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The Wiedergeburt in the Religion of the Zoarites

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THE WIEDERGEBURT IN THE RELIGION
OF THE ZOARITES

by

Elizabeth Siber White

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THE WIEDERGEBURT IN THE RELIGION OF THE ZOARITES

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Western Michigan University, 1985

In 1817 a little-known group of German Separatists fled religious persecution in Württemberg and took up residence in America. Eventually known as the Zoarites, they founded a religious commune in the northeastern Ohio wilderness in 1819, which they called Zoar, and continued to live the common life there until 1898, at which time they voted to disband.

What sort of religious beliefs led them to endure persecution in Germany and then to establish a religious commune in Ohio? This study was undertaken in part to answer just such questions. Relying primarily on the unpublished, largely untranslated discourses of J. M. Bimeler, the leader of the Zoarites until 1853, the author learned that the Zoarites were Radical Pietists, whose religious origins lay in German Pietism, Böhmist and Quietist mysticism, and the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century. This study focuses on the Wiedergeburt, or rebirth, as the central theme in Bimeler's discourses.
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Elizabeth Siber White
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Around 1800 a number of Germans living in Württemberg became convinced that Christ's Second Coming was imminent. To them the portents abounded. The changes brought about by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution had led to the rationalistic spirit they disliked so much in the Lutheran state-church and to the high taxes and compulsory military service related to the Napoleonic wars. Moreover, these Germans, farmers and artisans for the most part, spotted a sign of impending change in the heavens—later called unser Signalstern, or "our signal star"—which they interpreted as a herald of Christ's coming and of their own deepening spirituality. The conviction that they possessed an inner light produced such unity that

...people, who lived a long way from one another—without having known or seen each other before—discovered an astonishing unity when they came together for the first time and had spoken only a few words to one another; and our hearts fused together into one, our love was heartfelt, and people called each other brothers and sisters.

Shortly after, believing themselves to be under God's command and citing Rev. 18:4-5, they left the Lutheran state-church and schools, prophesying that a terrible judgment was at hand. Such were the self-confessed beginnings of those Separatists who emigrated to the sparsely settled territory of northeastern Ohio in 1817 to escape religious persecution and to prepare for the Second Coming. It is
these Separatists, who called their settlement Zoar, that will constitute the focus of this study.

Zoar is regarded as a unique social experiment. Even in the nineteenth century it was visited, publicized, and studied by tourists, journalists, and historians. It is not generally known, however, that its uniqueness came from its interpretation of Radical Pietism, a form of German Pietism that arose around 1700. Had its founders not been Radical Pietists, Zoar would not have existed and its inhabitants would probably not have left Württemberg. To understand the Zoarites, then, it is necessary to take a closer look at their religion than has previously been done in the literature on Zoar. This study will serve that purpose, but it will not be exhaustive. Instead, it will focus on the Wiedergeburt, or the rebirth, as the key element within that religion. What the Zoarites understood as the Wiedergeburt, however, touched on much more than the religious experience of being born again. Their concept of the Wiedergeburt reflected their beliefs on the nature of God, the role of Christ, the church, the way to salvation, and the life after death, among others. In short, their concept of the Wiedergeburt reflected a distinctive Christian theology. A short history of the Zoarites in Chapter II will provide a context within which to discuss that theology.

The religious beliefs of the Zoarites can be gleaned from the Versammlungsreden and Betrachtungen, or meeting-house speeches and discourses, of Joseph Michael Bimeler, spiritual leader of the Zoarites.
until his death in 1853, and also from the letters, diaries, interviews, book lists, and historical studies of others. Bimeler's discourses are the best source of information, mainly because he was the most prominent and influential person in Zoar until his death and because he preached there for over thirty years. It is generally recognized that decline set in on all fronts after his death, most notably in the religious life of Zoar. Bimeler's discourses, printed as devotional literature in three volumes and containing about one-third of all the discourses he delivered, were intended to stave off just such a decline. These volumes also contained favorite hymns of the Zoarites, selected writings by Gerhard Tersteegen—a Quietist mystic much revered by the Zoarites—and some introductory material on the history of the Zoarites by Jacob Sylvan, editor of the volumes and a leading member of the community. It is important to point out that the discourses were not a verbatim record of Bimeler's addresses but the work of a young member of Zoar and sometime schoolmaster, Johannes Neef. Neef made mental notes of Bimeler's addresses at the Sunday services, which he later transcribed for his deaf father. Neef was responsible for the discourses in *Etwas fürs Herz*, which contained the earliest material, and for those in the two volumes of *Die Wahre Separation*, except for some discourses at the end of the second volume. The latter were done by an unknown transcriber, since Neef had died in 1832.

The three volumes of discourses were never translated or widely disseminated outside Zoar, and a careful study of them reveals their
Radical Pietist bias. Radical Pietism emphasized separatistic, sectarian, and mystical elements, especially those arising from Jacob Böhme's thought. In fact, Böhmism is regarded as one of the most important elements in Radical Pietism. Radical Pietism occupied the left wing of Pietism, a religious movement spanning the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and stressing a practical religion of the heart. Pietism was initially a German phenomenon but quickly spread beyond the confines of Germany to become a European phenomenon. Radical Pietism also had roots in the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century and in medieval mysticism, and was primarily a movement of the common people. Thus, while the Zoarites attributed their beginnings to the appearance of the Signalstern, one must concede that they had roots deep within the European religious tradition.
CHAPTER II

WHO WERE THE ZOARITES?

The Zoarites took their name from their settlement in Ohio. Zoar, mentioned in Genesis 19:15-30, was the place of refuge to which Lot and his daughters had fled following the destruction of Sodom. The name was symbolically appropriate: God, the Zoarites believed, would soon wreak a similar vengeance on the great cities of Europe, but in this quiet Ohio village they might find refuge, just as they had already found refuge here from religious persecution. Their years in Wurttemberg had been increasingly difficult; and, from the perspective of their early days in America, their future must have appeared bright.

The German Period

Conscious of being a "chosen people," the Zoarites—or Separatists, as they were known in Wurttemberg and for a while, too, in America—soon formulated their twelve Grundsatze. In so doing, they revealed their kinship with other Radical Pietist groups, such as the Rappites and the Inspirationists, who also emigrated to America in the 1800s. Some of these Grundsatze, or basic religious principles, conveyed a strong aversion to the ceremonies of the Lutheran Church, such as baptism, communion, confirmation, and marriage. These they considered not only useless but harmful and stated that these were the chief cause of their separation from the Church (WS, 1:XV-XVI).
Another Grundsatz disclosed their refusal to send their children to the state schools, since these "schools of Babylon" taught "wickedness and debauchery." In addition, the Separatists refused to serve in the military and to render homage to their social superiors by bowing, removing their hats, and using the more formal Sie form of address. Their Grundsätze inevitably brought them into open conflict with the Württemberg government, which tended to regard religious rebellion as a threat to its existence. It is important to recognize that church and state remained united in German territories from the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 until 1918.14

Persecution would not be long in coming. The Rappites, also Separatists from Württemberg, had escaped the harsh punishment meted out to the Zoarites because they had emigrated to America in 1803-04, before the government had stiffened its position against the Separatists.15 The tougher stance of the government probably stemmed from the increased military activity of Württemberg's ruler Frederick II (1796-1816), who had declared himself an ally of Napoleon. In Frederick's view, those resisting military duty deserved punishment because they were seen to be a threat to the state, to his political ambitions in particular.

The heavy hand of Friedrich's government fell on the Separatists, many of whom would soon be forced to emigrate to Zoar (Vorbericht, WS, 1:X-XI). They were mocked, insulted, and sometimes beaten by their neighbors. Their homes and goods were confiscated and their children sent to orphanages, if the parents had been put in prison or could not pay the harsh fines for keeping their children out of the state
schools. Men and women were imprisoned indefinitely, suffering the ill
effects of bad food, vermin, stench, hard labor, and lack of heat.
They were promised freedom if they renounced their religious principles,
but most remained true to these, fortified by their faith in God. Some
died in prison, among whom was a boy of sixteen who

...was locked up several days in a fortress prison, without
food or heat, bound with chains in a bent position, so that
his limbs froze and both his feet and his left hand had to be
amputated, and sometime later he died.  

Two leaders of the Zoarites emerged during this time. The first

was a visionary named Barbara Grubermann, who had fled persecution in
Switzerland where she was "subject to transports or ecstacies in which
she [had] seen the impending judgement, and [had] made this known,
besides many other things." In Württemberg she became known as
Mother of the Separatists and was thought to be divinely inspired and in
communication with the spirit world. Because of her Separatist
beliefs, she held clandestine religious meetings, moving frequently
to avoid arrest. Barbara Grubermann died before she could emigrate to
America, but her memory was preserved in the hymns she had written,
which the Zoarites sang in their Sunday meetings.

Quite different in temperament was the second, and more
important, leader of the Zoarites, Joseph Michael Bimeler (whose
surname had been Anglicized to Bimeler from Bäumeler or Bäumler). Born
in 1778 of humble parentage, Bimeler became a weaver and later a
teacher. He taught ten years among the Pietists but had to change
his abode frequently to avoid imprisonment. Sometime during this
period he had a conversion experience (WS, 1:23) and joined the ranks
of the Zoar Separatists. Reputedly unbecoming in appearance, with a lame leg and a large, protruding eye, he nevertheless was "a man of unusual ability and independence...a natural leader and a fluent speaker."\textsuperscript{22} He demonstrated these qualities many times over when he assumed leadership of about three hundred Separatists on the eve of their departure to America. Well-versed in homeopathy, he also earned the confidence and esteem of his fellows by treating the sick and cheering the down-hearted on the boat to America.\textsuperscript{23} A charismatic speaker, he was selected to deliver the Sunday morning sermons in the Zoar meeting house. These he delivered extemporaneously, without notes, the words pouring forth "in earnest and vigorous volume, as from one inspired."\textsuperscript{24} Bimeler's role in the history of Zoar may be best summed up in the words of the Zoar schoolmaster interviewed by Hinds in his classic study of nineteenth century American communal settlements: "'...when he [Bimeler] was our leader we knew everything would come out right.'"\textsuperscript{25}

The Zoarites considered emigration as a last resort. In 1815 they thought that they had finally found a haven from persecution in southern Württemberg. Through the intercession of a friend at court, they received permission to settle there, but in 1816 Frederick II reversed this decision, ordering the settlers to evacuate their partially built community almost immediately. Appeals to the government were unsuccessful, so the Zoarites next petitioned to move to Brandenburg.\textsuperscript{26} When this, too, was denied, they sought and received permission to emigrate. With little money left, especially after their abortive venture in southern Württemberg, and with emigration taxes and ship's
fares to pay, the Zoarites pooled their resources. Katharina and Christina Zeller, for example, carried their money, all in coins, to Bimeler in their aprons. Nearly three hundred Zoarites, more women than men and many old people and children, sailed from Antwerp in April of 1817. During the strenuous three-month crossing of the Atlantic, some must have recalled the Biblical exodus of Moses leading the children of Israel out of Egypt, across the Red Sea, toward the Promised Land.

The American Period

The Zoarites landed in Philadelphia on August 14, 1817, and were at once befriended by the Quakers. Quakers from England had sent money to aid them, and this was soon augmented by the Quakers in Philadelphia. Through the latter the Zoarites met Godfrey Haga, who sold them 5,500 acres of land in northeastern Ohio for $15,000, to be paid in full by 1830. The Quakers lent them $1,500 for the down payment, and Bimeler gave his individual notes for the remainder. Bimeler's name alone appeared on the deed, but it was understood that each member of the group "should have an interest therein proportionate to the amount he might contribute to the payment of the land."

Haga had offered the same land to George Rapp in 1803, but Rapp had rejected it as being unsuitable. Rapp's group by this time had resettled in New Harmony, Indiana, apparently expecting a large influx of newcomers—the Zoarites included—to join them. This had been one of the reasons for Rapp's purchase of the land in Indiana. Whether Bimeler and his group had intended at some point to join the Rappites,
fellow practitioners of Radical Pietism, is in doubt. Jacob Sylvan, in his Vorbericht to Die Wahre Separation, stated that they had relied on God to lead them to Zoar (1:VII); nevertheless, Rike and C. Zellerin, in a letter to their godmother in the Harmony Society (Rapp's group) dated August 26, 1817, urged their godmother to join them wherever they might go, as they had heard that "Rapp is so strict over his fellow brethren." Presumably, Bimeler's group had doubts at this point about joining Rapp in Indiana.

An advance party of able-bodied men established a crude settlement on the Ohio land in the fall and winter of 1817-18. The remaining colonists arrived from Philadelphia in the spring of 1818. At first, the plan was to apportion the land to each family on the basis of its labor, but this soon created problems. The old and the weak, of whom there were many, could not compete with the young and the strong. In addition, the first year's harvest yielded less than necessary, so that some had to hire themselves out to neighboring farmers in order to make ends meet. This, of course, meant that they had insufficient time to farm their own land. Moreover, such enforced separation and competition detracted from the practice of their religion. Nixon suggests that the impetus for communism might have come from "the less trusting members...[who] entertain[ed] doubts as to the ultimate disposition of the land." Bimeler, in whose name the deed to the Zoar lands had been made out, held the land in trust for the others on a merely verbal understanding. At any rate, the Zoarites formed a community of goods on April 15, 1819, with 53 men and 104 women signing the first constitution of the Society of
Separatists of Zoar. Although Bimeler had earlier opposed communism because of his belief that the Zoarites would not accept its demands, he did support it as the wish of the majority and later stated that the principles of communism were "'the principles of justice, and, in truth, Godly principles.'" In short, the motives for communism appeared to be both economic and religious.

The Zoarites acknowledged the importance of religion in their various constitutions. The Articles of 1819 provided general guidelines for the management of Zoar, in that members had to renounce private property, elect their directors and managers from among themselves, obey "the orders and regulations of these directors," submit disputes to a majority vote of the directors, and renounce any claim to compensation for labor should they leave the Society. These were prefaced by a brief statement of religious purpose:

The undersigned members of the Society of Separatists have, from a true Christian love toward God and their fellow-men, found themselves convinced and induced to unite themselves, according to the Christian apostolic sense, under the following rules, through a communion of property....

The Articles of 1824 began by invoking the Trinity and by referring to the Zoarites' intention to "'plant, establish, and confirm the spirit of love as the bond of peace and union.'" The Articles of 1824 refined those of 1819. In addition, they required members to obey their leaders "without opposition or murmuring"; to contribute their best efforts to the Society; to relinquish supervision of their children to the directors, who--following a majority vote of the members--might indenture the children to outsiders; and to elect three trustees, a cashier, and a board of arbitration that
could overrule the trustees. The Constitution of 1833, following the Society's incorporation into the state of Ohio in 1832, again refined the earlier ones and reiterated the religious basis of the Society. It remained in effect until the Society's dissolution in 1898.

Zoar was called "the most overtly democratic of the [American] communes." Besides the yearly election, the members were said to have met once a year for a public reading of the constitution and, from time to time, to have discussed the Society's interests with their officers. Yet within this democratic framework were authoritarian elements. Members gave the trustees vast powers to provide food, clothing, shelter, and jobs, to bring up the children, and to insist on a cooperative attitude, among others. Levi Bimeler, descendant of J. M. Bimeler and editor of *Nugitna*, the only newspaper to appear in Zoar, commented on such paternalism shortly before the dissolution of the Society: "There has always been, and to a certain extent still is a tendency to keep the affairs of the Society from the knowledge of the members." In addition, the office of Agent General, the chief executive office of the Society, was made unlimited in term, which fortunately for the Society was not abused in the person of Bimeler. Randall said that Bimeler was not tyrannical like George Rapp: "...he exhorted but did not punish, and if some one differed with him, Bimeler did not for that reason expel him...."

Most nineteenth-century observers of Zoar noted a gradual decline in *esprit de corps* following Bimeler's death in 1853. A. Jacobi observed:

I arrived the week after his death. The members looked like a
flock of sheep who had lost their shepherd. Bimeler appointed a
well-meaning man for his successor, but as he was not Bimeler, he
could not put his engine before the train. Every member pushed
forward or pulled back just as he thought proper; and their
thinking was a poor affair, as they were not used to it.46

No one of Bimeler's stature emerged to lead the Society, though others
tried.47 Jacob Sylvan succeeded Bimeler as spiritual leader by
unanimous consent, but because he was a poor speaker—though a good
writer—Christian Weebel read his discourses for him. After Sylvan's
death in 1862, Weebel read Bimeler's discourses at the Sunday meetings.
Dissatisfaction with Weebel's leadership led to the appointment of
Jacob Ackermann in 1871, who followed Weebel's pattern of reading
Bimeler's discourses. At his death in 1889, Simon Beuter, "one of the
few who retained any belief in the validity of the Principles as a
mode of life,"48 assumed Ackermann's position. Beuter was not popular
because he spoke out against the growing worldliness around him. In
his Tag-Buch for August, 1894, he wrote:

It has now come so far that the meetings will soon have to cease
entirely because more than two-thirds of the people no longer go
where the bread and water of life may still be received....49

While Bimeler's death undoubtedly hastened the collapse of the
spiritual edifice, other factors contributed. Many young people
lacked the same commitment to their faith that their elders had
demonstrated, as Hinds noted in his visit to Zoar:

...Ackermann read one of the discourses of Baumeler. The reading
was preceded and followed by the singing of a hymn, with the
accompaniment of a small organ. No one except Ackermann said a
word; and he confined himself entirely to reading. There is no
meeting, I was informed, in which all take part—where all hearts
flow together in unity and devotion. Is it any wonder that the
young people stay away, and that they lose their attraction for
Community life?50

In addition, the Zoarites were increasingly exposed to influences from
the outside world in the persons of hired laborers who "drink and smoke and use rough language"[^51] and in the persons of canal boat passengers and tourists, who often stayed overnight at the Zoar Hotel. The Zoarites simply could not, and indeed gradually chose not to, isolate themselves from the world. Ironically, the faithful practice of their religious principles in their early years ultimately contributed to their decline: their self-denial and frugality, along with Bimeler's good management, had allowed them to invest their considerable wealth in additional land and manufacturing enterprises, all of which had necessitated hired labor.

Nixon also cites bad management following Bimeler's death as an important factor in the economic decline of Zoar.[^52] The trustees were not amenable to new technology that would have allowed the Society to retain its dwindling markets after the Civil War. Bad investments in stocks, bonds, mortgages, and loans ate up large chunks of capital. Book-keeping methods became so lax that it was impossible to prove later allegations that certain persons had misappropriated funds. Finally, the deficit grew too large, and at a town meeting in 1898, members voted to dissolve the Society, citing financial losses, lack of religious unity, failure to conform to the constitution, and a belief in individual enterprise as reasons for the dissolution.[^53] Assets were sold and divided among the members, and on October 13, 1898, the Society ceased to exist. In his Tag-Buch Simon Beuter, invoking the religious ideal of the past, sadly commented on the present:

This Society was founded in the name of the Trinity, and dissolved
in a spirit other than godly....The Geistliche Lieder are sung no more, and our harps hang on the willows of Babylon. When will they be taken up again?54
CHAPTER III

WIEDERGEBURT: THE CENTRAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Wiedergeburt was an absolutely essential element in Radical Pietism, as Ensign points out in his comprehensive study of this movement. This was no less true for the Zoarites, as the discourses of Bimeler amply illustrate. Of the nearly 2,500 pages in the three volumes of discourses, the Wiedergeburt was alluded to or discussed regularly. Its importance could also be deduced from its inclusion in the title of two of these volumes and from the selection of Biblical verses at the beginning of each volume, which, in the editor's mind, probably epitomized contents of each volume. The verse most relevant to the Wiedergeburt was John 3:3-6, where Jesus emphasized the necessity of rebirth if his followers were to enter the kingdom of God. Other verses focused on the difficulty of entering the kingdom by the narrow gate (Matt. 7:13-14), the imminence of the Kingdom (Mark 1:15), the Kingdom as life's most precious possession (Matt. 13:44-45), and the Christian's refuge in Christ, who was portrayed as gentle and lowly (Matt. 11:25-30). All these verses related to aspects of the Wiedergeburt, which Jacob Sylvan described most fully in his Vorbericht to Etwas fürs Herz:

Contrary to it [the so-called Christian Church] this book teaches the true Christian religion in its true sense and essence, as Christ Himself taught, and as was taught and practiced at the time of the apostles and first Christians, namely the Wiedergeburt, which consists of true, honest repentance, a realization of one's self and of one's deep corruption; [it also consists of] a true reformation of the heart [and] of a true and living faith.
The imitation of Christ: to enter through the narrow gate to eternal life on the narrow path of self-denial and the cross; destruction of the individual will and a fundamental surrender to the will of God; true love of God and of one's neighbor; and above all, whatever is required for an essential, righteous, and blessed life in Christ Jesus.  

Essentially, then, the **Wiedergeburt** was understood as a multifaceted experience, which included contrition, God's grace, conversion, self-denial, suffering, and love for God and man, all of which resulted in the highest blessedness and salvation. Bimeler, of course, elaborated on this central idea over thirty odd years, with the result that it assumed the above meaning and a few others besides. As the chief religious leader of the Zoarites, Bimeler had the task of making fresh and interesting a Christianity reduced to its essentials, so he sought new ways to present familiar material, a method common to any good expositor. Moreover, Bimeler could with impunity freely interpret the Bible or a cardinal principle of his faith, because he was thought to be under the influence of the Holy Spirit when he addressed his audience (Vorbericht, WS, 1:III).

**Wahre Busse**, or true contrition, was vital in the early phase of the **Wiedergeburt** process. This often took the form of a **Busskampf**, or contrition-struggle, characteristic of the Halle school of German Pietism under the leadership of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), but this was also true of the Württemberg school of Pietism and of Radical Pietism. Jacob Böhme (1575-1624), who exerted a profound influence on Radical Pietism, emphasized the struggle for contrition in his *Way to Christ*, which is commonly regarded as the epitome of his mature thought. Perhaps the best way to understand the nature of **Busskampf** in relation to the Zoarites is to examine it in the life of
Bimeler himself. Bimeler rarely brought personal experience into his discourses, but when he did he apologized to his listeners, probably because he regarded the use of such material as a violation of Christian humility. On this occasion, however, he thought it germane to his topic. He began by saying that a time had come when he could no longer accept the religious beliefs of his parents and teachers, but instead of finding his own easily

...the more I searched and examined, the more distrustful I became toward my faith, and finally I discovered that I had no faith at all; this disturbed me greatly, and I struggled to obtain a better one. However, I turned onto the broad road of destruction and remained there until God Himself stopped me, at which time He uttered these words: "Up to this point you shall come and no farther." Here I had to stop. I saw myself obliged to take another way, for I now recognized that the road on which I had turned was the broad road, which would without a doubt lead me into ruin. I began to seek God, but He kept Himself aloof from me. He acted as if He did not want to hear my anxious sigh and my urgent cry....

