Exile memories and the Dutch Revolt : the narrated diaspora, 1550 – 1750

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Chapter 6 - Godly wanderers. Exile memories and the transnational culture of Pietism

Pilgrims behind the fiery column

The discourse of the true Christians as a small and persecuted flock living as strangers in this world did not lose its appeal when the actual persecutions retreated to a distant past. In the Dutch Republic and the exile towns abroad the past of persecution and displacement was remembered and cultivated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1660, a century after the mass migration of Protestants and religious dissenters from the Low Countries, descendants of the migrants placed a memorial stone, the *Schepken Christy* ('Christ's little ship'), at a new doorway of the *Große Kirche* of Emden. The depiction of the church as Christ's little ship on a wild and hostile ocean emblematically represented the self-image of the Emden Reformed Church that had housed the refugees from the Netherlands and reminded the congregation's members of the status of the true Church as a flock of strangers in this world. The ship was accompanied by the text: 'God's church, persecuted and expelled, has received God's consolation here'.[457]

While the exile past of the Dutch refugees had never totally fallen into oblivion during the seventeenth century, the identification with those who had fled and suffered for Christ's sake reached a new dimension in the context of new cultures of devotion and piety that emerged in late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestantism. Remembering the suffering and hardships of previous generations corresponded to the religious logic of Post-Reformation piety movements that aimed for a further reform both of the church and of personal Christian life. As Lutheran theologian Gottfried Arnold noted in 1696, the times of persecution had been more beneficial to the believers than the present days of peace and security since the Christians now trusted more in their governments than in their God.[458] Many felt that during the times of persecution and exile the boundaries

[457] 'Godts Kerck vervolgt, verdreven, heft Godt hyr Trost gegeven'. See: Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, p. 226. See also: Elwin Lomberg, 'Ursachen, Vorgeschichte und Auswirkungen der Emder Synode von 1571', in: Elwin Lomberg (ed.), *Emder Synode 1571-1971. Beiträge zur Geschichte und zum 400jährigen Jubiläum.*, Neukirchen 1973, pp. 14f.

[458] Gottfried Arnold, *Die Erste Liebe Der Gemeinen Jesu Christi/ Das ist/ Wahre Abbildung Der Ersten Christen/ Nach Ihren Lebendigen Glauben Und Heiligen Leben*, Frankfurt 1696, cited after: Johannes

between the 'children of God' and 'the children of the world' had been clear. As Ole Peter Grell has argued, anxiety about belonging to the elect was alien to the members of the transnational Reformed diaspora.[459] Indeed there is virtually no evidence that this topic played any role in the life of the refugees, but neither did it do so among other Dutch Reformed in the mid-seventeenth century. According to Grell, the doctrine of predestination served as an encouragement rather than a threat to the believers because their experience of suffering and persecution confirmed their election as God's people who had to wander as strangers towards the Promised Land. While this argument takes the doctrine of predestination as a theological *a priori* rather than as an outcome of the exile experience, Grell's observation seems accurate in general. The notion of having been persecuted for Christ's sake could be regarded as confirmation of God's approval and a distinction of the small flock of 'true Christians' among a hostile *massa damnata*.

While the Netherlandish exile churches in England and the Holy Roman Empire remained a minority and could easily be distinguished from the rest of society, the situation of the Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic was different. The position of the Calvinists there had in fact a highly ambiguous character. After the rebel takeover of the Northern Provinces in the late sixteenth century the Reformed Church became the 'public church' and its ministers were employed in public functions, for example in foreign embassies, as military chaplains in the States Army or as pastoral workers on the Dutch East India Company's cargo ships. Their salaries were paid by the government. However, this public character of the Reformed Church did not make it a state church, and in many ways it was able to fend off governmental interference more effectively than its Reformed sister churches in Switzerland and the German territories. More important was the freedom of conscience that was formally maintained in the Dutch Republic and gave all inhabitants the choice to simply attend, formally join or never set foot in the public church. Although the services were also frequented by many who did officially become members of the church, the actual membership rates remained very low for a long period. Even in the early seventeenth century only a small

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Wallmann, 'Das Melanchthonbild im kirchlichen und radikalen Pietismus', in: Johannes Wallmann, *Pietismus-Studien: Gesammelte Aufsätze* II, pp. 168-181, p. 177.

[459] Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 303.

minority of the Dutch population made the final step to subscribe to the Reformed confession and join the church.[460]

The status of the Reformed as a small but privileged group within a society of undecided or lukewarm believers and even of religious antagonists was not due only to the fact that they formed a minority of the Republic's populace but also to the self-created exclusiveness that had become typical for the Dutch version of Calvinism. While Reformed Protestantism had been imposed on entire populations in Scotland, Switzerland and parts of the Holy Roman Empire, the Dutch model of voluntary church membership gave the Reformed a special status, which was, of course, not without a price. Associating oneself with the Reformed Church also implied submission to church discipline and thereby potential involvement of consistories in one's personal life. By joining the church, godliness could be displayed and the identification with the minority of pilgrims progressing towards the Promised Land be confirmed.

In the course of the seventeenth century the minority position of the Reformed in the Dutch Republic became more and more blurred. Church membership became increasingly common, and the influence of the Reformed on public life grew. This decrease in exclusivity was experienced by many as a threat, which encouraged attempts to further reform the Church in order to clearly define true Christian life and to distinguish between the faithful believers, on the one hand, and the lukewarm 'name-Christians,' on the other. Programs for such a 'Further Reformation' were by no means typically Dutch but coincided and overlapped with similar religious movements in England and Germany. As Martin Brecht has argued, Pietism was a transnational as well as a transconfessional phenomenon that encompassed not only the various confessional and denominational brands of German Pietism but also the Dutch 'Further Reformation' and English Puritanism.[461] This view has been reinforced by findings on the interconnections and mutual dependencies between the various pietistic movements in the North Sea region and the German Protestant territories. Willem op't Hof has even gone so far as to

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[460] J.J. Woltjer, 'De plaats van de calvinisten in de Nederlandse samenleving', in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 10 (1994), pp. 3-23; Judith Pollmann, 'Freiwillige Religion in einer "öffentlichen" Kirche. Die Anziehungskraft des Calvinismus in der Niederländischen Republik', in: Ansgar Reiss and Sabine Witt (eds), *Calvinismus. Die Reformierten in Deutschland und Europa*, Dresden 2009, pp. 176-181.
[461] Martin Brecht, *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, (*Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 1), Göttingen 1993, pp. 8f.

postulate the existence of a common 'North Sea piety' that united English Puritanism with the experiential piety of later Dutch Calvinism.[462] The two devotional branches became more and more interconnected not only via trade relations between England and the Dutch Republic but also through the migration movements of English and Scottish Puritans to the continent and the contacts which Dutch exiles in England maintained with their homeland. Both groups, British Puritans and the Calvinist proponents of the Dutch 'Further Reformation,' shared the same ideals: the purification of the True Church and the deepening of personal faith and piety.

The need to purify the church and to gather the true believers who lived among the name-Christians was felt sometimes even more strongly in England and those parts of the German Empire where the Reformation had imposed an official and government-backed state church on the population. As German Pietists and English Puritans sensed, the chaff and the wheat were put together in a vessel, which could become acceptable to God only if the two were, if not separated, at least clearly marked as such. The way in which the various new devotional movements in Northwestern Europe influenced each other have been the subject of much debate. While German scholarship since Albrecht Ritschl has long assumed a Dutch origin of Pietism in Germany, this view has lost many of its proponents.[463] Instead, the various new Pietist movements along the North Sea and in Central Europe are thought to have influenced each other mutually rather than springing from a single point of origin from which the movement then expanded. In accordance with this view, this chapter shows how the two branches, German Pietism and English Puritanism, not only adopted ideas and practices from the Dutch Further Reformation, but, far more importantly, they embraced the identificatory models of the Netherlandish diaspora. Douglas H. Shantz has characterized the religious

[462] W. Op't Hof, 'Piety in the wake of trade. The North Sea as an intermediary of reformed piety up to 1700', in: Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (eds.), *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800). Proceedings of the International Conference held at Leiden 21-22 April 1995*, Hilversum 1996, pp. 248-265.

