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**“What will become of Pennsylvania?”: English Quakers, German Sectarians, and the  
Common Language of Suffering for Peace<sup>1</sup>**

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author!)*

We acknowledge our misstep in coming to so distant a land without sufficient assurance concerning freedom of conscience. [. . .] It cannot be known, now that the flames of war seem to be mounting higher and higher, whether cross and tribulation may not all the sooner fall to the lot of the nonresistant Christian. It therefore becomes us to arm ourselves for such cases with patience and endurance, and to make every preparation for the steadfast constancy in our faith.

Leaders of the Mennonite Congregations in Pennsylvania, “To all the ministers and elders of the nonresistant Mennonite congregations of God in Amsterdam and Haarlem, October 19, 1745.”

The Indians having burnt several houses on the frontiers of this Province, also at Gnadenhutzen in Northampton County, and murdered and scalped some of the inhabitants; at the time of this meeting two or three of the dead bodies were brought to Philadelphia in a wagon, with an intent as was supposed to animate the people to unite in preparations of war to take vengeance on the Indians, and destroy them: They were carried along several of the streets, many people following, cursing the Indians, also the Quakers because they would not join in war for destruction of the Indians. The sight of the dead bodies and the outcry of the people, were very afflicting and shocking to me: Standing at the door of a friend’s house as they passed along, my mind was humbled and turned much inward when I was made secretly to cry; *What will become of Pennsylvania?*

John Churchman, *An Account of the Gospel labours, and Christian experiences of a faithful minister of Christ . . .* (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1779),175.

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Having followed William Penn’s promise of freedom of conscience—heralded in the famous “Charter of Privileges” (1701)—Pennsylvania Mennonites quickly began to question the resilience of the province’s founding principle.<sup>2</sup> In the 1740s, a colony established by pacifist

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a draft of chapter 7 of my book manuscript in preparation for publication with the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture book program/The University of North Carolina Press. The book manuscript is tentatively entitled *A Harmony of the Spirits: Multilingualism, Translation, and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania (1680-17800)*.

<sup>2</sup> The crucial text of the first “privilege” enshrines “freedom of conscience” in the Pennsylvania Charter: “*First, Because no People can be truly happy, tho’ under the greatest Enjoyment of Civil Liberties, if abridged of the Freedom of their Consciences as to their Religious Profession and Worship. And Almighty God being the only Lord*

Quakers and famed for its non-violent resolution of conflicts with Native Americans was suddenly faced with the prospect of war. Though the War of Jenkins' Ear (beginning in 1739) and King George's War (1740-1748) did not directly affect Pennsylvania, Mennonites wrote to their brethren in Holland asking for support of the American congregations.<sup>3</sup> But war itself was nothing new for European, especially German and Dutch immigrants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the "cross and tribulation" Pennsylvania Mennonites feared was rather the possibility that "if a hostile attack should strike this province, we would [. . .] be compelled against our consciences to take up arms and meet the foe with weapons with a heavily burdened conscience."<sup>4</sup> Mennonites and other non-resistant German sects—including Schwenkfelders, Brethren (or Dunkers), and Moravians—anticipated that either the governor or the Assembly (in the event of Quakers losing their majority) would require military service in violation of their pacifist stance, thus undermining the freedom of religion that had originally drawn them to "so distant a land."<sup>5</sup> Crucially, the Mennonite letter asked for assistance from the Dutch

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of Conscience [. . .], I DO hereby grant and declare, That no Persons inhabiting in the Province or Territories who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World, and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil Government, shall be in any Case molested or prejudiced in his or their Person or Estate, because of his or their consciencious Perswasion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing contrary to their Religious Perswasion." *The Charter of Privileges Granted by the Honourable William Penn, Esq; to the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Pennsylvania. October 28, 1701* (Philadelphia: Samuel Keimer, 1725), 3.

<sup>3</sup> For general information on these conflicts and their impact on Pennsylvania politics, see Robert L. Davidson, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).

<sup>4</sup> Leaders of the Mennonite Congregations in Pennsylvania, "To all the ministers and elders of the nonresistant Mennonite congregations of God in Amsterdam and Haarlem, October 19, 1745." In: Richard K. MacMaster, Samuel L. Horst, and Robert F. Ulle, *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739-1789, Interpretation and Documents*. Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History 20 (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979), 85.

<sup>5</sup> Though counted among the German "peace sects" for their pacifist principles, the Moravians were somewhat less concerned with the abridgement of their liberty of conscience in Pennsylvania or elsewhere in the British colonies. The received recognition by an act of Parliament and thus enjoyed protection by the laws of the empire, whereas Mennonites, Brethren, and Schwenkfelders could only appeal to Pennsylvania's "Charter of Liberties." MacMaster explains the role of Pennsylvania governors, especially Governor Thomas during the War of Jenkins' Ear, in making German sects fear imminent military service: "[Governor Thomas] undoubtedly contributed to impressing on the minds of the peaceable sects that only the Quaker Assembly stood between them and military despotism." MacMaster, 63.

congregations in translating and publishing in German the Dutch *Martyrs' Mirror*, Thieleman van Braght's 17<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle of the Anabaptist martyrs.<sup>6</sup> The connection was made explicit: evidence of stalwartness in the face of Catholic and orthodox Protestant persecution in the past would prepare and strengthen Pennsylvania Mennonites (an Anabaptist sect) for persecution and suffering in the future. Even if they did not expect to be tortured and executed for their faith like their predecessors, being forced to break their fundamental principle of peacefulness might entail severe spiritual consequences.

Recording events of the year 1756, the Quaker reformer John Churchman found the "flames of war" burning bright: the French and Indian War embroiled a hitherto peaceful province in violent frontier conflicts, bodies of dead frontier inhabitants being carried as evidence right into the "city of brotherly love." Churchman's cry "What will become of Pennsylvania?" bewails not only the immediate loss of human life but on a larger plane the disappearance of a vision of the province as a haven of peacefulness. As the Mennonites had expected, the trials and persecution of non-resistant Christians ensued as the mob in the streets called for the formation of a mandatory militia and blamed pacifist members of the Assembly for the lack of defense. As the Mennonites confirmed the traditional foundation of their faith in the stories of suffering and persecution collected in the *Martyrs' Mirror*, Churchman (as well as other reform-minded Friends) re-emphasized the spiritual principles of the Quaker religion, as his "mind was humbled and turned much inward." As he walks the streets teeming with the signs of bloodshed, Churchman receives an opening or divine communication: "[A]t length, it

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<sup>6</sup> T. J. van Braght, *Het Bloedig Tooneel, op Martelaers Spiegel Der Doops-Gesinde op Weerelose Christenen* (Amsterdam, 1660; 1685). The first German language edition was printed at Ephrata, Pennsylvania: Braght, Thieleman J. van (Thieleman Janszoon). Trans. Johann Peter Miller. *Der blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer-Spiegel der Tauffs Gesinnten oder Wehrlosen-Christen, die um des Zeugnuß Jesu ihres Seligmachers Willen gelitten haben, und seynd getödtet worden, von Christi Zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660. Vormalß aus unterschiedlichen glaubwürdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugnüßen gesamt und in holländischer Sprach heraus gegeben von T.J. v. Braght. Nun aber sorgfältigst ins Hochteutsche übersetzt und zum erstenmal ans Licht gebracht.* Ephrata in Pensylvanien, Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft, 1748-1749.

was said in my soul, *This Land is polluted with blood, and in the day of inquisition for blood, it will not only be required at the frontiers and borders, but even this place where these bodies are now seen.*” The suffering of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania appears to Churchman as a scourge for social and spiritual evils such as “the case of the poor enslaved Negroes.”<sup>7</sup>

For both Quakers and Mennonites, the demise of a peaceful Pennsylvania returned them to the historical roots of their religious denominations—the religious conflicts of late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Europe and the suffering of the non-resistant faiths for their testimony. While frontier warfare heightened tensions and exacerbated differences among political and religious factions such as the Proprietary and Quaker parties, it brought members of various non-resistant sects—both English and German—closer together. They united in crying out for the loss of an ideal, and they joined in preparing themselves for persecution. Even though the physical suffering of frontier inhabitants affected them greatly, they feared the spiritual suffering they would endure if forced to take up arms against the “enemy.”

Of course, the political support of German sectarians for the dominant Quaker party throughout most of colonial Pennsylvania politics has been well documented by historians.<sup>8</sup> German voters (including many “church people,” i.e. members of the orthodox Lutheran and Reformed churches) helped carry the Quaker “ticket” in most elections to the Pennsylvania Assembly. The causal relationship for this cooperation presented in historiography is simple: German voters, especially members of the peace sects, voted for the Quakers because they

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<sup>7</sup> Churchman, 175-76.

<sup>8</sup> Dietmar Rothermund, “The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania.” *PMHB* 84 (1960): 3-21; *The Layman’s Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1961.; Alan Tully, “Englishmen and Germans: National-Group Contact in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1700-1755,” *Pennsylvania History* 45 (1978): 237-256, “Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Early America,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983): 491-536; “King George’s War and the Quakers: The Defense Crisis of 1732-1742 in Pennsylvania Politics,” *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 82.4 (1978): 174-198; “Politics and Peace Testimony in Mid-Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania,” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 13.2 (1982): 159-177; *William Penn’s Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania., 1726-1755*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1977.

promised and fulfilled what they wanted—the continuation of the principle of religious freedom, especially the guarantee that no military service would be required.

This longstanding alliance in the sphere of politics, however, rested on a deeper spiritual reciprocity and a tradition of spiritual exchange—facilitated through translation—between English Quakers and members of various German Pietist and Anabaptist groups. Certainly, this relationship did not automatically emerge from their common disdain for secular authority and their shared emphasis on a personal faith over institutionalized worship and doctrine. Even among German sects theological differences were perceived to be so extreme that efforts to unite these groups—such as the “Congregation of God in the Spirit”—failed miserably. Similarly, German sects and English Quakers differed radically in many points of theology and practice such as the question of baptism. Yet German Sectarians and Pietists and their English Quaker neighbors also acknowledged and cultivated similarities, especially the escape from persecution as a common reason for coming to Pennsylvania.

This paper argues that any political cooperation ultimately rested on the construction of a spiritual community among English and German pacifists through *both* the exploration of religious ties *and* the relatively unified response to the increasing militarization of Pennsylvania politics from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century through the Revolution. The religious and spiritual foundations of this community somewhat differed for German Pietist groups such as the Moravians and Schwenkfelders and Anabaptist denominations such as the Mennonites and Dunkers. Pietists shared with Quakers a penchant for an inward, mystical, and spiritualized search for a personal and palpable sense of the workings of Christ. For much of early Pennsylvania history, German Pietists and English Quakers conducted a lively exchange of

mystical, spiritual writings in print and manuscript.<sup>9</sup> Anabaptists such as the Mennonites shared with Quakers a belief in the centrality of taking up the cross of persecution and suffering as a sign of pursuing the biblical dictum of discipleship. All non-orthodox German denominations, however, agreed with Quakers in their strong commitment to pacifism and their staunch defense of religious toleration in Pennsylvania. This paper, as well as my larger project, seeks to write a cultural and literary history of the German-Quaker cooperation in colonial Pennsylvania, with a special emphasis on the exchange of texts and the establishment of a common language of suffering for peace and freedom of conscience.

As historians Richard Bauman, Jack Marietta, and Herrmann Wellenreuther have demonstrated, the response to war among Quakers in the mid and late eighteenth century galvanized a reform movement that advocated and in many ways affected a reorientation of Pennsylvania Friends to a testimony of simplicity, a commitment to pacifism, and an active labor in matters of social justice, such as the problem of slavery and conflict with Native Americans. These standard works, however, explain the Quaker reform movement almost exclusively as a change emerging from within the Society of Friends, propagated by “religious Quakers” such as John Woolman, John Churchman, and Anthony Benezet. The religious and spiritual life of the Pennsylvania Quakers, in these works, seems shielded from the influence of those likeminded German denominations which apparently played a key role in upholding the *political* dominance of Quaker politicians throughout much of the colonial period.<sup>10</sup> The only sustained work on

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<sup>9</sup> Early examples are the communication between the German leader Francis Daniel Pastorius and various notable Quakers, including James Logan, Isaac Norris Sr., Samuel Carpenter, and Thomas Lloyd, but also less well-known Quaker women such as Jane Fenn Hoskens and Lydia Norton. The radical Pietist hermit Johannes Kelpius exchanged spiritual writings with Quakers in Pennsylvania and other colonies (such as Rhode Island). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Anthony Benezet stands out as the most avid reader of German Pietist writings, including mystical works by Kelpius, the medieval mystic Johannes Tauler (which Benezet translated into English), and doctrinal writings by Caspar Schwenckfeld, which the Schwenckfelder leader Christopher Schultz sent to him in manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> Richard Baumann, *For the Reputation of Truth: Politics, Religion, and Conflict among the Pennsylvania Quakers, 1750-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971); Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American*

German-Quaker cooperation in peace activism, Richard K. MacMaster's *Conscience in Crisis* (a collection of documents and historical contexts), has received little attention from political and cultural historians.<sup>11</sup>

While the cultural or spiritual impact of one group upon another is inherently difficult to measure, I suggest that “religious” or reformist Quakers were encouraged in their stance against war and insistence on freedom of conscience during the threats of war in the 1740s, the French and Indian War in the 1750s, and the Revolutionary War in the 1770s by the culture of pacifism practiced among German sectarians. The support of the Quaker stance proffered by German sects and German printer and cultural broker Christoph Saur (as well as his son, Christoph Saur II) goes far beyond the donations Mennonites and Schwenkfelders offered to Israel Pemberton's “Friendly Association” or Saur's relentless newspaper and pamphlet campaigns against any form of voluntary or required military association. In the writings exchanged and read by German and English pacifists, the language of spiritual congeniality precedes and motivates any political cooperation.