Bimeler had earlier said that the quality of Busse varied according to the Seelenzuständen, or condition of the soul (EFH, 2:84), but it is clear from his own account that his was definitely a Busskampf.

In another passage Bimeler remarked that no birth, whether internal or external, was painless (EFH, 1:35). The person undergoing Busse felt a deep sense of sin and guilt, as Bimeler conveyed:

It is no wonder that He did not want to hear me, for I have very much offended Him....

Following this intense discomfort, Bimeler experienced God's grace. He described the experience in glowing terms:

...nevertheless He sent me His grace...and afforded me His protection: gladly I submitted to His guidance. Inestimable are the benefits, favors, and blessings which I enjoyed from that time on.

He concluded his account of his conversion by reminding his listeners
that they, too, would have experienced such Gnadenausflüsse, or out-
pourings of grace (EFH, 2:271). George Rapp, leader of the Harmony
Society, had experienced a similar conversion, with the difference
being that his Busskampf had extended over a couple of years, almost
as if God's grace had been spooned out in doses, as it were. Rapp,
too, gained full certainty and spiritual peace eventually.64

Grace, of course, meant something other to Radical Pietists than
it did to official Lutheranism. Bimeler—and Sylvan, too, in his
Vorbericht to Die Wahre Separation—acknowledged God's gift of grace,
but also stressed man's responsibility for utilizing this grace:

Every man, indeed, possesses this grace, namely such a
grace that he can improve his life. God has placed this
ability in every man that he can improve the condition of
his soul through true repentance. But not all men avail
themselves of this grace....65

This presupposed that man's will, in either turning toward or away
from grace, was crucial. Bimeler further remarked that

... grace is not only a mere forgiveness of sins, but is
much more a purging and an extinguishing—or an eradication—
of sin from the heart, through which the wrong must be
uprooted and obliterated.66

He was here alluding to the official Lutheran position on grace as an
unearned forgiveness of sins, which the Lutheran Church celebrated—
along with contrition and a commitment to Christ—in the sacrament of
baptism. Bimeler regarded baptism and other outward ceremonies as
useless and even harmful because, in his view, they encouraged spiritual
laziness (WS, 4:84).

In his De servo arbitrio of 1525, Luther had taught that man was
devoid of merit because his will was in bondage to sin. Man was
justified by faith alone through Christ's atonement, and salvation

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thus was divinely given and supernaturally initiated. Although Luther did not believe that man's will could change for the better, he did believe that God's grace could overcome the ill effects of an unfree will. When this happened, the individual demonstrated his faith as "the obligation to discipline himself and serve others, to make his outward life conform to his inner spirit and faith." For Luther, then, true faith manifested itself in good works, but the emphasis on piety waned as the Lutheran Church embraced a scholastic methodology following the Formula of Concord in 1577. The hair-splitting intellectualism of Lutheran and Reformed scholasticism of the seventeenth century and the devastation of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) reduced the moral and religious life in Germany to a near wasteland. Pietism then appeared as an oasis in this parched religious landscape. Nevertheless, the decline of scholasticism and the rise of rationalism in the eighteenth century did not seem to help matters much in the Lutheran Church—at least from the Zoarites' point of view. They complained bitterly about the wrangling over doctrine in the state churches and about the unchristian behavior of the ministers (Vorbericht, WS, 1:V).

Besides contrition and the acceptance of grace, the Wiedergeburt consisted of a sense of illumination and ultimately of union with God. Sylvan said that Wiedergeburt brought "wahre Herzensbesserung," or "true improvement of the heart," and "wahren und lebendigen Glauben," or "true and living faith" (Vorbericht, EFH, 1:III), which Bimeler would describe as illumination and union. The Wiedergeburt, Bimeler said, allowed man to grasp things that were before unclear:
So long as a person has not come so far in the Wiedergeburt that he is in truth born from God, he cannot possibly have the correct idea of God's holy essence; only then [in the Wiedergeburt] does he hear the word of God purely.

This illumination was elsewhere depicted:

Yet he who endures and remains true will rejoice in the glorious day soon to begin. The beautiful sun Jesus Christ will shine with indescribable brilliance in him and will banish the thick gloom forever, and will inexpressibly refresh the soul.

Bimeler then described union with God as the goal of man's life:

...for the soul of man is created for peace and bliss, and cannot be pacified and satisfied with anything else, until it attains this goal—namely, has found God Himself and has united with Him.

Such a union was the result of a growth process, beginning with the birth of Christ in man and proceeding by the practice of the Christian life toward the goal described above. This goal, moreover, was many times described as the perfection that Adam had enjoyed before the Fall:

Since it is doubtless true that our first parents were seduced and fell through sin and disobedience, so is it quite certain that they were indifferent to the divine image in them; but in order to regain the blessed condition, Christ revealed the way of the Wiedergeburt....

This perfection of Adam was none other than the image of God in him, which could be restored to man by the death of the old man and by the birth of Christ in him. Bimeler thus equated the First Resurrection and the Second Coming of Christ with the Wiedergeburt, which Sylvan also pointed out in his Vorbericht to Etwas fürs Herz:

Nevertheless both will be here, namely the Thousand Year Kingdom and the Second Coming of Christ, as spiritually represented and manifested—as it cannot otherwise be—and all who expect the same in an external, physical way will not reach their goal. The Kingdom of God can only be
attained through the Wiedergeburt, as Christ Himself says. Likewise, the Second Coming of Jesus Christ is spiritual and must occur in us spiritually, through the Wiedergeburt, when namely the old man in us dies and Christ arises in us....74

Bimeler also identified the Wiedergeburt with die wahre Separation, or the true separation. By this he meant not only separation from the Lutheran Church but also from the evil both within and outside man:

Only when a man has separated himself from all evil and turns toward a new, holy, and pure life, is he then in the strongest sense and in genuine achievement a good Separatist....75

Bimeler often linked his idea of die wahre Separation with early Christianity, and Sylvan called it:

...true Christianity in its true sense and essence, just as Christ Himself has taught, as it was taught and practiced at the time of the apostles and the first Christians....76

Among Radical Pietists the primitive church of the New Testament provided a model of ideal Christianity that had never been surpassed.77

The Zorites subscribed to this view, which they may have assimilated from the writings of Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714), a leading Radical Pietist exponent of this view. In Wahre Abbildung der Ersten Christen, Arnold's description of true Christianity paralleled closely Bimeler's description of the Wiedergeburt. Arnold stated that early Christianity taught contrition, a sense of sin, a turning to Christ—which illuminated the heart—a commitment to a godly life, and an acceptance of the baptism of the Holy Spirit with its marvelous gifts.78 Moreover, Christ-like behavior and denial of the world distinguished true Christians from the false. Like Arnold and other Radical Pietists, Bimeler believed the early church to have
been of one heart and mind\textsuperscript{79} and preached this ideal regularly to his
listeners, reminding them of their own marvelous unity at the time of
their formation:

The unity of our opinions, the similarity of our
convictions naturally brought forth an agreement on basic
principles, and this similarity and agreement produced in
quite a natural way a closer fusion and binding of hearts,
so that outwardly we formed a fellowship, although it was
not at this time as fully delineated as it is now. Never­
theless, love for one another was strong and passionate
and— one may say— stronger than now....

.............................................................

...friends, what wonderful, invigorating, and cheerful
hopes, what shining outlooks for the future presented
themselves to our eyes!...We were convinced that we
possessed incomparable advantages over so many thousands
of other men....\textsuperscript{80}

Bimeler often described Separation or Wiedergeburt in Böhmist
terms. In one passage he stated that the Wiedergeburt quenched the
fire within man and that the Separation was an exit from the curse of
the inner fire or anger (EFH, 1:120). In the Wiedergeburt one lived
in the Licht-Reich, or realm of light (WS, 1:24), and attempted to
restore the equilibrium of the inner temperature, which had become
unbalanced when Adam fell from perfection (WS, 3:372-75). It was
this link with Böhme, who not only profoundly influenced Radical
Pietism but also Western mysticism,\textsuperscript{81} that placed the Zoarites within
that same mystical tradition.
CHAPTER IV

WIEDERGEBURT AND MYSTICISM

Evelyn Underhill, an authority on Western mysticism, defines mysticism as "the direct intuition or experience of God." She says further that it means a communion with God in varying forms and degrees and is always a communion of love, which, in its perfection, is "so intimate and all-pervading that the word 'union' describes it best." Moreover, it is the very heart and soul of religion and is usually found "abstracted from all intervening helps and channels whatsoever." David Knowles, another authority on mysticism, calls it the Christian life raised to a higher "power," characterized by union with Christ and love of neighbor, which in its highest reaches is rare but which, as Evelyn Underhill notes, includes the "humble and dimmer experiences of prayer, in which the little human spirit truly feels the presence of the Divine Spirit and Love...."

Mysticism assumes that man possesses a faculty for discerning spiritual truth. Since man can only know what is like himself, he must possess a spark of divinity within in order to know God. Although this likeness of God is thought to exist in man, it is usually dormant and can only be awakened by great effort. This demands a repudiation of sensuality and selfishness and a donning of holiness. Holiness thus becomes an integral part of the mystical way. To achieve this religious life "raised to a higher 'power,'" the Western mystic traditionally follows a three-fold ascent of purgation, illumination,
and union. Purgation, the first stage, involves contrition, confession, penance, self-discipline, and a certain amount of asceticism. The second stage, illumination, is "the concentration of all the faculties, will, intellect, and feeling, upon God" and enables one to perform good works almost spontaneously. The highest stage, union, has been variously described as seeing God face to face, being joined to Him, or becoming like Him, which for the Christian also meant an imitation of Christ's life. The mystical way may or may not involve trances or visions, but most writers on mysticism regard these as signs of a weak and an immature soul. Another fundamental doctrine of mysticism is the unity of all existence, the belief that "God is in all, and all is in God." Related to this is the idea, fostered by many mystics, that man is a microcosm, a smaller version of the universe or macrocosm, and that this enables him to recapitulate the spiritual history of the race much as a foetus is said to recapitulate the process of evolution. For the Christian mystic, then, the Incarnation has its analogue within the individual, or—as the Zoarites believed—it was the birth of Christ in the soul.

It is now apparent that the Wiedergeburt, as the Zoarites understood it, is at the heart of the mystical tradition. Evelyn Underhill maintains that the rebirth is regarded as a necessity among mystics if they would perceive true reality, and cites Augustine, Eckhart, and Böhme in support. The Zoarites, with their emphasis on Busskampf, and their union with Christ, resembled earlier mystics in their three-fold ascent to the summit. Moreover, their emphasis on sanctification, to be discussed in a later chapter, was closely
related to the mystical tradition.

The Biblical verses prefacing the Vorbericht in all three volumes of Bimeler's discourses indicated that the ideal of a Christian rebirth was as old as the Gospel of John. William R. Inge, another authority on mysticism, equates Johannine Christianity with Christian mysticism and labels it the "charter of Christian Mysticism," noting that it advocates the new birth as the way to salvation or union with Christ via love of God and neighbor and that, like much of mystical theology, it emphasizes the Incarnation and not the Cross. For the mystic, as Evelyn Underhill states, the Incarnation is not only the historical birth and life of Christ but "is an everlasting bringing forth, in the universe and also in the individual ascending soul, of the divine and perfect Life..., of which the one historical life dramatized the essential constituents." These constituents are...

...obscure and humble birth, its education in poverty, its temptation, mortification, and solitude, its "illuminated" life of service and contemplation, the desolation of that "dark night of the soul" in which it seems abandoned by the Divine: the painful death of the self, its resurrection to the glorified existence of the Unitive Way, its final reabsorption in its Source—all these, they say, were lived once in a supreme degree in the flesh.

Many aspects of the mystical way were apparent in the religion and daily life of the Zoarites, one of the more obvious examples being their tendency to interpret the Bible symbolically. This was typical of Radical Pietists. As Protestants, the Zoarites acknowledged the authority of the Bible as one of their twelve Grundsätze, calling it "the plumb-line of our life and the touchstone of the true and false" (see Appendix A, Grundsatz 4). But, unlike most
Protestants, they regarded the inner light as a higher authority than Scripture and as a necessary concomitant to the true understanding of Scripture. Bimeler explained this in one of his discourses:

One can indeed in a certain respect often say that one hears God's word, internally or externally, only it is never in its purity; but in the degree that one hears it according to the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, one is then completely born of God. One can of course say that in the Holy Scriptures I hear God's word; only this is not so, for it is concealed and hidden to the natural man; it is not the word of God Himself, but it gives evidence of it.98

Bimeler frequently objected to the narrow, literal interpretation of Scripture, which he had found so repugnant in the Lutheran Church (WS, 1:15). Luther himself had rejected an allegorical method of interpretation as dangerous and had advocated a literal method whenever possible.99 Although Luther and Calvin both insisted that the "Word must live through the Spirt, and the life in the Spirit must be checked by its correspondence to the content of scripture,"100 the Lutheran Church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries considered the former attitude too subjective. The Bible thus came to be understood through the Book of Concord of 1577, which meant that theological propositions took precedence over any insights conveyed by the Holy Spirit.101

In his discourses Bimeler frequently cited events from Christ's life as symbols of the Wiedergeburt. Christ's birth in Bethlehem, for example, symbolized the advent of the Wiedergeburt in the soul, and the star of Bethlehem heralded the formation of the Zoarites in the eighteenth century. The Three Magi, seekers of divine wisdom, were models of true Christians, who in finding the infant Jesus came to understand what before was unclear. They were then able to
interpret the sign of their times and act accordingly. Herod represented the persecutions suffered in Germany, whereas Egypt, to which Joseph took his family, represented the life of the natural man in the world. Egypt was only a temporary sojourn for Joseph's family and for the reborn soul. Bimeler said that it was easier to leave Egypt than it was to leave Babylon, which represented the life of false religion (EFH, 1:2-5). The wedding at Cana, where Jesus changed water into wine, afforded another example of Bimeler's penchant for a symbolical interpretation of Scripture. Just as Jesus transformed the water into wine at Cana, so could he, in a mystical way, transform a natural man into a spiritual man:

The inertia toward the good, which is peculiar to man's nature, disappears and a more active life seasoned with fire and salt, which infuses spirit and strength, steps into its place; therefore this wine that Christ prepares from water is better than that which the host previously had. 102

"Fire and Salt" probably referred to the alchemical jargon found in the writings of Jacob Böhme, which Böhme had derived from Paracelsus and other nature mystics. Böhme often explained his spiritual insights in alchemical language, possibly because the alchemist's search for the philosopher's stone, with its transformation of base metal into gold, was an appropriate metaphor for rebirth. Moreover, alchemy assumed the underlying unity of all things, which would make it appealing to a mystic like Böhme.

The Old Testament, too, provided Bimeler with important religious images. He often alluded to the children of Israel fleeing Egypt for the Promised Land. One notable instance of this occurred on a Sunday in 1824 when Bimeler wished to commemorate the arrival of
the Zoarites in America in 1817. He spoke of America as the Promised
Land, where the Zoarites could worship without fear of persecution.
America, not Europe, was the most worthy site for the Kingdom of God:

America is the land, which the Lord has chosen above all
other lands [as the place] to set up His new kingdom, for
Europe, in which He at first had established it, was not
worthy....103

Nature also provided images of the religious life. Man wisely
observes nature's seasons, Bimeler stated, planting in spring,
nurturing the crops in summer, harvesting in fall, and taking stock
and preparing for the new growing season in winter. This parallels,
too, the stages in a man's life. The spring of life usually brings
many delights, cheer, and optimism; summer, a busy involvement in
career; fall, the harvest work if one has been diligent and, if not,
regrets for wasted time; and winter, a decline of strength but also a
contentment if one has planned well in earlier seasons. Bimeler's
point was that time was vital. On the spiritual plane the
Wiedergeborene dedicates himself to Christ and His service throughout
his life, just as the prudent man continually prepares for his
declining years (WS, 1:3-5).

Clearly, the Zoarites, along with other Radical Pietists,
regarded revelation as something that did not end with the New
Testament.104 In fact, the inner Word, as Bimeler had pointed out,
took precedence over the outer Word. This meant, of course, that
certain persons could serve as instruments of revelation, and this is
exactly what happened in the case of Barbara Grubermann, whom the
Zoarites knew as mother of the Separatists in Württemberg. In many
of her trances she claimed to have visited the seven abysses of Hell,
where each abyss was worse than the one above it, the deepest being reserved for the worst sinners like Judas and Satan. On one occasion she spoke to the Devil: "If you want the Lord to accept you in grace you must learn to bear patiently your condemnation." Then the Devil said, 'If I knew the Lord would pardon me I would cease to do evil.' Sympathy for the Devil was found elsewhere in Radical Pietism, though not, so far as one knows, in Bimeler's discourses. Bimeler seemed uncomfortable with such demonstrative outpourings, though he did acknowledge the existence of the spirit world in his discourses. Hinds reported that the Zoarites were not at all favorably impressed with "the contortions and tremblings of Christian Metz," who visited Zoar before Bimeler's death in 1853. Metz was the spiritual leader and Inspired Instrument of the Inspirationists, another Radical Pietist group that had emigrated from Germany to New York and later settled at Amana, Iowa.

Had Barbara Grubermann lived to assert her leadership at Zoar, the Society would have had a different flavor altogether from that which Bimeler gave it. Grubermann seems to have been the only documented case of anyone experiencing visions or trances in the group. A certain Charles L. Mayer, who left Zoar in 1843 to join the Inspirationists, had confided to Christian Metz on Metz's visit to Zoar in 1843 that he had become disenchanted with Bimeler's beliefs and no longer attended meetings even though he was a trustee within the Society. Perhaps he preferred the more lively Pietism practiced at Amana, for he became a prominent member of that community after defecting from Zoar.

The apparent fondness for religious symbolism manifested itself
in the public garden, which existed as early as 1834. As mystics, the Zoarites were always keenly aware of the presence of God behind the mundane objects of existence. In this they followed the example of their spiritual mentor Jacob Böhme. The garden was designed to depict the new Jerusalem of Revelation 21 and 22, which in itself represented salvation, perfection, or the Wiedergeburt fully realized. In one sense, the garden was a church without walls, where the Zoarites could meditate on their heavenly goal and on the restitution of all things in God. That the garden was intended as a place for meditation is evident from a diagram found of the design, which alluded to Revelation 21 and 22, where St. John's vision of the new Jerusalem was described.

Bimeler designed the garden in the shape of the Zoar star, which in Germany had been worn on the Separatists' clothing as a badge of identity. This six-pointed star dominated the design of the garden on paper, though the actual extent of the garden, which occupied an entire block in the village, appeared to have been limited to the central portion of the star in the design. At the center of the garden stood a Norway spruce, symbolizing the Tree of Life in Revelation 22. Around this was an arbor vitae hedge, which in turn was surrounded by twelve junipers. These probably symbolized the twelve apostles or perhaps the twelve gates to the Holy City, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, as described in Revelation 21:12-14. Benches were placed within this central area. A circular walk enclosed the central area, and from this radiated twelve paths to the sides of the square, which in turn were intersected by walks representing the meanderings.
of sinful man. Flower beds of dazzling color lay between the paths, and assorted fruits and vegetables grew on the far side of the garden. A wide path around the periphery of the garden, representing the broad road travelled by the unredeemed, was bordered by rows of apple trees and enclosed by a high fence supported at intervals by sandstone pillars. The unredeemed could always take any of the twelve paths back to the center, if they chose. In one sense, then, this garden could be considered more of a church than the meeting-house where the Zoarites convened on Sundays, since it provided not only a place to worship but also a strong aesthetic appeal.
CHAPTER V

WIEDERGEBURT AND CHURCH

The Zoarites opposed traditional concepts of the church, partly because of their strong mystical bent and partly because of the character of the German churches they had known. Their understanding of the Wiedergeburt led them to look within themselves as the place where they would make contact with God. Bimeler, in fact, had said that the true temple lay within the heart, where one could pray as often as he wanted undisturbed by others (WS, 2:280). Bimeler repeatedly denounced the churches he had known as representatives of Babel, which was also Böhme's term for churches that wrangled excessively over doctrine and behaved in an unchristian fashion. Bimeler's attack on the churches focused on the ministers and on the prevalence of ceremonies:

The priests...are neither selected by God nor are authorized for the activities which they perform. They have not received their wisdom from God, but they have learned it in the higher schools and preach money to us. They teach well the word of God, but they do not understand it, and neither they nor their audience obeys it. They explain merely the external letters; the true sense, however—the spirit and the power—they suppress. They also presume a right to forgive sins...and he [the priest] does not hesitate to forgive all without distinction....

As for ceremonies, the Zoarites had declared their opposition to these as the chief cause of their separation from the Lutheran Church (See Appendix A, Grundsatz 5). Bimeler alluded to this often in his discourses, especially pointing out the uselessness of the sacraments:

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What helps the Christians of our time—their sacraments, namely baptism and the Lord's Supper? Just as little as circumcision and Passover helped the Jews, for they are merely the outward sign, which attests to the true inner condition of the real thing, whereas they [the sacraments] deny and destroy the power and the substance.¹¹⁸

With respect to baptism, Bimeler had said that "the true baptism is spiritual and occurs within" and that this happens in the Wiedergeburt (EFH, 1:84). The dislike of ceremonies also extended to the numerous festival days and Sundays in the Lutheran church calendar. Bimeler reasoned that since Jesus preached on Sundays, no day should be more special than another (EFH, 1:93). Similarly, the distaste for ceremonies extended to marriages and funerals. When two persons wished to marry, they simply declared their intent before the trustees, whose consent was necessary,¹¹⁹ and a justice of the peace performed the legal part.¹²⁰ Funerals at first were private, attended only by family and friends, but were later public.¹²¹ In any case, they were quiet, simple affairs. The coffin was taken in an open wagon to the cemetery at the usual hour of 1 p.m. a day or two after the person had died, with the villagers following on foot. There were no services at the house or at the cemetery, but the following Sunday Bimeler preached a funeral sermon and appropriate hymns were sung. Tombstones were proscribed until the latter days of the Society.