[463] See e.g.: Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, Bonn 1880-1886, especially vol. 1: *Der Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche*; Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen Evangelischen Kirche*, Koblenz 1849-1860; Johannes Wallmann, 'Labadismus und Pietismus: Die Einflüsse des niederländischen Pietismus auf die Entstehung des Pietismus in Deutschland', in: J. van den Berg and J.P. van Dooren (eds.), *Pietismus und Reveil*, Leiden 1978, pp. 141-168; Brecht, *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, pp. 241ff.

culture of Pietism as informed by a 'theology of homelessness': the true believers were never totally part of their social surroundings but always on their way to the 'Promised Land'.[464] In this context, the memory culture of the Netherlandish diaspora underwent a revaluation. The position of the Netherlandish exiles as a small minority of strangers with a past of persecution for the sake of faith appealed to sympathizers of further Church reform and new practices of piety. The culture of exile and the memory of confessional persecution became a source of inspiration for Pietists in Germany and Puritans in Britain, which again led to cross-fertilizations between the migrant churches and the Pietist circles of their host societies.

Puritanism and the fashioning of transnational identities

The transnational character of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Pietism not only connected cultures of devotion from different countries, it also contributed to new transnational and translocal identities that dissociated the true Christians from their societal environment:

their true homeland was not any earthly country but the New Jerusalem. The rhetoric of strangeness and exile had played an important role in early Puritan discourses. Minister William Ames, who migrated to the Dutch Republic in 1610, wrote on the position of the Christians in this world:

> How can the world loue them that hate it, and haue little acquaintance with it, and are on the earth as pilgrims, wayting euery day for happie passage through the troublesome sea of this life, to their home, euen to the heauenly citie of Ierusalem.[465]

According to Stephen Baskerville, English Puritanism increasingly became a 'transnational ideology,' and many Puritan believers felt that the 'blood of Christ knows no nations': to them, being a Christian meant belonging to the international community of elect rather than to their lukewarm Christian neighbors in the English

[464] Douglas H. Shantz, 'Homeless Minds. The migration of Radical Pietists, their Writings and Ideas in Early Modern Europe', in: Jonathan Strohm, Hartmut Lehman e.a. (eds., *Pietism in Germany and North America: 1680 – 1820*, Farnham 2009, pp. 85-99.

[465] William Ames, cited after: Keith L. Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames. Dutch Backgrounds of English and American Puritanism*, Urbana and Chicago 1972, p. 27.

parish churches.[466] Obviously, many Puritans felt greater loyalty to the 'Church of Christ in Geneva, in France, in Germany, in Scotland, etc: allso in London the Italian Church, the French and the Dutch' than to the form of worship and church hierarchy that was imposed on them by the Church England.[467] Such words were more than mere rhetoric, and adherents of English Puritanism often did their best to help and financially assist their persecuted fellow Christians on the continent: during the Thirty Years' War, notable Puritans donated substantial amounts of money for Calvinist exiles from the Palatine and Bohemia as well as to the poor of the French Reformed Church in London.[468] In their view, the confessing Christians of all nations belonged together and bore a responsibility to help each other. As Scottish minister Henry Hall of Haughhead put it, the true believers were called and singled out from all countries, which also resulted in alienation from their home societies:

> Here they are but strangers and pilgrims out of their own country, but […] the saints which are members of the church, though they live in the earth, yet they are accounted in scripture the citizens and inhabitants of heaven.[469]

While many Puritans actually left their homeland and migrated to the Dutch Republic or North America, the discourse of being strangers and exiles in this world often preceded their actual migration. As Keith Sprunger has argued, the imagery of exile and pilgrimage was already available to English Puritans, and it could serve them as a source of comfort once they were abroad.[470] While the memory of the Marian exiles on the continent lingered, the inspiration to embrace an exclusive exile identity drew for great a part on the memory of the persecution of Protestants in the Low Countries and France. Not only was the history of the hardships continental Calvinists had suffered recounted, but the pastoral literature that emerged from the experience of exile and persecution also found an enthusiastic readership among

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[466] Stephen Baskerville, 'Protestantism as a Transnational Ideology', in: *History of European Ideas*, vol. 18, no. 6 (November 1994), p. 905.
[467] Anonymous author, cited after: Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', in: Patrick Collinson, *Godly people. Essays in English Puritanism and Protestantism*, London 1983, p. 249.
[468] Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 294; Patrick Collinson, 'Protestant Strangers and the English Reformation', in: Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, *From Strangers to Citizens. The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and colonial America, 1550-1750*, London 2001, p. 65.
[469] Henry Hall of Haughhead, cited after: Baskerville, 'Protestantism as a Transnational Ideology', p. 904.
[470] Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames*, p. 27.

British Puritans. When Jean Taffin wrote his pastoral work *Of the markes of the children of God* in 1586, he dedicated it to Anne Russell, the countess of Warwick. Russell descended from one of the major Puritan families in England and was connected to the Calvinist Dudley family through her husband, Ambrose Dudley. She acted as a patroness of English Puritans, and more than twenty book titles were dedicated to her. In 1590, Taffin's work was translated into English by Anne Locke Prowse, who had become a renowned author and translator of Puritan literature.

Of the markes of the children of God became an immediate success in England. While the French original and the Dutch translation were published only two or possibly three times each until the early seventeenth century, the English edition appeared at least eight times between 1590 and 1634. During its first two decades the book was particularly popular: various editions were published in 1590, 1591, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1608 and 1609.[471] The explanation of that asymmetrical success must be sought in the work's treatment of the question of who actually belonged to the children of God and how they could be recognized. For Taffin the topic of election served a pastoral purpose in first instance, and he tried to explain to the persecuted believers that being exiled and afflicted should be regarded as a sign of God's adoption and not as a punishment. In the English context, however, where the Puritans found themselves a part of the mainstream religion that was imposed on all Englishmen by their State, the theme of predestination had a different significance. In a situation where everyone was to be considered a Christian, the need to distinguish the true children of God from the children of the world became more urgent. The imagery of exile was therefore especially appealing to the Puritan readers since the borders between the godly and the ungodly were drawn so sharply here. All English editions contained the foreword in which the 'believers from the Low Countries' were directly addressed. The notion of belonging to a transnational community of true Reformed believers that had permeated Puritan theology and identity stimulated the identification with the refugees from the Netherlands and the willingness to support not only the Calvinist strangers in England but also their persecuted brethren in the Netherlands and France.[472]

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[471] Jean Taffin, *Of the markes of the children of God*, London 1590; 1591; 1595; 1597; 1599; 1608; 1609.
[472] Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the foreign Reformed churches', p. 269

The transmission and distribution of Dutch pietistic works through the networks of the Netherlandish also took place in the Dutch Republic. While most of the leading theologians of the Further Reformation did not have a migration background themselves, their readers and publishers often did. Through Flemish exiles in England, the Dutch theologians maintained contacts with English Puritans, such as Arthur Hildersam, Thomas Gataker or Richard Blackerby.[473] The distribution of devotional works from England was often also facilitated by publishers with contacts in the exile networks. Notable publishers of devotional works of the Further Reformation movement included the Van den Vivere family in Middelburg and Francois Boels in Dordrecht, all of whom descended from Flemish refugees and operated in Southern Netherlandish exile circles.[474] The Van den Vivere family was famous for its publications of the Pietist theologian Willem Teellinck, who had also lived in England, while Boels published most of the work of Godfried Udemans, who was regarded as one of the founding fathers of the Dutch Further Reformation.[475] Furthermore he also published Teellinck's works and numerous translations of English pietistic tracts by Henry Ainsworth, Timothy Rogers, Joseph Hall, Thomas Goodwin and other notable Puritans.[476] The publishing company of Boels consisted almost exclusively of people of Southern Netherlandish origin, who had sympathies for the Further Reformation, as did the relatives of his wife who were active in the printing and publishing business. This environment connected him with exiles in Britain as well as sympathizers of English Puritanism in the Dutch Republic who translated English works for him, such as Johan Sanderus, who was acquainted with notable exiled Puritans in Holland and Gelderland. Such networks were crucial for the interconnections of transnational Pietism and the exchange of ideas and styles of devotion.

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[473] Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 61.
[474] On the Southern network of Francois Boels, see: Willem J. Heijting, '"Voorsichtich ghelyck de slangen: en onnoosel als de duyven". De Dordtse uitgever François Boels', in*: J. van der Haar tachtig jaar. Speciaal nr van: Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 23 (1999), nr. 2, pp. 117-183, there 118-120; J. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630, een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek,* Nieuwkoop 1974, pp. 176, 477.
[475] W.J. op 't Hof, *Bibliografische lijst van de geschriften van Godefridus Udemans* (Rotterdam 1993), pp. 12-13; W.J. op 't Hof, *Bibliografie van de werken van Eeuwout Teellinck* (Kampen 1988), p. 11.
[476] Heijting, '"Voorsichtich ghelyck de slangen: en onnoosel als de duyven"', p. 126.