Based on a similar theology of suffering and discipleship, German and English pacifists explored various discursive and textual avenues to cement such a spiritual community. Among these discursive strategies stood out the interpretation of suffering and persecution as tokens of

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*Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Hermann Wellenreuther, *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania, 1681-1776: Die Wandlungen der Obrigkeitsdoktrin und des Peace Testimony der Quäker*, Kölner Historische Abhandlungen 20 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972); “The Political Dilemma of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, 1681-1748,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94.2 (1970): 135-172; “The Quest for Harmony in a Turbulent World: The Principle of ‘Love and Unity’ in Colonial Pennsylvania Politics,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983): 537-76.

<sup>11</sup> Richard K. MacMaster, Samuel L. Horst, and Robert F. Ulle, *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739-1789, Interpretation and Documents*, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History 20 (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979). I have relied heavily on the splendid collection of documents in this book, but, whenever possible, I also crosschecked or used the original manuscripts reproduced here. Focusing on collecting and situating documents, MacMaster's book is meant as a sourcebook for further scholarly analysis and research, rather than monograph advancing a specific historiographic argument. The fact that scholars have paid little attention to this work, I believe, stems from a frequent and regrettable neglect for scholarship published under the aegis of denominational historical societies and their affiliated presses, such as the Mennonite Historical Society's Herald Press.

true faith, evidence of discipleship, and constancy in “Truth.” German peace sects, I argue, played a key role in reminding Quakers of their original testimony of non-resistance, because they—unlike Pennsylvania Friends—never furnished the political and economic elite of the province. As Marietta and Baumann have shown, Quakers constantly struggled to reconcile their status of political power with their roots in political and social non-conformism. The German peace sects in Pennsylvania steered more consistently clear of prominent government functions (either by choice or lack of political clout) and thus retained a less conflicted sense of their commitment to non-resistance. At times, therefore, German writers such as the Schwenkfelder leader Christopher Schultz admonished prominent Friends like Israel Pemberton of their responsibilities to “Truth” and the Quaker heritage of peacefulness and religious freedom.

Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, German peace sects and reformist Quakers alike exalted the memory of William Penn, the “Charter of Privileges,” and the codification of freedom of conscience as common ideological foundations.<sup>12</sup> When members of both groups styled a civic document such as the “Charter” as a sacred text, they implicitly endowed the political and social history of Pennsylvania with a variety of religious and spiritual meanings. With the first rumors of war spreading across the province, pacifists feared changes to the “Charter” and began to elevate the document to a quasi-sacred status. Invocations of the “Charter” peaked whenever political powers seemed to try to repeal or abridge it—especially during the agitation for royal government and in the period immediately preceding the Revolutionary War. As advocates of royal government such as Benjamin Franklin aimed to unhinge the proprietary elite or as

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<sup>12</sup> The first German printing of the charter was done in 1743 by Christoph Saur, thus responding to the same fears of religious freedom to be curtailed as the Mennonite letter quoted above. See: *Der neue Charter. Oder Schriftliche Versicherung der Freyheiten, Welche William Penn. Esq; Den Einwohnern von Pensylvannien un dessen Territorien gegeben. Aus dem Englischen Original übersetzt* (Germantown: Christoph Saur, 1743).

American “patriots” argued for mandatory militia service to protect American “liberties,” non-resistants saw the entire political and communal system of the province turned up-side down.

For Quakers and German peace sects, therefore, the “Charter” and the rhetoric of defending it catalyzed a sense of religious community; the document itself not only inscribed a civic order that uniquely allowed the government to function without providing for military defense, but, moreover for non-resistant Christians to serve in positions of civic power. When this principle came under attack, German and English Quakers constructed a common discourse of Pennsylvania history in which, following Christoph Saur’s words, the “Quaker mother” had invited non-Quaker children (say, the German sects) into the colony, but was ultimately betrayed by certain “children” who did not want to accede to her preeminence. Penn’s founding, the original principle of peacefulness, the “Charter,” and the accommodation of Indians through diplomacy, therefore, became quasi-mythological reference points for Quakers and German sectarians during the conflicts of the mid and late 18th century. As the American “patriots” took up arms to die for the cause of liberty, Quaker and German sectarians were prepared to suffer for the freedoms inscribed in the Pennsylvania “Charter of Privileges.” They perceived its provisions as the true guarantor of freedom and the revolution as a form of tyranny.

Quakers and German pacifists derived an additional sense of cohesion from narratives about the original “love” and harmony with the Indians and, in times of war, renewed attempts to rekindle or reestablish this “original” state of society in Pennsylvania. The work of the “Friendly Association”—initiated at large by Israel Pemberton and supported by many German peace sects—therefore, not only sought a peaceful yet practical solution for Indian attacks on the frontier, but, in a more self-reflective mode, the organization and its supporters very much understood it as a revival of the founding principles of the province. The correspondence

surrounding the German support for the Friendly Association in particular reveals the spiritual and communal significance of any signs of a return to peaceful relationships with Indians as well as evidence of Native American conversion to Christianity. To put it differently, Quakers and German peace sects exchanged stories such as the narrative of the conversion of Papunhank in order to reaffirm the validity of the original “experiment.” If, in relation to Indian diplomacy, history could repeat itself in a positive sense, pacifism would prove to be a viable civic and spiritual principle.

The exchange of a broad range of religious and generally spiritual literature between English Quakers and German Pietists and sectarians, moreover, established a wider cultural foundation in which such a discourse of suffering and pacifism could take root. While a survey of this exchange in manuscript and print goes beyond the confines of this paper, I would like to emphasize the role that the process of translation played in galvanizing a common spiritual discourse. In highlighting rather than eclipsing the role of the translator and of translation, a plethora of spiritual publications read *in common* by English Quakers and German sectarians and Pietists emphasized that spiritual community could be established and fostered across linguistic divisions. Translation, in other words, helped to transcend linguistic and cultural differences and emphasize common spiritual beliefs and assumptions.<sup>13</sup>

### ***Theologies of Suffering and Non-Resistance in the German Sectarian and Quaker Traditions***

Most of the German sectarian groups who settled in Pennsylvania in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century had historically experienced some kind of the persecution, which—directly or indirectly—led to their immigration. Anabaptist sects such as the Mennonites

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<sup>13</sup> In my manuscript, this argument is at length discussed in chapter 4, “A Paper-Hive:” Francis Daniel Pastorius and the Gathering of a Literary Community, and chapter 5, A Hidden Voice Amplified: Mysticism, Music, and Translation.

received the most severe treatment by Catholic and even orthodox Protestant rulers and church authorities throughout the 16th and into the early 17th century. For the Netherlands, for instance, historians estimate the number of Anabaptist martyrs executed between 1,500 and 2,500, with similar numbers for other states where such persecution occurred, including the Palatinate and Switzerland. The last Anabaptist martyr was probably executed in Zurich in 1614, though suffering under imprisonment and different repressive measures such as heavy fines continued well beyond that date. Civil and religious authorities persecuted Anabaptists primarily for their practice of adult baptism and other direct challenges to church doctrine as well as civil disobedience such as the principle of non-resistance and the refusal to bear arms.<sup>14</sup> The followers of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century reformer Caspar Schwenkfeld became victims of state-enforced Jesuit missionizing projects in their homeland of Silesia as recently as the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, ultimately forcing them to seek temporary refuge on the estate of the Moravian leader Nicolas Ludwig, Count Zinzendorf, and to immigrate to Pennsylvania in the 1730s.<sup>15</sup>

Both through their interpretation of the New Testament as well as their experiences of suffering under persecution, Mennonites and other non-conformist German sects arrived at a “theology of martyrdom.” Not technically a religious creed, this interpretation of martyrdom sought to explain the purpose of suffering for Christians, insert it in an eschatological scheme, and define those principles—such as defenselessness—that merited a stance of martyrdom.<sup>16</sup> According to German theologian Ethelbert Stauffer, Anabaptists regarded martyrdom as a key

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<sup>14</sup> “Martyrs,” *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol. III (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House).

<sup>15</sup> Horst Weigelt, “The Emigration of the Schwenkfelders from Silesia to America,” *Schwenkfelders In America: Papers Presented at the Colloquium on Schwenckfeld and the Schwenkfelders*, ed. Peter C. Erb (Pennsburg: Schwenkfelder Library, 1987), 5-19. At the current state of research on this chapter, I have found the best primary evidence concerning cooperation between Quakers and German sectarians among Pennsylvania Mennonites and Schwenkfelders; thus I will concentrate on these two groups and their relationship to the Pennsylvania Quakers in this paper.

<sup>16</sup> The seminal publication on martyrdom in the Anabaptist tradition is still Stauffer, Ethelbert. “The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom.” Trans. and ed. Robert Friedmann. *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 19 (1945): 179-214.

element in the eschatological history of a conflict between Christ and anti-Christ, light and darkness. The teleological purpose of martyrdom and suffering, therefore, is the ushering in of a new age. Revered as the ultimate martyr, Christ demanded radical discipleship from his followers, who would literally and spiritually take up the cross in order to defend the “Truth.”

The Anabaptist primacy of “Truth” over the Lutheran emphasis on the “Word” explains the dualistic Mennonite distinction between the kingdom of God and that of the princes of the world. The equation of martyrdom with dying for “Truth” was best encapsulated in the motto of Balthasar Hubmaier’s 1525 *Taufbüchlein*: “Die Wahrheit ist untödtlich [Truth cannot be killed].” Even though persecution and martyrdom should not be actively sought because they could never merit salvation, they were regarded as prominent signs of election and the surest way of “imitating” Christ. Significantly, the Anabaptist stance of non-resistance developed directly from Christ’s dictum of discipleship: “The disciples of Christ are sent out like sheep among wolves. But they shall suffer the hostility of the world according to the example of their master without resistance [. . .].”<sup>17</sup> As Alan Kreider elaborates, “[c]onformity to Christ thus led to nonconformity to the world, civil disobedience, and conflict.”<sup>18</sup> True disciples of Christ should be obedient to civil authority as long as it does not conflict with the demands of the pursuit of “Truth.” Beyond that, suffering became a political statement, as resistance to state or ecclesiastical authority was sanctioned by the belief in discipleship.

The interpretation of suffering for “Truth” as a weapon in a larger, eschatological battle and the idea of radical discipleship, however, presented somewhat of a hindrance once persecution yielded to toleration. While I do not mean to allege a “martyr complex” for the German Sectarians in a tolerant Pennsylvania, the absence of immediate persecution certainly

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<sup>17</sup> Stauffer, 212.