This repudiation of ceremonies was typical of much of Radical Pietism,¹²² and can be traced back to the Radical Reformation.¹²³ Luther and Calvin, who had opposed the radicals on this point, regarded the sacraments of baptism and communion as visible signs of faith that strengthened the Christian in his daily life. In their
view the Church served a vital function by preaching the Word and dispensing the sacraments. The Zoarites followed other Protestants, however, in emphasizing preaching as a primary aim of a religious gathering. 124

Radical Pietists in general, and the Zoarites in particular, looked to the New Testament church as their model of the true church. In this they followed the lead of Gottfried Arnold, who wrote that members of the early church had gone through a Wiedergeburt experience and had demonstrated such pious behavior as self-denial, patience, and humility. 125 By imitating Christ, these early Christians had sought union of the soul with God. Arnold also insisted that true Christianity was unparteiisch, or non-sectarian—"an invisible community of all faithful in the spirit." 126 This coincided with one of the basic beliefs of the Zoarites: they agreed to sever all ecclesiastical ties because the life of a true Christian did not require sectarianism (See Appendix A, Grundsatz 7).

Arnold, moreover, maintained that the worship practices of the early Christians had focused on love and unity. There was no social distinction between clergy and laity; those especially gifted at interpreting Scripture and at living exemplary lives were chosen to preach, but they did not lord these gifts over others, since others, too, had their own particular gifts from the Spirit. They also prayed together in their assemblies as well as in private. As for the sacraments, the early Christians used them to commemorate Christ's life, but warned that they could lead to damnation if used lightly. For this reason, "some waited until just before their death to take communion, whereby they could be assured of not breaking
Much of this resembled the Sunday services at Zoar. Shortly after establishing Zoar in 1817, the Zoarites agreed—Sylvan stated "so it was the unanimous wish" (Vorbericht, WS, 1:VII)—to set aside a time for the edification of their souls, particularly for the benefit of the young, who had not been tested in their faith by persecution. He might also have mentioned that the weekly religious meetings contributed to a sense of unity in the manner of the New Testament church described by Arnold, in which the preaching of the Word and the singing of religious poetry had furthered religious zeal. Bimeler said that it was important to worship God in a group:

...Zion must live in a society or community; even though it does not always materialize, it nevertheless occurs spiritually each time. We find in the Holy Scriptures nothing of individuals who make up Zion, but we always hear of a people of Zion...or of a community of saints. Also, all promises are simply given to Zion and not to the isolated condition.  

Bimeler added that the isolated person would become too self-centered in his worship outside the group (WS, 2:191). Implicit in this was the idea of group support and discipline. Bimeler told his listeners that they should seek help from their neighbors if they were not progressing in the Christian life (WS, 1:92) and that they should lead others to virtue by their own good example and by appropriate criticism when necessary (WS, 1:82).

To instruct the young, to maintain zeal, and to foster Christian love and unity, the Zoarites selected Bimeler as their spiritual leader: Sylvan described him as "our devoted friend and brother who, as the most appropriate and capable person, was put in charge..." (Vorbericht, WS, 1:VII).
Bimeler's discourses, which he preached extemporaneously, provided the focus for the Sunday meetings:

> When I come here, I usually come empty and do not yet know of what I am to say. It is only when I am here that it is suggested to my mind what I shall speak on, and as soon as I begin to speak, then a broad, vast field of ideas opens up before me, so that I can take what I want or what appears to me to be the most necessary.\(^{129}\)

Like the preachers in Arnold's New Testament church, Bimeler emphasized the *Wiedergeburt* as the way to salvation. He also discussed related issues, illustrating his points by referring to the Bible or to the religious history of the Zoarites, all the while avoiding theological subtleties. Moreover, he showed his disdain for certain theological ideas of the Protestant churches, such as predestination and the imputation of grace (\textit{WS}, 1:93-100), and his preference for Böhmist thought. Occasionally, Bimeler spoke on such peripheral matters as health, cleanliness, and the details of everyday life in Zoar. As the business manager for the Zoarites, he needed to mention at the Sunday meetings certain things necessary to the good management of the Society (\textit{Vorbericht}, \textit{WS}, 1:IX).

Bimeler found his post as spiritual leader occasionally frustrating, mainly because his fellow believers often lacked his religious zeal. He said once that he would gladly have shared the spiritual burden with others but that they declined when approached (\textit{WS}, 1:89). Perhaps the Quaker practice of witnessing to the inner light might have taken hold in the Zoar congregation had there been enough witnesses. The Zoarites certainly felt a religious kinship with the Quakers, as evidenced in the letter from Rike and C. Zellerin to their godmother among the Harmonists.\(^{130}\) What explains,
then, this difference between the German Separatists and the Quakers, both of whom repudiated an official clergy and church service? Perhaps the answer lies in their respective backgrounds. The Quakers came out of the Puritan movement in the English Reformation and were therefore familiar with a more democratic church structure than were the Zoarites, who came out of an authoritarian state-church system in Germany. There the Zoarites had been accustomed to having little or no voice in the way the churches were run. They had grown up being preached to by a Lutheran minister. Bimeler urged his followers to share their spiritual insights and suggested that they approach each other in the following way:

Brother or Sister! Let me tell you what the Lord has done for me. This and that important discovery have I made on the road to the Wiedergeburt. What do you think about this? 

At any rate, Bimeler lamented the decline in zeal as time went on, frequently contrasting the joy, love, and unity of their early days in Württemberg with their present apathy (WS, 3:281–82). Then they had met three times: in the morning for Bimeler's discourse and hymn-singing; in the afternoon for study of Scripture; and in the evening for devotional readings from such "beloved writers" as Tersteegen and Böhme. As their fervor declined over the years—especially following Bimeler's death—they met only once on Sunday. The Zoarites did not practice public prayer because they believed it detracted from the individual's personal encounter with God, though children were taught to say prayers before and after meals. As Bimeler explained:
...we pray however with our hearts without words.... Such a prayer undoubtedly effects more than a hundred mouth prayers...for it effects, in truth, a change of heart or an essential improvement in our soul's condition....

As for music, a choir of about fifteen men and women sitting on the two front benches in the meeting house led the group in hymn-singing following Bimeler's discourse. An organist, who alone had a copy of the music, accompanied the singers. Of the two hymnals, the Psalterspiel and the Geistliche Lieder, the former had originated with the Inspirationists of Ebenezer, New York and later of Amana, Iowa; whereas the latter contained poems by Gerhard Tersteegen, Barbara Grubermann, and anonymous Zoar poets. Many of the hymns were musical versions of key ideas in the discourses, especially of the Wiedergeburt and its promise of heavenly joy and peace. In one sense, their hymn singing can be viewed as a substitute for their lack of public prayer, for both are outpourings of worship.

The Versammlungshaus, or Sunday meeting house, was itself intended to convey the mystical concept that the true dwelling place of God was within the person and not within a building of wood and stone. Bimeler pointed this out from time to time (WS, 2:280). Typical of Radical Pietism, this idea could be traced back through Böhme to the Radical Reformation and, according to Gottfried Arnold, back to the early church. The interior of the meeting house was "severe in its simplicity," with white unadorned walls punctuated only by unstained glass windows on each of the four sides. The Zoarites were called to services by a bell rung one-half hour before the first hymn and again immediately before services. Inside the building an aisle divided the men's benches from the women's
benches, all of which faced the doors. The speaker would stand midway between the two doors and face those sitting on the straight-backed benches. In later years, after the completion of the new meeting house in 1853, the Zoarites consented to the addition of a few ornaments, such as red and white checked curtains and silver candlesticks.\textsuperscript{142}

Their idea of what constituted a church underlay their institutions and daily lives. When the community of goods was signed into effect on April 19, 1819, Bimeler, who had earlier been skeptical about the success of such a venture, approved it and supported it in his sermons. The advantages of religious communism, he said, were that men avoided the inevitable struggle for wealth and the subsequent gnaw of envy and avarice (\textit{WS}, 1:67). The source of all this was the New Testament church, and the various constitutions of the Zoarites mentioned love, equality, and brotherhood in the manner of the early church. Just as there was to be no distinction among the Zoarites in religion, so there was to be none in work or fortune.\textsuperscript{143} Members renounced any claim to their possessions or to any compensation should they leave Zoar. Moreover, they not only chose their religious leader by consensus but also their trustees and officers, who did no campaigning but who were elected at an annual meeting held for that purpose. At this meeting members heard their constitution read aloud, discussed the candidates, and then voted by secret ballot.\textsuperscript{144} Those elected usually received large majorities, despite the lack of a nominating procedure, so there must have been some informal consensus operating before the election.
In this way the Zoarites applied their understanding of the New Testament church to the political realm. Related to this was their promise to obey "the order and regulations of their directors," who were bound to provide for the members both spiritually and materially.\(^\text{145}\) Like the New Testament Christians, they were to avoid quarreling and lawsuits, because these were destructive of Christian unity. Instead, they submitted their disputes to an arbitration board elected by the community, whose decisions were intended as final.\(^\text{146}\) This ideal of Christian unity, however, was harder to practice than to profess, as Nixon often recounts.\(^\text{147}\)

The Wiedergeburt involved an arduous struggle to suppress self-will, which, for the Zoarites, was mitigated by the support of the group and by their escape from the world's center stage. Gottfried Arnold, the Radical Pietist thinker alluded to earlier, had traced these attitudes back to the New Testament church.\(^\text{148}\) That the Zoarites had these attitudes in mind was evident from their early days in Germany when they had formulated their Grundsätze. There they had found the state schools too worldly and had removed their children from them (See Appendix A, Grundsatz 10). Because of their fear of worldly contamination, they applied rigorous standards of admission to prospective applicants and thus weeded out many who wished to join the Society. They had perceived from the many letters seeking admission that the motives for wishing to join the Society were not usually religious but rather political, social, or economic.\(^\text{149}\) In addition, they reduced worldly influences by expelling those who married outside the Society.\(^\text{150}\)

From the beginning both prospective members and children born
to members had to serve a probationary period—a kind of novitiate—before they could be fully admitted to the Society. This was fully defined in the Constitution of 1833, in which two classes of members were recognized. The first class signed a Probe-kontrak, or trial agreement, retained their property, and enjoyed all privileges and responsibilities of full membership except voting and holding office. At the end of a year they could enter the second class, provided that they met the approval of the other members and had no outstanding debts. The proportion of first-class members to the total membership was larger during the later years of the Society, probably because they could safeguard their money this way.

In later years the Society also required applicants for membership to work for wages for a year before they could even become first-class members. Jacob Sylvan, speaking for the Society in a letter dated June 4, 1853, to Charles Kielman of the Ebenezer Society, described the criterion for admission: "Small regard is had for wealth or property, much more for integrity and faithfulness." The period of greatest influx occurred between 1819-1834, with the peak years falling between 1830-1834. At that time about 170 men, women, and children were admitted, most of whom were friends and relatives of those who had emigrated to Zoar in 1817. With few exceptions, non-Germans were not admitted, and in later years those admitted tended to be hired laborers of the Society.

The concern of the Zoarites for equality spilled over into their social customs. In Germany they had refused to doff their hats, bow, or use the polite form of address (they had used Du instead of Sie), resulting in their persecution. They had felt so strongly...
about this that it became one of their twelve cardinal principles (See Appendix A, \textit{Grundsatz} 6). In America the Zoarites could practice their version of equality freely, as illustrated by their dress and dwellings. The trustees allotted each man two sets of clothing, both of which were plain and uniform in design, "somewhat after the fashion of the Quakers."\textsuperscript{157} A woman's clothing was intended to conceal her sexuality, and any ornamentation, such as jewelry, was forbidden.\textsuperscript{158} Houses at Zoar, thoroughly scrubbed and orderly, revealed "the strictest economy in construction," with bare floors, simple furniture, and minimal decoration.\textsuperscript{159}

The Zoarites had little contact with the outside world at first. They believed in religious toleration and made no effort to proselytize others. Bimeler thought that missionaries generally created nominal Christians, who took their responsibilities in the Christian life too lightly.\textsuperscript{160} The \textit{Wiedergeburt}, after all, demanded a stern dedication. To reduce contact with the outside world, the Zoarites practiced economic self-sufficiency, which they achieved to a great extent after many years of wise leadership and dawn-to-dusk labor.\textsuperscript{161}

Of those who travelled outside Zoar, most transacted business for the Society. Sometimes this meant visits to Economy, Pennsylvania, the third and final settlement of the Rappites. The Zoarites admired the Rappites for their success in communal living and for their technical expertise, and exchanged raw materials and finished products with them.\textsuperscript{162} Relations between the two were not always harmonious, as illustrated by the following comment in a letter from Economy to Zoar: "We find in your book of Sermons [presumably Bimeler's], many points, which according to our
understanding of the Word, are not in harmony with the Bible." (Trustee Baker's letter to Zoar, December 7, 1859, quoted in Duss's Memoirs). The Zoarites also sent representatives to the Inspirationists, though visits with the latter ceased when they moved to Amana, Iowa.

Although the Zoarites were Radical Pietists whose roots were embedded in Pietism, mysticism, and the Radical Reformation, the question arises as to whether they were nourished by any of the great intellectual changes of their time. A brief look at Christianity in the eighteenth century therefore seems appropriate. As noted earlier, scholasticism dominated official Lutheranism in the seventeenth century, repelling those with more mystical tendencies. Pietism arose as a reaction to scholasticism. In the eighteenth century, however, Pietists opposed not so much scholasticism based on medieval categories of thinking but a new rationalism based on a more mechanistic, materialistic view of life, associated with the rise of science. In Germany the theology of Christian Wolff epitomized the attempt to harmonize Christianity with the new rationalism. Wolff was denounced by the Pietists. Other theologians, strongly influenced by Deism, "were searching for a rubric which encompassed the variety of religions and the natural religion of reason." They disliked the wrangling within official Protestantism over what they considered non-essentials. François Turrettin best represented this second group. He concluded that men had unwisely fought over these non-essentials, like predestination, and that the fundamentals of religion were few: "Let men confess that they are free, that God rewards according to works,
and that God is in control of everything." Turretin and others like him reasoned that since men had erred in the past and may yet err in their interpretation of the Word, religious toleration was a must.

Most of these rationalist theologians de-emphasized revelation, but regarded the moral truths in the Bible as supreme. Lessing renounced such "superstitions" as a belief in miracles, mysteries, and means of grace and wrote that the importance of Christianity lay in virtue: the man who loved his neighbor was the true Christian. He also believed that Christianity was progressing toward a higher spiritual religion. Kant, too, said that religion should be based on the universal moral law in men, which, if obeyed, would lead to right action. The final perfection of virtue could not be realized on earth, and Kant thus argued for immortality. Kant, however, fundamentally disagreed with the Enlightenment's emphasis on reason in his belief that religion should provide the basis for a knowledge of ethics. On the whole, the rejection of the supernatural was strong in the theological faculties and pulpits of Germany in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Certainly, some of these ideas sound similar to what Bimeler expounded in his discourses. Along with the rationalists, Bimeler abhorred theological bickering in the mainstream Protestant churches over such issues as predestination. Unlike the rationalists, however, he appealed to the certainty of the inner light in the interpretation of the Word, and not to reason. Both Bimeler and the rationalists also shared a belief in religious toleration, possibly because they
both believed in the evolution of religious truth, with this difference: Bimeler believed that God would reveal new truths adapted to new conditions on earth but within the Christian framework, whereas, for Lessing and others, Christianity and other religions were evolving toward the higher religion. In addition, in their emphasis on will and morality, Bimeler and the rationalists were in accord. All these similarities, however, were superficial. Bimeler, as the spokesman of a Radical Pietist group, and the rationalists were essentially of a different parentage. The Anabaptists had stressed religious toleration long before the eighteenth century rationalists, Schwenckfeld had stressed progressive revelation long before Lessing, and Jesus had stressed morality long before Turretin. In short, the Zoarites went back to a far older tradition.
CHAPTER VI

WIEDERGEBURT AND SANCTIFICATION

Bimeler's sermons, abounding in descriptions of and exhortations to holy living, could be summed up in one word: sanctification. It was a necessary component of the Wiedergeburt, as Bimeler pointed out:

Only when a man has separated himself from all evil and changes to a new, holy, and pure way of life is he then in the strongest sense and in point of fact a good Separatist; and then he is able to obtain and enjoy the wonderful advantages that were promised to the Separatists—but, otherwise, not. 174

Like all German Pietists—and Radical ones in particular—the Zoarites stressed Heiligung, or sanctification, over Rechtfertigung, or justification, in their religious thought. 175 Because of this emphasis, they thought and lived in remarkably different ways from the world around them.

Sanctification can be defined as a process of progressive hallowing in the service and love of God. 176 In this process one strives to live a holy and pious life. Religious historians have regarded this ethical aspect as an important part of what constitutes the religious experience in Christianity and other higher religions, but in Christianity "holy" suggests not only the ethical but also the divine and the undefiled. 177 Because God is holy, He inspires a sense of awe from the worshiper. In fact, the German theologian Schleiermacher insisted in his Reden über die Religion (1799):
"The idea of God without the conception of the holy is not religion."
Sanctification, too, is at the very heart of mysticism, as Evelyn Underhill points out: "Unless this impulse for moral perfection be born in him, this travail of the inner life begun, he is no mystic." Underhill adds, quoting the great medieval mystic Ruysbroeck, that the moral virtues, because they are a way to perfection, are the obligatory "'ornaments of the spiritual marriage.'" And as she frequently notes, self-renunciation is one of these "ornaments."

A brief history of sanctification within the Christian church is worth a closer look, if only to place the Zoarites in perspective. In the New Testament the believer was sanctified when he received the grace of the Holy Spirit and, as a result of this grace, strove to live a pious life. Such a life imitated that of Christ, who had illustrated perfect holiness in his love of God and man. This imposed a high standard on the Christian, but, because Christ had first exculpated man's sin by his death on the cross, man could hope to achieve a genuinely pious—though not a faultless—life on earth. This further entailed a consecration of the body as well as of the spirit. In the early church sancti, or saints, meant not only the dead or the martyrs but all Christians, because it was assumed that a Christian underwent a moral change and "a severe moral obligation." Later, as the church became more institutionalized, sancti applied less to the rank-and-file and more to monks, priests, and bishops. As the well-known Biblical scholar and theologian Harnack has observed: "'The Church...was legitimised
by the possession of the apostolic tradition instead of by the realizing of that tradition in heart and life." In the Reformation sanctification was overshadowed by justification. Luther maintained that man was saved by faith alone, a free gift of the Holy Spirit; and, while good works were a necessary corollary of this view, Luther did not believe that sanctification could ever be attained in this life. A doctrine of sanctification was never fully developed by the Reformers or by the scholastic theologians following them, perhaps because Luther so strongly insisted that man was simul iustus et peccator (at the same time justified and a sinner). Pietism, of course, reacted against this incomplete doctrine of sanctification.

Bimeler described the Wiedergeburt as a process of sanctification on a number of occasions. He emphasized that the Wiedergeburt resulted in an imitation of Christ, particularly in an imitation of his unselfish love for others (WS, 1:36), but Bimeler warned that this would entail much suffering:

...for it [an inner transformation] does not happen otherwise than through the Wiedergeburt, and you know quite well, friends, what the Wiedergeburt demands in time and effort.

Suffering resulted primarily from having to deny the natural man within and was as necessary as Christ's crucifixion (EFH, 1:30), although Christ's suffering had been undeserved (WS, 4:87). The will was of the utmost importance in this process of sanctification and was guided by a "divine voice in the soul":

...that all men, without exception, are admonished to do good at certain times in their life, either through other men, circumstances, or--and this is the most usual way--through inner impulses. If a man follows this divine
voice in his soul, it will gradually lead him out of his sinful condition. However, if he does not obey this voice, then grace will finally withdraw itself from him....

Moreover, as Bimeler pointed out, the one who truly accepted Christ would be given the strength to live as a "child of God" (WS, 1:77). In short, man could attain salvation by both an effort of will and by some assistance from God.

Sin, for Bimeler, consisted of a conscious decision to go one's own way, the way of the natural man, and to live independently from God (WS, 1:VI). This concept of sin led Bimeler to denounce the doctrine of predestination, which he called the "höchst schädliche Absurdität," or "the most damaging absurdity," because he believed that it undermined man's role in the sanctification process (WS, 1:94). This was an obvious instance where Bimeler—and the Zoarites presumably—departed from the mainstream Protestant position of Luther and Calvin. As for original sin, Bimeler acknowledged an evil tendency in man but did not think it insurmountable:

In essence, the original sin can do little or no harm to us, in so far as it does not realize itself in us. Nevertheless, we have responsibility enough on us for our own, self-committed misdeeds and sins....

