschuh²² there.²³ After that faithful servant had applied all diligence possible to the congregation for three years and when we thought the poor souls to be saved through penitence, faith and godliness, this irritated the prince of darkness. Some unruly heads were outraged and did not rest until we were forced to recall our faithful brother from there.²⁴ More than once we asked both friends and foes whether they could produce any evidence against the teaching and conduct of Mr. Handschuh. They publicly testified, though, that they did not have any objections to his teaching and conduct. Thereafter they spared no costs and now have brought it about that the congregation is divided into two parties, one of which is using its preacher in the courthouse and the other, in the church. So it goes with those unruly heads that have no relish for the truth of Christ. They invite preachers to come among them, but then their ears start to itch,²⁵ and they bring unhappiness to themselves and their own children.

(2) Ten years ago the Germantown congregation was in sad and confused circumstances, wrecked and wicked. The elders begged until I took care of them and started occasionally ministering on weekdays. They gave me a power of attorney with their signatures to the effect that I would ask our patrons and fathers in Europe for a pastor for them. They were united with the Philadelphia congregation and served by Mr. Brunnholz, Mr. Schaum, and Mr. Rauss²⁶ to the best of their abilities. The congregation was gathered together, the church was enlarged with much effort and care, and our brother Handschuh was introduced as pastor on trial by Mr. Brunnholz with the elders' and deacons' consent. During the first year the congregation made progress, the youth were diligently instructed, the sick were provided with God's word and comfort, and Sunday services were held in good order.²⁷ At Mr. Brunnholz's request and on the recommendation of the court preacher in London, the congregation received a