<sup>18</sup> Alan F. Kreider, “‘The Servant Is Not Greater Than His Master’: The Anabaptists and the Suffering Church.” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 58 (1984): 15.

posed a problem for religious denominations that specifically defined themselves as a “suffering church.” The Seventh-Day Baptist group that eventually settled at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, seemed to answer this dilemma by spiritualizing the idea of persecution and conceptualizing the cloistered life as a means of suffering for truth and opposing the forces of the anti-Christ within every individual.<sup>19</sup> Although Mennonite, Dunker, and Schwenkfelder churches in Pennsylvania were truly shocked by a sudden reappearance of the need for suffering and the return of persecution to Pennsylvania, they willingly accepted the opportunity to display their commitment to discipleship. Thus, even debates over possible militia laws already sparked a renewed “passion” for suffering for “Truth” among German non-resistants in the province. Strongly influenced by the tradition of the suffering church, separatist printer Christoph Saur, for instance, inserted his entire response to Benjamin Franklin’s “Voluntary Association” for the defense of Pennsylvania in 1747/48 into the dualistic view of history as a spiritual battle between Christ and anti-Christ.<sup>20</sup>

In keeping with this apocalyptic view of suffering, early Quakers also inserted their persecution in Interregnum and Restoration England into an eschatological interpretation of history. As Rosemary Moore explains, “Friends lived with persecution from the start. Whether they were the objects of what, according to the law of the land, was legitimate prosecution or whether they were the victims of spite or of hooligans, to Quakers all appeared as persecution, the activity of the Antichrist, or the great Beast described in Revelation 13.”<sup>21</sup> Moore identifies

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<sup>19</sup> See E. Gordon Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (U of Pittsburgh P, 1985); Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledove: The Sacred World of Ephrata*. Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series 3 (University Park: Penn State UP, 2003). In both the Ephrata and Pennsylvania Mennonite communities, hard work was also conceptualized as a spiritual substitute for the lack of outward, political persecution in affecting a stance of suffering. See Julia Kasdorf, “‘Work and Hope’: Tradition and Translation of an Anabaptist Adam,” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 69 (1995): 178-204.

<sup>20</sup> See below for a closer analysis of Saur’s rhetorical strategy during the “Association debate.”

<sup>21</sup> Rosemary Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain, 1646-1666* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2000), 155-56.

the emergence of a “theology of suffering” resembling very closely—in purpose and expression—the “theology of martyrdom” among Anabaptist sects. Thus, early Friends “developed the idea that their suffering was a part of God’s plan, so that Quaker faith and the Quaker experience of persecution were found to reinforce each other, instead of being opposed. Quakers knew themselves to be united with Christ.” Like the Mennonites and other Anabaptists, Quakers came to believe that suffering “was indeed a privilege, and evidence of their election.”<sup>22</sup>

Beyond these theological similarities in their approach to suffering, Anabaptist sects and early Quakers also chose to publicize printed accounts of martyrdom or persecution. In the 1650s, English Quakers began to record their mistreatment and publicize their experience in “sufferings” literature asking for redress, while, in the same tradition as Hubmaier’s *Taufbüchlein*, interpreting suffering as a means for propagating religious “Truth:” English Quaker John Stubbs, for instance, wrote after being arrested and flogged: “In the power of the Lord I was kept, in which power I was made willing to suffer for the testimony of the EVERLASTING TRUTH.”<sup>23</sup> Anabaptists across Europe collected written accounts by martyrs, which were gathered in such monumental works as Thieleman van Braght’s *Martyrs’ Mirror* (1660). This literary tradition of suffering fulfilled important roles during times of persecution as well as relative security. While arousing support for suffering members of the community during times of persecution, such publications and collections demonstrated the sustaining power of faith and an endurance in “Truth” for generations unaccustomed to suffering.

Just as suffering for “Truth” among German peace sects led directly to a profession of non-resistance and peacefulness, Quakers also developed their characteristic peace testimony in adherence to Christ’s exultation of peacefulness in the sermon on the mound. In his first

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<sup>22</sup> Moore, 160.

<sup>23</sup> Qtd. in Moore, 157.

expression of that stance among Friends, George Fox professed that “the Spirit of Christ which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.”<sup>24</sup> While a profession of truth motivated both groups to reject weapons and war, early Quakers also professed peacefulness in order to appear as obedient subjects in a time of multiple violent plots against authority in England. As Moore explains, Quakers also considered the problematic consequence of a state without the tools to defend the people or bring criminals to justice criminals. Isaac Penington, for instance, argued that Friends should actually be defended by magistrates and others who were not yet following Christ. “[M]agistrates,” he said, “should not require fighting of them, whom the Lord has redeemed out of the fighting nations, and chosen to be an example of meekness and peaceableness in the places where they live.”<sup>25</sup> In Pennsylvania, therefore, Quakers in the Assembly regularly shifted the responsibility for defense to the proprietors, especially since William Penn’s sons were no longer Quakers.

*William Penn, the German Sects, and the Origins of Freedom of Conscience in  
Pennsylvania*<sup>26</sup>

Besides such comparative similarities between Quaker and German sectarian ideas about suffering, both groups came into direct contact even before their immigration to Pennsylvania. In the 1670s, English Quakers expanded their religious work and missionary activities beyond their realm, especially to various Dutch and German states where absolutist rulers limited freedom of conscience through various forms of persecution and suppression. During his

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<sup>24</sup> George Fox, *Declaration from the Harmless and Innocent People of God called Quakers* (London: 1661); quoted in Moore, 181.

<sup>25</sup> Moore, 181.

<sup>26</sup> This section presents in brief an argument I explore in full length in Chapter 2 of my book manuscript, entitled “By Frequent Going to and fro:” Translation and the Linguistic Construction of Early Pennsylvania.”

missionary trips through Northern Germany and along the Rhine, William Penn established numerous contacts with Mennonite and radical Pietist groups, and he buttressed their struggle for toleration with letters and publications directed at the respective governments.<sup>27</sup> When Penn and his agents began to promote settlement in Pennsylvania, they could rely on an established network of contacts throughout this region, which served the distribution of information and printed tracts, and eventually the channeling of immigrants. Notably, Penn's promotional publications on the Continent placed a much heavier emphasis on the advantages of the new province as a haven for religious dissenters and a place where freedom of conscience would be safe-guarded than in their respective English versions. In his first promotional pamphlet, entitled *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1681), for instance, Penn specifies as the target audience "those of our own, or other Nations, that are inclin'd to Transport themselves or Families beyond the Seas."<sup>28</sup> The targeting of those "other Nations," however, relied on a network of agents, printers, translators, and editors on the Continent. The agents who coordinated the promotion of Pennsylvania among Dutch and German dissenters, particularly the Dutch-English Quaker Benjamin Furly, tailored the structure and content of Penn's tracts to the specific sensibilities of their readers.<sup>29</sup> The German edition—entitled *Eine Nachricht wegen der*

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<sup>27</sup>William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*. 1935 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970).

<sup>28</sup> William Penn, *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America; Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, &c. Together with Priviledges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts* (London: Benjamin Clark, 1681), 1.

<sup>29</sup> Albert Cook Myers, editor of the volume *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware*, provides a succinct biography of Benjamin Furly (1636-1714), "a leading shipping merchant of Rotterdam, an English Quaker and the chief agent of William Penn on the Continent for the sale of lands, the issuing of descriptive pamphlets, and the general promotion of the colonization of Pennsylvania. Beginning his career as a merchant in his native town Colchester, England, by 1660 he had removed to Amsterdam, thence to Rotterdam. He was a prolific writer in English, German, Dutch, and French, and gathered a remarkable collection of manuscripts and rare books. As a patron of learning, his home became the rendezvous of Leclerc, Limborch, Algernon Sidney, and Locke. Quaker meetings were held at his house, Fox, Penn, Keith, and other leaders of the Society resorting there" (405). Furly's transcultural experience and elite, multilingual education, therefore, made him not only the center of the economic promotion of Pennsylvania in Germany and Holland but, more significantly, the nexus of the cross-

*Landschafft Pennsylvania*—follows the general structure of Penn’s *Some Account*; its departures or additions, however, address the shortcomings of the English original as a promotional tool for a German Pietist and sectarian audience.

Surprisingly, Penn’s very first promotional tract *in English* nowhere mentions religious toleration—the single provision that attracted multitudes of English and German dissenters.<sup>30</sup> Penn promises the adoption of a constitution, but he does not specify that freedom of conscience will be part of it: “[As] soon as any are ingaged with me, we shall begin a Scheam or Draught together, such as shall give ample Testimony of my sincere Inclinations to encourage Planters, and settle a free, just and industrious Colony there.” Sensing that this promise was not specific enough for German readers, the translator of *Eine Nachricht* added the following clause to Penn’s sentence: “and also there to institute the freedom of conscience for anyone to practice their faith and to worship publicly.”<sup>31</sup>

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cultural negotiation of its discursive construction. A similarly translingual and transcultural individual, I argue, Francis Daniel Pastorius continued Furly’s task of mediating linguistic and cultural differences in the community of early Pennsylvania.

<sup>30</sup> One reason for this striking omission may be sought in Penn’s apparent lack of complete authority over the laws governing Pennsylvania and, by implication, over the textual construction of the new province. Originally, Penn had inserted a phrase granting liberty of conscience into the draft of the “Charter” he was to receive from Charles II in March 1681. In revising Penn’s draft of the “Charter,” however, William Blathwayt, Secretary of the Lords of Trade, struck the clause, and the “Charter” was signed by the king without any provision for religious liberty (Dunn and Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* 2: 62). Taken almost verbatim from the 1663 Rhode Island Charter, the passage struck by Blathwayt is: “And because it may happen that some of the People and Inhabitants of the said Province may not in their private opinions be able to conforme to the publick exercize of Religion according to the Liturgy Form’d & Ceremonies of the Church of England or take or subscribe the Oaths & Articles made and Established in this Nation in that behalfe; And for that the same by reason of the remote distances of those places will (as Wee hope) be noe breach of the Unity and Uniformity Established in [ . . . ]” (*Papers* 2: 71) [missing folio page; continuing here is text in Rhode Island Charter] “this nation: Have therefore thought Fit, and doe hereby publish, graunt, ordeyne and declare, That our royall will and pleasure is, that noe person within the sayd colonye, at any tyme hereafter, shall bee any wise molested, punished, disquited, or called in question, for any differences in opinione in matters of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colony; but that all and everye person and persons may [ . . . ] freelye and fullye have and enjoye his and there owne judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments [ . . . ]” (*Papers* 2: 76, n. 63).

<sup>31</sup> William Penn, *Eine nachricht wegen der landschafft Pennsylvania in America* (Amsterdam: Christoff Cunraden, [in Jahr,] 1681. Second edition: Frankfurt, 1683), 5, 10. The entire passage in German is [the added section in italics]: “So bald als sich einige mit mir eingelassen haben, so wollen wir zusammen einen Entwurff tuhn, welches ein völliges Zeugnis meiner aufrichtigen Genegenheit geben soll, um die neu-anbauende aufzumuntern, und um eine freye, gerechte, und fleissige Erbauung (Colony) auch die Gewissens-Freyheit eines jedwedern nach seinem

In grafting the clause on religious liberty onto *Some Account*, the translator or editor was drawing from the precedent Penn had set with his extensive writings on religious freedom before his acquisition of Pennsylvania.<sup>32</sup> In order to bolster the emphasis on religious toleration, the German edition of *Some Account* included a letter arguing in favor of toleration for Quakers Penn had sent to the magistrates of the cities of Emden and Danzig. The letter was published in English as *Christian Liberty[. . .] Desired in a Letter to Certain Foreign States* (1674) and in German as *Send-Brieff An Die Bürgermeister und Rath der Stadt Danzig* (1675). In *Eine Nachricht*, the letter is reproduced with a special emphasis on its original printing in “English, Latin, High- and Low-German.”<sup>33</sup> German and Dutch readers of the tract, therefore, not only perceived Penn’s promotion of Pennsylvania in light of his earlier activism for religious liberty; the original printing of the letter in languages other than English also signaled to prospective immigrants that Penn’s efforts in defense of religious freedom were not limited to a single national audience.

As promised in his first promotional account, Penn immediately began drafting a constitution for Pennsylvania. The first *Frame of Government of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*, published in May 1682, was the result of some intense political and textual wrangling over the specific rights of the proprietor and the new settlers. The drafting process produced at

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*Glauben und zu dessen öffentlichen übung des Gottesdienstes aldar zu stiftten.”*

<sup>32</sup> Penn had begun his struggle for freedom of worship and a cessation of state-sanctioned oppression of Protestant dissenters—particularly the Society of Friends—in Restoration England. According to Edwin B. Bronner, Penn most actively lobbied for religious toleration in the 1670s, and throughout his life, he wrote about two dozen essays on the subject (“‘Truth Exalted’” 36). Penn’s travels to Holland and Germany in 1670 and 1677 impressed upon him the particular plight of Protestant dissenters—such as Mennonites, Pietists, and Quakers—on the Continent, and he commenced to issue tracts in favor of religious freedom, often directly addressed to rulers and authorities. The dissemination of Penn’s tracts on religious liberty in Germany and Holland prepared the infrastructure for the later distribution of Penn’s promotional accounts in western Europe.

For Penn’s stance on religious freedom, see Bronner, “‘Truth Exalted’ Through the Printed Word”; Mary Maples Dunn, *William Penn: Politics and Conscience*; and Hugh S. Barbour, “Penn’s Arguments for Toleration.” For Penn’s original manuscript journal of his travels in 1677, entitled “An Account of my Journey into Holland & Germany,” see Dunn & Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn, Vol. I: 1644-1679*; 425-507.