Bimeler exhorted his listeners to be on guard daily against sin and to examine themselves frequently for signs of progress in sanctification (WS, 1:4). If they realized that they had sinned, they were to confess the sin—presumably to someone in the community—and then to expect to suffer in some way for their sin before they could consider themselves once again ready to resume the process of sanctification (WS, 4:85). Moreover, God's grace was helpful only if it were accompanied by a concomitant moral improvement.
in man (WS, 4:83). This meant that the Zoarites repudiated the mainstream Protestant view that Christ's righteousness had been imputed to the sinner. This denial of imputed grace was stressed many times in the discourses:

As for faith, many men understand nothing further than a belief that Christ died for us and was resurrected, that He paid for our sins, and so on. But I do not consider this to be faith...He [the sinner] must find that his sins all still remain and that he cannot be free of them except through contrition—namely, through a penitent and holy life, and [thus] can he be reconciled to his offended God.¹⁹⁰

Seventeenth-century Protestant scholastics had been responsible for the imputation theory¹⁹¹ that Bimeler so frequently denounced. Spener, the father of German Pietism, called the imputation theory un-Biblical and contrary to Luther's preaching, though, as Allen Deeter points out, Luther can be read in a number of ways on this issue. Deeter thinks that Luther generally considered justification and sanctification "to be completely works of the Holy Spirit in man" so that any suggestion of cooperation on man's part would have been considered presumptuous.¹⁹²

This emphasis on sanctification, so characteristic of Pietism, was also essential to Anabaptism. Rooted in the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century, Anabaptism influenced German Radical Pietism in the late eighteenth century, as Robert Friedmann, the Anabaptist scholar, indicates in Mennonite Piety Through the Ages.¹⁹³ Friedmann notes that this influence was particularly strong in Württemberg, where Anabaptism, with its opposition to the established church and state, helped prepare the way for an upsurge of separatistic Pietism.¹⁹⁴ Unlike the Anabaptists, however, many of these
Separatists borrowed beliefs from such mystical sources as the Berleburg Bible and Jacob Böhme. This meant that, while the Anabaptists observed a strict, literal Biblicism, the Separatists often interpreted the Bible allegorically. In spite of such differences, however, the similarities between the two groups were striking. Both opposed war, the oath, and infant baptism; both stressed discipline, plain dress, and frugality; both accepted persecution for their beliefs; and both occasionally established communal settlements. Friedmann points out that one such Separatist group was led by George Rapp, who, as one has seen, led his people to Pennsylvania in 1803 and maintained close ties with the Zoarites. Like the Rappites, whom they resembled in many ways, the Zoarites were almost certainly exposed to the same Anabaptist influences.

Although Friedmann sees little connection between Anabaptism and mysticism, some recent research challenges this view. George Williams, the well-known scholar of the Radical Reformation, points out the close relationship between Anabaptist principles and the *Theologia Germania* (an anonymous popular work of late medieval mysticism in the manner of Tauler, Suso, and Eckhart). Both stressed a theology of the cross, the imitation of Christ, self-renunciation, the paradisiac restorationist motif (the desire to regain Adam's perfection before the Fall), a communitarian ethic, and an attitude of Gelassenheit (resignation). Besides being found in the Zoarite conception of Wiedergeburt, most of these elements were also characteristic of medieval monasticism. Recent research has shown a close parallel between the Schleitheim Articles (1527) in Swiss Anabaptism...
and Benedictine monasticism. What the Anabaptists, the Benedictines, and the Zoarites shared was their religious perfectionism, itself an expression of the deepest religious impulses.

Bimeler's discussion of other theological elements also reflected Anabaptist views. Sin was one such element. Bimeler preached that sin resulted from an assertion of self-will over God's will, though the will was free to choose its course. Similarly, the Anabaptists upheld man's ability to choose between good and evil, minimizing the role of original sin. Some Anabaptists held that infants were born innocent and began to sin at the age of reason, whereas others argued that all men, infants included, inherited an inclination toward evil from Adam. The Anabaptists thus believed that man's will was free. Luther would have argued that man, though justified by faith, could never fully extricate himself from sin and that perfection "be sought only in a deeper and more profound realization of one's sinfulness." Moreover, Luther regarded temptation, or the inclination to sin, as sin, and the Anabaptists did not. The Anabaptists claimed that Luther's view on sin led to ethical irresponsibility. In the Franckenthal Disputation of 1571, Anabaptists stated that even if they could agree with Luther on doctrine, they could not agree on the way to live. This same issue would of course arise again in the Pietist dispute with the established Protestant churches.

On the question of original sin, Bimeler represented the position that the child was born containing a "seed" of evil, which lay dormant until he reached the age of reason. As Bimeler
explained:

Moreover, it is known to everyone, that it depends simply on the will of men to be pious or godless; for a godless person is not born but receives the germ of evil at his conception, which, when the child is older and reaches the age of reason, then sprouts....

In a child, however, "das Herz ist noch rein und unschuldig" (WS, 3:220)—that is, "the heart is still pure and innocent." Nevertheless, the parents must ensure that any hint of the child's self-will be curbed:

If the individual will is suppressed early in a child's life, that is, brought under the control of the parents, then this virtue will usually last his entire life.

In acknowledging the innocence of children and yet in exhorting parents to curb any display of self-will, Bimeler was not altogether consistent. Bimeler advocated the religious training of children, but he thought that too strict a religious upbringing would turn children against religion when they reached maturity (WS, 1:20).

As for discipline, Bimeler recommended that parents set a good example and, if that were insufficient, then stronger disciplinary measures were called for. Moreover, Bimeler said that children should not be overly praised for good work or behavior, since praise discouraged the growth of humility (EPH, 1:18).

The ethic of self-denial resulted in a strict upbringing of children at Zoar. Though children might have been considered innocent, they were not coddled after the age of three. The various Zoar constitutions gave the trustees, not the parents, control over the children until the age of majority—eighteen for girls and twenty-one for boys—after which the children, now grown, had
to apply for membership like outsiders. Trustees could also indenture children to outsiders with the approval of the membership. Children lived with their parents until the age of three, when they were sent to Zoar's Kinder Anstalt, or community nursery, to remain until their teens. This arrangement was intended to free the women for productive labor at a time of economic hardship in the Society (1820s and 1830s). Interviews with surviving members of the Society some years ago revealed that the women appointed by the trustees to supervise the Kinder Anstalt were often ill-suited to deal with children. They showed little warmth or kindness toward the children. Food was poorly prepared and the boys had to sleep in an unheated attic dormitory in winter. The children rarely saw their parents and received little or no overt affection from the women in charge, perhaps because kissing was regarded as a carnal impulse. From about 1840 parents were no longer required to put their children in the Kinder Anstalt, probably because the Society now hired outside labor to do the work that the women had formerly done and because of the complaints about the quality of care. The Zoar trustee Jacob Ackermann, for example, refused to send a child there, because an older child of his had died there previously.

When they were six years old, boys and girls attended school in Zoar, returning to segregated dormitories in the Kinder Anstalt at night. Both in and outside school they were kept busy with assigned tasks. In school they studied the standard curriculum of the day in both German and in English, though German was
discontinued in 1884. The children also memorized Bible verses, religious poems, and religious songs; secular songs were prohibited until the later years of the Society. After school the girls peeled apples, spun yarn, or cared for the younger children; and the boys herded pigs, weeded gardens, or braided straw for hats and baskets. Older children assisted the adults in cutting grain, plowing, or tending the herds. Such hard work was the rule for American children living on farms in the nineteenth century, though the motives for work were different at Zoar from those outside the community. Zoar children worked for the good of the community—and hence for their own salvation—whereas children outside Zoar labored for the social and economic advancement of their families. In spite of the hard work, however, Zoar children found some outlet for their high spirits in the games they invented while gathering apples or picking the stems off the hops, or in singing while they worked.

Every member of the Society was expected to deny the "natural man" within, but this ideal was never fully realized even in the most religiously vital period when Bimeler presided over the Society. Celibacy was attempted but was officially abandoned after about eight years. Adopted primarily for economic reasons in 1822, celibacy was also an approved form of religious behavior (See Appendix A, Grundsatz 9), behavior that was not too surprising among Radical Pietists. Rapp's group, too, had adopted it soon after their arrival in Pennsylvania and continued to practice it up to their dissolution. Moreover, the Inspirationists in Iowa regarded celibacy as a holier estate than marriage. Nixon reports that
the 1821 Membership Roll at Zoar revealed from four to six children per family; and, as the Zoarites were struggling against great odds to pay off their mortgage—and thereby firmly establish themselves in their refuge from the world—they had to reduce their numbers and free the women for productive labor. Marriage was therefore forbidden, and those already married had to live apart from their spouses. According to Mrs. Salome Beiter, a member of the Society whom Nixon interviewed in 1932, some of the married Separatists had already lived apart for religious reasons before coming to America. In some of the cases, the separation had been mutual, but in others it had been the wish of one partner only, with some of the spouses opting to remain behind in Germany.217

Celibacy necessitated certain changes in the living arrangements at Zoar. Instead of living in families, members lived in groups of from 3 to 15 persons each in about 20 households.218 Each household was responsible for securing its own supplies (dairy products, meat, bread, beer, and cider came from community centers), preparing its meals, and raising its own vegetables and poultry. This situation lasted until 1830, when marriage was again resumed. By this time, the Society had paid off its mortgage. Bimeler and many other religious and community leaders married and had children.219 One wonders, however, if marriage did not still mean abstinence except where children were desired. After all, Bimeler reminded his listeners Sunday after Sunday that they were to focus their lives on the Wiedergeburt and that family and sex were abolished in heaven.

Radical Pietists approved of marriage for the purpose of
procreation but supposedly preferred a spiritual marriage involving sexual abstinence or celibacy. Any hint of personal gratification in marriage was denounced. Their low opinion of sex can be traced back to Jacob Böhme primarily, as well as to St. Paul, among others. Böhme taught that before Adam's fall Adam had possessed a spiritual body like Christ's resurrection body, was androgynous, and could reproduce himself by fiat. Moreover, the three principles underlying all creation—the light world, the dark world, and the external visible world—were in perfect temperature or harmony (to be discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII). But Adam, tempted by the fallen Lucifer, desired the things of the earth through his imagination and will. This was the First Fall. Adam then fell into a deep sleep and woke to find his female half in a separate form. Both male and female bodies, now separate, assumed grosser animal forms that contained organs for reproduction and digestion. Böhme found this change "monstrous." The Second Fall occurred when Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit, after which, feeling shame for their bestial bodies, they brought God's curse on themselves and on the earth as well. With Böhme's account of the Creation in mind, then, Radical Pietists sought to avoid sex because, by so doing, they could begin to regain Adam's paradisical state before the First Fall. The Zoarites, as Radical Pietists, would have been sympathetic to such views. Jacob Sylvan, who represented the Society in its correspondence with applicants for membership, advised a certain Charles Kielman of the Ebenezer Society (the name of the Inspirationists when they lived in New York): "To be sure, marriage is not forbidden here, but he who
remains single does better.'\textsuperscript{223}

Self-denial was also reflected in the daily living habits of the women, who wore plain, dark dresses, all cut from the same pattern. When a woman needed a dress, she went to the community's seamstresses, selected material from the few kinds available, and was allowed only one fitting. Mrs. Salome Beiter, interviewed in 1932 by Nixon, said that "'the clothes were made big enough the first time'\textsuperscript{224} and thus did not flatter a woman's figure. Women wore their hair tucked under bonnets and were forbidden jewelry and ornaments. Men owned two sets of clothes at any one time, overalls for work and a suit for Sunday meetings. Any concern for fashion would have been considered a concession to the "natural man," but occasionally someone wore something inappropriate and was then referred to the trustees for disciplinary action.\textsuperscript{225}

The Zoarites did not practice undue self-denial in their diet. After the early years of struggle, food was plentiful and the diet varied. Pork was forbidden for religious reasons and butter and coffee were sparingly used, but beer and wine were available to the men. The pork taboo, in fact, became the cause of a temporary cooling off in relations between the Zoarites and the Rappites. Certain representatives from Zoar were served pork for dinner on a friendly visit to Harmony in 1859. They declined the pork "without comment," but Trustee Henrici of the Harmony Society could not refrain from calling attention to this: "'You will not touch pork, but you are not so careful about other flesh!'\textsuperscript{226} (Celibacy had been discontinued at Zoar in 1830 but remained in effect among the Rappites until their dissolution.) When the indignant Zoarites

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returned home, the Society sent a letter to Harmony complaining about the inhospitable treatment. Trustee Baker replied for the Harmony Society:

Worthy Friend: Thou revealest too much self-love and weakness through the mentioned grievance; for it is not a sin, but a duty toward a friend, to give him a hint as to an error when such is against God's Word. We find in your Book of Sermons, many points, which according to our understanding of the Word, are not in harmony with the Bible. However, it is not our business to enter into a religious disputation. These two Societies are two kinds of flowers and will remain thus. Let each one be sure of his ground and loyal to his convictions. 227

This letter points out two tendencies of Radical Pietists: to admonish one's brother when he was in error 228 and to avoid wrangling over religious differences. 229

The Zoarites also practiced a similar discipline among themselves. Those who repeatedly broke the code of ethics could voluntarily leave the Society or be asked to leave, but milder forms of discipline were first imposed. Like the Anabaptists, the Zoarites turned to the New Testament, particularly First Corinthians, for advice on how to administer discipline. Bimeler recommended that everyone examine himself daily for signs of virtue or the lack thereof (WS, 1:4). He also recommended that one should help his neighbor toward virtue by himself setting a good example. If that did not work, then some sort of advice or rebuke was in order:

...one may say: "Brother or Sister! You should do this or not do this," "you should do thus and so," or "I wish that you could view the matter from my point of view," and so on. Such an expectation is not only not a sin but it is even a command. Universal brotherly love demands that this be done....230

Pointing out another's faults was first to be done in private and in the right Christian spirit; but not pointing out another's faults
led to bad results, "because one never sees and recognizes his own mistakes as clearly as those of another..." (WS, 1:108). Bimeler was aware, as he more than once pointed out, that sin could become so habitual that its bad effects were no longer perceived by the sinner unless they were pointed out (WS, 1:93).

The Zoarites apparently found this kind of discipline effective. When Hinds visited Zoar in 1876, he was told that

we appeal to the conscience. What else can we do? We can't punish anybody. Formerly, if a member disobeyed the regulations of the Society, he was not allowed to attend the meetings, and that was punishment enough.  

This "shunning" was in effect a mild form of excommunication. In the earlier years of the Society, offenders,

...old and young, guilty of small offenses or large, were required to sit in the first pew, and the sermon was given according to the sins represented by the persons in this pew. Following the sermon, all the offenses were mentioned and the names of the offenders given.

Nixon maintains, however, that these chastisements were "rarely severe or unduly embarrassing to the recipients." Sometimes, people were admonished in writing (hired laborers, for example), but usually the trustees spoke to the offender. The few who were expelled were those who refused to abide by the laws of the Society, and, when given the chance to make amends, refused.

Remarkably, from 1817 to 1898, no member of Zoar was ever convicted of a crime, and the town jail never housed any member of the Society. Such exemplary behavior did not go unnoticed by outsiders. In the case of Goesele et al v. Bimeler et al, in which the U. S. Supreme Court in 1852 upheld the legality of the Society's constitution, Judge McLean spoke highly of the Society's moral
Self-denial led to hard work, frugality, and eventually wealth under Bimeler's leadership. The Zoarites worked long hours, beginning shortly after dawn when they reported to the trustees for job assignments in the fields or went to work in the community's shops. Work often went on until dark, with meals taken in between. Recreation occurred incidentally in the course of making maple sugar, picking apples and hops, or making apple butter. Sometimes, the workers would sing together. Holidays went unobserved except for Christmas, but Christmas was not festive. There were no Christmas trees or gift exchanges, though special items from the bakery supplemented the usual diet. There was certainly no dancing, card-playing, reading of novels, or singing of secular songs during Bimeler's tenure.

The commitment of the Zoarites to hard work and to the welfare of the community was best illustrated by their participation in the building of that portion of the Ohio-Erie Canal running through their land. Ironically, this canal, which was to expedite transportation between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, opened up the area to increased industrialization and outside influences, both of which contributed to Zoar's eventual decline. But at the time the canal was built, the Zoarites needed to pay off their sizable mortgage, and this project gave them just the opportunity they needed. With only the crudest tools and buckets, both men and women labored to dig the canal trench, which had to be 40 feet...
wide and 26 feet deep. They received $21,000 for their effort and also earned extra money by selling food and supplies to other canal workers in the area.\textsuperscript{241}

By 1835 the Society was almost entirely self-sufficient, importing only coffee, tea, rice, cotton, and a few other items.\textsuperscript{242} As the Zoarites prospered, their profits were invested in land, banks, stocks, and additional community enterprises.\textsuperscript{243} Their growing wealth enabled them to hire outside laborers to replace those members (about one-third of the membership) who had died in the cholera epidemic of 1834 and to man their expanding industries.\textsuperscript{244} Most of their hired laborers came from southern Germany and were assigned to field work, though by 1850 some were working in the woolen mill, tannery, or flour mill. At the time of Bimeler's death in 1853, the Society was worth about a million dollars, which prompted U.S. Supreme Court Justice McLean to remark:

\begin{quote}
It appears that by great industry, economy, good management and energy, the settlement at Zoar has prospered more than any part of the surrounding country. It surpasses, probably, all other neighborhoods in the state, in the neatness and productiveness of its agriculture, in the mechanic arts, and in manufacturing by machinery.\textsuperscript{245}
\end{quote}

On at least one occasion Bimeler preached that neither wealth nor poverty led to sin, though he did admit that poverty made a virtuous life easier: "...I readily admit that poverty is sooner suitable to a virtuous life than wealth; at least [with the former] there are fewer difficulties to overcome" (\textit{WS}, 1:79).

In their attitude toward the state the Zoarites resembled other Radical Pietists and Anabaptists. Separation of church and state was a cardinal principle for all these groups. Gottfried
Arnold, whose views on the church have been discussed, spoke for many Radical Pietists when he condemned the identification of church with state in the history of Christianity. As early as the sixteenth century, the Anabaptists had suffered persecution for the principle of separation of church and state. The Anabaptists disputed Luther's position that the Christian must live in two kingdoms, one in which Christ was often absent and one in which Christ reigned. Luther argued that since the state protected the Christian from anarchy, the Christian was expected to support the state. Although the Anabaptists recognized a need for the state, they maintained that the Christian could not live in both kingdoms and still remain a Christian. They believed that it was unchristian to wage war or to require oaths. The Zoarites, too, believed that the state was necessary to maintain order, protect the good, and punish lawbreakers (See Appendix A, Grundsatz 12), but like the Anabaptists they were opposed to military service and oaths. On the former they argued that "a Christian cannot murder his enemy, much less his friend" (See Appendix A, Grundsatz 11), and on the latter they cited the authority of Matthew 5:34 and James 5:12. In his discourses Bimeler discussed the motives for pacifism:

...therefore God requests or commands in the Fifth Commandment—speaks definitely and clearly—"Thou shalt not kill." These words make no exceptions, friends; they do not say: "In this or that case you may kill, but in this or that you should not." They explicitly say there, however, quite unambiguously, that one indeed should not kill.

Even self-defense was wrong; its source was "die Eigenheit," or
"individuality," which Satan had inflicted on mankind (WS, 3:230). What about capital punishment? Bimeler acknowledged that the law said "an eye for an eye," but the Zoarites lived "under a new regime in which Christ set up quite different rules, including the command to love one's enemies and do good to them" (WS, 3:231). Self-defense should be left to God, but the proven wicked should not be allowed to roam the countryside freely. Instead, they "should be locked up in penal institutions where they have no more opportunity to do evil" (WS, 3:231).

Their pacifist views were severely tested during the Civil War. Although deeply opposed to slavery, they saw the coming war with "sorrow and horror." A cleavage developed between many younger and older members of the Society over the issue of pacifism, perhaps indicative of the weakening religious bonds within the Society. Bimeler had died in 1853 and no one as effective had arisen to lead the Zoarites. The U.S. government would have excused conscientious objectors for the sum of $200 each, but in spite of this, fourteen young men from Zoar enlisted in the Union Army. Twelve survived the war, but not all of these returned to Zoar. The Society, while officially condemning the war, contributed generously to soldiers' charities and the Freedman's Aid Commission following the war.

The Zoarites took little interest in state or national politics. Whenever they voted they voted Republican, but surviving documents reveal little discussion of political issues. Bimeler occasionally spoke about forms of government but not about current events.
He was skeptical about the success of secular-based communisms, of which there were many at the time: "Such a system would never be extended to all men and would never become universal [because] men have no desire to suppress their own will..." (WS, 1:35). The Zoarites' lack of interest in the world around them could be traced to their fundamental religious orientation. In this they were like many other Radical Pietists and Anabaptists, who left the world in order to remain godly.253

In addition to their self-denying and other-worldly attitudes, the Zoarites illustrated other Christian virtues as well. One they admired was humility. In a letter to Zoar dated March 10, 1858, a member of the Amana Colony in Iowa had this to say of Zoar:

What pleased me especially concerning you, was that you had kept your simplicity, and are not so proud and ambitious as many here are, who would be addressed only as Sie; Brother Mayer agrees with me, that in Zoar there is generally more humility than here.254

Bimeler once apologized in a Sunday morning discourse for referring to himself in making a point:

...it says in the proverb: "Self praise stinks," and this is certainly true....Nevertheless you must excuse me for I had good intentions in this instance. It is true that I have related a few fragments from my life history to you, but it was not in the least done for the purpose of glory; but I merely related my experience because I believe that it is also your experience.255

Except for Biblical names, Bimeler did not single out individuals for recognition in his discourses. The impression is that what was said was more important than who said it. The same was true for funeral sermons. In those the deceased remained nameless, though he or she was cited for his loyalty to particular religious principles

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of the Society. Jacob Sylvan apparently followed this custom in his editing of Bimeler's discourses: Bimeler "is our late dear friend and comrade," who "has always presented himself as an exemplary model to our little group and has himself practiced what he has preached to others" (Vorbericht, WS, 1:VII). Moreover, he bore slander and abuse from disaffected members patiently and humbly (WS, 1:VII).

The Zoarites were known outside their community for the excellence of their workmanship. Emil Baur, spiritual leader of the Ora Labora religious colony on Saginaw Bay in Michigan, wrote Zoar asking for advice and commented: "...two years ago I bought a pair of trousers from you, and discovered that your product is better than that which can be purchased in the shops." One nineteenth-century observer marvelled at the success of the Zoarites in their manufactures given the "ancient methods and plodding work." Bimeler, of course, encouraged good stewardship of the earth's resources. Since the Wiedergeburt was a stufenweise, or step-by-step process, time was vital. Every waking moment was to redound to God's glory: "The Christian feels compelled to hurry to save his soul, for he does not know how much time will be granted to him to improve the state of his soul" (WS, 1:13). God really possesses all that man uses, and it is man's responsibility to use what God has given him to please God (EFH, 1:36).