London: Cultivating the model church

From their early beginnings onwards the Reformed stranger churches in England had had a special position within the country's religious landscape. The newly formed Church of England, especially after its re-establishment in 1559, combined a rather Reformed theology with a traditional church hierarchy and organization. After the Elizabethan religious settlement the foreign Reformed stranger churches were envisaged by Puritan circles within the Church of England as 'model churches' to promote a truly Protestant style of worship, theology and life. While they still remained under the supervision of the Church of England and their respective bishops, they retained a certain degree of independence and were for example allowed to form their own synods. During the Elizabethan era, when the reform-oriented Edmund Grindal became Bishop of London in 1559 and later, in 1575, Archbishop of Canterbury, the stranger churches' subservience to the Church of England was in practice minimal. The more Calvinist-oriented elements within the Church of England looked with admiration at the stranger communities and were willing to adapt to the church model of the exiled Netherlanders. In 1580, two English ministers from Colchester praised the local Dutch Reformed community as a good example 'both for liefe and religion generallie geeuen bie the strangers durynge their abode in Colchester haue been comfortable to all those that be godlie minded'.[477] In London the stranger churches had traditionally attracted locals, especially individuals who been in exile during the reign of Mary Tudor.[478] Influential Puritans, such as Elizabeth's Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham or the wealthy merchant Thomas Myddelton, frequented the services of the stranger congregations rather than those of their local Anglican parish churches.[479] In turn, the Dutch congregation became more and more aware of their status as a 'model church' that needed to behave as a worthy example to the English natives. When in 1615 English Puritans were offended by a church banquet they found too luxurious in a religious context, the consistory decided to celebrate such meals in a more sober fashion. Even if the celebration of collective banquets was not considered sinful in

[477] Cited after: W.J.C. Moens (ed.), *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645-1728*, (*Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. xii) London 1887, p. vi.
[478] Hessels, *Archivum*, vol. 2, p. 482.
[479] David B.J. Trim, 'Protestant Refugees in Elizabethan England Confessional Conflict in the Netherlands and France, 1562-c.1610', in: Vigne and Littleton, *From Strangers to Citizens*, p. 72.

itself, the church members were called to be mindful of the fact that 'our congregations are meant to serve the locals as a role model and an example of piety'.[480]

The Puritan sympathies for the Reformed strangers were often viewed with suspicion by circles within the Church of England who feared that Netherlandish Calvinists might kindle separatist tendencies among the Puritans who still belonged to the Church of England. After all, it was particularly the genuinely Reformed presbyterial-synodal church order of Dutch Calvinism that was appealing to many British Puritans. During the tenure of William Laud as Bishop of London and, from 1633 to 1641, as Archbishop of Canterbury, the relations between Puritans and Netherlandish Calvinists were increasingly supervised and regulated. Laudian circles suspected the stranger congregations of harboring Puritans and other non-conformists with the result that in 1635 Englishmen without Netherlandish or French ancestry were forbidden to attend services of the stranger churches, a regulation that had first been enforced in the 1560s. Laud even wanted to go further and tried to oblige all second-generation migrants to join ordinary English parish churches.[481] This measure could never be fully implemented, but the intention shows how anxious Laudians were about the perceived Puritan and foreign Calvinist threat. In the course of the Civil War royalist pamphleteers asserted that notable Puritans had consulted the consistory of Austin Friars 'to know of the state and government of their church, telling them that they would follow their pattern'.[482] While the Netherlandish churches were not a direct target of royalist or Laudian attacks, they were often associated with the Puritan cause.

The alliances and influences between Puritans and Reformed immigrants were by no means one-directional. Not only did Puritans take inspiration from what they still perceived as model churches, but at the same time they exerted influence on the Reformed stranger communities. Ministers of the Dutch congregations

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[480] Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 197.
[481] Hessels, III, 2380. See also: Ole Peter Grell, 'Continuity and Change. The Dutch Church in London, 1550-1650', in: Werkgroep Engels Nederlandse Betrekkingen/Sir Thomas Brown Institute, *Refugees and Emigrants in the Dutch Republic and England* (Papers of the annual symposium, held on 22 November 1985), Leiden 1986, p. 48.
[482] *Persecutio undecima. The Churches eleventh persecution. Or, a briefe of the Puritan persecution of the Protestant clergy of the Church of England: more particularly within the city of London. Begun in Parliament, Ann. Dom. 1641*, London , p. 58.

maintained close contact with Puritan theologians such John Cotton, Arthur Hildersam and Thomas Gataker.[483] These English divines were held in high regard and sometimes even acted as spiritual mentors to young Dutch clergymen who were willing to take a post in the stranger churches. Thomas Gataker, for example, welcomed young theologians to his house to prepare them for church service:

> Of Forreigners that sojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him as if they had been admitted into a University; these were some Mr. Theylein, who was afterwards a Reverend Pastor of the Dutch Church in London (whose son was brought by his mother but a fortnight before Mr.Gatakers decease, in treating the same good office in the behalf of him, which the Father had with much comfort enjoyed), Mr. Peters, Mr. And.Demetrius, Mr. Hornbeck, Mr. Rich, Mr. Swerd, Mr. Wittefrangel, Mr. Severinus Benzon, W. Georg de Mey, Dr. Treschovius, etc.[484]

Another Puritan household academy was established by Richard Blackerby, who educated and mentored Willem Thilenus and Jonas Proost, both of whom would later serve the Dutch congregation in London. The students who attended the seminars of Gataker, Blackerby or Herbert Palmer had already finished their studies at the university and were preparing for the practical side of their profession under the spiritual supervision of notable Puritans. Although Blackerby also gave his students some lessons in Hebrew, the main emphasis of the meetings in his house was put on his 'excellent advice' in matters of 'doctrine and life'. [485] In such household seminars the Netherlandish students became acquainted with and were trained in the devotional style of Puritan Pietism and its emphasis on holiness in private and church life.

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[483] Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 61.
[484] Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines, famous in their Generations for Learning, Prudence, Piety and Painfullness in the Work of the Ministry*, London 1662, p. 146. J. van der Haar and W.J. op't Hof have identified these names as Willem Thilenus (according to Van der Haar erroneously Johannes Thilenus), Andreas Demetrius, Johannes Hoornbeeck (the nephew of the famous professor of the same name), Arnoldus de Rijcke, Jacobus Sweerd, Petrus Wittewrongel and George de Mey (J. van der Haar, 'Nederlandse theologen onder Engelse puriteinen', in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 10 (1986), no. 3, pp. 105-108; W.J. op't Hof, 'De internationale invloed van het Puritanisme', in: W. van 't Spijker, R. Bisschop and W.J. op 't Hof, *Het Puritanisme: geschiedenis, theologie en invloed*, The Hague 2001, pp. 318-319.).
[485] Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 61. Jonas Proost would also serve the stranger church in Colchester before he moved to London.

While hardly any of the notable proponents of the Dutch Further Reformation had exile backgrounds themselves, the channels through which they were exposed to English Puritanism often went along the Netherlandish diasporic networks between Britain and the Netherlands. Many of the students in Puritan households mentioned above went back to the Dutch Republic and became ministers there. Puritan ideas also entered the Netherlands via translations made by migrants from the Low Countries. Among the notable translators of English Puritan texts was John La Motte from Ypres, father of the merchant and London alderman of the same name whom we met in chapter 4. La Motte the Elder translated twenty-four texts, mostly devotional treatises, into Dutch. Another important translator was Vincent Meusevoet, a refugee from the Flemish town of Eeklo, who translated more than thirty English pietistic tracts into Dutch. In his later life he became a minister in the North Holland village of Schagen. Later translators of Puritan writings included Timotheus van Vleteren, minister of the Dutch Church in London, Mattheus du Bois, who was born in Norwich in 1620 but went to Haarlem with his parents, the Johan Sanderus, to whom I already referred, and the famous brothers Teellinck.[486]