<sup>33</sup> Penn, *Eine Nachricht*, 22.

least twelve preliminary documents and involved Penn's collaboration with several other interested individuals.<sup>34</sup> Benjamin Furly severely criticized the changes made between the initial draft, "The Fundamentall Constitutions of Pennsilvania," and the *Frame* of 1682. "Fundamentall Constitutions," the most liberal of all the drafts, *opened* with a proclamation of religious freedom, which had been absent from Penn's first promotional account in English.<sup>35</sup> In the *Frame* published in 1682, however, liberty of conscience was downgraded from the prominent status of a preamble to an almost insignificant position as item number 35. In a letter to Penn, Furly expressed his indignation over the changes, specifically lobbying for the interests of non-resistant German and Dutch sects: "Consider [. . .] that there are many Christians in holland [*sic.*] & Germany that look upon it as unlawfull to sue any man at the Law, *as to fight w<sup>th</sup> armes*[.] These then having no other fence but their prudence in intrusting none but honst [*sic.*] men."<sup>36</sup> Anticipating the Pennsylvania Mennonite fear that they had relied on too few safeguards for their freedom of conscience and pacifist testimony, Furly contends that such an important principle had to rely on written law rather than the good-will of *more or less* "honst men." Crucially, Pennsylvania German leaders such as Schwenkfelder Christopher Schultz admonished English Quaker leaders that the political enforcement of the principles of the "Charter" ultimately relied on the steadfastness in the faith. Pennsylvania could only remain true to its principles if individuals would work and suffer for them.

The interconnected history of Quaker missions in continental Europe and the later promotion of immigration among Dutch and German dissenters demonstrate that discursively—

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<sup>34</sup> In my reading of the process that led to the first and second *Frame of Government*, I am following the documents selected in *The Papers of William Penn*, vol. 2, Dunn and Dunn, eds.

<sup>35</sup> The draft's commitment to religious toleration is unequivocal, granting to any person residing in Pennsylvania "the Free Possession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner As every Person shall in Conscience believe is most acceptable to God" (*Papers* 2: 140).

<sup>36</sup> William Penn, *The Papers of William Penn*. Eds. Dunn, Richard S. and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 2: 232; emphasis added.

if not politically—freedom of conscience and peacefulness ranked foremost in the early representation of Pennsylvania and that non-English constituencies had at least some impact on the ideological and spiritual construction of the colony. Importantly, the accounts of the province distributed among German sectarians already stressed religious toleration and peacefulness *before* the “Charter of Privileges” codified these principles. Even though Penn and the Quaker Assembly would fight bitterly over this document and other political and economic issues, German immigrants almost uniformly associated both with the safeguarding of their religious and civil liberties. When freedom of conscience, especially the right to refuse to bear arms, seemed to come under attack in the 1740s, German sectarians and English Quakers alike readily tapped into shared concepts of an idealized early history of Pennsylvania to defeat attempts at military mobilization, such as Benjamin Franklin’s “Voluntary Association.”

### *The Association Debate and the Suffering “Quaker Mother”*

During the War of the Austrian Succession, known as “King George’s War” in the colonies, hostilities for the first time seemed to engulf Pennsylvania. After New England militia forces had captured the French fortress Louisbourg on the mouth of the St. Lawrence, French and Spanish privateers marauded up and down the eastern seaboard. In 1747, they put ashore a French raiding party only forty miles from Philadelphia and sailed up the Delaware, unopposed, to within twenty miles of the city.<sup>37</sup> News of such incursions and the possible threat of an attack on a defenseless Philadelphia put many inhabitants of the city in a state of panic. Meanwhile,

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<sup>37</sup> For the impact of these wars on Pennsylvania and the debate of military expenditures in the province, see Robert L. D. Davidson, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania: 1682-1756*, 25-48; and Nathaniel C. Hale, *The Colonial Wars in Pennsylvania*, 7-9. On the Association debate in particular, see Barbara Gannon, “The Lord is a Man of War, The God of Love and Peace: The Association Debate, 1747-1748”; Sally F. Griffith, “‘Order, Discipline, and a few Cannon:’ Benjamin Franklin, the Association, and the Rhetoric and Practice of Boosterism”; and Bennett J. Nolan, *General Benjamin Franklin: The Military Career of a Philosopher*.

Quakers had won the elections of 1747, dominated the Assembly, and refused any contributions to the military defense of the colony. On the other hand, the proprietors had repeatedly refused to provide defense at their own expenses, claiming that it was the responsibility of the legislature. In this apparent deadlock, Benjamin Franklin took matters into his own hands and established a voluntary militia, the “Association.” As the primary means to propagate his scheme, Franklin wrote, printed, and distributed the pamphlet *Plain Truth* in November 1747.<sup>38</sup>

Though Franklin’s *voluntary* militia technically did not violate the religious liberties of Quaker and German sectarian pacifists, his campaign for the “Association” strongly insinuated that conscientious objectors would be guilty of disloyalty and cowardice. In *Plain Truth*, Franklin even doubted the ability or willingness of German pacifists to appreciate and defend their “*newly acquired* and most precious *Liberty and Property*,” because they had formerly lived under the rule of despots and tyrants.<sup>39</sup> In promoting the military organization, Franklin even organized public parades, in which the “Associators” flew banners with martial mottoes and images embroidered on them.<sup>40</sup> His campaign, thus, insulted the sensibilities of English and German pacifists alike and flew in the face of the Quaker-dominated Assembly’s efforts to make defense the responsibility of the proprietors. As a result, Germans (sectarian and orthodox alike)

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<sup>38</sup> For details on the establishment of the “Association,” see: Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*, eds. J. A. Leo Lemay and P. M. Zall (New York, 1986), 92-95; Davidson, 49-63; and Hale, 9-13; and especially Gannon, 47-51.

<sup>39</sup> Benjamin Franklin, *Plain Truth* (Philadelphia, 1747), 20-21.

<sup>40</sup> In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 12, 1748, he printed a list of “Devices and Mottoes” painted on the banners of the various regiments of the Association, including the virile and patriotic “Lion erect, a naked Scymeter in one Paw, the other holding the *Pennsylvanian* Scutcheon, Motto, PRO PATRIA [for the fatherland/country]” or “An Elephant, being the Emblem of a Warrior always on his Guard, as that Creature is said n v r [never] to lie down, and hath his Arms ever in Readiness. Motto, SEMPER PARATUS [always prepared].” While the men are bearing arms and banners exulting martial prowess and the defense of the country, the women have made this display possible: “Most of the above Colours, together with the Officers Half-Pikes and Spontons, and even the Halberts, Drums, &c. have been given by the good Ladies of the City, who raised Money by Subscription among themselves for that Purpose.”

as well as Quakers boycotted the “Association,” an alliance that Franklin regarded with great misgivings.<sup>41</sup>

While Franklin never openly acknowledged even the existence and influence of his great rival, the German printer Christoph Saur, the Lutheran minister Henry Melchior Muhlenberg specifically credited Saur’s pamphlets and newspaper with aligning the Germans and Quakers against the “Association.”<sup>42</sup> While giving a concise description of the political camps in this debate, Muhlenberg exaggerated Saur’s ability to create alliances between religious groups and even ethnicities. In his own representation of the historical relationship between Quakers and non-English, non-Quaker groups, Christoph Saur stressed common pacifist sensibilities as well as Penn’s promotional activities in Germany and Holland. Most importantly, Saur appeals to the sensibilities of German sectarians by lifting out the Quakers’ original suffering, their stance for liberty of conscience, and their renewed trials under the agitations of non-Quaker (and presumably non-pacifist) “children:”

The honest and kind Quakers, *for the blood they have lost*, finally received from God a place in the world (Pennsylvania) where they can live in peace and freedom of conscience. In this place, many foreign children have joined the Quaker mother and, until now, have enjoyed their mother’s peace, liberty and happiness.

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<sup>41</sup> In a letter to his friend Peter Collinson in England (May 9, 1753), Franklin recalls: “[I]ndeed in the last war our Germans shewed a general disposition that seems to bode us no good; for when the English who were not Quakers, alarmed by the danger arising from the defenceless state of our Country entered unanimously into an Association within this Government and the lower Countries [Counties] raised armed and Disciplined [near] 10,000 men, the Germans except a very few in proportion to their numbers refused to engage in it [. . .]” (*Papers* 4: 485).

<sup>42</sup> Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, In Three Volumes*. Trans. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942), 212. Muhlenberg writes: During this year a great deal has been conjectured and said about a hostile attack by the Spanish and French. Consequently there are two chief parties here among the English and they have entered into a violent newspaper war before the Spaniards and the French have come. The Quakers, who are the foremost party in this province, have on their side the German book publisher Sauer, who controls the Mennonites, separatists, Anabaptists, and the like with his printed works and lines them up with the Quakers. All of these speak and write against the war and reject even the slightest defense as ungodly and contrary to the command of Jesus Christ. The church party has the English book publishers on its side, and they maintain in speech and printed word that defense is not contrary to God’s command, but right and necessary and in accord with the laws of nature. This party makes use of the preachers of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches on its side.

As the number of these foreign children grew above that of its mother, it seems as if the foreign children were tired of the mother's peaceful habitation and would like to put it in a state of unrest, yes, even as if they would like to abolish their freedom of conscience: wouldn't that be the greatest injustice?<sup>43</sup>

Saur's argument goes beyond praising the Quakers' commitment to pacifism by inserting specifically Anabaptist ideals of suffering; the emphasis on "blood" directly relates to the Mennonite *Martyrs' Mirror*. In the 1740s, anyone in Pennsylvania—including Quakers themselves—probably needed reminding that Quakers, too, had once been persecuted and that they designed Pennsylvania specifically as a bulwark against such actions. The common suffering for truth in the past, therefore, created a sense of cohesion between German and English sectarians. The "foreign" children could, after all, be both immigrants from non-English countries *and* members of other denominations (or both!). The agreement or disagreement with the "Quaker mother," therefore, relied entirely on the attitude of these "children" toward the central principle of freedom of conscience, especially in matters of war.

That Saur pitched his argument against the "Association" by appealing particularly to common understandings of the spiritual significance of war among Quakers and Mennonites becomes clear through the apocalyptic language he uses in describing the author of *Plain Truth*. Both star as nemeses in a spiritual battle between good and evil, Christ and Anti-Christ. Saur allegorizes Franklin and his argument/pamphlet as "Unglaube" [unbelief], "Welt=Priester" [worldly priest], and "Antichrist:" "Further, the Antichrist has tempted in Pennsylvania with his monstrous speech many peace-loving and quiet spirits and moved them to participate in this arms

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<sup>43</sup> Christoph Saur, Ein Gründliches Zeugniß Gegen das kürzlich herausgegebene Büchlein, Genandt: Plain Truth. Oder: Lautere Wahrheit. Von einem Teutschen Bauers=Mann/ in Pensylvanien (Germantown, 1748), 5-6, emphasis added. Original German (translation mine): "Die ehrlichen und liebenswürdige Quäcker, haben wegen ihrem verlohrenen Bluts, endlich von GOTT in der Welt einen Ort (Pensylvanien) alwo sie in Ruh und Gewissens=Freyheit leben können, überkommen, alwo sich viele fremde Kinder zu der Quäckerischen Mutter eingefunden haben, und haben bis dato der Mutter Ruhe, Freyheit und Glückseligkeit mit genossen, da sich aber nunmehr, die Zahl dieser fremden Kinder über die Zahl der Mutter ihrer Kinder vermehret hat, so scheint es, als wann die fremde Kinder der Mutter ruhige Wohnung müde wären, und dieselbe in Unruh setzen wollen, ja gar ihre Gewissens=Freyheit aufheben wollen: wäre solches nicht das gröste Unrecht?"

association [. . .].”<sup>44</sup> Saur’s logic depends entirely on a “theology of suffering:” if resistance to Franklin’s association equals resistance against the forces of darkness, any negative consequences for *non*-associators would be elevated to the level of suffering or even martyrdom.

Saur was joined in his discursive attacks on Franklin in particular and defense in general by several Quaker pamphleteers. As war had not directly entered Pennsylvania yet, these writers largely engaged in theological arguments over differences between defensive and offensive war with advocates of defense such as Franklin and Presbyterian preacher Gilbert Tennent. They also resembled Saur in tapping into a basic Christian dialectic between redeemed and unredeemed individuals, “natural” men and true Christians, good and evil. Benjamin Gilbert, for instance, sermonized that all war was “as opposite in its Nature and Tendency, as Light to Darkness, or Good to Evil.”<sup>45</sup> Samuel Smith similarly juxtaposed justifications of war occasioned by the “degenerate fallen Light of Nature” with a complete adherence to Christian principles.<sup>46</sup> All Quaker writers, finally, complained that the proponents of war tried to disparage and abuse pacifists in general but Quakers in particular. Samuel Smith, for instance, wrote that in response to their efforts toward peace “the people called *Quakers* are stigmatized and reproached for beginning a Work so generally acknowledged glorious in itself, and beneficent in its Tendency.”<sup>47</sup> Clearly, Quaker defenders of pacifism already felt on the defensive in the 1740s, and they confirmed Saur’s metaphor of the mother beset on all sides by

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<sup>44</sup> Saur, *Ein Gründliches Zeugniß*, 5, 16, and 20.