Bimeler often spoke of brotherly love, which was essential in the Wiedergeburt process: "You who have the ability regard it as your duty to serve your brothers with the gifts you have received from God..." (WS, 3:284). The cholera epidemic of 1834 perhaps
best illustrates this. The crew of a passing canal boat had forced a sick passenger off at Zoar, probably because they suspected that he had cholera.\textsuperscript{258} The Zoarites nursed him for a few days until he died. Following his burial a woman claiming to be his wife appeared in Zoar and asked for the dead man's money, which the Zoarites had left intact on his person. The man's body was disinterred and the money given to the woman. That night cholera broke out in Zoar. Within a few weeks it had killed fifty-six people, almost one-third of the community. Sunday services continued to meet, however, and Bimeler set an example of Christian concern by himself ministering to the sick and dying as pastor and physician.\textsuperscript{259} Another example of the Society's concern for others was their decision to keep the unprofitable iron furnaces in operation, because not to do so would have disrupted the employment of a large number of people in the vicinity.\textsuperscript{260} Zoar also opened its doors—and kitchens—to passersby who needed a meal or lodging.

These, then, were some of the Christian virtues of the Wiedergeburt, which, when practiced daily, led to holiness and salvation. Bimeler preached this theme again and again, always emphasizing the incomparable rewards that redounded to the Wiedergeborne.

\begin{quote}
Virtue, true virtue, is the best means for obtaining the inexpressible happiness, the precious treasure, of the indwelling of Christ in us....
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
...and oh, what a quiet tranquillity and sweet peace he enjoys in his God; it is to be compared with nothing in the world!\textsuperscript{261}
\end{quote}

Frequently, he indicated how far short of the goal his people were (EPH, 1:20). He held up their early days in Germany, along
with the New Testament church, as models of Christian love and unity, emphasizing the presence of Christ in this life but speaking often of the life after death.
CHAPTER VII

WIEDERBEBURT AND ESCHATOLOGY

The Zoarites probably would not have come together as a religious group had it not been for their conviction that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent. In the previous history of Christianity the Second Coming had stimulated the formation of other religious groups, among whom were certain Anabaptist groups connected with the Radical Reformation. Ensign points out, however, that not all Radical Pietist groups accepted an imminent Second Coming, perhaps because their chief spiritual mentor Jacob Böhme was "no chiliast in the true sense of the term." Böhme's emphasis was on salvation as Wiedergeburt, begun in this life and continued in the next, and he opposed any form of earthly paradise. At Zoar Böhme's position became dominant, once the Zoarites had established themselves securely in Ohio.

In Germany, however, the Zoarites had been attracted to strong millennialist currents, often associated with times of great turbulence and change. Both the Rappites and the Inspirationists had also been strongly millennialist at the time of their formation, and the Rappites remained so in America. Understandably, the Zoarites, who had endured the political tyranny of the various dukes of Württemberg and the alleged callousness of official Lutheranism, would have regarded the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon as signs that the end was near. Moreover,
millennialist currents were astir elsewhere in the duchy. Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), Lutheran pastor, pre-eminent Biblical scholar, and prominent Württemberger Pietist, predicted the Second Coming in 1836. The Zoarites, then, prepared for the end by practicing their beliefs openly, often at great personal cost.

Removed from their troubles in Württemberg, however, they came to see that salvation did not so much mean the affirmation of Christ's external appearance as the spiritual coming of Christ in the soul. Bimeler stated that the earlier belief in Christ's external appearance had been spiritually immature, because it had put too much emphasis on the physical and external (WS, 1:12-13). Jacob Sylvan expressed this new attitude in his Vorbericht to Etwas fürs Herz:

Chiefly however and in particular this book deals with the Thousand Year Kingdom, so often and so much discussed, or of the Second Coming of Christ...as spiritually represented and verified—as it cannot otherwise be—and all those who expect it in an external, physical way without true improvement of the heart will not reach their goal. The Kingdom of God can only be obtained through the Wiedergeburt, as Christ Himself said...269

And the Wiedergeburt, as one has seen, meant an arduous process of self-denial. Yet, as Bimeler often said, a taste of heaven could be had—and in ever larger quantities—depending on one's progress in the Wiedergeburt. This, of course, was a way of keeping religion vital in the absence of Christ's external appearance.

This emphasis on the spiritual presence of Christ in the soul had always been an important element in Böhmist thought. Böhme insisted that heaven and hell—or good as the light principle and evil as the fire principle—were first found in man's soul and
that man was responsible for whichever gained control. 271

When the emphasis shifted from the apocalyptic to the eschatological in their religion, the Zoarites focused their attention on what happened after death. Bimeler conceived of the Resurrection as, first, "a rising from the sleep of sin" and "a change into a new life with Christ" (WS, 2:247) or, in other words, the Wiedergeburt. Secondly, Bimeler denied the resurrection of the body, referring to Rev. 14:13, Luke 16:19, and Mark 9:4 for Biblical support (WS, 1:55). He believed that God had condemned man to die because of Adam's sin. This meant that the body would become "Speise der Würmer," or "food for worms," and return permanently to the earth (WS, 1:55). Bimeler's distaste for a bodily resurrection was everywhere apparent in his discussion of the life after death:

Pious and saintly men do not wish for a resurrection of the flesh. They well know that they do not any more have the need for a body and that they can enjoy blessedness more freely and less hindered without the external body. 272

He also regarded the body as the passive part of the person: "The soul is the governor, it directs the body, and it is thus responsible for all the body's deeds and not the body" (WS, 2:252). Bimeler said that Satan was pleased when most Christians professed a belief in a bodily resurrection, because such a belief reflected man's love for his body and its pleasures (EFH, 1:31). In addition, Bimeler did not believe that Christ possessed the same kind of flesh and blood as man:

Although Christ took on human flesh and blood and was formed in all parts like us, it is thus quite certain and undeniable that He had no flesh and blood like us.... 273
Bimeler's belief that the spiritual resurrection began with the
Wiedergeburt and continued after death is reminiscent of purgatory.
Such a belief does not seem too unusual in a religion stressing holiness
and sanctification. According to George Williams, certain Anabaptists
retained a belief in a literal purgatory (in contrast to the major
Protestant Reformers), while others held to a belief in psycho-
pannychism, or the sleep of the soul, pending the Judgment.
Bimeler characterized this intermediate state following death as
one of blessedness or pain, depending on the degree of goodness
or badness in one's soul at death. For example, the dead whose
souls were heavily tainted with sin would go to a Reinigungsort,
or place of purification—

...which is called the spirit world, to which they—having
imagined their will and their desires into the light
kingdom—can rise upwards, degree by degree, step by
step, until they are in a place of blessedness. However,
if their will and desires imagine themselves more into
the evil than into the good (or into the dark world)...then
they descend into the adjoining chasms of hell.

A second, higher level would exist for those who felt strongly both
the pull of the light and of the dark realms—that is, for those
who yearned for peace and happiness but who were not yet ready
for union with God (EFH, 1:40). Finally, at the highest level
were those who had begun their Wiedergeburt on earth but who, because
of an early death or a slip along the way, had not advanced far
enough for union with God.

In his discussions of heaven and hell, Bimeler indicated his
belief in Christ's literal descent into hell:
Then He [Christ] preached to the imprisoned souls, who have languished in this dark jail already for almost two thousand years, namely from the time of the Flood; to those He preached a final deliverance.277

This was a belief common to certain groups in the Radical Reformation, who believed that Christ's literal descent would "redeem the worthies of the old covenant and, by implication, in some instances at least, the good pagans."278 This made Christ's redemption more universal than Luther or Calvin would have allowed. They interpreted Christ's descent into hell spiritually rather than literally.279

The Zoarites, like other Radical Pietists,280 believed strongly in the eventual restoration of all things (See Appendix A, Grundsatz 3). As Bimeler described it in the discourses:

With certainty we can therefore affirm that, as great as the crimes of men may be, nevertheless all will be free and acquitted finally. That the penalty will last long enough and will be hard enough is not to be doubted, however. Because everything proceeds from God and outside Him there is nowhere any rest, so must everything once again go back into Him.281

The most likely source for this idea was the Böhmist tradition,284 but the idea had widespread currency in the sixteenth century among the Radical Reformers, some of whom cited Origen for support.283

The rationale for such a belief was, in Bimeler's words, God's "mercy, patience, and love" (WS, 3:440).

Much of Bimeler's eschatology was reminiscent of Böhme's thought. Böhme's own eschatology was vague, probably because he emphasized the present reality of heaven and hell in the soul. He did say, however, that the intensity of heaven or hell would increase at the death of the body, because the body with its joys and pleasures would no longer be able to divert the sinner from the state of
his soul. Those who gave priority to love of God and man would be in heaven, but those who followed self-will would be in hell. At the end of time, the material world, including man's "natural, gross, and elemental body" would cease to exist; only the spiritual world would remain—in other words, "a heavenly, crystalline manner and form of the world"—and the true spiritual world in man.

Then man would no longer be separated into two sexes but would be androgynous like Adam before the Fall. There would also be, in Böhme's view, degrees of bliss in heaven based on one's earthly commitment to Christ. Unlike the Zoarites, however, Böhme did not clearly describe a middle state of purification where one could move up or down the scale of perfection, though there was a slight hint of this in Böhme's description of some who had sought the Kingdom of Heaven too late in life to have advanced very far but who were yet neither in heaven nor in hell after death. Most of the time, however, Böhme focused on salvation or damnation and was silent about any state in-between. According to Martensen, Böhme did not accept the doctrine that Christ descended into hell to preach salvation to those present, nor did he accept the view that hell would cease to exist.

Böhme's Radical Pietist followers, particularly the Petersens—Johanna Eleonora (1644-1724) and her husband Johann Wilhelm (1649-1727)—and Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702-1782) borrowed creatively from Böhme, accepting some of his views and rejecting others. The Petersens, influential Radical Pietists, had come under the sway of the English Philadelphian Society, notably under the teachings
of Jane Leade. What they found especially appealing in Leade was her doctrine of the restitution of all things, which, of course, was not found in Böhme. Leade explained her departure from Böhme on this point by saying that while Böhme had indeed been a worthy instrument of God's truth in his time, his time had been unripe for the revelations that God entrusted to her. The Petersens then became the leading exponents of the Wiederbringung, or restitution, doctrine in Germany, and this quickly spread in Radical Pietist circles.

Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702-1782), whom Stoeffler has called one of the most original theologians of his day, adopted Böhmist positions on many issues. Like Böhme, Oetinger postulated a God who contained all opposites, but unlike Böhme (and like the Petersens before him), Oetinger believed that God's goodness denied an endless hell. This did not mean that one could do anything he wanted in this life, for Oetinger stressed rebirth, personal holiness, concern for one's neighbor, and a keen awareness of the world to come. He also believed in the world of spirits and thought that the living could communicate with the dead. His most important theological contribution resulted from a distillation of Böhme's thought, as he insisted

...that the whole process of the self-actualization of the divine Life moves toward indestructible corporeality. Every form of life is oriented, therefore, toward the creation of "spiritual body," i.e., a counterpart to its physical form in a kind of overworld of "spiritual" existences. The totality of such spiritual forms will finally constitute God's body, which he must have in order to be "all in all."

Like Böhme, Oetinger was a theosophist who sought to harmonize
spiritual truth with a knowledge of the natural world; he believed, for example, that God revealed himself in scientific experiments. As Stoeffler sees it, Oetinger's theosophy was an attempt "to keep religion and science, Christianity and culture, intellectual curiosity and Protestant piety from flying apart" in an age when science and rationalism were on the rise.297

Oetinger was not alone in holding Böhmist positions on many issues. Württemberg was full of Radical Pietist sentiments, as was evident from a 1703 edict "forbidding the teaching of perfectionism, a state of purification after death, the thousand-year kingdom, and the sinfulness of the marriage state," among others.298 Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740-1817), who was included among the authors in Simon Beuter's book list (See Appendix B), noted that religious enthusiasm of the mystical, Böhmist, and Paracelsian varieties was widespread in Germany during the first part of the eighteenth century.299 At any rate, the Württemberg government in 1707 and 1712 tried banning religious separatism but eventually rescinded its edicts, perhaps because churchly Pietism there showed some tolerance of Radical ideas.300 By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Rappites and the Zoarites found little tolerance for their beliefs among the representatives of church and state.

Jung-Stilling was much admired by the Zoarites. A neo-Pietist, he reacted against the rationalism of the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century and opted for a return to traditional Christian truths, including an emphasis on eschatology.301 His thought revealed a Radical Pietist bias in its emphasis on self-denial, suffering, and obedience to God's word in the New Testament.
His craving for perfection and his feeling that he did not belong in this world led him to focus on the eschatological. He regarded the enormous changes stemming from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution as signs that Bengel's prediction about the Second Coming would soon come true. He wrote quite specifically about the next world in *Scenes from the Realm of the Spirits*. There he described an intermediate state of purification following death, in which the departed spirit continued to develop in the direction he had chosen in his earthly life. Stoeffler believes that Jung-Stilling's influence on the apocalypticism of his day was so strong that it must have contributed to the emigration of many German Pietists to the Russia of Alexander I.

In their view of history, the Zoarites revealed an eschatology different from that of Bengel or Jung-Stilling. As noted earlier, they had modified their views on the Second Coming after coming to America. They no longer scrutinized the world around them for signs of the end, but, like Böhme, emphasized the heaven and hell within. They put off into an indeterminate future the end of time and focused on the *stufenweise*, or gradual, process of *Wiedergeburt*, which they believed would continue into the next life but would guarantee no utopian existence on earth. Still, their view of history was basically optimistic. Their optimism lay not in the hope of any socio-economic improvement (*EFH, 2:310-11*) but in the hope that they, as *Wiedergeborene*, would one day attain the state which Adam had enjoyed before the Fall and that they would one day see the light principle completely dominate the fire principle (*WS, 2:286*).
Bimeler's view of history was one of spiritual progress in the manner of Joachim of Fiore (1145-1202), a Cistercian monk whose millennialist views were periodically influential in Western history. Bimeler divided history into three periods: (1) the time between Creation and the Flood, characterized by man's desire to find happiness in this life but failing; (2) the time between the Flood and the birth of Christ, characterized by the law and a religion emphasizing forms and ritual; and (3) the time from the birth of Christ to the end, characterized by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and a more spiritual religion (EFH, 2:152). In a discussion of these three periods, Bimeler also pointed out that they were analogous to the process which the Christian went through on his way to the Wiedergeburt (EFH, 2:153).

Joachim of Fiore divided history into the Age of God the Father (or of the Law), followed by the Age of the Son (or of the Gospel), and succeeded by the Age of the Holy Spirit (or of love). In the third age clergy, sacraments, ecclesiastical structures, and even the Holy Scriptures would be superfluous because God would reveal his knowledge directly through men's hearts. Thus, wealth, property, marriage, and institutional authority would disappear so that "the world would be one vast monastery, in which all men would be contemplative monks rapt in mystical ecstasy and united in singing the praises of God." In short, Joachim envisioned an earthly utopia, to endure until the end of the world. Norman Cohn, in Pursuit of the Millennium, maintains that Joachim had an "explosive" effect on subsequent history, citing the Spiritual Franciscans in the Middles Ages and the secularized versions of
Joachim's views seen in Comte and Marx. Moreover, George Williams in The Radical Reformation points out Joachim's influence on such Reformation radicals as Servetus, David Joris, and Thomas Müntzer; and Ernst Benz in Evolution and Christian Hope sees close ties between Joachim and Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling. Williams has noted that some of the Reformation radicals believed that Joachim's third age began with their rebirths, leading Benz to observe that there is a relationship between the idea of rebirth and apocalyptic thought:

> It is that promise of the imminent coming of the age of fulfillment which beckons to the man of the present so that he may be ready for the imminent transformation, indeed, to anticipate the future by preparing for the transformation himself.

Moreover, as Franklin Littell points out, many leaders of the Radical Reformation, who espoused elements of Joachimite teaching, also stressed the principle of *restitutio*, not *reformatio*. They believed that the New Testament church had provided a model of ideal Christian behavior, which they would help inaugurate in this new age of the Spirit.

Bimeler's discourses reflected Joachimite teaching, particularly his tripartite division of history and his belief in spiritual progress, but his view of history was not identical to that of Joachim. Joachim believed that the Age of the Spirit would begin in the 1200s and would result in an earthly utopia, whereas Bimeler said that the third age began with Christ but would not result in an earthly utopia: "For, friends, the Thousand Year Kingdom is a spiritual Kingdom and not an earthly one..." (WS, 2:119). But in his belief in the spiritualization of the third age and
in his lukewarm attitudes toward wealth, property, and marriage, Bimeler was reminiscent of Joachim.
CHAPTER VIII

BOHME AND TERSTEEGEN: APOSTLES OF WIEDERGEBURT

When Elizabeth Schermerhorn of East Limington, Maine, wrote to the Zoar Society in 1859, after having read an article about the Society in the New York Tribune, she acknowledged with delight their common interest in Jacob Böhme. She inquired about receiving religious instruction from the Zoarites but said she was unable to move to Ohio. Jacob Sylvan, acting as the Society's correspondent, politely responded to Mrs. Schermerhorn that while Böhme's writings were held in high regard, they were "difficult to understand, and we prefer the writings of Gerhard Tersteegen...." He also informed her that spiritual members had to live in Zoar but that those who could not come could still be spiritual "friends and brothers." Bimeler's discourses, however, demonstrated the appeal of Jacob Böhme. Ensign insists that Böhme was the sine qua non of Radical Pietism, linking such diverse groups as the Inspirationists, the Rappites, the Brethren, the Seventh Day German Baptists at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, and the Zoarites. Simon Beuter, religious leader of the Zoarites in their last days, apparently searched for the roots of their Separatist beliefs in the works of Böhme, among others (see Appendix B). Even Tersteegen came out of the Böhmisit tradition and shared certain ideas with Böhme. Though pre-dating the rise of churchly Pietism by about fifty years, Böhme could be considered
one of the founders of Radical Pietism.

Jacob Böhme (1575-1624)

Called both the shoemaker of Görlitz and the philosophus teutonicus, Böhme was born in 1575 into a pious Lutheran farming family of substantial means. Mostly self-taught, Böhme had a profound influence on seventeenth century religious thought, particularly in Germany and in England. Even Isaac Newton reputedly spent three months studying Böhme and his teaching on attraction and the laws of motion. Although Böhme remained a Lutheran until his death in 1624, he burst the bonds of Lutheran orthodoxy in his own religious thought. Böhme's thought developed after a series of revelations during which he claimed that he saw into the heart of reality, "and that the very being of God has been laid open to his spiritual sight."

Böhme's writings arose from his desire to explain his revelations to others in the hope that they might open their eyes to truth. His basic insight was that God Himself contained certain contrasts within His being responsible for life and its manifestation—the "Yes" and the "No", love and wrath, or, as Böhme called this last pair, light and fire. Thus, Böhme's thought was an attempt to solve the problem of evil in the universe by grasping "the possibility indeed the necessity of evil in the Highest Good." Yet Böhme did not intend to say that evil exists as an independent principle in God but that "this dark will is continuously vanquished and outshone by the Light, and simply remains at bottom as a tendency, which is continuously vanquished and willingly allows itself to be
As Böhme indicated in Chapter 10 of his *Aurora*, God reveals harmony, love, and joy. Evil became a dominant force in the universe when Lucifer, who followed his self-will instead of God's will, fell from perfection. The principle of light went out in Lucifer, his being fell out of "temperature" or harmony, and he and his minions lost their free will.

Böhme's God was characterized primarily by will. God was the *Urgrund* or the Nothing which, in search of the Something, discovered itself. Subject and object were now conscious of one another. As Dorner points out in his *History of Protestant Theology*: "...God is not to him [Böhme] as often to the elder mystics, mere indiscriminate existence or nullity..." but possesses "will, emotion, and an indefinite longing to make something out of nothing." The Son was begotten when the Nothing willed the Something, and the Holy Spirit proceeded from the simultaneous willing of the Father and the Son. The image of the Trinity was divine wisdom, or the Virgin Sophia, an important element in Böhme's thought. She was a mirror of God, and man was to reunite with her if he hoped to find his way back to Paradise. As for creation, God manifested Himself in creation as an expression of His joy and glory and not to make Himself perfect, because He was already perfect before creation. As Martensen maintains, Böhme's God did not evolve in time, though some have claimed this of Böhme.

Böhme then organized all reality into three principles: the light principle (of love), the fire principle (of wrath), and the third, which was a reflection of the first two in eternal and
temporal nature, or creation.\textsuperscript{331} Beings in the third principle could turn toward the fire or the light principle because they possessed free will, but Lucifer and his cohorts fell into wrath, darkness, and misery because they would not accept the balance between the two principles of fire and light. At the moment that Lucifer broke the unity between the two principles, temporal nature came into being by God's fiat, and an androgynous, perfect Adam was created. Adam was at first a model of harmony, being both male and female and containing all three principles in balance. Moreover, he did not have an earthly body with bowels, belly, and sex organs, and his body could go through doors.\textsuperscript{332} But tempted by Lucifer, who envied him his favored position, Adam first sinned in his imagination by desiring to know "what evil and good was, how it would relish and be...."\textsuperscript{333} Adam had tired of unity and wanted plurality, which brought disharmony and conflict into the world.\textsuperscript{334} Adam fell into a deep sleep and awoke to find Eve beside him, his androgyny gone. Adam's second fall occurred when he and Eve, disobeying God, ate the forbidden fruit and discovered that their bodies had become "monstrous," containing stomach and guts, and that they aged and would eventually die. Adam's sin also corrupted temporal nature, making it subject to good and evil. Like Luther, Böhme believed in original sin,\textsuperscript{335} but unlike Luther Böhme believed in free will. As Erb maintains: "...Boehme is much more open to describing man's own activity and at times his language comes very close to that of Semi-Pelagianism."\textsuperscript{336}

But God, in His love and mercy, sent Christ to redeem man. Böhme saw Christ as the new androgynous Adam who restored the harmony
of creation and re-established the balance between the light and the fire principles. In restoring this balance, Christ also vanquished Satan, released man from sin and death, and showed man the way to salvation by the example of his own life, suffering, and death. For Böhme, Christ was not only the historical Savior but also the indwelling Funkelein, or spark, of divinity in all men, though much bedimmed in most men. Man was capable of good and evil, but the more he imitated Christ the more the good grew within him. This idea of the divine spark in man was an ancient one and probably came down to Böhme from Meister Eckhart and others in the German mystical tradition. As Stoudt says of Böhme’s conception of the role man plays in his own salvation: "All men share in the Christ within: not all choose to unveil Him fully." Those who do unveil Him, Stoudt says, are assisted by grace to a new birth. This new birth begins in man "with his faith and proceeds through a process of repentance, resignation, ethical regeneration to expectant hope"—"expectant hope" because, while man can taste a bit of heaven in this life, he can anticipate so much more after death, including a resurrection body like Christ’s. In his struggle to suppress self-will and salvation, man was to model himself on Christ. As Böhme described it in The Way to Christ:

"...you are to consider the suffering and resurrection of Christ and see it as your own. By this means the devil’s kingdom in you will be stormed and broken...." And earlier in The Supernatural Life, Böhme had the master answer the student’s query of "How can I find the nearest way to it [the place where Christ is]?" with
the response: "Go where the going is hardest. Whatever the world rejects, take for yourself. Whatever it does, do not do. Go against the world in all things and you will come on the nearest way to it." For Böhme, *Wiedergeburt* was the way to salvation.