The fruits of the Puritan influence on the Netherlandish Reformed community in England became increasingly manifest in the church life of the stranger congregations, for instance in the sermons that were preached. As a preparation for homilies the ministers at the Austin Friars congregation made lists of *loci communes* on which they could preach. Besides theological works and biblical commentaries by church fathers, medieval theologians and Reformers like Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Calvin and Bucer, the references of the commonplaces included Puritan writings like the works of William Perkins, Thomas Hooker, John Jackson or Obadiah Sedgwick. In particular, Sedgwick's *The shepherd of Israel* was frequently mentioned.[487] In 1606 Symeon Ruytinck established a library for the London congregation which the ministers could use to study and prepare their sermons.[488] While it is unknown when certain books were purchased, by the end of the seventeenth century the inventory of English Puritan works was so

[486] W.J. op't Hof, 'De internationale invloed van het Puritanisme', in: W. van 't Spijker, R. Bisschop and W.J. op 't Hof, *Het Puritanisme: geschiedenis, theologie en invloed*, The Hague 2001, pp. 313-314.
[487] See: London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/180/MS20185/006/00; CLC/180/MS20185/006/002; CLC/180/MS20185/006/003; CLC/180/MS20185/18.
[488] Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603-1642*, Brill 1989, p. 80.

extensive that a new volume of *loci communes* was begun, containing references only to these volumes.[489]

While most early modern sermons were not recorded, these *loci communes* of the Dutch Reformed Church in London offer us a unique insight into the homiletic culture of the stranger churches and the topics on which ministers could preach to their audiences. The volume with commonplaces taken from English Puritans is particularly full of references to topics like affliction, exile and persecution. Apparently the imagery of the faithful as the wandering strangers in a hostile world, which was shared by both English Puritans and exiles from the Netherlands, was a recurring theme in the services at Austin Friars. Under the entry 'affliction' the compiler treated the question of how 'the sufferings of God's servants tend to the Churches advantage': with references to Thomas Hooker he echoed the concept of God's twofold punishment, which we have already seen in Taffin's and Balck's works in chapter 1: 'Every follower of Christ hath Affliction allotted to him as a childs part.' While these afflictions only served to purify and comfort the believers, they caused 'terror to the wicked whose portion is destruction at last'.[490] Under the entry 'persecution' the compiler collected references to Puritan works on God's purposes behind the persecution of the godly and how the faithful were comforted in times of affliction. Also the extensive entry 'stranger' reflected the typical Puritan notions on this topic. Being a stranger was once again presented as the natural state of the Christians in this world: 'We should call ourselves strangers on earth'. The faithful needed to be reminded that they were only on a long 'voyage' to their eternal home. On earth they were homeless pilgrims who 'desire(d) their true house'.[491]

The imagery of pilgrimage and exile was not an exclusive feature of diasporic Calvinism or of English Puritanism, but it was cultivated in a post-Reformation culture that sought religious exclusivity and a distinction between the 'children of the world and the children of God'. In this situation, memories of exile served as markers of identity that redefined the true believers as a small group on

[489] London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/180/MS20185/18. The title of the volume ('Locus Communis Practicus ex Anglicis Autoribus') refers only to English authors, but virtually all identifiable authors were well-known Puritans, such as William Perkins, Thomas Hooker, John Jackson or Obadiah Sedgwick.
[490] Ibid., fol. 4. For the entry 'persecution', see: fol. 58.
[491] Ibid., fol. 253.

their way to eternity. The commemorative meetings that were held by individual members such as John La Motte (see chapter 4 of this book) but also the *agapae* or festive meals of the consistory that celebrated the brotherly concord and reminded the consistory members of their ancestors 'under the cross' were manifestations of this mentality.[492]

Obviously, the striving for exclusivity was part of the religious logic of Post-Reformation piety movements and made the choice for sectarian alternatives to mainstream religion attractive. Yet even if the stranger churches maintained and cultivated their identity as independent minority communities, they had to compete with radicalizing dissenter groups. Particularly after the Civil War some members of the migrant churches felt that their congregations had drifted too much towards a mainstream course. In East Anglia, in particular, such sentiments became an increasing problem, and the Dutch congregations in Colchester and Norwich lost many souls to Separatist Puritan or Congregationalist groups.[493] The struggle for exclusivity clearly had its ambiguities: while the consistories of the stranger churches did their best to dissuade their members from joining Separatists or Brownists, they were at the same time on friendly terms with English dissenter congregations in the Dutch Republic. The consistory of Austin Friars for instance had ties with the English Church of Delft, a congregation which never openly subscribed to the Separatist cause but was notorious for its refusal to accept any church government above its own consistory. In the 1640s, when confronted with the choice to submit either to the Dutch Reformed order or the Church of England, the consistory rejected both and somehow managed to evade interference from the Delft magistrate or the South Holland synod. Practically, this made the church a dissenter group, and some consistory members had such strong sympathies for Separatist Puritanism that they would walk out of church services whenever a minister preached against Brownists or other sectarians.[494] In the late 1670s and early 1680s the consistories of the English Church in Delft and the Dutch Church in London were in frequent correspondence with each other and exchanged book and tract titles that they considered edifying for their churches. The Delft congregation

[492] Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 192. See also: Chapter 4 of this book (pp. 134 f.)
[493] Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 67.
[494] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp. 159, 161.

recommended a number of Dutch Pietist works to the Netherlanders in London, especially Johan van Bleijswijck's *Bijbel-Balance, ende Harmonye-Boeck'* ('Bible balance and harmony book') and *Schat-boek en Journaal van korte gebeden* ('Treasury and journal of short prayers').[495] The works of Van Bleijswijck were concerned with practical devotion and personal holiness and called their readers to flee the ways of the ungodly *mont-christenen*, who confessed God with their mouths but did not live according to His will.[496] This type of literature was particularly popular in both English and Dutch migrant networks. In terms of theology and devotion the two stranger churches had much in common and obviously felt connected through the notion of an international diaspora of true (Reformed) Christians. The bonds between the exile churches on both sides of the North Sea were so strong that sometimes even ministers were exchanged between English and Netherlandish stranger congregations. The last minister of the English Church in Delft before its dissolution in 1724 was Willem van Schie, who had served the Dutch stranger congregation in Norwich earlier and now traded one exile community for another.[497]

Frankfurt: trans-confessional Pietism and the diasporic networks

The connections and mutual influences between the Netherlandish Reformed diaspora and English Puritans dated back to the period of emigration from the Low Countries and were strengthened by the notion of sharing the same theological convictions. In the German exile towns, however, the link between the exile networks and new cultures of piety developed in quite different ways. Not only did German pietistic movement flourish considerably later than English Puritanism, but the confessional affiliations of the individuals and groups partaking in it were much more diverse. While descendants of Netherlandish exiles were strongly involved in German Pietist circles, this was predominantly the case in those towns where the Dutch stranger churches were never conceived of as 'model churches' as in the English Puritan context. On the contrary, they were often not even recognized as minority churches but had to hold their services outside the city walls, as for

[495] Hessels, *Archivum*, III, ns. 3780, 3857, 3859.
[496] On Bleijswijck, see: T. Brienen, 'Johan Cornelisz. van Bleiswijk (1618-1696)', in: T. Brienen, L. F. Groenendijk, e.a. (eds), *Figuren en thema's van de Nadere Reformatie* , vol. 1, Kampen 1987, pp. 71-82.
[497] Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, p. 424.

example in Frankfurt, where both the Reformed and the Lutheran stranger congregations played an important role in local Pietist circles, while only the latter were allowed to worship within the city. Even if the culture of German Pietism was never totally de-confessionalized, both the Lutheran and the Reformed stranger congregation in this town played an active and influential role in devotional circles and networks that transcended denominational borders.

Frankfurt is usually regarded as the stage of the early beginnings of Lutheran Pietism in Germany. While this view is still prevalent among historians of Pietism, the role of this town as a breeding ground for new cultures of devotion has been revisited during the last decades.[498] In the older scholarly literature on this movement, the iconic figure of Philipp Jakob Spener, who came to Frankfurt from Strasburg as senior pastor in 1666 and promoted the formation of spiritual conventicles from the 1670s onwards, is often considered the initiator of Frankfurt Pietism. This interpretation distanced Lutheran Pietism from earlier pietistic movements that could be suspected of heterodoxy and sectarianism. In the 1970s, Spener's central role was put in greater perspective when Johannes Wallmann and others pointed at predecessors like the lawyer Johann Jakob Schütz, who represented a more radical form of Pietism with stronger separatist tendencies.[499] Long before Spener's arrival a vivid 'radical religious subculture' had emerged in Frankfurt in which members of both the Reformed and the Lutheran congregations were involved. As an important European trading town Frankfurt functioned as a pivot for various nonconformist religious networks.[500] While Spener had tried to distance himself from these earlier pietistic subcultures, they would form the substrate of the Lutheran reform movement he sought to initiate. These subcultures were not confessionally determined but allowed believers of various confessions to participate.