<sup>45</sup> Benjamin Gilbert, *Truth Vindicated, And The Doctrine of Darkness Manifested: Occasioned by the Reading of Gilbert Tennent’s late Composure, Intituled, Defensive War Defended. Dedicated to the Service of the Christian Reader* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1748), 18).

<sup>46</sup> John Smith, *The Doctrine of Christianity, As held by the People called Quakers, Vindicated: In Answer to Gilbert Tennent’s Sermon on The Lawfulness of War* (Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1748), 9.

<sup>47</sup> Smith, Samuel. *Necessary Truth: or Seasonable Considerations for the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania. In Relation to the Pamphlet call’d Plain Truth: And Two other Writers in the News-Paper* (Philadelphia, 1748), 14.

ungrateful children. Yet a sense that Quakers already needed to accept and steel themselves for a return of persecution is still missing from these pamphlets.

Both Saur and the Quaker pamphleteers shared an emphasis on peacefulness as central doctrine of Pennsylvania history anchored in Penn's treaties with the Indians. The specter of war in mid-eighteenth century Pennsylvania, in other words, generated a renewed interest of Quakers and German Sectarians in the interpretation of the province's history. Saur, in particular, stressed the transnational and cross-denominational character of early Pennsylvania. Almost mythologizing the founder, Saur writes:

William Penn was a man who loved a quiet and godly life, he wanted to have this country settled only with pious and godly people. And since at that time there were a number of pious people who were serious about their life with God, this godly Penn traveled through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany and sought out such people who were being oppressed for Christ's sake and were not being tolerated. [. . .] Since among the first inhabitants most were pious, godly, cordial, faithful, loving, and brotherly, they named their city Philadelphia, that is brotherly love, and William Penn befriended the Indians and paid them for the land so that they voluntarily withdrew and it is still happening in the same manner. Those who remember this country 40, 30, or 20 years ago, will admit that it was a blessed land full of righteous people.<sup>48</sup>

Saur's idealized version of the early history of colonial Pennsylvania specifically links the pious and pacifist principles of the first settlers—both English Quakers and German Pietists and Sectarians—to the peaceful, diplomatic relationships with the Indians. Translated into the Pennsylvania of the 1740s, Saur is arguing that the same alliance should again be in charge of

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<sup>48</sup> Christoph Saur, *Christliche Wahrheiten und Kurtze Betrachtung Über das kürzlich herausgegebene Büchlein, Genannt: Lautere Wahrheit. Aufgesetzt zur Überlegung, Von einem Handwercksmann in Germanton* (Germantown, 1748), 14-16. Original German: “[. . .] und weil William Penn ein Mann war, der die Stille und wahre Gottseeligkeit sehr liebte, so hätte er gern gesehen daß dieses Land mit lauter Frommen und Gottseeligen Leuten bewohnt werden mögte! und weil zu selbigen Zeit hin und wieder viele Frommen Leute waren, denen es ein Ernst um GOtt war, so reiße dieser Gottseelige Penn in Engeland, Schottland, Eyerland und Teutschland, und suchte solche Leute auf, welche um Christi willen gedrückt wurden, und nicht solten geduldet werden. [. . .] Weil dann im Anfang unter den ersten Einwohnern die meiste fromm, Gottseelig, hertzlich, einander treu, liebeich und brüderlich waren, so nenneten sie ihre Stadt, Philadelphia [16], das ist Brüderliche=Liebe, und William Penn bezahlte, und befriedigte die Indianer vor das Land, so weit sie haben zurück weichen wollen, und so geschiehet ihnen noch. Wer sich zu besinnen weiß was es vor 40 30 auch 20 Jahren im Land gewesen, der muß bekennen, daß es ein recht gesegnetes Land gewesen von redlichen Menschen [. . .].”

regaining peaceful conditions. In another tract, Saur recommended a course of action that virtually outlined the central program of the “Friendly Association,” founded in 1756: “One should praise God alone, respect his word and command, show love to one’s enemies [. . .], give plenty to the poor Indians in their need, so that they may live with us in peace and love.”<sup>49</sup> Quaker John Smith similarly evoked Christian virtues as the principles by which “the first Settlers of this Province cultivated a good Understanding and Harmony with numerous warlike savage Nations, which still subsists [. . .].”<sup>50</sup> In the 1740s, therefore, Saur as well as the Quaker defenders of pacifism could still insist on the continued practicality on negotiating with Native Americans in a peaceful manner. When Indian attacks on the Pennsylvania frontier during the French and Indian War made this argument less convincing to anyone other than Quakers and German sectarians, these groups knew that—as John Churchman exclaimed—the old Pennsylvania had changed radically and that a time of renewed suffering for all non-resistant Christians had returned.

### *“Fellows in Suffering”*

When the Dutch Mennonite churches did not respond to their American brethren’s plea for help, Pennsylvania Mennonites took matters into their own hands and arranged for the Ephrata Seventh-Day Baptist community to undertake the monumental effort of translating, printing, and binding the 1500-page Dutch *Martyrs’ Mirror*. Ironically, the Ephrata brethren embraced the task precisely because it promised an opportunity for physical and spiritual suffering. Peter Miller, second in command after “father” Conrad Beissel and principal translator, noted in the Ephrata “cloister’s” history: “[T]hose three years, during which the said

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<sup>49</sup> Saur, *Ein Gründliches Zeugniß*, 13.

<sup>50</sup> John Smith, 31.

book was in press, proved an excellent preparation for spiritual martyrdom.”<sup>51</sup> In the publisher’s preface to the German translation, Miller reveals that the Brethren did not regret the “pains, the work, the industry, and the diligence in this important and lengthy endeavor, especially as the memorial of the sacrificed confessors [. . .] always encouraged us to continue, so that we finally completed the work to the greatest enjoyment of others and ourselves.”<sup>52</sup> What makes the translation of the Dutch *Martyrer-Spiegel* a worthy representation of the original sacrifice of the martyrs is the translators’ and printers’ own sacrifice, linking them in a spiritual manner to the subjects of their efforts. Literally imprinted with the Ephrata Brethren’s suffering and *spiritual* martyrdom, the Mennonite *Martyrs’ Mirror* was ready to prepare its readers for the actual suffering they might have to endure for remaining consistent in their testimony of peace.

Although some Mennonites eventually objected to the inclusion of a frontispiece as a form of vanity, the engraving that was apparently commissioned by the Ephrata Brethren perfectly represented the psychology of the Mennonite mind and its attitude toward martyrdom (**Figure 1**). Beset on all sides by temptations and adversaries, the meek Christians follow Christ to their baptism, after which they take up the cross as a sign of their election and proceed toward the heavenly light. Yet the engraving, along with the stories of the Anabaptist martyrs, should not distract from the fact that Pennsylvania Mennonites and other non-resistant German sects actively defended their peace testimony. The common stereotype used to designate Mennonite

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<sup>51</sup> Brothers Lamech and Agrippa, *Chronicon Ephratense; A History of the Community of Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Penn’a, by ‘Lamech and Agrippa’* [Jacob Gast and Peter Miller]. Trans. J. Max Hark (Lancaster: Zahn, 1889), 214.

<sup>52</sup> Thieleman J. van Braght (Trans. Johann Peter Miller), *Der blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer-Spiegel der Tauffs Gesinnten oder Wehrlosen-Christen, die um des Zeugness Jesu ihres Seligmachers Willen gelitten haben, und seynd getödtet worden, von Christi Zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660. Vormalis aus unterschiedlichen glaubwürdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugniissen gesam\amlet und in holländischer Sprach heraus gegeben von T.J. v. Braght. Nun aber sorgfältigst ins Hochteutsche übersetzt und zum erstenmal ans Licht gebracht* (Ephrata: Brüderschafft, 1748-1749), 4. Original German: “Wir haben uns die Mühe, Arbeit, Fleiß und Sorgfalt in dieser wichtigen und langwübrigen Arbeit nicht gereuen lassen: sintemal uns das Andencken der aufgeopfferten Bekenner, als derer Ewigkeit ist hindurch gedrunen, immer darzu hat neuen Muth gemacht, also daß wir endlich zu Anderer und unserer grösten Vergnügung das Ende erreicht haben.”

and Amish people—“the quiet in the land”—was, during the eighteenth century, a misnomer. Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, and other German “peace sects” publicly explained and defended their stance through petitions, “remonstrances,” and printed broadsides. They also became the staunchest and most effective supporters of the Quakers’ “Friendly Association” during the French and Indian War. Finally, German Sectarians remained true to their pacifist commitment during the Revolution, when accusations of disloyalty, heavy fines, and mob violence turned fears of suffering into a bitter reality.

With the beginning of the French and Indian War, hostilities for the first time affected Pennsylvania and came as a shock to inhabitants at the frontier and in the city alike. Responding to the same scene as John Churchman, Governor Denny reflected popular sentiment by implicitly blaming pacifists, particularly Mennonites, for the lack of defense. In a letter to the proprietor, he writes that

Four dead Bodies, one of which was a Woman with Child, were brought to Lancaster from the neighbouring Frontiers, scalped and butchered in a most horrid Manner, and laid before the Door of the Court House for a Spectacle of Reproach to every one there, as it must give the Indians a sovereign Contempt for the Province. [ . . . ] The poor Inhabitants where these daring Murders were committed, being without Militia or Association, and living among Menonists, a numerous Sett of German Quakers, came supplicating me for Protection [ . . . ].<sup>53</sup>

All but blaming the Mennonites directly for the murders, Denny turned the badge of non-resistance into a stigma attached to all “peace sects.” From now on, pacifist denominations and their members could no longer expect the provisions of religious freedom in the “Charter” to protect them from public or even official government reproach or persecution.

Mennonites had already recognized the dilemma between the demands of a secular government and their religious confession in times of war. A petition of the Lancaster Mennonites to the Pennsylvania Assembly dated May 15, 1755—briefly before the first Indian

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<sup>53</sup> Qtd. in MacMaster, 121-122.

attacks struck the frontier—explicates the Mennonites’ spiritual objections to the text of the Naturalization Oath, because they were afraid that their pledge to defend the king meant taking up arms in times of war. Generally, they agreed that Scriptures commanded them to serve a secular government in keeping with Christ’s injunction to “render unto Cesar, the things that are Cesar’s.” When this service violated their “Peace of Conscience,” however, the Mennonites were ready to suffer: “[I]t is our fixed principle rather than take up Arms in order to defend our King, our Country or our Selves, to Suffer all that is dear to us to be rend from us, even Life it Self, and this we Think not out of Contempt for Authority, but that herein we act agreeable to what we think is the mind and Will of our Lord Jesus.” Following the Anabaptist theology of martyrdom, the Pennsylvania Mennonites rather accepted persecution than break with the principle of discipleship. They already anticipated allegations of disloyalty and the criticism that they “would endeavor to Screen [themselves] from lending [their] Assistance against the Invader.” The justification for denying their civic responsibility to bear arms, however, appealed more to Quakers than any other, non-pacifist member of society: “But to this we Humbly reply That God Who knoweth our Hearts, and the most Secret design therein knoweth that this is not the cause of this present procedure, but that it is only a Sense of command of God upon us forbidding us to take up Arms against any [ . . .].” Similar to the Quakers’ notion of the inner light, the guiding principles of the Mennonites’ actions lie in their inward faith and their direct relationship to God. Finally, the Mennonite petition evoked the “Charter of Privileges” as the political anchor with which non-resistant sects hoped to fasten their conscientious objections: “Your Petitioners therefore requests that the Honourable House may allow us the Priviledge Granted in William Penn’s Charter for this Province, that all the Inhabitants (behaving themselves Honestly), that their Consciences be by no means molested.”<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Lancaster County Mennonites, “To the Honourable the House of Representatives for the Province of Pennsylvania

While during the “Association debate” of the late 1740s Quakers such as Samuel and John Smith had still used sophisticated theological arguments to prevent militias, reformist Quakers such John Woolman and John Churchman followed the Mennonite example in the 1750s and again championed suffering. In an epistle from the “General Meeting of Ministers and Elders” for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, held at Philadelphia, the speakers explains: “And if, for the further Promoting His most gracious Purposes in the Earth, He should give us to taste of that bitter Cup which His faithful Ones have often partook of, O that we may be rightly prepared to receive it!”<sup>55</sup> Those Quakers who were prepared to suffer for their testimony of peacefulness had a dual battle to fight: on the one hand, such epistles to Quakers across North America served to renew other Friends’ commitment to this basic tenet of their faith and discourage any further accommodations to worldly demands for contributions to military expenditures. In the Pennsylvania Assembly, then, these Friends had to bypass Quaker politicians who continued to grant money for the “King’s use” that indirectly supported the war effort. In an “Address of some of the People called *Quakers* in the said Province, on behalf of themselves and others” that was delivered to the Assembly on November 7, 1755 (recorded in John Churchman’s *Life and Travels*), a group of Friends publicly rejected the practice of allotting money for the “King’s use” and admonished their co-religionists sitting in that Assembly to bear the consequences of their faith insistence on peacefulness:

Yet as the raising sums of money, and putting them into the hands of committees, who may apply them to purposes inconsistent with the peaceable Testimony we profess, and have born to the world, appears to us in its consequences, to be destructive of our religious liberties; we apprehend many among us, will be under the necessity of suffering, rather than consenting thereto, by the payment of a tax

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in General Assembly conven’d in Philadelphia May the 15<sup>th</sup> 1755.” Qtd. in MacMaster, 92-93.