Böhme's thought was so strange that it inspired either admiration or befuddlement. It was a blend of many different strands, including Lutheran theology (his Christocentrism particularly), Paracelsian thought (the emphasis on Christian nature mysticism), the Cabala (the Sophia imagery and the idea of God as the Nichts, or the Nothing, and the Etwas, or the Something), Gnostic and Neoplatonic thought (the androgynous Adam and Sophia imagery), and the spiritualism of Valentine Weigel and Sebastian Franck. Rufus Jones also finds a direct link between Böhme and other spiritualists of the Radical Reformation, such as Denck, Bünnerlin, Entfelder, and Schwenckfeld, especially in their common emphasis on the divine element in the soul and in their emphasis on the need for a personal, inward experience—or Wiedergeburt—as the key to every gate of life.... But Böhme's language confused many who came after him, probably because they could not understand the alchemical jargon to which Böhme often resorted. Since alchemy was an accepted part of Böhme's intellectual milieu, his contemporaries would have found him more intelligible. Böhme probably regarded his alchemical jargon as an expression of his Christian nature mysticism, which he would have imbibed from his Paracelsian sources.

Many times in his discourses Bimeler alluded to Böhme's thought without mentioning his name. Bimeler's emphasis on self-renunciation,
the narrow way, and Gelassenheit (resignation) could have come from the Quietist strand in Radical Pietism—and here Tersteegen is relevant—or from the Anabaptist strand, for that matter, as well as from Böhme. But when Bimeler described creation as essentially a mixture of good and evil, seen not only in man but in minerals, plants, and animals (WS, 1:18), one begins to suspect Böhme in the background. And when Bimeler further alluded to a "realm of darkness" and a "realm of light" (WS, 2:121), to "two opposing forces in man...light and darkness or love and wrath..." (WS, 1:109), and the role of the imagination in sin (WS, 3:236), one's suspicions grow even stronger. And when Bimeler discussed the three realms of light, darkness, and the visible world, in the same sermon with Adam's double fall (WS, 2:77-78), or referred to God as father and "the heavenly wisdom" as mother in a sermon on the Fourth Commandment (WS, 3:223), or stated that "in Him [God] both, love and wrath, is" (EFH, 1:190) or noted that Adam before the Fall contained "the feminine essence, which was united in his soul with the masculine essence" (EFH, 1:26)—one's suspicions are confirmed.

Many of Böhme's other beliefs resembled those of the Zoarites. They were similar in regarding the Wiedergeburt as a process that led back to unity with God. Moreover, like the Zoarites, Böhme expressed pacifist sentiments, stressed the importance of "'fraternity in the life of Christ,'" insisted that the Christian contribute his goods and talents to the community, condemned wrangling over religious differences, described the church as being an inner state, and emphasized an imitation of Christ. As a Lutheran, Böhme, of
course, took the sacraments but stated that they were "at best only temporal, only symbolic," whereas the Zoarites repudiated them altogether. As a Lutheran, Böhme also admitted the existence of original sin but at the same time argued for free will--unlike Luther, who saw the will in bondage, and unlike the Zoarites, who, closer to the Anabaptist tradition, believed in a seed of evil which sprouted and grew at the age of reason but lay dormant in infants and young children.

**Pietism and Its Various Forms**

Between Böhme and Tersteegen lay the Thirty Years War, the wasteland of German moral life after the Treaty of Westphalia, the triumph of scholasticism in the Protestant churches with its obsession with sound doctrine, creedal distinctions, and intellectual hair-splitting, and the inevitable reaction to all this in the rise of Pietism. Believing that Luther's reformation had been betrayed by official Lutheranism, Pietists sought to initiate a second reformation. Put quite simply, Pietism was a religion of the heart which emphasized feeling, the rebirth, devotional Bible reading and Christian fellowship, the importance of the laity, sanctification instead of dogma, philanthropy, and evangelism. Although Pietism usually refers to the German movement, Pietist impulses were widespread in the seventeenth century, felt in England, Holland, Scandinavia, Switzerland, America, and to some extent in France and Spain.

German Pietism, spanning the years between 1675 and 1750, branched off into different types reflecting historical growth and
varying leadership. Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), called the
father of churchly Pietism, welded together the various reform
elements in the Lutheran Church when he published his Pietist
manifesto, Pia Desideria, in 1675 as an introduction to Johann Arndt's
True Christianity. Johann Arndt (1555-1621), who stressed the mystical
union, the rebirth, the image of God in the soul, and the necessity of
humility and self denial, had been a key influence on Spener and
could be labeled a proto-Pietist. Spener was probably also familiar
with Schwenckfeld's theology, as his concept of Wiedergeburt closely
resembled Schwenckfeld's with its emphasis on living a holy life.
Spener's churchly Pietism was a call to reform the Church from within
by improving preaching, promoting Bible study among the laity, and
emphasizing practical piety. To that end Spener instituted the
collegia pietatis, or private conventicles for Bible study and
devotions, which were to be guided by the pastors but allowed the
laity greater participation. Eventually Spener repudiated the
conventicles because they too often led to separatism, which he
opposed. By accepting a position as provost of the Nicolaikirche in
Berlin in 1691, Spener came under the protection of Frederick I of
Prussia, who saw Pietism as a way of establishing religious peace in
his strife-ridden territories (Pietism stressed religious tolerance).
Spener's influence grew to the point where he was able to help found
a Pietist center of higher learning, the University of Halle, from
which Pietism radiated to the rest of Germany and beyond. Although
Spener considered himself an orthodox Lutheran, his emphasis on
the Wiedergeburt instead of on justification alone meant a "swing
from church consciousness to private edification," resulting in the eventual Pietist conviction that a fruitful, godly life was more important than participation in the sacraments. As a good Lutheran, Spener in his description of Wiedergeburt stressed God's activity and man's passivity much more than did Böhme or the Zoarites. Man's part was minimal; he merely accepted God's offer of grace.

August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) assumed the leadership of German Pietism on Spener's death and expanded the Pietist enterprises at Halle. Francke founded an orphanage at Halle and stressed evangelism, promoting missions abroad and the distribution of Bibles among the laity. Francke, having himself undergone a powerful conversion experience, emphasized more the emotional side of conversion than did Spener. Francke spoke of the Busskampf, which led to guilt, anxiety, and sorrow, followed by the disappearance of doubts and the ensuing joy, whereas Spener did not dwell on an overt conversion experience, allowing for individual differences in temperament and concentrating "more on noticing evidence of moral transformation." Francke agreed with Spener that the Wiedergeborene were under the obligation to achieve some degree of perfection in their lives, though they would never attain perfection on earth. The latter conviction was in keeping with their basic Lutheran orientation, since they accepted the doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness.

Another Pietist center was Württemberg. Here Pietism became more widespread among the middle and lower classes than in north Germany,
where it had been a movement of the clergy and nobility primarily.\textsuperscript{363} Many Württemberg Pietists attended prayer \textit{Stunden} but remained within the Church, whereas those who left the Church were mostly Radical Pietists. Pietism in Württemberg was much more closely allied with mystical spiritualism,\textsuperscript{364} as seen in the work of Bengel and Oetinger, both of whom were discussed in an eschatological context in the last chapter. Bengel preferred churchly Pietism but, unlike churchly Pietists generally, was strongly chiliastic, predicting the Second Coming in 1836. Oetinger followed his mentors, Bengel and Böhme, to a great degree. Oetinger's thought bore a strong theosophical flavor, but he went beyond Böhme in his insistence on universal salvation and in his chiliasm, which was said to surpass even that of Bengel.\textsuperscript{365} Like Bengel, Oetinger was also ecumenical in his approach to other religions.\textsuperscript{366} In short, a unique brand of Pietism penetrated the whole of Württemberg, so that there were "few villages and towns, indeed, in which one or more pietistic cells did not function either within or without the Lutheran Church."\textsuperscript{367} Moreover, because the Bengel-Tübingen axis had promoted churchly Pietism, the effects of the Enlightenment in Württemberg were delayed and minimized.\textsuperscript{368} The first official signs of the Enlightenment in church life were found in the unpopular hymnal of 1791 and in the liturgy of 1809, which might have provoked some churchly Pietists to leave the state church. At about this time, too, the Württemberg government took a hard line on Separatists, as noted earlier in Chapter II.

Although Count von Zinzendorf's Moravian Church represented another form of German Pietism, it resembled the other forms the least
and had little in common with the religion of the Zoarites, except possibly their mutual opposition to sectarianism and to creedal subtleties. Zinzendorf advocated a practical religion of the heart, which, by focusing on Christ's life and death, was to lead to a godly life. Unlike other Pietists, however, the Moravians expressed their pronounced Christ-mysticism in extreme language, referring to Christ's physical suffering—his body, blood, wounds, sweat, scars, and the like. Moreover, they did not emphasize Busskampf and Wiedergeburt but the happiness, peace, and joy of a "connection with Christ." Their church services, full of hymn singing, instrumental music, and even "hymn" sermons, aroused the emotions, as did their other customs of love feasts, feet washing, and the kiss of peace. Thus, according to Stoeffler, the emphasis among the Moravians "was not upon the praxis pietatis of the Spener-Halle tradition, but upon the aim of Glückseligkeit" (or bliss). After Zinzendorf's death the obvious sentimentality of the Moravian faith was toned down considerably under the sober leadership of August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1764-1792), and Moravianism began to resemble Lutheranism with a Pietist cast. Gerhard Tersteegen, spiritual mentor of the Zoarites and a leading exponent of Radical Pietism, found Zinzendorf's religion distasteful. He thought that Zinzendorf's followers appeared too superficial in their Christ-mysticism and knew too little about bearing an inward and an outward cross (of mortification, prayer, and affection).

Although Pietism in northern Germany blended into the Enlightenment, it remained a vital force throughout the eighteenth century in Württemberg. It was there, as well as in Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-
Darmstadt, and Wesphalia, that important Radical Pietist enclaves appeared. Radical Pietism became conscious of its identity sometime before 1700 and spread throughout Germany by 1700.375 Besides Böhmism, another important influence on Radical Pietism was Quietism, a popular mystical movement led by Madame Guyon, Fenelon, and Poiret. Quietism emphasized God's activity and man's passivity, so that self-denial and resignation took precedence over visions and other console- lations of the spiritual life.376 Quietism existed harmoniously with Böhmism in the thought of Gottfried Arnold but became by far the dominant element in Tersteegen's thought.377

Radical Pietists could usually be distinguished from other Pietists by certain practices. One was their separatism.378 Some of those who refused to attend state churches awaited God's establishment of a Philadelphian church of brotherly love described in Revelations 1-3, whereas others formed their own sects, such as the Brethren, the Inspirationists, the Rappites, and the Zoarites, among others.379 Their churchly ideal was the primitive Christian church, which they cited as the authority for some of their own church practices, such as feetwashing, sharing of goods, prophesying, restricting communion, and instituting the love feast and the kiss of peace. They often opposed the practices of the state churches, such as baptism, communion, and ordination. They believed that true ministers were "ordained" by the Holy Spirit and often were laymen, including women. The Radical Pietists were also early pioneers of freedom of religion in Germany because they believed that true Christians could be found in more than one sect or church and that piety counted for more than one's
theological beliefs. Gottfried Arnold wrote an influential history of Christianity in which he argued that heretics were more truly Christian than their persecutors in the official churches. Heretics were not sinners because, while they might have erred in their ideas, they did not exhibit godless wills, showing their loyalty to God by their willingness to suffer persecution. For Arnold the history of the true church was the history of the Wiedergeborenen, or the reborn, who were often heretics and mystics.\textsuperscript{380} Arnold's ideas probably also influenced Radical Pietists in their refusal to render absolute obedience to the state, for Arnold had argued that the early church ceased to be a model when it identified with the government of Constantine. For the Radical Pietists, then, integrity of conscience took precedence over obedience to the state when the two were in conflict (churchly Pietists often supported the territorial system in Germany).\textsuperscript{381} Like the Anabaptists, Radical Pietists in Germany would not take oaths or do military duty, which of course meant persecution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the Napoleonic wars ensued. Radical Pietists, however, were not nearly as active as other Pietists in promoting social welfare or missionary efforts, perhaps because they were much more mystical and Quietistic in their basic religious orientation. Generally they wished to escape the world.

While the Radical Pietists traveled the main road of Christianity generally, they took detours into Böhmism, mysticism—Quietism, in particular—and Anabaptism. Pure life was preferable to pure doctrine, they maintained.\textsuperscript{382} They acknowledged the Trinity, but
often spoke of the divine Wesen, or Being, or emphasized the oneness of God, as the Zoarites did. From Böhme they inherited a tendency to Sophia mysticism, probably mediated through Gottfried Arnold, and from Böhme came such distinctive beliefs as the androgynous Adam, man as a microcosm of the macrocosm (man as a smaller model of the cosmos), sex as a sign of fallen man, and salvation that focused on Wiedergeburt instead of on predestination and the imputation theory. Like Böhme, too, they affirmed the priority of the inner truth to the written Word. According to Ensign their chief theological innovation was the Wiederbringung, which Böhme did not develop. Generally, this meant the ultimate salvation of everyone, Satan included, by a long purification process after death. Like other Pietists, the Radical Pietists also emphasized sanctification over justification, which in their case was reenforced by the Quietist influence, with its focus on resignation, or Gelassenheit, self-denial, and asceticism. Apocalypticism in varying degrees was also part of Radical Pietism.

Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769)

Gerhard Tersteegen was perhaps one of the more saintly leaders to emerge in Radical Pietism. Stoeffler describes him as "perhaps the best loved spiritual adviser of his day, the writer of some of the most treasured hymns in Protestantism...[and]...in the world but not of it." He was greatly admired by the Zoarites. Jacob Sylvan, in his Vorbericht to Bimeler's discourses, stated that "the writings of that spiritual man of God, Gerhard Tersteegen..."
present divine truths in the most marvelous and profound way."
(WS 1:VII). As the editor of Bimeler's discourses, Sylvan either
drew a work by Tersteegen: Etwas fürs Herz! oder Geistliche
Brosamen von des Herrn Tisch gefallen. Though the Zoarites read
little but the Bible, religious literature, and assorted German
ewspapers, every house in Zoar had a copy of Tersteegen's classic
book of religious lyrics, Geistliches Blumengärten inniger Seelen.385

Born in Meurs (Mörs), Tersteegen could not pursue his desire
to become a minister because of his father's untimely death.386 At
the age of fifteen he became a business apprentice to his brother-in-law at Mühlheim an der Ruhr. Finding that he lacked the tempera­
ment for business, he became a ribbon weaver from 1719-28 and
found that he now had more time for reading and meditation. Mühlheim
had been a leading center for Reformed Pietism since the days
when Theodor Untereyck had conducted conventicles there.387 Hochmann,
the Radical Pietist, had also visited there in the early 1700s
and had converted Wilhelm Hoffmann, who then preached and held
conventicles there. It was Hoffmann who "awakened" Tersteegen,
probably introducing him, too, to the Quietist mysticism of Peter
Poiret and Madame Guion. He persuaded Tersteegen to help him
conduct the growing number of conventicles.388 Tersteegen's religious
responsibilities forced him to give up his trade and to live hence­
forth off his friends. As a spiritual adviser to a growing number of
followers, he wrote, translated, and edited devotional books,
as well as carrying on an extensive correspondence with others.
in Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, and America; he preached, even in Mennonite churches, and practiced medicine so that he might alleviate the physical suffering of others. People flocked to him because of his charisma and saintly character, and, as Jung-Stilling later noted, Tersteegen's followers could be found from Amsterdam to Bern. Tersteegen's writings have been described as having "a richness and a religious profundity which has perhaps never been equalled by other mystically inclined Protestants." Tersteegen was the most important representative of the Quietist tradition in Radical Pietism, a tradition which emphasized self-denial, Gelassenheit, and an emptying of the self as described by Madame Guyon, Fenelon, and Poiret. Tersteegen often said that self-denial was "'the primary and most necessary characteristic of His [Christ's] true disciples'" and that we should come to God "'naked, give ourselves blindly and entirely to love, and, empty of will, empty of activity, leave ourselves in the hands of love that He may...use us...for his purposes.'" Achieving this state of self-emptying required both God's grace and man's desire; its result would be "'peace, innocence, simplicity, kindness, love, humility, and all the virtues in our hearts.'" Tersteegen frequently stressed the quality of child-like innocence and trust, but he did not intend that his Quietism should lead to a hermit's life. For him, true Christianity was essentially love of God and man.

Tersteegen's admiration for Roman Catholic mysticism influenced not only his own spirituality but also the development of Otterbeck,
or—as it was sometimes called—Pilgerhütte, a kind of "monastic" community between Mühlheim and Elberfeld, founded by Tersteegen's friend Hoffmann in 1727. Tersteegen and his friend Heinrich Sommer had already set an example for this brotherhood in 1725 by themselves alternating periods of work with periods of prayer and meditation. The brethren at Otterbeck supported themselves by weaving, looked to Tersteegen as their religious adviser, and lived by a rule he had devised. Tersteegen's rule revealed the essentials of Christian monasticism, but there is "no evidence that Tersteegen quoted verbatim from any given rule." His three-volume Selected Lives of Holy Souls, which he worked on from 1733-53, included examples of Benedictine, Cistercian, Franciscan, Dominican, and Carmelite spirituality. His rule emphasized silence, inward prayer, brotherly love, humility, simplicity, and self-denial. About the latter he said: "'You are here to crucify your flesh with its lusts and passions, to condemn and put to death your nature, sensibility, reason, wilfulness and self-love...and to follow God in purity and recollection.'" The "monastic" community at Ephrata, Pennsylvania and other similar communities were strongly influenced by Tersteegen's spirituality. Tersteegen's beliefs were a blend of different traditions. Like other Pietists, both churchly and Radical, he focused on the rebirth "as the sine qua non of the religious life" as well as on dying to the world, imitating the life of Christ, and reading the Bible. Unlike the Radical Pietist Dippel, however, who downplayed the theological concept of "Christ for us," Tersteegen stressed both the "Christ in us" and the "Christ for us." This was perhaps understandable,
given Tersteegen's Reformed background. Both the Reformed and the Lutheran traditions stressed God's initiation in forgiving sin and quickening faith, but as a good Pietist Tersteegen would also have tied the doctrine of the Atonement to an emphasis on sanctification. Moreover, the Reformed doctrine of religious growth, present in that tradition since Calvin, paralleled Tersteegen's insistence on a progressive identification with the person, will, and purposes of God. Out of his Quietist convictions Tersteegen had the Wiedergeborene integrate his own will with that of God. Such harmony of wills, or union, manifests itself in intense spiritual activity and not, according to Everlyn Underhill, in an utter passivity which exempts one from the duties of Christian love as seen in some interpretations of Quietism. Tersteegen's own life seemed to be a testament to Quietism. Like other Radical Pietists, Tersteegen repudiated predestination and denied the validity of regular church attendance and the sacraments because, for one thing, he disliked seeing the ungodly use the sacraments. He also believed that the truly pious could be found anywhere wearing different "religions coats" and that in the eyes of God only two sets of people existed on earth: those who followed the world and those who followed God. The Böhmist element in Radical Pietism, while subdued in Tersteegen, was nevertheless present. Tersteegen found Böhme's writings difficult to understand, but he did find truth therein. He criticized those in the Böhmist tradition who overindulged themselves in theosophy and alchemy, because he thought that they were trying too hard to find the philosopher's stone. Yet Tersteegen, like Bimeler,
had studied medicine and ministered to the sick by using mainly herbal remedies. Tersteegen might have assumed by this a Böhmist interpretation of nature in which man, because he was a microcosm of the cosmos, could be cured by certain "sympathetic" plants. In addition, Tersteegen seemed to have a Böhmist view of the body, emphasizing the distasteful animal condition of the body since the Fall. He did not oppose marriage, though he regarded the unmarried state as a safer way to, and a higher degree of, perfection. He himself remained single. He also spoke of both God's love and wrath, reminiscent of Böhme, and criticized those, like Dippel, who focused on God's love alone. In his description of the Wiedergeburt, Tersteegen, again, sounded like Böhme: "...by which we escape from the element of wrath and darkness...and become more and more pervaded by the sweet and delightful powers of love, which emanate from the heart of God." In further describing the Wiedergeburt, Tersteegen stressed God's activity and man's surrender, though as time went on it was man's responsibility to practice self-denial and inward prayer in his journey toward God. Finally, like Böhme, Tersteegen never tired of asserting that God dwelt within the soul. It is also worth noting in this context that Tersteegen, unlike other Böhmist-oriented Radical Pietists, cared little or nothing for the Thousand Year Kingdom, the Fall of Antichrist, or the Wiederbringung.