It is striking how many of those who were active in the pre-Pietist circles of Frankfurt were descendants of migrants from the Low Countries. Many of the

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[498] See for a short summary of the literature on the origins of Pietism in Frankfurt: Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*, Baltimore/Maryland 2013, p. 71.
[499] Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, Tübingen 1986 (1970), p. 354. See also: Johannes Wallmann, 'Lutherischer und reformierter Pietismus in ihren Anfängen', in: Johannes Wallmann, *Pietismus-Studien: Gesammelte Aufsätze* II, pp. 146-154.
[500] Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, p. 73.

printers and publishers with a migrant background were specialized in publishing English Puritan or Dutch devotional literature. After the death of Levinus van Hulsen, who had fled Ghent to Middelburg and later to Frankfurt, his wife Maria Ruting took over the family publishing house in 1606 and specialized in translations of Puritan works by authors like Robert Abbot, Thomas Draxe, Arthur Dent and especially William Perkins.[501] Their son, Friedrich van Hulsen, continued the business of his parents until 1641 when he sold it to Christoph Leblon, also a descendant of Reformed migrants. Johann Aubry, active in Hanau, published writings of notable theologians of the Dutch 'Further Reformation', such as Gisbert Voetius' *Von Eintzelner Versammlung der Christen* ('On the gathering of individual Christians'), which was translated into German by Johann Jakob Schütz and inspired Lutheran theologians to initiate spiritual conventicles in Frankfurt.[502]

Another publisher who was active in the pietistic subculture of Frankfurt was Lucas Jennis, son of a goldsmith from Brussels. His profile as a publisher was more radical, and he specialized in spiritualist and alchemistic tracts and books.[503] His business was also taken over by Leblon, who could now combine two important branches of spiritual literature that were popular in the Frankfurt religious subculture: pietistic and Puritan works and mystical and alchemistic tracts. In addition to the publishing houses of Van Hulsen and Jennis, Leblon also took over the business of his father-in-law Matthäus Merian and became an important supplier of pietistic and mystical literature to Germany and the Netherlands, and often operated in alliance with the Amsterdam merchant Hendrik Beets. Along with Lutheran pietistic authors like Johann Arndt, Puritans like William Perkins and late medieval mystics, they also published Rosicrucian works.[504] In 1664 Leblon was accused of having published a German translation of the Remonstrant edition of the Greek New Testament by the antitrinitarian Jeremias Felbinger, and the consistory of the Amsterdam Reformed Church sent a complaint to the Frankfurt magistrate. Unlike its Amsterdam sister congregation, the Reformed community in Frankfurt

[501] Andreas Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, Tübingen 2002, p. 25; Josef Benzing, 'Hulsius, Levin', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974), p. 30.
[502] Claudia Tietz, *Johann Winckler (1642-1705). Anfänge eines lutherischen Pietisten*, Göttingen 2008, p. 257.
[503] Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1988, p.15.
[504] Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 26.

seems have been a breeding ground for new radical ideas, and in 1639 the assembly of Lutheran pastors reported that among the Reformed they were many 'Schwärmer' who had formed secret conventicles.[505]

Many of the books published by Leblon employed the imagery of exile and exodus in a strongly allegorized and spiritualized form, for example Johann Arndt's sermons on the ten Egyptian plagues that were signs to the believers to leave Egypt for the Promised Land, or the anonymous *Geistliche Schöpffung und Reise des wahren Israels aus Egypten* ('Spiritual creation und the journey of the true Israel out of Egypt').[506] In the preface to this work Leblon asserted that it was based on a Dutch manuscript of unknown authorship and origin, which he had inherited from his dead brother. While some passages show similarities to the works of Coornhert, especially the chapter on Abraham's exodus from Ur, there is no evidence for the existence of such a manuscript or another printed edition of the text, and it is therefore not impossible that Leblon himself wrote or rewrote large passages of the text.[507] The *Geistliche Schöpffung und Reise des wahren Israels aus Egypten* narrates biblical history as an allegory for the internal spiritual development of the Christian. From the history of the creation and the fall of mankind to the life of the patriarchs, the exile motif is strongly pronounced throughout the entire book, and the life of a Christian is presented as a pilgrimage 'of the True Israel out of Egypt'. From Abraham, who had to leave his hometown Ur, to Moses, Aaron and Joshua, who had to lead Israel through the desert towards the Promised Land, the heroes of the Old Testament had to be understood as spiritual role models who exemplified obedience to God and who wanted to gather the true believers. The *Geistliche Schöpffung* sharply distinguishes between Egypt and the True Israel, which signify two antagonistic spiritual principles, the bondage to the world and the orientation towards godly things respectively:

> While the land of Egypt signifies this world, it is very common that man begins to love this earthly time beyond any measure, when he lives in joy

[505] Ibid., pp. 20, 28.
[506] Johannes Arndt, *Zehen schöne lehr- und geistreiche Predigten von den zehen grausammen und schrecklichen egiptischen Plagen*, Frankfurt 1657; *Geistliche Schöpffung und Reise des wahren Israels aus Egypten*, Frankfurt 1664.
[507] See Ibid., pp. 17-18 (chapter 7, 'Von Abrahams Außganck, nach dem geistlichen gelobten Land, und seiner Berufung') and Coornhert, *Abrahams Uytgangh*.

> and happiness to which he is so attached that he does not desire eternity and so dazzled that he longs for nothing but temporal goods in Egypt all of his days […].[508]

In order to spur on the Christian to leave Egypt and move on to the Promised Land God often has to use afflictions to convince believers of the vanity of all worldly things. Even the elect often remain obstinate and need to be brought to redemption:

> Man is not earlier released from this world, if he is not aggrieved before. Yea, before he is released from the Egypt of this world, he must carry away the great penances and the filth, for he must learn to withstand all evil and wicked deeds, that are opposed to nature and in which man is tried, before he can leave the Egypt of this world. [509]

Such theological interpretations of the exodus narrative aimed to guide and reflect the spiritual development of individual believers. In addition to this allegorical individual application the idea of a separation of the 'true Israel' from unholy Egypt could at the same time be read in an ecclesiological sense. Moving out of Egypt could also mean leaving the institutional church to search for more purity or spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual conventicles outside the church that aspired to be a gathering of the 'True Israel' that had to leave 'Babylon' played an essential part in the culture of Pietism that would emerge from the 1670s onwards in Frankfurt.[510] Spener himself, as an important initiator of the so-called *collegiae pietatis*, did not envisage these conventicles as entities separate from the Church but rather as gatherings of the *ecclesiola in ecclesia* or the small (true) Church within the larger (institutional) Church. However, separatist tendencies would become a strong undertow in the culture of the Pietist conventicles and informal spiritual circles.

Among the members of the stranger churches in Frankfurt and Hanau who were involved in the earlier pietistic circles, such as Christoph Leblon, Lucas Jennis

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[508] 'Dieweil durch das Land Egypten diese Welt verstanden wird, so geschichts nur allzuviel, daß dem Menschen diese Zeit über alle massen lieb und angenehm wird, dieweil er in Freud und Wollust lebet, und ist demselben so sehr geneigt, daß er nach der Ewigkeit kein Verlangen trägt, und wird also sehr verblendet, daß er nichts anders dann alle Tage zeitliche Sachen in Egypten begehret […].' (*Geistliche Schöpffung*, p. 14.)

[509] 'Der Mensch komt auch nicht eher auß dieser Welt, er werde dann zuvor also eher getrucket, ja ehe er auß dem Egypten dieser Welt komt, so muß er die grosen Bußen und den Unflath wegtragen, dann alle schlechte schnöde Wercke, die der Natur zuwider sind, in welchen der Mensch probieret wird, muß er lernen ausdauren, eher auß dem Egypten dieser Welt heraus kommet.' (Ibid.)