<sup>55</sup> Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Meeting of Ministers and Elders, *An Epistle from our General Spring Meeting of Ministers and Elders for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, held at Philadelphia, from the 29<sup>th</sup> of the third month, to the 1<sup>st</sup> of the fourth month, inclusive, 1755. To Friends on the continent of America* (Philadelphia: James Chattin[?], 1755), 3.

for such purposes; and thus the fundamental part of our constitution may be essentially affected; and that free enjoyment of liberty of conscience, for the sake of which our forefathers left their native country, and settled this then a wilderness, by degrees violated.<sup>56</sup>

The address by the religious Quakers resembled the Mennonite petition in several fundamental points. They also reminded the Assembly and their co-religionists of the inconsistency between any contributions toward military expenditures and the provisions of the Pennsylvania Charter. Thus, they joined discourses of religious and civil liberty; any provisions violating the “Charter” essentially subvert both. As the Mennonites, they signal their resolve to the secular authorities by reminding them (and themselves) of their willingness to accept suffering over any compromise of their consciences. With Pennsylvania history and tradition, the authority of the “Charter,” as well as God’s sanctioning of their faith on their sides, both the religious Quakers and the Mennonites rejected any further legal and political equivocation about war taxes.

Instead of granting funds to government committees that would ultimately channel them into the war effort, reformist Quakers as well as several German peace sects advocated “raising money to cultivate our friendship with our Indian neighbours, and to support such of our fellow subjects, who are or may be in distress, and for such other like benevolent purposes.”<sup>57</sup> Such proposals directly contributed to the founding of the “Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures” in 1756, which “involved Quakers, Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders in a common effort.”<sup>58</sup> When Governor Robert Hunter Morris and the Council declared war on the Delaware Indians in April 1756, a group of influential Quakers headed by Israel Pemberton organized several meetings in Philadelphia with Indian

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<sup>56</sup> John Churchman, *An Account of the Gospel labours, and Christian experiences of a faithful minister of Christ, John Churchman, late of Nottingham in Pennsylvania, deceased. To which is added a short memorial of the life and death of a fellow labourer in the church, our valuable friend Joseph White, late of Bucks County* (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1779), 171.

<sup>57</sup> Churchman, 171.

<sup>58</sup> MacMaster 134.

delegations as well as the province's Indian negotiators Conrad Weiser and Andrew Montour. The Quakers probed ways in which Delaware grievances could be placated, and they finally participated in several peace conferences involving delegations from the Iroquois, the Delaware, and the Proprietary government of Pennsylvania, held at Easton in July 1756. In December 1756, a general meeting of potential contributors and donors in Philadelphia adopted the official name of the organization. The Quakers specifically pitched the "Friendly Association" as a mediating body between the Provincial Government and the Indians, representing themselves to the Delaware as descendants of the peaceful proprietor William Penn.<sup>59</sup>

Pemberton clearly knew about the consistency between Quaker and German Sectarians attitudes toward war and their ideas about affecting peace with the Indians. Within in a short time, both Mennonite and Schwenkfelder congregations raised considerable sums toward the budget of the "Friendly Association" designed to appease Indians with payments and gifts, thus hoping to restore the "original" peaceful relationship instituted by the Quaker "founders" and the Delaware. The German Sectarian response to the Quaker solicitations for funds reveals a deep sense of reciprocity between both groups. Schwenkfelder leader Christopher Schultz, for instance, delivered the most concise review of his denominations' involvement in the "Friendly Association" in the historical sketches ("Historische Anmerkungen") he prepared for his people. For the years 1756 and 1757, Schultz writes:

Since the Quakers as well as we and others who have scruples of conscience against taking up weapons against an enemy were accused of not being willing to bear their due share of the common burdens in a time of great unrest because of the Indian War (on whom the Governor has now declared war) and quarrels between the Governor and the Assembly and other party disputes in the land; inasmuch as these people regretted the pitiable condition of the inhabitants living on the frontier and have also known and understood that the Indian War arose because of the unjust treatment of the Indians and would be carried on with unholy purposes to the highest detriment of the province; therefore we have

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<sup>59</sup> Theodore Thayer, "The Friendly Association." *PMHB* 67 (1943): 356-76.

combined in a plan and have imparted it to others who thought the same way and have tried to persuade them to try their utmost that peace with the Indians be restored again and be maintained better from now on, although we realized that such an attempt and aim cannot be accomplished except with the utmost effort and expence. [1757] To further this plan our people have each contributed faithfully according to our abilities so that our people have subscribed a sum of £215 and have paid this sum as the bills here submitted will demonstrate.<sup>60</sup>

In explaining the Schwenkfelder cooperation with the Quakers in supporting the “Friendly Association,” Schultz first cites the shared objections and scruples against war among several religious groups in the province. He particularly emphasizes that their actions are based on a thorough understanding of the reasons for the war—the maltreatment of the Indians and waging of war for unholy purposes. Then, he continues, all the groups holding similar spiritual notions and the same assessment of the political situation joined in an organization to restore peace with the Indians. Crucially, Schultz represents the entire endeavor not as the brainchild of individual Quakers such as Israel Pemberton (a common criticism among opponents of the “Friendly Association”) but rather as a joint resolve of different groups sharing religious values and political opinions.

The Quaker representatives of the “Friendly Association” also strove to prove that the organization joined various denominations across Pennsylvania. In a published letter to Governor William Denny, the officers of the Association specifically mentioned having garnered support from other “religious Societies:”

[W]e have heartily desired that People of every Denomination in the Province, would unite in the same good Purpose, and particularly in this Business, that the same Harmony and good Understanding, which subsisted between the first settlers of the Province and the Natives, might be revived and maintained, and *we have happily succeeded with several religious Societies, who have raised Funds, and are ready to apply them towards restoring Peace.*<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Christopher Schultz, “Historische Anmerkungen was sich von Anno 1750 an folgentlich biß 1775 mit den Schenkfeldern, merkliches Verlauffen.” Ms. Schwenkfelder Collection, Pennsburg, PA. [annual entries; manuscript without pagination].

<sup>61</sup> Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures. *To William*

The unity among religious groups, again, harkens back to a common understanding of Pennsylvania history and the—real or perceived—peaceful coexistence with the Indians. The kind of interdenominational cooperation that William Penn had solicited in the founding of the province could, if revived, restore an ideal situation that had been squandered by the Governor and other warmongering individuals.

German support for the Quaker “Friendly Association” came from several sides. Saur not only used his newspaper, *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, to support the cause of restoring peace with the Delaware Indians and finding ways to prevent general armament, but he wrote a personal letter of encouragement to Israel Pemberton. Saur particularly offered consolation and support for Quakers being scape-goated for the Indian attacks and lack of defense: “[A]s many ignorant as well as ill-minded people are enreached [enraged] towards friends, ascribing to them all mischief done by the Indians without any sound reason, I should be very glad and willing to assist in what manner I can.” Saur letter further provides important insights into the flow of information and networks between Quakers and German Sectarians. Apparently, Saur was also a clearinghouse of communication both groups, as he offered Pemberton

to assist in what manner I can and do believe that many friends who are against bearing arms will contribute towards a Peacible way and I think that among them by a voluntary way of subscription more will be geathered than what many will think and as I have correspondence with many friends among the germans I will write to them to conclude about it in their meetings especially to the menonists which are most able and willing to contribute to such a purpose.

Judging from the opening of the letter (“I am glad to hear...”), Pemberton had approached Saur about the efforts of the “Friendly Association.” After responding to Pemberton, Saur simultaneously publicized the matter in his newspapers and sent correspondence along his

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*Denny, Esquire lieutenant governor and commander in cheif [sic.] of the province of Pennsylvania, &c. The address of the trustees and treasurer of the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures* [Philadelphia: s.n., 1757], 4. Italics in original.

personal network of friends, probably contacting key leaders among German sectarian groups, such as Christopher Schultz among the Schwenkfelders as well as Andrew Ziegler and Benjamin Hershey among the Mennonites.<sup>62</sup>

Schwenkfelders and Mennonites responded quickly, and before the end of 1756, both groups had organized subscribers, corresponded and met personally with Pemberton in Philadelphia, and, by 1758, raised £1,500.<sup>63</sup> A Schwenkfelder subscription list is particularly conclusive about the group's motivations for joining the "Friendly Association":

It is the will of the within subscribers, that it may be known that they are a few families of dispersed people in Silesia, who have always, under God's blessing, maintained themselves by the labors of their hands only, and have been forced to leave their estates behind in Silesia, on account of their confession, and who have already here, partly suffered by the incursions of the Indians, in relieving their poor distressed neighbors. Therefore, they hope that their contributions, small as

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<sup>62</sup> "Friend Pemberton. [G]ermantown 4 mo. 25<sup>th</sup> 1756." Papers of the Friendly Association. Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library. Qtd. in McMaster, 136. Numerous issues of *Pennsylvanische Berichte* represent the pacifist, German Sectarian, and Quaker points of view on war, Indian negotiations, and the liberty of conscience. See, for instance, *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, August 16, 1756.

<sup>63</sup> Among the extensive "Papers of the Friendly Association" at the Haverford College Quaker Collection, letters and documents trace the cooperation between the Friendly Association, Pemberton, the Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders. My focus in this paper lies primarily in tracing justifications for the cooperation in similar ideas of pacifism and concepts of suffering.

For documents on the Mennonite involvement in the "Friendly Association" (all in Papers of the Friendly Association, Haverford College), see Israel Pemberton, "To Benjamin Hersey & others the Menonists in Lancaster Co. Philadelphia the 14<sup>th</sup> 1 mo 1761," "To M. Ziegler & others of the Menonists near Skippack. Phila. Ye 8<sup>th</sup> 4 mo. 1757;" Isaac Whitelock, "Esteemed Friend Israel Pemberton. Lancaster the 11<sup>th</sup> of 7 mo 1757," "Esteemed ffrd. [Israel Pemberton]. Lancaster 24<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> mo 1758," "Esteemed ffrd. [Israel Pemberton]. Lancaster 24<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> 1759." "Esteemed Friend [Israel Pemberton]. 6/6/1760." Andrew Ziegler, "friend Is: Pemberton. 10/14/1756." The Lancaster Quaker Isaac Whitelock frequently served as an intermediary or messenger between the Lancaster Mennonites and the "Friendly Association," particularly Israel Pemberton.