Tersteegen's chief concerns were similar to those of Bimeler, as Sylvan indicated in his Vorbericht to Etwas fürs Herz. Among those, Sylvan mentioned self-denial and suffering, surrendering one's will to God, loving God and man, receiving the Kingdom of God as a child,
and being reborn (1:III-IV). Furthermore, Tersteegen's emphasis on the importance of a religious community in furthering self-denial and support for the religious life was there in Bimeler's discourses (WS, 1:67; 1:92), as was the emphasis on inward prayer (WS, 2:123) and on the need for daily attending to the soul's health (WS, 1:4-5). The Zoarites, moreover, agreed with Tersteegen that the Atonement was necessary for man's salvation but that man had an important role, too, in the sanctification process (EFH, 1:1-2; 1:30; WS, 4:86). In short, Tersteegen was probably better understood by the rank and file at Zoar than was Böhme, because Tersteegen's thought and vocabulary posed few of the barriers of Böhme's; but in the discourses of Bimeler, Böhmist thought was prominent.
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

As a religious commune Zoar lasted seventy-nine years, from 1819 to 1898. How can one explain such remarkable longevity, knowing that several nineteenth-century American utopias were of relatively short duration and that Zoar, moreover, harbored values that were at odds with much of American culture? For one thing, Zoar was a religious settlement, which in the opinion of Nordhoff, the nineteenth century historian of American utopias, gave it a better than average chance of surviving the difficulties of communal living. Its religion emphasized self-denial and brotherly love, which probably had a great deal to do with its initial success. Secondly, Zoar had an exceptional leader in Joseph Michael Bimeler. He was a man of many gifts—an inspired preacher, an excellent administrator, a caring physician, and an examplar of the religion he preached. This religion, Radical Pietism, was often difficult to understand theologically, especially its Böhmiit component, and even more difficult to practice. Clearly, someone of Bimeler's stature was needed to inspire the dedication necessary to sustain a commune based on Radical Pietist principles. Bimeler patiently, Sunday after Sunday, explained to his people the substance of their beliefs, urged them to continue in the Wiedergeburt, and described the rewards awaiting those who persisted. This was not an easy task because, as the years went by, the warm glow of their early unity had all but worn off.
Bimeler's death in 1853 illustrates what can happen to a religious group that cuts itself off from its mother culture, transplants itself into a foreign culture, and fails to provide adequate structure for its survival. No one of Bimeler's stature emerged to lead the group, and decline set in. Another Bimeler would have helped, but even that would not have been enough, for the problem of sustaining religious vitality would simply have been deferred, to be faced later. What the Zoarites needed was greater commitment among the rank and file to the ideal of self-denial and brotherly love, with or without a Bimeler in charge. Zoar's leaders might have encouraged such commitment by holding more frequent religious services during the week or by organizing small conventicles for Bible study and prayer in the manner of their Pietist predecessors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This could have been accomplished by one or two ministers working in the community's employ, but the Zoarites, of course, had renounced a professional ministry back in Germany. What became apparent was that Bimeler was needed as an administrator and a business agent as well as a Sunday preacher. He probably could not have done more than he did. Here, then, is where inadequate structure became a handicap.

This is not to imply, however, that Bimeler and a few of the other religious leaders, like Jacob Sylvan and Simon Beuter, were the only practicing Radical Pietists at Zoar and that the others simply followed their leaders blindly because that was the easy thing to do. On the contrary, it must have been exceedingly difficult to practice the Wiedergeburt, but evidence suggests that many Zoarites—perhaps
most—demonstrated a sincere commitment to their religious ideals. This was certainly true during Bimeler's tenure as leader and even after his death, but less so as time went on. One remembers their efforts to provide employment to the surrounding population in unprofitable times, their assistance to the needy passing through town, their reputation for honest dealings and quality work, and their infrequently used jail (no member of the Society ever occupied it for breaking the law).^*^ 414

One of the problems in maintaining religious vitality over the years was how to keep the young people faithful. That they needed more than the Sunday services, the Sunday religion classes, and the religious instruction at school is evident from the young men who violated their community's pacifist principles and went off to fight in the Civil War as well as from Jacob Ackermann's concern about the growing indifference of the young people toward their religion. Had they been persecuted for their beliefs like their parents, they might have remained true to them, but they somehow lost the assurance that their religion deserved all the sacrifices it demanded.

Perhaps the problem with the young people had begun in the Kinder Anstalt. Nixon's interviews with some who had been in the Kinder Anstalt as children revealed that life there had not been pleasant, because the women in charge had been ill-suited to the upbringing of young children. Many children lacked the warmth and care that their parents might have given them had they been free to do so (women had been needed for productive labor and the institution of celibacy had also prevented families from living

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together in the first decade of the Society's existence). The trustees might have been more careful in their selection of these women for the Kinder Anstalt and might have inspected the premises more often. That this was not done seems surprising, in view of Bimeler's preaching that children (but not adults) were virtually innocent until the age of reason and would presumably not need the often harsh discipline that these women imposed. But Bimeler was not entirely consistent on this point, as one remembers, because he also said that any sign of self-will in children was to be curbed. In short, many of Zoar's children grew up without a full knowledge of the Christian love advocated by their religion. It is not too surprising then that they did not feel the same commitment to this religion that their parents did.

Another problem in sustaining religious vitality was that the children, and their elders, too, were increasingly subjected to the temptations of the outside world. When the Ohio-Erie Canal was built near Zoar, their relative isolation from the world ended. Moreover, the Zoarites decided in the 1830s to build a hotel to house visitors and tourists, certainly an ill-advised decision if their intention was to practice their faith in relative isolation. The canal, the hotel, and the employment of outside laborers all meant the inevitable encroachment of the world on Zoar. Böhme, their spiritual mentor, had warned them about the world with its temptations and vices, and some of the more zealous members concurred, lamenting the drunkenness, rough language, and conspicuous display of clothing and money that many visitors introduced to Zoar. With
every decision to admit the world, they made it that much harder on themselves to practice the Wiedergeburt. From their earliest days they had shown that they were motivated by economic fears as well as by religion. Hence, they lacked the almost total dedication of other religious elites, such as the various orders of medieval monks and even of their beloved Tersteegen, needed to sustain the high quality of their religious life.

Still, the student of the Christian tradition is struck by the parallels between the various Radical Pietist groups like the Zoarites and medieval Catholicism. There is little doubt that many Radical Pietists, including Tersteegen, Beissel and his group at Ephrata, the Rappites, the Inspirationists, and the Zoarites, would have felt a closer affinity to medieval Catholicism on many issues than to mainstream Protestantism. All these Radical Pietist groups emphasized chastity, communal living, obedience to their leaders, plain living, and a willingness to crucify the self, attitudes that were more typical of medieval monasticism than of Protestantism. Moreover, their roots were in the Radical Reformation—both in the Anabaptist and in the mystical-spiritualist wings—as well as in Böhme's thought. And, as recent research has shown, monastic impulses were more influential in the Radical Reformation than in the mainstream Protestant tradition.418

Other parallels exist between Radical Pietism and medieval Catholicism as well. There is the emphasis on sanctification, on piety, on works plus faith, seen for example in the Zoarites' stufenweise approach to Wiedergeburt. Radical Pietists denounced the
Protestant doctrine of predestination and the imputation theory (in which Christ's merits were attributed to the believer). Many Radical Pietists also believed in a kind of purgatory, or place of purification, after death and reverted to pre-Reformation hermeneutics in their tendency to interpret the Bible mystically. Bimeler did this frequently, as we have seen. Moreover, the devotion among such Radical Pietists as Johann Georg Gichtel (1638-1710) and Gottfried Arnold to the Virgin Sophia, who was wedded to Christ and reflected the Trinity in Böhme's thought, suggested the medieval Catholic's veneration of the Virgin Mary. One wonders if, among these alleged Protestant Radical Pietists, Sophia did not fill a deep psychological need left by the departure of the Virgin Mary. Indeed, the resurgence of these medieval Catholic elements in Radical Pietism strongly suggests that the mainstream Protestant churches failed to satisfy certain basic religious needs that medieval Catholicism had fulfilled by allowing a wide variety of religious forms and expressions.

One such form was the rebirth, which for the rank and file took the form of baptism but for the medieval mystic meant something much rarer. Evelyn Underhill says that the rebirth is the birth of the spiritual man—or of the truly Real—in one's soul and the putting aside of the unreal, and this experience "runs through the whole of mysticism and much of theology." Mircea Eliade, the historian of religion, describes rebirth as a return to the sacred space where God is, which thus expresses man's intense longing for perfection and immortality. Eliade finds this longing to be universal among the world's religions. This essential religious experience is what
Bimeler had in mind when he said:

Since it is doubtless true that our first parents were seduced and fell through sin and disobedience, so is it quite certain that they were indifferent to the divine image in them; but in order to regain the blessed condition, Christ revealed the way of the Wiedergeburt...422
NOTES

1 Joseph Michael Bimeler, *Etwas fürs Herz! oder Geistliche Brosamen von des Herrn Tisch gefallen*, with a Vorbericht, or Introduction, by Jacob Sylvan, 2 vols. in 1 (Zoar, Ohio: Society of Separatists of Zoar, 1860-61), 1:197. Hereafter, all references to *Etwas fürs Herz* will be abbreviated as EFH, to be followed by the volume number and the page number, as in: (EFH, 1:197). All translations of *Etwas fürs Herz* are by the author.

2 "...Leute, die sehr entfernt von einander wohnten, ohne dass sie einander kannten oder je gesehen hatten, wenn sie das erste Mal zusammen kamen, und kaum einige Worte mit einander redeten, so fanden sie eine verwunderungswürdige Einigkeit, und die Gemüther schmolzen zusammen in Eins, und die Liebe war herzlich, and man nannte sich Brüder und Schwestern." Joseph Michael Bimeler, *Die Wahre Separation, oder die Wiedergeburt, Dargestellet in Geistreichen und erbaulichen Versammlungs=Reden und Betrachtungen*, with a Vorbericht, or Introduction, by Jacob Sylvan, 4 vols. in 2 (Zoar, Ohio: Society of Separatists of Zoar, 1856-60), 1: IX-X. Hereafter, all references to *Die Wahre Separation* will be abbreviated as WS, to be followed by the volume number and the page number, as in: (WS, 1:IX-X). All translations of *Die Wahre Separation* are by the author.

3 Ibid., p. X.


5 Ibid.

6 Each of the two volumes of *Die Wahre Separation* consists of two "volumes," or books, making a total of four books altogether; and the single volume of *Etwas fürs Herz* consists of two "volumes," or books.

7 *Ohio Authors*, s.v. "Bimeler."


9 Ibid., p. 16.


11 Ensign, p. 23.
Ibid., p. 419.

See Appendix A for a complete list of the twelve Grundsätze and a translation thereof.


"...wurde auf einer Festung, mit Ketten krum gebunden, bei der strengsten Kälte, in einem Gefängniss ohne Nahrung und ohne Feuer, mehrere Tage eingeschlossen, so dass er seine Glieder erfrorren hat, und ihm seine beiden Füsse und seine linke Hand mussten abgenommen werden, und einige Zeit hernach starb" (WS, 1:16-17).


Ibid.


Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "Bimeler."


Hinds, p. 32.


Ibid., pp. 18-19.
28. Ibid., p. 19.
29. Randall, p. 5.
33. Ibid., p. 380.
34. Nixon, "Society of Separatists," pp. 24-31. See these pages for a more complete discussion of information summarized in this paragraph.
36. Ibid., p. 30. Nixon quotes Johannes Breymaier, who was, in turn, paraphrasing Bimeler in 1834.
37. Ibid., p. 29. This last point was challenged on more than one occasion, but the courts always upheld the position of the Society.
38. Ibid., p. 28. Nixon quotes from a Zoar MS.
39. Ibid., p. 238. Except where indicated, the information in this paragraph covers pp. 238-43 in Nixon's dissertation.
40. Ibid., pp. 41-46.
42. Randall, p. 41.
43. Ibid., p. 64. Randall quotes from the Nugitna, the Zoar newspaper, of Feb. 24, 1896.
44. Ibid., p. 79. Bimeler held this office until his death in 1853, at which time the office was retired.
45. Ibid., p. 22.
Intent on understanding the origins of his faith, Simon Beuter read more than most Zoarites. The books found in his personal library are listed in Appendix B.

Ibid., p. 215. Intent on understanding the origins of his faith, Simon Beuter read more than most Zoarites. The books found in his personal library are listed in Appendix B.


Ensign, p. 413.

The frontispiece to Die Wahre Separation reads: "Die Wahre Separation, oder die Wiedergeburt, Dargestellet in Geistreichen und erbaulichen Versammlungs-Reden und Betrachtungen." The translation: "The true separation, or the rebirth, set forth in spiritual and edifying discourses and reflections, pertaining especially to the present age."

"Dagegen [die sogenannte christliche Kirche] lehret dieses Buch die wahre christliche Religion in ihrem wahren Sinn und Wesen, so wie sie Christus selbst gelehret hat, und wie sie zur Zeit der Apostel und der ersten Christen lehrt und praktisch befolgt wurde, nemlich die Wiedergeburt, welche besteht in wahrer rechtschaffener Busse, Erkenntniss seiner selbst und seines tiefen Verderbens; wahrer Herzensbesserung; wahren und lebendigem Glauben. Nachfolge Christi auf dem schmalen Weg der Selbst-verlaugnung und des Kreuzes durch die enge Pforte zum ewigen Leben einzugehen; Abtödtung des eigenen Willens und gründliche Ergebung in den Willen Gottes; wahre Liebe zu Gott und seinem Nächsten, und überhaupt alles, was zu einem wesentlichen, rechtschaffenem und gottseligen Leben und Wandel in Christo Jesu erforderlich ist" (Vorbericht, EFH, I: III).


...jedoch ich untersuchte und prüfte, desto misstrauischer wurde ich gegen meinen Glauben, und endlich entdeckte ich, dass ich gar keinen Glauben hatte, dies unruhigte mich sehr, und ich strebte danach, einen bessern zu erhalten; demungeachtet aber wandelte ich mit aller Lust und Freude auf dem breiten Wege und blieb auf demselben, bis dass Gott selbst mich hemmte, indem Er diese Worte aussprach: 'Bis hierher sollst du kommen und nicht weiter.' Hier musste ich innehalten, ich sahe mich genöthigt einen andern Weg einzuschlagen, denn ich erkannte nun, dass der Weg, worauf ich wandelte, der breite Weg sei, welcher mich unfehlbar ins Verderben stürzen würde; ich fieng nun an Gott zu suchen, aber Er stellte sich fremde gegen mir, Er that, als wollte Er mein ängstliches Seufzen und dringendes Rufen nicht hören...'' (EFH, 2:271).

"Kein Wunder ist es, dass Er mich nicht hören will, denn ich habe Ihn zu sehr beleidigt..." (Ibid.).

...doch schenkte Er mir die Gnade...und nahm mich auf in Seinen Schutz: Gerne unterwarf ich mich nun Seiner Führung. Unschätzbar sind die Wohltaten, Gnaden und Segnungen welche ich von dieser Zeit an genoss" (Ibid.).

Arndt, George Rapp's Separatists, p. 73.

"Es besitzt zwar ein jeder Mensch Gnade, nemlich eine solche Gnade, dass er sein Leben bessern kann, dieses Vermögen hat Gott in einen jeden Menschen gelegt, dass er durch wahre Busse seinen Seelenzustand verbessern kann. Aber nicht alle Menschen machen sich dieser Gnade theilhaftig..." (WS, 4:82).

"...die Gnade ist nicht nur ein blosses Sündenvergeben, sondern vielmehr eine Reinigung und Ertüchtigung oder eine Vertilgung der Sünde aus dem Herzen, wodurch das Unrecht in seiner Wurzel ausgetilgt und gehoben werden muss" (Ibid., 4:84).

Rufus M. Jones, Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959) p. 12.


Ibid., p. 536.

"So lange ein Mensch nicht durch die Wiedergeburt so weit gekommen ist, dass er in Wahrheit aus Gott geboren ist, so kann er sich unmöglich einen richtigen Begriff von dem heiligen Wesen Gottes machen, erst dann hört er das Wort Gottes rein" (EFH, 1:28).
115

71 "Doch, den der aushält und getreu bleibt, wird der herrliche, bald anbrechende Tag ewig erfreuen, die schöne Sonne Jesus Christus wird mit unbeschreiblichem Glanz in ihm leuchten, und die dicke Finsterniss für immer verschwechen, und die Seele unaussprechlich erquicken" (Ibid., 1:29).

72 "...denn die Seele des Menschen ist zur Ruhe und Glückseligkeit geschaffen, und kann auch nicht eher, und mit nichts Anderem beruhigt und befriedigt werden, als bis sie diesen Zweck, nemlich Gott selbst gefunden, und wesentlich mit Ihm vereinigt ist" (Ibid., 1:40).

73 "Da nun ausser allem Zweifel ist, dass unser erstes Menschen-paar durch Sünde und Ungehorsam verführt und gefallen ist, so ist auch ganz gewiss, dass sie des Göttlichen Ebenbildes abgestorben sind, um aber wieder in diesen glückseligen Stand zu kommen, hat Christus den Weg der Wiedergeburt eröffnet..." (Ibid., 1:31-32).

74 "Jedoch wird hier beides, nemlich das tausendjährige Reich und die Zukunft Christi als geistlich vorgestellt und bewiesen, wie es auch nicht anders sein kann, und Alle die dasselbe äusserlicher und leiblicher weise ohne wahre Herzensbesserung erwarten, werden ihren Zweck nicht erreichen, das Reich Gottes kann nur durch die Wiedergeburt erlangt werden wie Christus selber sagt: Ebenso auch die Zukunft Jesu Christi ist geistlich, und muss in uns im Geiste geschehen, eben auch durch die Wiedergeburt, wenn nemlich der alte Mensch in uns stirbet und Christus in uns auferstehet..." (Ibid., Vorbericht, 1:IV).

75 "Nur wenn ein Mensch sich von allem Bösen abgesondert hat, und in einem neuen, heiligen und reinen Leben wandelt, dann ist er im strengsten Sinn und in voller That ein guter Separatist..." (WS, 3:118).

76 "...die wahre christliche Religion in ihrem wahrem Sinn und Wesen, so wie sie Christus selbst gelehret hat, und wie sie zur Zeit der Apostel und der ersten Christen lehrt und praktisch befolgt wurde..." (EFH, Vorbericht, 1:III).

77 Ensign, p. 136.

78 Donald E. Miller, "The Influence of Gottfried Arnold upon the Church of the Brethren," Brethren Life and Thought 6 (1960): 40-43.

79 Ensign, p. 419.

80 "Die Einigkeit unserer Meinungen, die Gleichheit unserer Gesinnungen brachte dann natürlicher Weise eine Uebereinstimmung der Grundsätze hervor, und diese Gleichheit und Uebereinstimmung bewirkte ganz natürlicher Weise eine nähere Vereinigung und Verbindung der Gemüther wurden wir auch äusserlich zu einer Gesellschaft gebildet; obschon sie damals noch nicht auf dem gemeinschaftlichen Fuss stand,
auf dem sie nun steht. Jedoch die Liebe zu einander war
ausserordentlich stark und brünstig, und man darf sagen, stärker
als nun... (WS, 3:155).... Freunde, welche herrliche, belebende und
aufmunternde Hoffungen, welche glänzende Aussichten für die Zukunft
stellten sich unserm Auge dar!...Wir waren überzeugt, wir befassen
unschätzbare Vorzüge vor so vielen tausend andern Menschen..." (Ibid., 3:281).

81 Evelyn Underhill, Mysticism (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.,

82 Evelyn Underhill, The Mystics of the Church (New York:

83 Ibid., p. 10.

84 W. R. Inge, Mysticism in Religion (Chicago: University of

85 David Knowles, The Nature of Mysticism (New York: Hawthorn

86 Underhill, Mystics of the Church, p. 10.

87 W. R. Inge, Christian Mysticism (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.,
1899) pp. 6-12. Except where noted, Inge is the chief source for
information in this paragraph.

88 Ibid., p. 12.

89 Knowles, Nature of Mysticism, p. 55.

90 Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 28.

91 Ibid., p. 35.

92 Underhill, Mysticism, pp. 146-48.

93 Ibid., p. 146.

94 Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 44.

95 Ibid., pp. 47-51.

96 Underhill, Mysticism, p. 141.

97 Ibid., p. 145.


Ibid., p. 85.

"Die Trägheit zum Guten, die dem Menschen von Natur eigen ist, verschwindet und ein mehr actives Leben gewürzt mit Feuer und Salz, welches Geist und Kraft einflößt, tritt an dessen Stelle; darum ist dieser Wein den Christus aus Wasser bereitet, besser als derjenige welchen der Hausvater zuvor hatte" (WS, 1:104).

"Amerika ist das Land, das der Herr vor allen Ländern der Welt erwählt hat, Sein neues Reich darin aufzurichten, denn Europa, in welchem Er es zuerst gründete, war es nicht werth..." (EFH, 1:53).

Ensign, p. 411.


Ensign, p. 415.

Hinds, p. 54.

Ensign, p. 319.


Ibid., p. 85.

Jones, Spiritual Reformers, p. 172.


117 "Die Priester...sind weder von Gott erwählt, noch bevollmächtigt zu den Geschäften die sie verrichten. Sie haben ihre Weisheit nicht von Gott empfangen, sondern haben sie auf hohen Schulen gelernt und predigen uns Geld. Sie lehren wohl das Wort Gottes, aber sie verstehen es nicht und weder sie, noch ihre Zuhörer befolgen es, sie erklären bloß den äußeren Buchstaben, den wahren Sinn aber, den Geist und die Kraft unterdrücken sie. Auch massen sie sich ein Recht an, Sünde zu vergeben...und er [the priest] nimmt gar keinen Anstand, sie allen ohne Unterschied zu vergeben..." (WS, 1:15-16).

118 "Was helfen die Christen zu unsern Zeiten, ihre Sakramente, nemlich die Taufe und das heilige Abendmahl? Ebenso wenig als die Juden ihre Beschneidung und Osterlamm geholfen haben, denn sie haben bloß das äußere Zeichen, das doch nur von dem Wahren, von der innern Beschaffenheit der eigentlichen Sache zeugt, und hingegen die Kraft und das Wesen verläugnen und tödten sie" (EFH, 1:93).


120 Randall, p. 45.


122 Ensign, p. 403.

123 Dillenberger and Welch, pp. 58-67.

124 Ibid., p. 50.

125 Donald Miller, "Influence of Gottfried Arnold," pp. 39-50. Except where noted, the exposition of Arnold's views in this section came from Miller.