[510] Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, p. 83; Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 183, 201.

or the Van Hulsen, Neefen and Merian families, openly separatist tendencies were rare before the 1670s when the culture of Pietism began to take root in Frankfurt. The Reformed Church, which still consisted predominantly of descendants of migrants from the Low Countries, increasingly became a center of Pietist ideas and in 1663 tried to employ Theodor Undereyck, the 'founding father' of German Reformed Pietism who had studied under Gisbert Voetius and was eager to introduce the theological program of the Dutch Further Reformation in Germany.[511] In the following years, the consistory of the congregation was dominated by a number of merchants who had clear Pietist sympathies, such as Jacob van de Walle, Daniel Behaghel, Abraham Herff, Frans Balde, Simon Leblon or Peter de Neufville. In the 1670s, some of those influential consistory members developed increasingly radical inclinations and established contacts with mystics like Pierre Poiret and Antoinette Bourignon and separatists like Jean Labadie and the Frankfurt lawyer Johann Jakob Schütz. [512] Daniel Behaghel and Jacob van de Walle even joined the circle of the so-called Saalhof Pietists, named after the medieval building where they held their gatherings.[513] While the Saalhof group did not initially have an explicitly separatist outlook but was rather set up as a conventicle alongside the regular Lutheran and Reformed church services, many participants, like the aforementioned Schütz, felt that they could no longer be part of the institutional church but had to 'flee Babel' to join the community of the 'true believers'.[514] They also took communion in the Saalhof and even refused to receive it elsewhere.

While Schütz, who had been a Lutheran, cut all ties to the institutional church and began to see the Saalhof as his new spiritual home, the Reformed members of the conventicle did not feel the need to do so. Because of the position of the Reformed congregation as a minority church that was not even officially recognized and had to be located outside the town walls, they already were separated from Frankfurt's mainstream Lutheranism against which Schütz rebelled. While

[511] Undereyck, however, refused the call to Frankfurt and went to Mülheim. (Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 29.)
[512] Ibid., p. 154, 152. Jacob van de Walle, in particular, had many contacts in spiritual circles abroad. According to Deppermann, he was the only Frankfurter who personally knew Bourignon.
[513] Barbara Dölemeyer, 'Die Reaktion der Landesherren und Kirchen auf das Auftreten van Sekten im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in: Hartmut Lehmann (ed.), *Religiöser Pluralismus im vereinten Europa: Freikirchen und Sekten*, Göttingen 2005, p. 23.
[514] Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, p. 83.

Schütz increasingly saw himself as a religious outcast and sometimes suggested that he expected to be exiled and even was prepared to be martyred for his beliefs, the members of the Reformed Church were already dissidents in Frankfurt, and they did not feel the need to distance themselves from the 'Babylonian' state church as fiercely as Schütz did.[515] The same tendencies can also be found among the Pietist members of the Netherlandish Lutheran church. Katharina Elisabeth Bartels, Johann Jakob Schütz's wife, for example, who descended from Antwerp refugees and belonged to the Netherlandish congregation of the Augsburg Confession, distanced herself much later from the institutional Lutheran Church than her husband did. This was certainly not due to her more conciliatory character – on the contrary, she was characterized by visiting Lutheran ministers as 'far more stubborn' than her husband.[516] While Johann Jakob Schütz refused to take communion in the Lutheran Church as early as 1676, there is no evidence that his wife had any conflicts with her congregation until the 1690s, after the death of her husband. In 1700, Katharina Elisabeth Bartels finally decided to distance herself from the Lutheran Church and did not allow her daughters to be catechized by a Lutheran minister.[517] Apparently, for a long time her Netherlandish congregation was still more appealing to her than the Lutheran Church had been to her husband, and despite her separatist sympathies she did not leave it until the late 1690s.

In Schütz's writings, in which he argued that true Christians had to leave the institutional churches, he presented the present state of the godly as one of dispersion. Between the various organized churches the followers of Christ lived in a virtual diaspora and needed to be gathered in conventicles, where they were free from the yoke of church authorities.[518] Conversely, this language of exile that was part of Pietist discourse gave the minority churches of Frankfurt, who had a past of exile and persecution, a special appeal. Many of their leading members were engaged in Pietist circles but did not leave their stranger churches. Although Pietist separatism prospered in the surroundings of the diasporic networks, it had a different effect on the minority congregations than on established Lutheranism: instead of

[515] On Schütz's references to exile and martyrdom, see: Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, pp. 185f.
[516] Hermann Dechent, 'Schütz, Johann Jakob', in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* Band 33, Leipzig 189, p. 935
[517] Taege-Bizer, 'Katharina Elisabeth Schütz, eine streitbare Pietistin', p. 183.
[518] Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 203.

competing with alternative cultures of devotion and piety, the stranger churches attracted members with Pietist inclinations. While Lutheranism had to compete with the separatists, the Frankfurt Reformed Church became itself a hotbed for radical Pietist ideas: in 1689, the congregation went so far as to elect the notorious Heinrich Horche as its minister. Horche, who also became professor at the Reformed Academy of Herborn in 1690, was a Pietist with strong millenarian inclinations. In his later life he claimed to have visions and was even incarcerated after suffering long periods of mental illness. In 1698, the Frankfurt congregation saw itself forced to dismiss Horche. However, he had had a long-lasting impact on the congregation's life through introducing the catechizations and *exercitiae pietatis* that would remain a tradition among Frankfurt's Reformed.[519]

Building the New Jerusalem – Frankfurt and the 'Holy Experiment'

The language of exile and the 'theology of homelessness' cultivated in Frankfurt's Pietist circles had spiritual as well as concrete practical implications. Johann Jakob Schütz's daughter Maria Katharina left all her possessions to the 'persecuted children of God', by which she referred to fellow Pietists who considered themselves as persecuted outcasts of society.[520] The self-perception of her father as a stranger and outsider in his hometown resulted in a reinforcement of translocal relations to other Pietists outside Frankfurt. Through the network of Jacob van de Walle, with whom he attended the conventicle meetings at the Saalhof, he established contacts with many Reformed Pietists, Labadists and also Quakers in Northern Germany and the Dutch Republic. Among his contacts were Reformed minister Cornelis de Hase in Bremen, John Dury in Kassel, Antoine Greslot in the Palatine, Pierre Poiret in Hamburg, Rainer Copper in Wieuwerd (Frisia) and Benjamin Furley in Rotterdam.[521] All those men belonged to dissident diasporic networks: De Hase was a descendant of Netherlandish exiles, Greslot and Poiret were Huguenots, Rainer Copper had left Germany for a Labadist community in Frisia, Furley was a British Quaker in Holland and John Dury a Scottish Calvinist

[519] Ibid., pp. 156f.
[520] Jutta Taege-Bizer, 'Katharina Elisabeth Schütz, eine streitbare Pietistin', in: Gisela Engel, Ursula Kern and Heide Wunder (eds), *Frauen in der Stadt – Frankfurt im 18. Jahrhundert*, Königstein/Taunus 2002, p. 189.
[521] Ibid., p. 152

with millenarian leanings. Even though Schütz did not leave his hometown, he operated in a social environment where geographical mobility was the norm rather than the exception, and migration was part of one's religious identity.

Schütz's many contacts in the various diasporic networks in and outside Frankfurt included Anna Maria van Schurman, the famous 'learned maiden of Utrecht', who had studied under Gisbert Voetius but then become a follower of the notorious separatist Pietist Jean de Labadie.[522] Van Schurman, who was born in Cologne to exiled Calvinists from Antwerp in 1610, grew up in Utrecht but later followed Labadie on his peregrinations through Northern Germany where he and his followers sought to establish a godly community in the countryside. Having grown up in a diasporic milieu, Van Schurman depicted her departure from Amsterdam with Labadie in terms of the biblical narratives of exile and exodus. In Van Schurman's perception, the small group around Labadie represented the few True Christians who lived in dispersion among the ungodly:

> But God has taught us through the outcome of the things themselves, that there, as in a desert, he had intended to use the service of his most faithful servants in order to gather and found a church of Noah out of few faithful members. [523]

As in the days of the deluge, when the only righteous people were Noah and his family, the Labadists had to dwell among hostile sinners, but as Israel had been led out of Egypt, God had prepared a place for them in the desert where they rightly worship Him. On their trek through Germany they were welcomed at the Herford court of Elisabeth of the Palatine, the daughter of Frederick V, the Winter King, where they were allowed to lodge on a country estate:

> We were taught through this experience that God had elected Himself this place to separate our church from all those in Amsterdam who put together

[522] Pieta van Beek, *The First Female University Student. Anna Maria van Schurman*, Utrecht 2010, pp. 220f. On the international Pietist network of Anna Maria van Schurman, see: Miriam van Baar, 'Internationale und interkonfessionelle Netzwerke. Zur frühen lutherisch-pietistischen Rezeption von A.M.van Schurman und Antoinette Bourignon', in: Ulrike Gleixner and Erika Hebeisen (eds.) *Gendering Tradition. Erinnerungskultur und Geschlecht im Pietismus*, Korb 2007, pp. 85-105.

[523] 'Maar God heeft ons door de uitkomste der dingen zelve, dit geleert, dat hy aldaar als in een woestijne had voorgenomen den Dienst van deze sijne zeer getrouwe dienstknechten te gebruiken, om uit weinige gelovige leden, als een Kercke van Noach t'zamen te stellen en te formeren.'(Anna Maria van Schurman, *Eucleria of uitkiezing van beste deel*, [1684], Leeuwarden 1978, p. 289.)

> God and the world, Christ and Belial, God and Mammon and all other things that are different from God, and who were able to mingle godly things with greed, vanity and other things that are poison to the spiritual life. In this place, however, there was no absolutely commercial profit, worldly honor or luxury that one could expect for himself or his descendants. [524]

The realization of such a godly community where the true believers lived separated from the 'sinful world' was ultimately not accomplished in Herford but in the Frisian village of Wieuwerd where Labadie and his followers settled and were joined by sympathizers from Germany like the aforementioned Rainer Copper. In this place, unaffected by the temptations of earthly gains, Van Schurman and the Labadists hoped to establish an environment where true Christian life was possible. As exiles from a sinful society they worshipped their God in the desert, remote from the world that used his name in vain and tried to combine the love of Christ with the love of Mammon.

An even more ambitious project to build a godly community was envisaged by others in Schütz's Pietist network: in 1677 William Penn, who also corresponded with Elisabeth of the Palatine, visited Frankfurt and became acquainted with Schütz and the Saalhof Pietists. The contacts between Schütz, Jacob van de Walle, Daniel Behaghel and Penn were immediately warm. As Penn noted in his journal:

> The persons who resorted thither were generally people of considerable note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans ; and we can say, they received us with gladness of heart, and embraced our testimony with a broken and reverent spirit, thanking God for our coming amongst them, and praying that He would prosper his work in our hands. [525]

With the Quaker Penn, the Frankfurters shared their vision that the true believers should leave the European 'Babylon' and seek a place where they could live and worship without interference from the sinful society where they now lived. Penn's

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[524] 'Wy waren nu door de ondervindinge geleerd, dat God hem deze plaatze verkoren had, om onze Kercke van al die gene aftezonderen, die God en de werelt, Christus en Belial, of God en den Mammon, en alle andere dingen die van God verscheiden zijn, tot Amsterdam hadden konnen t'zamenvoegen, en van die in staat waren om de gierigheit, de hovaardije, en ander vergift van het geestelijke leven, onder de Goddelijke dingen te vermengen; nadien men in die plaats geheel geen gewin uit koopmanschap, en geheel geen eere en gemak, of voor zig of zijn nakomelingen te verwachten had.' (Ibid., p. 303.)

[525] See: William Penn, *Journal of William Penn, while visiting Holland and Germany in 1677*, Philadelphia 1878, p. 48.

plan was to buy land in North America and to build a community of marginalized Christians from Europe. The ideas of his 'Holy Experiment' were received with enthusiasm by his new Frankfurt friends. To support Penn's vision, Schütz, Behaghel, Van de Walle and Caspar Merian established the 'Frankfurt Company' to buy land in what would later be called Pennsylvania.[526] Through their translocal network they could attract more investors, such as the Dutch merchants Johan Laurens and Abraham Hasenvoet, Thomas von Wylich and Johann Le Brun from Wesel and Gerhard van Maastricht from Cologne.[527] The agent they sent to America was Francis Daniel Pastorius, who in letters to his family revealed explicit chiliast ideas. As Pastorius feared, God would very soon punish Europe for its sins, and emigration to the New World was the only way to evade His wrath.[528] While not all participants in the 'Holy Experiment' might have shared Pastorius' apocalyptic fears, the idea of fleeing Babylon and building a 'New Jerusalem' abroad attracted the Pietist believers around Schütz.

The numerous descendants of Netherlandish migrants thus preserved the translocal outlook of their ancestors. Without their networks and contacts a project like the Frankfurt Company would not have been possible. Even if persecution and exile belonged to the remote past, these descendants preserved a diasporic mentality and were often more willing to migrate than individuals without a migration background. It was not only the founders and investors of the Frankfurt Company who had a diaspora background but most of the first actual migrants to Pennsylvania as well. The first settlers who followed the Frankfurt Company to Germantown, the famous 'Original Thirteen', were all Germans from Krefeld who had descended from Mennonite and Reformed exiles from the Netherlands: Abraham, Dirck and Herman op den Graeff, Wilhelm Strepers, Lenerd Arets, Reynier Tison (Thyssen), Jan Lensen, Jan Seimens, Abraham Tunes Klinken, Peter Keurlis, Johann Luycken, Teunis Coenen and Johannes Bleickers.[529] The Dutch-German Pietist networks in

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[526] See also: Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, pp. 300ff. See also: Edwin B. Bronner, *William Penn's 'Holy Experiment.' The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681-1701*, New York 1978, p. 63; Margo M. Lambert, *Francis Daniel Pastorius. An American in Early Pennsylvania, 1683 - 1719/20*, PhD thesis Georgetown University 2007, p. 74.

[527] Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 330f.; Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times*, Philadelphia and London 1901, pp. 22f.

[528] Ibid., p. 332.

[529] John Palmer Garber, Naaman Henry Keyser e.a., *History of Old Germantown. With a Description of Its Settlement and Some Account of Its Important Persons, Buildings and Places Connected with Its*

Pennsylvania remained important for the preservation of memories of persecution in the Low Countries. When in 1748 the first complete German translation of Tieleman van Braght's Mennonite martyrology was published, the work did not appear in Germany or Switzerland, but in Ephrata, Pennsylvania.[530]

'The trying fires of persecution'

The eschatological interpretation of the present as a conflict between Israel and Babylon was often directly linked to the commemoration of the persecutions of the sixteenth century. In foreword of his history of the Netherlandish Lutheran congregation of Frankfurt, Johannes Lehnemann makes clear that the commemoration of the past served a didactic purpose: to show the present believers the true nature of Babylon, which was as dangerous nowadays as in the days of the martyrs. After the account of the death of his ancestor Schobland Bartels, who had been burned at the stake in Antwerp in 1568, he switches to the present. While the situation of the believers seemed to be secure now, Satan was still raging against them, and the only force keeping persecution at bay was the hand of God.[531] This eschatological reality needed to be kept in mind, and it was therefore necessary that the fate of the ancestors be commemorated. During the annual commemoration service, during which the new elders and deacons were elected, the congregation was reminded of the fact that the battle between Christ and the Antichrist was not yet over, and that the believers had to run to their savior to flee future persecution:

> The honorable minister Starck, whom our Netherlandish congregation considers its spiritual father, has reminded us of this in his annual sermon. We have to follow his faithful exhortations to arm ourselves with the mentality that was displayed by our devout ancestors in their trials of faith. None of us shall ever regret this Christian resolution, and having written this tract on their (the congregation's) demand has been a special pleasure to me.[532]

Development, vol. 1 Philadelphia 1907, pp. 29, 91; Friedrich Nieper, *Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien. Ein Bild aus der religiösen Ideengeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Moers 1940, pp. 16f., 90.

[530] Tieleman Jansz. van Braght, *Der blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyren Spiegel der Tauffs Gesinnten oder Wehrlosen-Christen*, Ephrata 1748. The agents behind this translation were Johann Conrad Beissel and Johann Peter Müller (John Peter Miller).

[531] Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, 'Zuschrift' (unpaginated foreword).

[532] 'Ihro Hoch=Ehrw., Herr Pfarrer Starck der Aeltere, welchen unsere Niederl. Gemeinde als ihren geistlichen Vatter ehret, hat uns dieses schon etlichmahl in der jährlichen Sermon zu Gemüthe geführet.

In order to understand more of their ancestors' fate the members of the Netherlandish Lutheran Church should read more about their past and also study the original sources, which Lehnemann thought essential for their understanding of their past as well as their religious identity in the present.[533]

While there is no evidence that Lehnemann was involved in any of the Frankfurt conventicles, his Pietist sympathies were obvious, and in crucial passages of his *Historische Nachricht* he repeatedly quotes Spener as an authority.[534] In addition to Lehnemann himself the entire congregation was influenced by Pietist culture, probably through its 'spiritual father', minister Johann Friedrich Starck, who often preached in the Netherlandish church. Starck, who was a fervent Pietist, nevertheless remained strongly opposed to the separatism of radical Pietist circles.[535] In his writings he defended the Lutheran Church and called on the separatists to return. While he admitted that the Church was full of sinners and needed further purification and correction, he regarded separation and the need for exclusivity a sin against Christ's commandment of brotherly love. The Netherlandish congregation of the Augsburg Confession, which was in full alliance with the Lutheran Church of Frankfurt, represented a model that attracted him. In the Pietist culture that prized exclusivity the congregation's past of exile and persecution proved a trump. Though in full accordance with Lutheran orthodoxy and free of separatist tendencies, its exile background gave the congregation a special status within the religious landscape of Frankfurt. Its roots lay in a time when confessing the faith was still dangerous and demanded sacrifices. Unlike many of their German coreligionists, the exiles had not become Lutherans for opportunistic reasons but by choice and in the face of severe threat. These exiled ancestors could serve as examples of piety, and in an elaborate discourse Lehnemann argues that even those who had not become actual martyrs but had fled their homes for the sake of faith deserved the martyr-like

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Dessen treuen Vermahnungen haben wir ja billig zu folgen, daß wir uns wapnen mit dem Sinn, welchen unsere gottseelige Vorfahren allenthalben in ihren Glaubens=Prüfungen haben blicken lassen. Keinen unter uns wird jemahls dieses Christliche Vornehmen gereuen; mich aber insonderheit vergnügen, daß ich auf ihr Angeben diesen Tractat zu Ehren unserer Gemeinde geschrieben habe.' (Ibid., 'Zuschrift' [unpaginated foreword].)

[533] Ibid., p. 121.

[534] Ibid., pp. 27, 38, 134 and in the unpaginated foreword.

[535] See e.g.: Johann Friedrich Starck, *Ungrund der Absonderung der so genannten Separatisten, von der öffentlichen Kirchen-Versammlung und vom Heil. Abendmahl*, Frankfurt 1733.

status of *confessors* and needed to be commemorated and honored as well.[536] In the eyes of Lehnemann and Starck, it was their exile experience that had made the refugees from the Low Countries so pious, and they served the native population as an example of godliness. According to Starck, the pursuit of godliness meant an imitation of 'the mentality that has been displayed by our devout ancestors in their trials of faith'.[537] Lehnemann even compares the forefathers to the first church in Jerusalem:

> These laudable and Christian deeds made the Netherlanders so loved by the inhabitants of this town, that one could say of them what St Luke said of the first Christian congregation in Jerusalem: 'They had favor with all the people. And the Lord added to them day by day /Acts V, 47'.[538]

Having suffered exile had humbled and cleansed them of all earthly vanities. Instead of priding themselves on their social status, the exiles valued religious steadfastness more than wealth or noble ancestry:

> Many among them descended from old and respectable families in the Netherlands, whose coats of arms are nowadays still carried in Flanders and Brabant, and they would have had reason enough to boast about their descent according to the worldly manners of the flesh and look down upon people of lower descent. However, none of all that could be found among them, because they had been cleansed in the trying fire of persecution from the cinder of vain pride and honored those as members of their community and brotherhood who were allowed by Christ to suffer in His name. Therefore they did not only grant alms to their poor and persecuted fellow countrymen, but made them full members of their congregation with the same vote in election of elders and deacons as the church members of respectable ancestry.[539]

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[536] Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, 'Zuschrift' (unpaginated foreword).
[537] Ibid., 'Zuschrift' (unpaginated foreword).
[538] 'Nun diese löbliche und Christliche Anstalten machten die Niederländer sehr beliebt bey den Einwohnern der hiesigen Stadt, also daß man in gewisser Maaß von ihnen sagen konnte was Lucas von der ersten Christlichen Gemeinde in Jerusalem schreibet: Sie hatten Gnade bey dem gantzen Volck. Der Herr aber tat hinzu täglich zu der Gemeinde / Act. V, 47.' (Ibid., 'Zuschrift' [unpaginated foreword], .p. 121). The quote from Acts does in fact refer to chapter 5, but to chapter 2 (verse 47).
[539] 'Denn obgleich unterschiedene von ihnen aus alten und guten Familien in den Niederlanden entsprossen waren, wie man noch heutzutag ihre Wappen in Antorff, und sonsten hin und wider in Flandern und Braband antrifft, daß sie also wohl nach der Welt=Manier Fleisches sich hätten rühmen und über arme und geringer Condition Leute sich erheben mögen: allein man findet dergleichen nicht, dieweill sie indem Prüffungs=Feuer der Verfolgung von den Schlacken der eitlen Ehre waren gereinigt worden, und hielten die zur Admission ihrer Gemein= und Brüderschafft vornehm genug zu seyn, welche Christus gewürdigt hatte um seines Namen Willen etwas zu leiden. Darum nahmen sie ihre arme, verfolgte Lands Leute nicht nur allein zu den Almosen an, sondern hielten sie auch vor Glieder der

The 'trying fires of persecution' had purified them and made them exemplary Christians. Like the members of the Martens family (chapter 5) in Utrecht's Pietist milieu, who claimed that their ancestor Carel Martens had been taught to forget his social status in exile, Lehnemann depicts the exile experience as the constitutive element of his forefathers' Christian humility.

It is interesting that the idea that the experience of exile was a stimulus for exemplary piety seems to have survived until today and has even informed modern scholarly accounts of the nexus between early modern diasporas and the culture of Pietism. According to the Reformed church historian Willem op't Hof, who attempts to explain why so many refugees from the Netherlands participated in the culture of Pietism, their pietistic tendencies needed to be understood in the light of their exile experience:

> Religious refugees were by definition highly serious people in their religious conviction. By their escape they not only cut the tie with their past but also forfeited all their securities, while many of them suffered a financial drain as well. They were willing to sacrifice all that for their religion. This religious seriousness was intensified by the traumatic experiences of the hardships suffered during and after the escape, the general feeling of dislocation and the many insecurities in the new situation.[540]

This explanation might not be inaccurate for the first generation of migrants although many refugees in the mercantile business did not only sacrifice but also gained much by their choice to leave their home. However, this argument does not take into account the fact that pietistic tendencies were much stronger among the second and third generations of migrants. These descendants of Netherlandish exiles did not share the experience of hardship and persecution but often grew up in great wealth. As the cases in this chapter show, the Pietist inclinations of many diaspora members of later generations can better be explained by the appreciation of their minority status in the context of pietistic cultures. As exiled communities of faithful Christians they became role models for dissenters and separatists. Ancestors who had fled and suffered for their faith could improve their status. At the same time they

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Gemeinde, welche ebenso wohl als die andern, ja vornehmer Extraction waren, zur Sermon kommen und eine freye Stimme bei der Wahl der Aelterlingen und Diaconen haben solten.' (Ibid., p. 120).

[540] Op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade', p. 250.

were often brought up in a social milieu where high geographical mobility was the norm, and they could serve as brokers in translocal Pietist networks. In emigration projects like Penn's 'Holy Experiment' in America or the Labadist establishment of a godly community in Frisia descendants of refugees often took the lead. Even after two and more generations they preserved the broader geographical outlook of their ancestors and were often willing to migrate again.

The culture of the early modern religious diaspora has commonly been described in terms of confessional allegiances, and it is true that until the first half of the seventeenth century confessionalism played an important role in keeping the translocal diaspora ties close.[541] In the religious culture of Puritan and Pietist Separatism, however, confessionalism became less important. Pietist believers of all confessions participated in the same networks, and William Penn's emigration projects attracted not only Quakers but also Pietists of Lutheran, Reformed and Mennonite signature. Penn's Quakers as well as the Frankfurt Separatists around Schütz and the followers of Labadie felt that the various confessions created ungodly obstacles between the true believers. These boundaries needed to be overcome if the faithful were to be united at last. As Anna Maria van Schurman saw it, only those who were spiritually blind thought in terms of 'popish, Lutheran and Reformed' while the Labadist community she belonged to was in fact a 'gathering' of true believers.[542] This aggregation of the true Christians relied on their separation from the sinful world in which they lived as strangers and wanderers. While such exile metaphors played a decisive role in the formation of Pietist groups, their identification with a wider diaspora also had practical implications, and they formed transnational networks that connected them with believers abroad with whom they felt they had more in common than with their ungodly neighbors.

[541] See e.g.: Grell, *Brethren in Christ*; Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist network'.
[542] Van Schurman, *Eucleria*, p. 301.