For the more extensive communication between the Schwenkfelders and the "Friendly Association" (in Papers of the Friendly Association, Haverford College, and Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, PA), see Israel Pemberton, "To Christopher Schultz. Philadelphia, 9 July 1757" (Ms. Pemberton Letters. Schwenkfelder Library); "To Christopher Schultz. Philadelphia, 15 August 1760" (Ms. "Wars Revolutionary." [103.102]. Schwenkfelder Library); "To Christopher Schultz. July 15, 1765" (Ms. Voc P2, Wesley K. Schultz Collection. Schwenkfelder Library); "Received from Caspar Kriebel and Christopher Schultz the sum of One hundred and five pounds twelve Shillings . . . 6/7/1757" (Vol. 1, p. 354, Papers of the Friendly Association, Quaker Collection, Haverford College); Christopher Schultz, "Beloved Friend [Israel Pemberton]. Hereford Decr. 1, 1760" (Vol. 4, p. 59. Papers of the Friendly Association, Quaker Collection, Haverford College); Christopher Schultz and Caspar Kriebel, "Dear Friend Isr. Pemberton. Towamenson May 23 1757" (Papers of the Friendly Association, Quaker Collection, Haverford College); "To the Friendly Association. [Confusion about Subscription]. 12/2/1756" (Vol. 1, p. 243, Papers of the Friendly Association. Quaker Collection, Haverford College). Schultz and Pemberton led a lively correspondence for several years after the Friendly Association concluded its activities in 1763.

it is, will not be contemned, for it may well be compared with the two mites which the poor widow *in Evangelico* cast in, for they have cast in their living. Nevertheless, they do it with cheerfulness and delight, to be assisting in the intended salutary endeavors, as also they are ready to satisfy their true loyalty to the King's government to which they have submitted.<sup>64</sup>

Most importantly, the subscription list starts with a public declaration (“that it may be known”) of the origin and history of the Schwenkfelders; as refugees from religious persecution in Silesia, Germany, they have suffered for their faith and will not make any declaration involving their faith and conscience lightly. Rhetorically, therefore, they are setting themselves apart groups (even the Quakers), because they have suffered for their faith within that same generation, retained a lively memory of persecution, and they still base their religious and civic principles on this experience. More than the historical reference among Quaker reformers to suffering as the reason for the “original” Friends to come to Pennsylvania from England, the Schwenkfelders serve as a living community of people who have fled persecution. They clearly state to Quakers or any other group in the province that they are literally willing to take up their cross again for the principles of their faith—both by collecting the funds to appease the Indians and, by implication, by resisting any governmental imposition of mandatory military service.

Thus, the Schwenkfelder subscribers link past and present in a narrative of suffering that is designed to satisfy spiritual and secular demands. By referencing the Gospel, the subscribers state that they are doing their duty toward God and fellow man. Further, they argue that this monetary contribution to refugee relief and Indian diplomacy should be ample tribute to the “King’s” claim to their loyalty. In this subtle interweaving of civil and religious duties and demands, the Schwenkfelders try to anticipate claims of disloyalty, impositions of “war taxes,” and, finally, mandatory military service. Their subscription to the “Friendly Association,” therefore, is both religious testimony and political activism.

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<sup>64</sup> Schwenkfelder Subscription to the Friendly Association, 13 November 1756, qtd. in MacMaster, 140-41.

Throughout the conflicts that tested their resilience in the light of public pressure to abandon their testimony of peacefulness (the French and Indian War, the royal government agitation of the 1760s, and the Revolutionary War), German sectarians and Quakers frequently tied political activism to a spiritual discourse of suffering. The need to defend their stance in the public forum without losing sight of the religious principles that had been guaranteed by Pennsylvania's Charter became particularly pressing during the Paxton Boy massacre of December 1763 and the ensuing pamphlet "war." During the French and Indian War, actual border warfare and Indian incursions into seemingly safe areas of Pennsylvania had placed the incessant call for Quakers and other pacifists to abandon their religious principles into the context of actual human suffering and a fever pitch of emotions. Even though hostilities had ceased for a while, a coalition of English, Scotch, and German settlers from the area around the Paxton Township butchered a friendly and defenseless group of Conestoga Indians. Then, the Paxton mob marched toward Philadelphia, threatening to take and kill the Christian Indians from the Wyalusing area who had been evacuated to the city in order to protect them from armed frontier-men. An attack against the city was averted when Benjamin Franklin and others negotiated with the men at Germantown, yet the aftermath of the affair brought on a virtual pamphlet war abounding in tirades that blamed pacifists inside and outside the Assembly for any shortcomings in public safety. As Pemberton surmised, the Paxton massacre and the march of the Paxton Boys could in no way be excused as the desperate actions of embattled frontiersmen trying to defend their homes.<sup>65</sup> Rather, Pennsylvania was witnessing an assault on the

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<sup>65</sup> Israel Pemberton wrote in a letter to John Fothergill: "Great pains has been taken to extenuate the Crime, and to represent the Rioters to be men of Reputation, drove to this extremity by the severity of their distresses; others who have made it their business to inquire, insist on the contrary, that few among them have suffer'd by the Indians, & that they consisted chiefly of Idle Fellows, many of whom have been Soldiers in the province Service, who for want of Employment have been hired on this occasion . . ." "To Doctor Jno. Fothergill, London. Philada 3 mo 7<sup>th</sup> 1764," Pemberton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Qtd. in MacMaster, 192.

underlying premise that the civic life of the province was guided by religious principles. The Paxton Boys and their defenders seemed to create a society in which violence against racial, ethnic, or religious difference was justified through majority rule or brute force.<sup>66</sup>

How far the Paxton Boy incidents had brought Pennsylvania's civic and political culture from the ideas of peaceful coexistence between whites and Indians as well as among ethnically and denominationally different European groups becomes clear in the maneuvering preceding elections after the massacre. Trying to keep the solid German-Quaker block from voting, an advisor for the Proprietary party, Samuel Purviance, wrote to James Burd in Lancaster:

As soon as your ticket is agreed on let it be Spread through the County that all your party intend to come *well armed* to the Election & that you intend if there's the least partiality in either Sheriff Inspectors or Managers of the Election that you will *thrash the Sheriff every Inspector Quaker & Menonist to Jelly* & further I would report it that not a Menonist nor German should be admitted to give in a Ticket without being Sworn that he is naturalized & worth £50 & that he has not voted already & further that if you discovered any person attempting to give in a Vote without being Naturalized or Voting twice you would that Moment *deliver him up to the Mob to Chastize him* [ . . . ].<sup>67</sup>

The suffering of German and English pacifists for their faith was no longer a looming fear but had become a very real possibility. Liberty of conscience ceased to exist when the basic civic participation to ensure this privilege—voting—could be curtailed by mob intimidation. The letter stands out through its very specific instructions for spreading the fear of violence, particularly targeting Quaker, Mennonites, and Germans in general. In spite of the crude tone of

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<sup>66</sup> For a collection of the pamphlets disputing the Paxton riots, see John Raine Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1957). For historiographic interpretations of the riots, see Krista Camenzind, "From the Holy Experiment to the Paxton Boys: Violence, Manhood, and Race in Pennsylvania during the Seven Years' War" (Diss. U. of California, San Diego 2002); Alison Olson, "The Pamphlet War over the Paxton Boys," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123.1-2 (1999): 31-55; David Sloan, "'A Time of Sifting and Winnowing: the Paxton Riots and Quaker Non-Violence in Pennsylvania.'" *Quaker History* 66(1): 3-22; Robert F. Ulle, "Pacifists, Paxton, and Politics: Colonial Pennsylvania, 1763-1768." *Pennsylvania Mennonites Heritage* 1.4 (1978): 18-21; Alden T. Vaughan, "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763-1777." *Pennsylvania History* 51.1 (1984): 1-29; "Philadelphia under Siege." *American History* 33.6 (1999): 26-32.

<sup>67</sup> Saml. Purviance Junr. "To James Burd Esqr. In Lancaster. Philada. Septemr. 20<sup>th</sup> 1765," Shippen Papers, HSP. Qtd. in MacMaster, 206-07.

the letter, the threats are calibrated particularly to antagonize pacifists: “well armed” highlights the Mennonites and Quakers’ refusal to bear arms; “thrash the Sheriff every Inspector Quaker & Menonist to Jelly” makes sure that violence targets entire groups indiscriminately; in other words, the Mennonites and Quakers’ peace testimony specifically engenders a violent response from their opponents; and, finally, “deliver him up to the Mob to Chastize him” rouses the specter of what would later be known in American culture as a “lynching,” extra-legal “justice” performed by a mob incensed by racial or ethnic prejudice. When supporters of the American Revolution later on tarred-and-feathered conscientious objectors (including Mennonites), such mob violence could be labeled “patriotism.”

A number of politicians and leaders—including Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Galloway, and even Israel Pemberton—believed that a change from Proprietary to Royal government was the only way to maintain good order in the Province, while curbing the power of the growing Presbyterian faction. Crucially, many Quakers as well as most German Sectarions opposed the movement for royal government, fearing that repealing the Charter of Privileges would practically end freedom of conscience and other liberties enjoyed by Pennsylvanians and bring an Episcopal bishop to Philadelphia invested with the full powers of the Church of England. While affirming his people’s lasting allegiance and friendship, Schwenkfelder leader Christopher Schultz sent Pemberton a strongly worded letter “encouraging” him and the Quakers to remain firm in the principles established by the Quaker founders. Schultz begins by couching the hostilities Quakers experience from all sides in both spiritual and civic terms: “I have been hindered by several circumstances to see Philadelphia (this last winter) and pay Thee a visit to inform myself how Friends bear up with the Care, Insurrections, and Diffamations from an unruly and wicked People in the Country who neither know nor understand what they do or say,

acting in both parts against the Rules of God and man.”<sup>68</sup> The “unruly and wicked People” resemble any Old or New Testament people who are violating both spiritual and civic laws (like the Israelites during the 40 years in the desert). Similar to the interpretation of worldly persecution as a sign of the apocalypse in the Mennonite “theology of martyrdom,” Schultz reads the Quakers’ duress as part of a larger spiritual battle.

The rest of the letter moves directly to the specific struggles in which—as Schultz emphasizes at the end—Quakers and Schwenkfelders (and other German peace sects) must demonstrate solidarity. If the Charter of Privileges was indeed repealed, “it would be very hard and striking to the heart.” Such suffering would particularly apply to those non-orthodox denominations who are not protected by Acts of Parliament: “It is true Quakers and Unitas Fratrum [Moravians] are protected in their Religions by Laws of the Realm of Great Britain, but what should be our Case and other Societies of the like Principles who have so far trusted themselves under the Wings of this Government erected and constituted for the best time by Quakers?” In other words, for groups like the Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, and Dunkers, only the Quaker government and its protection of religious liberty will stand between them and spiritual, if not physical, martyrdom. Schultz reminds the Quakers of the purpose of their forefathers and the promises they had extended to groups like the Schwenkfelders. The letter, here, turns from sympathy to exhortation:

Therefore we earnestly desire and admonish you in brotherly love to use all possible means to prevent the Destruction and depriving of religious Liberty in any respect so laudably planned by your Fathers, for the Benefit of all settlers whose worthy Followers we hope you will approve yourselves in taking care that their Intention be not violated and what alterations should be made or agreed to it may be with Safety of Conscience for every Individual in this Province. And since you are the people who made the first agreement for the Settlement of this Province your Consent or non-consent to any alteration must consequently be of

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<sup>68</sup> Christopher Schultz, “Beloved Friend Israel Pemberton! April 4. 1764. [Copie].” Ms. Voc S<sup>9</sup>. Schwenkfelder Library. Pennsburg, Pa.

very great weight. And though we trust your best endeavours in these critical circumstances will not be wanting nevertheless we thought to encourage you a little with these few Words, the freedom of which you will indulge from your Fellows in Sufferings.

Crucially, Schultz sets up an ideal for the Quakers and for Pemberton to emulate: the forefathers who settled the province and established religious liberty. By repeating references to “your Fathers” and “the people who made the first agreement for the Settlement,” Schultz rhetorically redirects the spiritual identification heralded in “Fellows of Suffering” from the *current* Quakers to the *original* Quakers. It is precisely the idea of “suffering” that ties both groups together; if Pemberton and other Quakers took the route of least resistance (e.g. allow the King to take over the government in order to avoid suffering under another “Paxton Boys” incident), they would sever this bond and betray the promises proffered to the German sects.

Schultz knew exactly the self-pitying state of mind his friend Pemberton and other Quakers were in after the “Paxton Riots” and the concomitant backlash against the Quakers. In a letter to Samuel Fothergill, Pemberton complained that “the minds of the people have been kept in such a ferment till lately that there did not appear any oppo[rtunity] of a fairer hearing which together with the *weakness that attends us* has prevented anything being as yet published in reply to their malevolent aspersions, as well as the occasion requires; whether there will be found *strength enough among us* I must leave until our next meeting for sufferings.”<sup>69</sup> Probably recognizing the Quakers’ plaintive state of mind, Schultz virtually had to re-educate Pemberton in the true meaning of taking up the cross, suffering, and martyrdom. Thus, Schultz’s letter again emphasizes the fact that Schwenkfelder families had just recently “transported themselves with their Families hither, in hopes for a full and free Enjoyment of the celebrated Privileges of

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<sup>69</sup> Israel Pemberton, “[To Samuel Fothergill]. Philadelphia the 13<sup>th</sup> 6 mo 1764.” Pemberton Papers, H.S.P. Qtd. in MacMaster, 192.

the said Charter.”<sup>70</sup> Pemberton basically needed a lesson in suffering, and Schultz was happy to deliver it. He reminded Pemberton that “suffering” was a state of mind and a spiritual stance, not a “meeting” or committee to turn to in time of need.

With the outside encouragement of their German allies and the insistence of reformist Friends such as John Woolman, John Churchman, and Anthony Benezet, the official position of the Pennsylvania Quakers turned against the royal government petition, with the “Meeting for Sufferings” of Philadelphia Yearly Meetings actually discouraging Friends from supporting it.<sup>71</sup> Eventually, the entire plan, along with its staunchest defenders—Franklin and Galloway—were defeated. Yet the fact that the Charter remained intact until 1776 did not mean that the right not to bear arms and other crucial principles was untouched.

The rise of the colonial struggle against Great Britain in the 1770s also increased the pressure on pacifists to abandon their stance and join the cause of “liberty.” Quakers as well as German peace sects quickly recognized and publicly complained that the defense of this new “liberty” through armed resistance simultaneously negated the freedom of conscience promised by the Pennsylvania Charter. What seemed like an overthrow of despotism to the “patriots” was merely another form of tyranny to the non-resistant sects. When the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a tax for non-Associators on November 24, 1775, it practically cancelled the Charter’s provision that “no Persons inhabiting in the Province or Territories who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World, and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil Government, shall be in any Case molested

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<sup>70</sup> Christopher Schultz, “Beloved Friend Israel Pemberton! April 4. 1764. [Copie].” Ms. Voc S<sup>9</sup>. Schwenkfelder Library. Pennsburg, Pa.

<sup>71</sup> MacMaster, 173.

or prejudiced in his or their Person or Estate.”<sup>72</sup> While more and higher fines punished non-resistants, threats of violence as well as punishments like being tarred and feathered pushed pacifist groups into the margin of society, treating them as disloyal to the “cause,” even traitors. On March 17, 1777, a military draft law finally required all able-bodied men to enroll in the militia, pay a heavy fine, or find a “substitute.” When militia captains in York County tried to recruit men by labeling anyone who refused as “Tories,” a young Mennonite man criticized the effort and was promptly sentenced to being “tarred and feathered,” though no person was ultimately found to execute the punishment.<sup>73</sup> Yet Pennsylvania suffered even more spiritually, when, ironically, the remaining unsold copies of the Ephrata translation of the *Martyrs’ Mirror* were confiscated and the paper used as wadding material for cartridges. The book that chronicled the Anabaptist and Mennonite suffering for “Truth” and their non-resistant principles thus fell victim to war itself.<sup>74</sup> Pennsylvania Quakers, of course, had their share of suffering during the Revolutionary War, especially as those suspected of collaborating with the British—including Israel Pemberton—were arrested and shipped to Virginia for detainment.<sup>75</sup>

Again becoming “Fellows in Suffering,” Quaker and German sectarian pacifists moved closer together. As the frequent translation of both Quaker and German pacifist tracts into English or German demonstrates, the core supporters of pacifist principles tried to speak with a unified voice against this unprecedented abridgment of their liberties. As Pemberton wrote to John Fothergill in London, a “testimony” given by the “Meeting for Sufferings” was “translated into German & dispersed among that people, the thoughtful part of whom have been solicitous to

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<sup>72</sup> *The Charter of Privileges Granted by the Honourable William Penn, Esq; to the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Pennsylvania. October 28, 1701* (Philadelphia: Samuel Keimer, 1725), 3.

<sup>73</sup> John Landis Ruth, *The Earth is the Lord’s*, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 39 (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2001), 321-22.

<sup>74</sup> Ruth, 327.

<sup>75</sup> Ruth, 329.

have the advice of ffrds [Friends] that the Menonists sent down special deputation of three of th[ei]r preachers to ye mo[nthly] meeting of Gwynnedd for this purpose.”<sup>76</sup> Published in German by Christopher Saur, the “Testimony” strongly advised against the use of violence to settle differences with Great Britain, trying to restore “peace and harmony of civil society.” In the tradition of pacifist discourse in Pennsylvania before, the Meeting the crisis was likely to “produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional government, and of that liberty of conscience, for the enjoyment of which, our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas, and of settling in the wilderness.” Linking past and present suffering, the Quakers explicitly condemned the activities of the “patriots” as violating Pennsylvania’s original liberty of conscience. Anticipating persecution, the text ended in a prayer of hope that “through [God’s] assistance and favour, to be enabled to maintain our testimony against any requisitions which may be made of us, inconsistent with our religious principles.”<sup>77</sup> A longer explanation and defense of the Quakers pacifist stance was published as *The ancient testimony and principles of the people called Quakers* was published by the same Meeting for Sufferings in 1776 and also published in German.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Israel Pemberton, “To John Fothergill. Philada. 2 mo. 15 1775,” Pemberton Papers, HSP. Qtd. in MacMaster 227.

<sup>77</sup> Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Meeting for Sufferings, *The Testimony of the People called QUAKERS, given forth by a Meeting of the Representatives of said People, in PENNSYLVANIA and NEW-JERSEY, held at Philadelphia the twenty-fourth day of the first Month, 1775* ([Philadelphia: s.n., 1775]), 1. Translated in German as *Ein Erklärungs-Zeugniss der sogenannten Quäker, aufgesetzt in einer Versammlung der Vorsteher besagter Gemeinen in Pennsylvanien und Neu-Jersey, welche zu Philadelphia gehalten worden den 24sten Tag des ersten Monats, 1775* (Germantown: Christoph Saur, 1775).

<sup>78</sup> Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Meeting for Sufferings, *The ancient testimony and principles of the people called Quakers, renewed, with respect to the King and government; and touching the commotions now prevailing in these and other parts of America, addressed to the people in general* ([Philadelphia: s.n., 1776]). Translated and published in German as *Das alte Zeugnis und die Grund-Sätze des Volks so man Quäker nennet, erneuert, in Ansehung des Königs und der Regierung; und wegen den nunmehr herrschenden Unruhen in diesem und andern Theilen America. And das Volk überhaupt gerichtet* (Germantown: Christoph Saur, 1776).

By far the most effective prose and argument against mandatory military service, however, appears in a “Remonstrance” sent by the Schwenkfelders (and written by Christoph Schultz) to the Committee of the County of Berks.<sup>79</sup> As previous protests against any form of imposed military service and, therefore, encroachment upon religious liberty, the Schwenkfelders first appeal to the “Province Charter, unalterable by any People or Body of People whatsoever.” Turning a civic law into a religious doctrine, the “Remonstrants” further call liberty of conscience a “Sacred Right and Property to every Person inhabiting in this Province. [. . .] Therefore to wrest the Enjoyment of the Same from any Body must be Sacrilege [and e]xite divine Vengeance, and must be void in Effect.” In evoking religious liberty as a “Sacred Right,” the Schwenkfelders self-consciously joined the rights discourse of the American Revolution, but applying it to the side *opposing* the violent overthrow of British rule. The “Remonstrance,” therefore, ends in a full-blown parody of “patriotic” rhetoric of despotism and deprivation of liberties, applying it full-scale to the abridgement of the religious liberty of conscientious objectors in Pennsylvania:

And your Remonstrants impulsed by dire Necessity beg Leave further to Say, and declare, that they find themselves as in Duty bound to their Country, themselves, and their Posterity to protest against the said Resolves of the sd. Last Convention, and that we are unwilling and cannot Submit to the same, as being unconstitutional and Subversive of our most dearest Rights of civil and religious Priviledges, tearing our Charters, taking our Property from us without our Consent, subjugating us under a ~~military~~ Despotick, arbitrary yea military ~~Government~~ Execution, depriving us of the ~~choisest~~ most precious Pearl of a free People, the Trial by Juries and of the protection of the civil Law.<sup>80</sup>

By turning revolutionary rhetoric against itself, the “Remonstrance” lays bare the inconsistencies between demands of liberty toward Great Britain and infractions against freedom of conscience at home. On a syntactical level, the document even goes as far as mocking the staccato

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<sup>79</sup> [Christopher Schultz], “To the Committee of the County of Berks, the Remonstrance of Several Inhabitants of the Said County [Draft of a Petition. 1777],” Ms. VS-15-2, Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, Pa. [one page]

<sup>80</sup> The strike-through sections are in the original at the Schwenkfelder Library, which is apparently a draft.

movement of the famous list of grievances against King George III in the “Declaration of Independence” (“tearing” . . . “taking” . . . “subjugating” . . . “depriving”). While the “patriots” supposedly suffered under such crimes perpetrated by the King, conscientious objectors have to endure them from their fellow Americans.

True to their non-resistant, peaceful stance, the Pennsylvania Mennonites and Dunkers published a “Declaration” that undermined the entire political propaganda of dividing people into “us” versus “them.” True faith, accordingly, should overcome such divisions as God surely rules over the British and the Americans, patriots and loyalists, militia men and conscientious objectors. Addressing themselves to “all friends and inhabitants of this country [. . .] be they English or German,” the Mennonites and Dunkers write:

[W]e have dedicated ourselves to serve all men in every Thing that can be helpful to the Preservation of Men’s Lives, but we find no Freedom in giving, or doing, or assisting in any Thing by which Men’s Lives are destroyed or hurt. [. . .] This Testimony we lay down before our worthy Assembly, and all other Persons in Government, letting them know, that we are thankful as above-mentioned, and that we are not at Liberty in Conscience to take up Arms to conquer our Enemies, but rather to pray to God, who has Power in Heaven and on Earth, for US and THEM. We heartily pray that God would govern all Hearts of our Rulers, be they high or low, to meditate those good Things which will pertain to OUR and THEIR Happiness.<sup>81</sup>

The emphasis on addressing people across linguistic and ethnic divisions anticipates the universalizing tone the Mennonite writers take in trying to justify their own stance while overcoming barriers and animosities. Even under the dual pressure of backlashes from other Pennsylvanians and an impending war with Great Britain, the German peace sects emphasized what they perceived to be the center of their religion and the founding principle of the province. As Mennonite historian John Landis Ruth points out, the words “We [. . .] crave the Patience of

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<sup>81</sup> “A Short and sincere Declaration, to our Honorable Assembly, and all others in high and low station of administration, and to all friends and inhabitants of this country, to whose sight this may come, be they English or Germans,” [Philadelphia: John Henry Miller, 1775]. German version published as “Eine Kurze und aufrichtige Erklärung, an unsere wohlmeinende Assembly, und alle andere [. . .],” [Philadelphia: John Henry Miller, 1775].

all the Inhabitants of this Country,--what they think to see clearer in the Doctrine of the blessed Jesus Christ, we will leave to them and God” echoed the “exact phrasing of the first paragraph of the *Martyrs’ Mirror*.”<sup>82</sup> Indeed, the chronicle of the Anabaptist martyrs seemed to have fulfilled the purpose the Pennsylvania Mennonites imagined when they had asked their Dutch brethren for assistance, in order to “arm ourselves [. . .] with patience and endurance, and to make every preparation for the steadfast constancy in our faith.”

### *Conclusion*

In conclusion, I would like to raise a few questions and issues that go beyond the confines of this paper. The comparisons between Quakers and German peace sects seem to challenge presentist assumptions about the political sensibilities of conservative Christian denominations in American history and culture. Displaying their radical potential, German Sectarians and English Quakers refused to consent to abridgements of the Pennsylvania Charter’s religious and civil rights. A renewed look at the ways in which religious groups defined the relationship between faith, discipleship, and civil liberties may unveil a more complex pattern of interaction between religion and politics in the age of the American Revolution. Why, we may ask, did a Revolution that prized individual liberty above all else actually infringe on religious and civil liberties that were already granted before in places like Pennsylvania? The political landscape of colonial Pennsylvania had offered the unique opportunity for conscientious objectors or pacifists in general to hold political office without a conflict in conscience. How did the relationship between religion and politics in America change as a result of the termination of this experiment? Was this the beginning of an unwritten doctrine in American political culture that religious and civil liberties may be curtailed in times of war? Or, was the marginalization of

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<sup>82</sup> “A Short and sincere Declaration,” 1; Ruth, 325.

the Mennonite and Quaker point of view an inevitable outcome of the separation of church and state? Yet, pro-defense arguments already existed in American society before the Revolution, and the tradition of religion sanctioning the “military-industrial” interest in American government seems to have prevailed. One of the intriguing speculations about the course of American history could be: “what if” Quakers and Mennonite pacifists had as strong a political influence in American politics as they did in Pennsylvania in the 18<sup>th</sup> century? Who are the people “suffering” for peace today?



Den sollt ihr hören.

Den sollt ihr hören.

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Martyrer Spiegel  
der Täufler gestunten, dreyelts und  
Verlegte der Bruderschaft in Euphratha