127 Donald Miller, "Influence of Gottfried Arnold," p. 46.
...Zion muss in einer Gesellschaft, oder Gemeinschaft leben, obschon es nicht immer leiblich geschiehet, so geschiehet es doch jederzeit geistlich. Wir finden in Heiliger Schrift nie von einzelnen Personen, welche das Zion ausmachten, sondern wir hören immer von einem Volk Zion...oder von einer Gemeinschaft der Heiligen. Auch sind alle Verheissungen bios Zion gegeben, und nicht dem isolirten Stande" (WS, 2:190-91).

"Wenn ich hierher komme, so komme ich gewöhnlich leer, und weiss noch nicht von was ich reden solle, es wird mir erst hier ins Gemüth eingegeben, über oder von was ich reden solle, und aber dann, so bald ich anfange zu reden, so eröffnet sich vor mir ein weites, unüberschbares Feld von Vorstellungen, so dass ich nur nehmen darf und kann, wie ich will, oder was mir das Nothwendigste scheint" (Ibid., Vorbericht, 1:III).

Arndt, Documentary History of the Indiana Decade, 1:380.
Dillenberger and Welch, p. 118.

"Bruder! oder Schwester, lass dir sagen, was der Herr an mir gethan hat, diese und jene wichtige Entdeckung auf dem Weg der Wiedergeburt habe ich gemacht, was denkst du davon" (WS, 1:89)?


Morhart, p. 87.

"...wir beten aber mit unserm Herzen ohne Worte...solches Gebet wirkt unstreitig mehr, als hundert Mundgebete...denn sie bewirken in Wahrheit eine Sinnesänderung oder eine wesentliche Verbesserung in unserm Seelenzustande..." (WS, 2:123).

Ibid., p. 112.
Ensign, p. 30. See also p. 45.
Donald Miller, "Influence of Gottfried Arnold," p. 44.
Morhart, p. 89.
Randall, p. 88.
Nixon, "Society of Separatists," pp. 43-44. Interestingly enough, the trusteeships were held by only thirteen men between 1833 and 1898, with the average term of office being about fourteen years (pp. 44-45).

Randall, p. 9.

Ibid., p. 8.


Nordhoff, p. 108.

Randall, p. 93.

Hinds, p. 27.


Ibid., p. 342.

Landis, p. 191.

Randall, p. 33.


Randall, p. 32.


Ibid., p. 119.

Arndt, Documentary History of the Indiana Decade, 2:151-52.


Dillenberger and Welch, p. 152.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 153.

Ibid., p. 154.
168. Ibid., p. 155.

170. Ibid., p. 248.
171. Dillenberger and Welch, p. 158.
172. Ibid.

174. "Nur wenn ein Mensch sich von allem Bösen abgesondert hat, und in einem neuen, heiligen und reinen Leben wandelt, dann ist er im strengsten Sinn and in voller That ein guter Separatist, und dann kann und wird er alle die herrlichen Vorzüge erlangen und geniessen, die den Separatisten verheißen wurden, aber anders nicht" (WS, 3:118).

175. Ensign, p. 412.


178. Ibid., p. 731.
179. Underhill, Mysticism, p. 108.
180. Ibid.

183. Ibid., p. 740.
184. Ibid., p. 746.

...denn sie [an inner transformation] geschieht nicht anders als durch die Wiedergeburt, und ihr wisset ja wohl, Freunde, was die Wiedergeburt für Zeit und Anstrengung kostet (WS, 2:115).

...dass alle Menschen ohne Ausnahme, zu gewissen Zeiten, in ihrem Leben, zum Guten ermahnt werden, entweder durch andere Menschen, oder sonstige Umstände, oder aber, (welches der gewöhnlichste Weg ist), durch innere Triebe. Folgt ein Mensch dieser Göttlichen Stimme in seiner Seele, so führt sie ihn nach und nach aus seinem sündlichen Zustand heraus, und macht ihn mehr und mehr fähig, ein heiliges Leben zu führen. Gehorcht aber ein Mensch dieser Stimme nicht,...so entziehet sich ihm die Gnade endlich..." (Ibid., 1:57-58).

Die Erbsünde kann uns also im Wesentlichen nichts oder nicht viel schaden, insofern wir sie nicht bei uns verwirklichen; demungeachtet aber haben wir Verantwortung genug auf uns für unsere eigene oder selbst begangene Missethaten und Sünden..." (Ibid., 3:245).

Unter glauben, verstehen viele Menschen nichts weiter, als glauben dass Christus für uns gestorben und auferstanden sei, dass Er für unsere Sünden bezahlt habe, und dergleichen Allein dieses halte ich für keinen Glauben.... Er [the sinner] muss finden dass seine Sünden noch alle stehen, und dass er nicht anders als durch Busse, nemlich durch ein bussfertiges und heiliges Leben davon frei werden, und seinen erzürnten Gott versöhnen kann (Ibid., 1:100-101).


Ibid., p. 181.


Ibid., p. 17. Friedmann summarizes the work of F. Fritz in "Die Wiedertäufer und der Württembergische Pietismus," Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte 43 (1939): 81-109. Fritz points out that three geographical centers of separatism—Maulbronn (George Rapp's headquarters), Göppingen, and the Rems Valley—were also old centers of Anabaptism.

196 Ibid., p. 16.

197 Ibid., p. 81.


201 Ibid., p. 409.

202 Ibid., p. 407.

203 Ibid., p. 414.

204 Ibid., p. 411.

205 "Ferner ist einem jeden bekannt, dass es bloß von dem Willen der Menschen abhängt, fromm oder gottlos zu werden, denn es wird kein Gottloser geboren, wohl aber empfängt er den Keim des Bösen bei seiner Empfangnis, der dann wenn das Kind älter wird, und seinen Verstand bekommt, aufkeimet..." (EFH, 1:10-11).

206 "Wird der eigene Wille bei einem Kinde frühzeitig unterdrückt, das heisst, unter den Gehorsam der Eltern gebracht, so hängt ihm diese Tugend gewöhnlich durch sein ganzes Leben an..." (WS, 1:34).


208 Ibid., p. 75.

209 Ibid., p. 77.

210 Morhart, p. 107.


212 Ibid., p. 124.

213 Ibid., p. 77.
214 Ibid., p. 82.
215 Ibid., p. 152.
216 Ibid., p. 34. See footnote 29.
217 Ibid., p. 35.
218 Ibid., p. 70.
219 Randall, p. 20.
220 Ensign, pp. 408-9.
221 Ibid., p. 420.
222 Boehme, Way to Christ, p. 147.
225 Ibid., p. 69.
226 Ibid., p. 156.
228 Ensign, p. 246.
229 Ibid., p. 136.
231 Hinds, p. 32.
232 Morhart, p. 88.
234 Ibid., p. 55.
235 Ibid., pp. 58-60.
236 Randall, p. 43.
238 Nordhoff, p. 110.
239 Landis, p. 179.
240 Nixon, "Society of Separatists," p. 84.
241 Landis, p. 176.
243 Landis, p. 178.
246 Ensign, p. 417.
249 "...darum gebietet oder befiehlt Gott im fünften Gebot, und spricht bestimmt und deutlich: 'Du sollst nicht tödten.' Diese Worte machen gar keine Ausnahme, Freunde; sie sagen nicht, in diesem oder jenem Fall möcht ihr tödten, aber in diesem und jenem sollt ihr nicht, sondern sie drücken sich ganz unzweideutig und dahin aus, dass man allerdings nicht tödten solle" (WS, 3:231).
251 Ibid., p. 118. See Footnote 53.
252 Ibid., pp. 203-4.

Ibid., p. 162.

Landis, p. 191.


Ibid., p. 40.


"Tugend, wahre Tugend ist das beste Mittel, um das unaussprechliche Glück, den kostbaren Schatz der Einwohner Christi in uns zu erlangen (WS, 1:10)....Und O, welche stillie Ruhe und süßen Frieden gemischt er in seinem Gott, es ist mit Nichts in der Welt zu vergleichen" (Ibid., 1:30)!


Ensign, p. 428.

Ibid., p. 20.

Ibid., p. 50.


269. "Hauptsächlich aber und insonderheit handelt dieses Buch von dem schon lange und so viel besprochenen tausendjährigen Reiche, oder von der zweiten Zukunft Christi...als geistlich vorgestellt und bewiesen, wie es auch nicht anders sein kann, und alle die dasselbe äusserlicher und leiblicher weise ohne wahre Herzensbesserung erwarten, werden ihren Zweck nicht erreichen, das Reich Gottes kann nur durch die Wiedergeburt erlangt werden wie Christus selber sagt..." (EFH, Vorbericht, 1:IV).

270. Ensign, p. 413.


272. "Fromme und heilige Menschen wünschen keine Auferstehung des Fleisches, sie wissen wohl, dass sie keinen Leib mehr nötig haben, dass sie die Seligkeit freier und ungehinderter geniessen können, ausser dem äusserlichen Leibe" (WS, 1:55).

273. "Obgleich Christus menschlich Fleisch und Blut annahm, und in allem gestaltet war gleich uns, so ist es jedoch eine ganz gewisse und unbestreitbare Sache, dass er kein Fleisch und Blut hatte wie wir..." (EFH, 1:84).


276. "...der die Geisterwelt genannt wird, an dem sie ihr Wille und ihre Begierden in das Lichtreich imaginirt, aufwärts von Grad zu Grad, von Stufe zu Stufe, bis in einem Ort der Seligkeit emporsteigen können. Imaginirt aber ihr Wille und ihre Begierden ins Böse mehr als ins Gute, oder in die finstere Welt...so steigt sie aber abwärts in die angränzenden Klüften der Hölle" (EFH, 1:39).

277. "Dann predigte Er [Christ] den gefangenen Seelen, die schon beinahe zweitausend Jahre, nemlich von der Sündfluth an, in diesem finstern Kerker schmachteten, denen predigte Er eine endliche Erlösung" (Ibid.).

278. Ibid., p. 840.

279. Ibid., p. 841.

280. Ensign, p. 421.
"Mit Gewissheit können wir daher behaupten, dass, so gross auch die Verbrechen der Menschen sein mögen, dennoch endlich alle los und frei werden. Dass aber die Strafe lange genug währen und hart genug sein wird, daran ist nicht zu zweifeln.... Weil aber Alles von Gott ausgegangen ist, und ausser Ihm nirgend ruhen kann, so muss auch Alles wieder in Ihn eingehen" (WS, 3:440).

281 Ibid., p. 51.
282 George Williams, Radical Reformation, p. 843.
284 Ibid., p. 187.
285 Ibid., p. 188.
287 Ibid., p. 183.
288 Ibid., p. 186.
289 Ensign, p. 123.
290 Ibid., p. 197. Typically, Radical Pietists like Leade, including the Zoarites, were exponents of the progressive revelation of religious truth.
291 Ibid., p. 123.
292 Stoeffler, German Pietism, p. 107.
293 Martensen and Hobhouse, p. 187.
294 Stoeffler, German Pietism, pp. 116-17.
295 Ibid., p. 113.
296 Ibid., p. 117.
297 Ensign, p. 220.
299 Ibid., p. 221.
300 Stoeffler, German Pietism, p. 242.
302 Ibid., p. 261.
303 Ibid., p. 263.
304 Ibid., p. 264.
306 Ibid., p. 100.
308 George Williams, Radical Reformation, p. 858.
310 George Williams, Radical Reformation, p. 858.
314 Ibid., p. 117.
315 Ensign, p. 16.
317 Ensign, pp. 371-72.
319 Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 279. Inge, in his discussion of Boehme and Isaac Newton, alludes to Overton's Life of William Laud, p. 188.
320 Ibid., p. 277.
322 Ibid., p. 17. Peter Erb, who translated and wrote the Introduction to this edition of Boehme's Way to Christ, cites Jakob Böhme by Hans Tesch (München, 1976), p. 82.
323 Martensen and Hobhouse, p. 56.
324 Ibid., p. 60.
329 Martensen and Hobhouse, p. 32. They cite Boehme's Signatura Rerum (16.2) for support of their position.
330 Ibid.
333 Ibid., p. 266. Stoudt quotes from Boehme's Mysterium Magnum (18.28).
334 Ibid., pp. 259-79.
335 Ibid., p. 273.
337 Stoudt, pp. 280-98.
338 Ibid., p. 275.
339 Ibid., p. 291. See Boehme's Gebet 10 on this page.
340 Ibid., p. 295.
341 Boehme, Way to Christ, p. 239.
342 Ibid., p. 181.
343 Inge, Christian Mysticism, p. 278.


Jones, *Spiritual Reformers*, pp. 199-204.

Ibid., p. 200.


New Schaff-Herzog, s.v. "Pietism."


Effig., p. 12.


Ibid., pp. 185-86.

New Schaff-Herzog, s.v. "Pietism."


Encyclopedia of Lutheran Church, s.v. "Pietism."


Ibid., p. 117.

Ibid., p. 98.

Ibid.

New Schaff-Herzog, s.v. "Pietism."

Encyclopedia of Lutheran Church, s.v. "Pietism."

Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, p. 117.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 129.

Ibid.


371 Stoeffler, German Pietism, p. 154.

372 Ibid., p. 165.


374 New Schaff-Herzog, s.v. "Pietism."

375 Ensign, p. 178.

376 Ibid., pp. 229-31.

377 Ibid., p. 141.

378 Ibid., p. 15.

379 Ibid., pp. 399-419.

380 Ibid., pp. 136-38. See Ensign, pp. 124-49 for a fuller account of Arnold's role in Radical Pietism.

381 Ibid., p. 417.

382 Ibid., pp. 399-433.

383 Ibid., p. 429.

384 Stoeffler, German Pietism, pp. 191-92.


386 Winfried Zeller, "The Protestant Attitude to Monasticism, with Special Reference to Gerhard Tersteegen," The Downside Review 93 (July 1975): 183.

387 Ensign, p. 358.

388 Stoeffler, German Pietism, p. 194.
133

391 Ensign, pp. 364-65.


394 Ibid., p. 34.

395 Ibid., p. 52.

396 Stoeffler, German Pietism, p. 200.


399 Ibid., p. 188.

400 Ibid., p. 191.


403 Ensign, p. 372.

404 Stoeffler, German Pietism, pp. 198-202.

405 Underhill, Mysticism, pp. 384-91.

406 Ensign, pp. 364-78.

407 Ibid., p. 370.

408 Ibid., p. 374.

409 Ibid., p. 372.

410 Govan, p. 247.

411 Ibid., p. 169.

412 Ensign, p. 375.


414 Randall, p. 43.

416 Ibid., p. 75.


418 Snyder, "Monastic Origins," pp. 5-26. See also Klaassen's Anabaptism: Neither Catholic nor Protestant, pp. 77-83.

419 Ensign, p. 113. See also p. 143.

420 Underhill, Mysticism, p. 167.


422 "Da nun ausser allem Zweifel ist, dass unser erstes Menschenpaar durch Sünde und Ungehorsam verführt und gefallen ist, so ist auch ganz gewiss, dass sie des Göttlichen Ebenbildes abgestorben sind, um aber wieder in diesen glückseligen Stand zu kommen, hat Christus den Weg der Wiedergeburt eröffnet...." (EFH, 1:31-32).


424 Book list of Simon Beuter's library. Beuter was the last religious leader of the Zoarites and was studying the origins of their faith. The author is indebted to Kathleen Fernandez, Curator of Zoar, for a copy of this list.
Grundsätze der Separatisten (Separatist Principles)

1. Glauben und bekennen wir die Dreieinigkeit Gottes, im Vater, Sohn und Heiligen Geist. (We believe and confess the Trinity of God, in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.)

2. Den Fall Adams und aller Menschen, nemlich den Verlust des Göttlichen Ebenbildes. (The fall of Adam and of all mankind, with the loss thereby of the likeness of God in them.)

3. Die Wiederbringung durch Christum zu Gott, unseren eigentlichen und rechtmässigen Vater. (The return through Christ to God, our proper and lawful Father.)

4. Die Heilige Schrift als Richtschnur unseres Lebens, und Probirstein des Wahren und Falschen. Alle übrigen Grundsätze stammen von Obigen ab, und bestimmen folglich unsere Handlungen im religiösen, geistlichen und natürlichen Leben. (The Holy Scriptures as the rule of our lives, and the touchstone of truth and falsehood. All our other principles derive from these, and govern our conduct in the religious, spiritual and natural life.)

5. Alle Ceremonien werden von uns verbannt und für nichtig und schädlich erklärt, und dieses ist die Haupt-und Ursache der Separation. (All ceremonies are banished from among us, and are declared to be useless and harmful, and this is the chief cause of our separation.)

6. Dass wir keinem Sterblichen, Gott aber allein gebührende Ehre erweisen, als Entblössung des Haupts, Beugung der Knie und dergleichen. Bedienen uns ohne Umschweif gegen Jedermann des centralischen Ausdrucks „Du." (We render to no mortal honors due only to God, such as uncovering the head, bending the knee, and the like. We address everyone as "thou").

7. Trennen wir uns von allen kirchlichen Verfassungen und Verbindungen, weil das Wesentliche eines Christen niemals eine Secte erfordert, sondern nur angenommene Ceremonien die Secten bilden. (We separate ourselves from all ecclesiastical constitutions and ties, because the life of a Christian never requires sectarianism, while set forms create sectarian divisions.)

8. Unsere Ehen werden durch Uebereinstimmung des Willens geschlossen, mit Zeugen bestätigt, und sodann der weltlichen Obrigkeit angezeigt; folglich ganz ohne priesterliche Copulation oder Ceremonie. (Our
marriages are contracted by mutual consent before witnesses. They are then announced to the civil authorities; therefore, entirely without priestly union or ceremony.)

9. Alle Vermischungen, ausgenommen was zur Fortpflanzung des menschlichen Geschlechts erforderlich ist, halten wir für Sünde und der Ordnung Gottes zuwider; gänzliche Enthaltsamkeit oder vollkommene Keuschheit ist aber noch besser. (All intercourse of the sexes, except that which is necessary for the perpetuation of the race, we hold to be sinful and contrary to the command of God; entire abstinence, or complete chastity, is, however, still better.)

10. Unsere Kinder können wir demnach nicht in die Schule Babels schicken, weil solche unserer Lehrlingen zuwider laufen. Ohne Moral und Religion bilden die Dorf-Schulen eine Rotte Müßiggänger, die ihre Mitschüler in Bosheit und Ausschweifungen unterweisen, wo die Versammlungen hier die beste Gelegenheit geben. (Therefore, we cannot send our children into the schools of Babylon, because these oppose our principles. Lacking in morality and religion, the village schools breed crowds of idlers, who, given good opportunity in their meetings, teach their fellow students wickedness and debauchery.)

11. Dem Staat können wir keine Soldaten in Natura geben, weil ein Christ niemals seinen Feind, vielweniger seinen Freund morden kann. (We cannot serve the state as soldiers, because a Christian cannot murder his enemy, much less his friend.)

12. Wir erkennen die weltliche Obrigkeit für absolut nothwendig, um Ordnung zu erhalten, das Gute und Wahre zu beschützen, und das Böse zu bestrafen; nie wird man uns einer Untreue gegen dieselbe beweisen können, wohl aber das Gegenteil. (We recognize the temporal authority as absolutely necessary to maintain order, to protect the good and honest and to punish the wrongdoers; no one can prove us to be unfaithful to the state, but rather the contrary.)
### List of Books from the Library of Simon Beuter (1820–1907) of Zoar, Ohio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Author and Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Arnold, Dr. Johann Franz. Dr. Johann Franz Arnold's Praktische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache</td>
<td>(Philadelphia, 1854).</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Barth, Chr. G. Geschichte der christlichen Kirche von Dr. Chr. Barth, Prediger zu Calw in Württemberg</td>
<td>(New York, n.d.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Quaestiones Theosophicae, oder Betrachtung Göttlicher Offenbarung, was Gott Natur und Creatur, sowohl Himmel, Hölle und Welt, samt allen Creaturen sind</td>
<td>Aus rechten Wahren Theosophischen Gründe angefangen zu antworten, jedoch nicht vollendet, im Jahr 1624</td>
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15. ______. Die Pilgerreise zu Wasser und zu Lande, oder Denkwürdigkeiten der göttlichen Gnadenführung Vorsehen in dem Leben eines Christen . . . (Stuttgart, 1862).


29. Thomas a Kempis. Der kleine Kempis, oder kurze Sprüche und Gebete aus denen meisten unbekannten Werken des Thomas a Kempis zusammen getragen, zur erbauung der Kleinen. Gedruckt im Jahr 1850, Eben-ezer bei Buffalo N.Y. [Eben-ezer was the first settlement of the Inspirationists, who later settled Amana, Iowa].

30. Thomas, J. J. The illustrated annual Register of Rural Affairs and cultivator Almanac for the year 1858 . . . Albany, 1858.


This is a literal transcription of the title page: the typed slant marks indicate the ends of lines; the straight marks are as in the original.

34. *Die/ Wahre Separation,/ oder die/ Wiedergeburt,/ Dargestellt in/ Geistreichen und erbaulichen/ Versammlungs=Reden/ und/ Betrachtungen,/ Besonders auf das gegenwärtige Zeitalter anwendbar./ Gehalten in der Gemeinde in Zoar, im Jahr 1830./ Erster Theil./ Evang. Joh.3, 5-6. Jesus antwortete: Wahrlich, wahrlich, ich sage dir: Es sei denn, dass/ Jemand geboren werden aus dem Wasser und Geist, so kann er nicht in das/ Reich Gottes kommen. Was vom Fleisch geboren wird, das ist Fleisch; und/ was vom Geist geboren wird, das ist Geist./ Gedruckt in Zoar, 0., 1856.

Die/ Wahre Separation,/ ... Gehalten in der Gemeinde in Zoar, im Jahr 1831./ Zweiter Theil./ Matthäi 7: 13, 14./ Gehet ein durch die enge Pforte. Denn die Pforte ist weit, und der Weg/ ist breit, der zur Verdammmasse abführt; und ihrer Sünde Viele, die darauf wan=/ deln. Und die Pforte ist enge, und der Weg/ ist schmall, der zum Leben führet; und Wenige sind ihrer, die ihn finden./ Gedruckt in Zoar, 0., 1858. (Ellipsis marks in line 1 indicate that the title page of the second part in this section is identical with the title page of the first part. Part 1: pp. i-xiv, 1-354; Part 2: pp. 1-402, 1-7 (index). Volume is 8¼x11½).
I. Primary Sources:


II. Secondary Sources:


