

Distributing Aid to Believers in Need: The Religious Foundations of Transatlantic Migration

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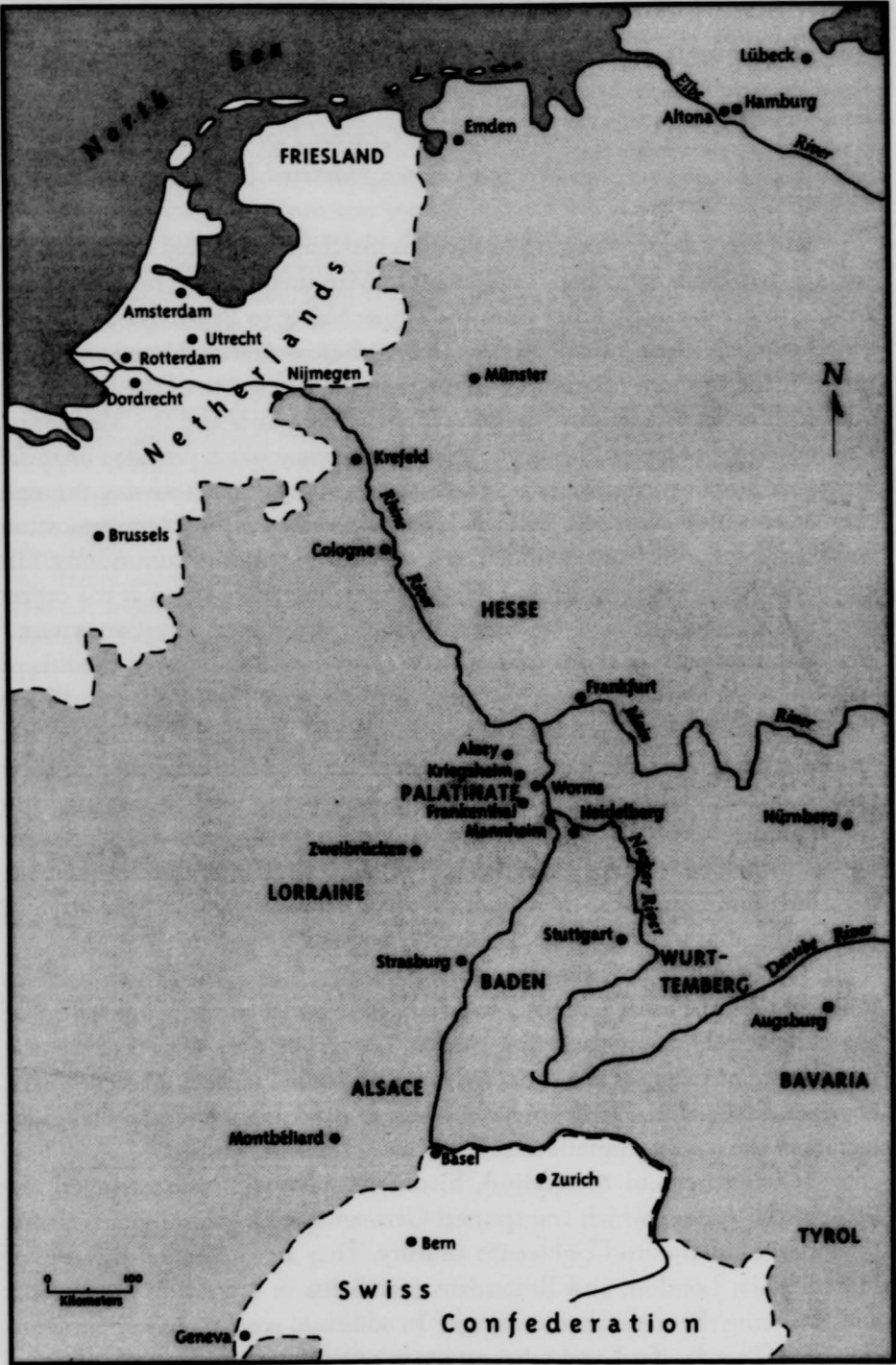
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In 1736 Caspar Wistar, a Philadelphia merchant, suggested to his business partner that Jacob Schnebeli, a merchant in Mannheim, could find emigrants willing to carry merchandise from the Rhine Valley to Pennsylvania. Wistar noted that Schnebeli “circulates a lot among these people and knows many of them.”¹ The son of a Mennonite minister in the Electorate of the Palatinate, Schnebeli acted as a liaison between sectarian emigrants and the Mennonite Commission for Foreign Needs, an Amsterdam agency which provided financial assistance for poor religious refugees. As the tide of emigrants passing through the Rhine Valley increased, Schnebeli participated in active communication and transportation channels linked by a widespread religious community. His participation in both secular and religious networks placed him at the center of a transition occurring in the European immigration transportation system.²

Scholars writing about transatlantic migration have debated the role of religion as a motivating factor for moving to America. The Puritans of New England, Quakers of Pennsylvania, Salzburger of Georgia, and many other groups settling the British colonies sought freedom to live according to their religious beliefs.³ But the impetus for uprooting and re-establishing communities was usually much more complex; economic and social conditions inevitably helped to shape decisions to seek religious liberty. And for the large majority of immigrants to the Britain colonies, religion seems to have played a minor role, if any at all, in the decision to migrate.⁴

The literature on German-speaking immigration to the British colonies follows much the same pattern. Historians have noted the religious nature of the earliest migration to Pennsylvania. They have also remarked on the importance of religious networks in luring additional settlers. Most scholars, however, have pointed to the predominance of economic rather than religious factors in the largest migrations of the mid-eighteenth century.⁵

Moving beyond motivation, historians have also reconstructed the commercial system which transported German-speaking immigrants across the Atlantic in the mid-eighteenth century. They have detailed the role of Philadelphia, London, and Rotterdam merchants in recruiting immigrants and financing the transatlantic voyage.⁶ In addition, scholars have pointed to the role of “newlanders” and other agents in retrieving property and soliciting immigrants.⁷



Religious Communication Centers in the 18th Century Rhine Valley

While economic factors played a significant role in transatlantic migration, early modern Europeans seldom distinguished so clearly between economic, religious, and social activities. Religious communities formed the basis for commercial networks and social institutions. Quaker merchants found no conflict of interest in combining missionary work with family visits and business trips. Similarly Lutheran Pietists utilized denominational correspondence channels for peddling pharmaceuticals.⁸

In a similar fashion, the commercial immigration transportation system that evolved by the mid-eighteenth century was built on a complex series of communication networks. In the seventeenth century, Mennonites throughout Central Europe corresponded regularly with one another as a way of funnelling financial aid to religious refugees. When fellow believers were banished from Switzerland, church leaders helped to resettle the exiles. What began as a domestic migration expanded into a transatlantic movement by 1700 after colonial promoters distributed information through religious communication channels. As motivations for migration shifted from seeking religious toleration to establishing economic security, European church officials withdrew financial support from the emigrants. Nevertheless, information and transportation networks were in place. Merchants replaced churches as the suppliers of credit, but church and lay leaders continued to make travel arrangements for and convey information to potential emigrants. Thus religious and commercial activities overlapped as radical Protestant religious leaders in Europe laid the foundations for the transatlantic transportation system.

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The Mennonite church of the eighteenth century traced its origins to the radical Reformation. In the early 1520s, several Swiss university students broke away from Zürich's Protestant reformer Ulrich Zwingli over several theological issues, one of which was baptism. The "Swiss Brethren," as they called themselves, replaced infant baptism with adult or "believers" baptism. Consequently, they became known as *Wiedertäufer* or Anabaptists (rebaptizers).⁹

The Anabaptists' movement spread rapidly throughout continental Europe. Persecuted by Catholics and Protestants alike, the dissenters frequently moved from one place to another, seeking refuge in Moravia, the Palatinate, Strasburg, and the Netherlands. Tolerance and persecution continued in cycles into the eighteenth century, depending on the religious affiliation of ruling governments throughout the region. In Switzerland, the government stopped executing Anabaptists in the 1570s, but it continued to imprison them for life, banish them, or sell them as galley slaves until the early eighteenth century.¹⁰

In the Netherlands, Menno Simons, a former Catholic priest, united and led various groups of Anabaptists beginning in 1536. He travelled

extensively throughout northern Germany, the area along the coast of the Baltic Sea, and the Netherlands as he attempted to escape persecution and unify diverse groups of dissenters. As a result of his successful efforts, his followers called themselves Mennonites. The persecution of Dutch Mennonites ended in 1579 with the Union of Utrecht after the Netherlands won independence from the King of Spain. During the "Golden Age" of the seventeenth century, Dutch Mennonites participated actively in the life of the nation. They became involved in overseas trade and in the ship-building, lumber, food, and textile industries. Within a century, Dutch Mennonites obtained a high degree of education and wealth. University-educated ministers led the church with the aid of lay leaders who were well-established doctors and merchants.¹¹

The wealth and religious toleration the Dutch Mennonites enjoyed provided the impetus for granting financial assistance to fellow Anabaptists in less fortunate circumstances. Communication channels between the Dutch Mennonites, Anabaptists in Southern and Central Germany, and the Swiss Brethren existed as early as the first half of the sixteenth century.¹² However, in 1639 civil authorities in Zürich began a new wave of persecution, sending Anabaptist exiles into Alsace and the Palatinate.¹³ When news of the refugees reached Holland, Dutch Mennonites responded by sending money and supplies to fellow believers in the Rhine Valley and Switzerland. In addition, they successfully lobbied state and church authorities in Zürich and Bern to halt persecution.¹⁴

Beginning in 1670, however, new measures sent another wave of Swiss Brethren into Alsace and the Palatinate. Once again, Dutch Mennonites collected money, food, clothing and tools to distribute among the exiles. Ministers in the Palatinate reported that 643 Swiss Brethren had settled in areas on the east and west banks of the Rhine where Anabaptist congregations were helping them establish new homes. The exiles posed a heavy financial burden on their benefactors since they had brought little property or money with them. According to the report of Valentin Huetwohl, a minister at Kriegsheim, the total value of their goods amounted to only 1654 *Reichstaler* and a few household goods. Thus the refugees relied heavily on the financial assistance of the Dutch Mennonites.¹⁵

The financial aid system that the Mennonites along the Rhine established was headed by a handful of leaders who collected and redistributed information, goods, and money to their congregants. In the Netherlands, Hans Vlamingh, a wealthy merchant from Amsterdam and a deacon in "the Sun" congregation began the initial efforts to aid Swiss exiles. By the end of the seventeenth century church and lay leaders from congregations in Rotterdam, Haarlem, and other Dutch cities were soliciting goods and money on behalf of religious refugees. Assigned committees traveled up the Rhine to deliver food, goods, and money to those who needed help.¹⁶

While Dutch urban areas functioned as collection points, several cities and towns along the Rhine became important distribution and communication centers. In the Palatinate, congregations in Kriegsheim and Mannheim provided shelter for refugees fleeing Switzerland. In 1671, Jacob Everling in Obersülzen noted that they had housed sixty of the exiles, many of whom were very old or very young. Fifty others had gone to Mannheim. The following year a church council met at Kriegsheim to determine how to assist the influx of recent arrivals.¹⁷ Further down the Rhine, Mennonites in Krefeld also contributed money and supplies to aid the cause.¹⁸

When shiploads of refugees arrived, the leaders in these cities helped them to find homes in the surrounding areas. In 1672 Huetwohl, and Georg Liechti, the leader of the Swiss refugees, spent four days travelling from village to village to construct a census of the 76 Swiss families scattered among the Palatine Mennonites.¹⁹ By 1700 leaders of Mennonite congregations throughout the Palatinate, the Kraichgau, Alsace, and the northern Rhine Valley corresponded and met regularly with one another and with church leaders in the Netherlands and Switzerland (see map).

At the same time that Mennonites throughout continental Europe were forming communication networks, English and Dutch Quakers were sending missionaries into the region. The interrelated information channels of the two groups ultimately proved convenient and lucrative for promoting William Penn's colonial ventures. In the last two decades of the seventeenth century, the infrastructure that supported Mennonite religious refugees merged with Quaker missionary networks and became conduits for spreading information about overseas migration.

English and Dutch Quakers and Dutch Mennonites had been in contact with one another since the founding of the Society of Friends. Some of the same religious leaders influenced both groups and they shared several theological beliefs.²⁰ In 1657 and 1661, Quaker missionary William Ames travelled down the Rhine as far as Kriegsheim where his efforts resulted in Mennonites joining the Society of Friends. Other English Quaker missionaries followed him and established societies in Krefeld and several neighboring villages.²¹

In most cases, Dutch Friends from Amsterdam or Rotterdam accompanied the English ministers and acted as interpreters. In addition, they translated and published English letters, pamphlets, and broadsides into Dutch and German and distributed them among the fledgling communities. For example, in 1670 five men from Kriegsheim signed a religious pamphlet signifying their support of the Society of Friends. James Parnel, an English Quaker, had written the pamphlet which had been translated into German and published by Christoph Cunrads in Amsterdam.²² The following year,

when William Penn made his first missionary journey to the continent, Benjamin Furly, a Quaker merchant in Rotterdam who had attended Mennonite meetings, travelled with him as an interpreter. When they returned to Rotterdam, Furly translated and published Penn's broadside, "A Trumpet, Blown in the Ears of the Inhabitants of High and Low Germany," for distribution throughout the Rhineland.²³

In 1677, William Penn made his second missionary journey to the continent. Accompanied by Furly and William Keith, Penn visited Kriegsheim and Mannheim shortly after Mennonite church leaders had helped to resettle Swiss refugees in the same towns. By then English and Dutch Quakers and Dutch- and German-speaking Mennonites were well acquainted with one another and participated in the same information networks.²⁴

While Mennonites in the Rhineland experienced relative toleration in the seventeenth-century, Quakers faced more severe discrimination. In Kriegsheim, members of the Society of Friends were fined and imprisoned as early as 1658 for refusing to perform military service or pay war taxes. Several English Quaker women who preached publicly also created animosity toward Kriegsheim Quakers when they visited the city in 1678. Although the Elector of the Palatinate officially encouraged religious toleration as a part of his efforts to repopulate the realm, local clergy, magistrates, and citizens were openly hostile toward Quakers and Mennonites. English Quaker missionaries, including Penn, repeatedly petitioned the Elector on behalf of the persecuted Friends.²⁵

Quakers in Krefeld experienced similar episodes of discrimination beginning in 1679. After the Society of Friends organized a regular meeting for worship and began to proselytize successfully among the city's citizens, church officials banished some of the Quaker leaders. As they had done for the Kriegsheim Quakers, English and Dutch leaders wrote petitions to government officials on behalf of the Friends of Krefeld. Benjamin Furly, Peter Hendricks, and Arent Sonnemans wrote from Holland to local rulers at Krefeld while Penn wrote to the Prince of Orange requesting toleration for fellow Friends.²⁶

In March, 1681, in the midst of increasing harassment against the Quakers in Krefeld and Kriegsheim, Penn received his charter for the colony of Pennsylvania. He immediately published several promotional tracts, which he sent to Quakers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam who translated them into Dutch and German.²⁷ Furly, who had accompanied Penn on his missionary journey through the Rhine Valley in 1677, acted as an agent in promoting the colony. He published and circulated translations of Penn's promotional literature as well as a collection of letters about the colony.²⁸

As Penn's continental agent, Furly utilized the communication channels of the Quakers, which were closely intertwined with those of the Mennonites.

Many of the potential settlers he targeted lived in the cities that were distribution centers for Mennonite aid. Often emigrating families included members in both religious groups.²⁹ Furly negotiated Pennsylvania land sales to the Quakers and Mennonite families of Krefeld and Kriegsheim who emigrated to Germantown in 1683 and 1685. He also arranged for their transportation to the colony on the ship *The Concord*.³⁰

Another key figure who connected the immigrants with the Mennonite communication network was Jacob Telner. A Mennonite merchant from Amsterdam, Telner joined the Society of Friends sometime before 1676 and became actively involved in promoting Penn's colony. Between 1678 and 1681, he went to America on a religious journey and travelled extensively throughout the Delaware Valley. His first-hand knowledge undoubtedly aided his promotional efforts. Upon his return to Europe, Telner was one of the first purchasers of land in Penn's colony. He helped to convince the thirteen families from Krefeld to move to Pennsylvania. Telner himself followed the Krefelders to Germantown in 1684 where he remained with his family until 1698, when he moved to London.³¹ Thus early continental European immigrants to Penn's colony were recruited through the religious information channels used to funnel aid to religious refugees in Switzerland and the Rhineland.

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During the first decade of the eighteenth century, Swiss refugees who had resettled in the Palatinate began to join earlier Quaker and Mennonite immigrants to Pennsylvania. The migration was an indirect extension of the Dutch Mennonites' aid program. Whether influenced by reports and promotional literature that filtered through religious information conduits or supported with money donated by Dutch Mennonites, early emigrants from the Palatinate to Pennsylvania were closely connected to the religious networks.

In 1709, the government in Bern organized another systematic persecution of Swiss Anabaptists. When news reached the Netherlands, the Dutch Mennonite churches responded by establishing the Commission for Foreign Need. Headquartered in Amsterdam, the Commission institutionalized the informal channels of communication that the Mennonites had already established. Commission members organized the collection efforts among Dutch Mennonites and assigned committees to distribute aid to congregations along the Rhine. In addition, they worked with several governments to help resettle the Swiss exiles.³²

The first group to travel down the Rhine in 1710 was a part of the Bern government's scheme to transport the Anabaptists to England and from there to the American colonies. However, failure to obtain advanced permission to pass through the Netherlands and the negotiations of Commission members resulted in the exiles gaining their freedom in Nijmegen. Most of the exiles

migrated to the Palatinate where sick and elderly family members had been permitted to disembark several days earlier. They settled among congregations that included Swiss refugees from the 1670s.³³

The following year, a larger group of deported exiles departed from Bern. Commission members and Johann Ludwig Runkel, the representative of the Dutch States General in Switzerland, worked diligently to develop a number of colonization schemes for the refugees. The plan that ultimately succeeded was one in which 350 people were transported to Amsterdam and settled in colonies at Harlingen, Groningen, Kampen, and Deventer. The Commission assumed full responsibility for resettlement costs and helped the refugees establish households in the new colonies.³⁴

While the Commission did not attempt to establish any colonies of Swiss exiles in America, it did aid several refugee families in making the transatlantic voyage. In 1707, contributions helped to defray the costs of the journey for Wijnand Bouman. Several years later, Telner, then living in London, wrote to Amsterdam and Harlem Mennonites to report that English Quakers had recently helped several poverty-stricken Mennonite families who wanted to emigrate to Pennsylvania. He encouraged Dutch Mennonite church leaders to support six additional families who were in London but could not pay for their transportation. In 1710, another group of families en route to Pennsylvania thanked the Commission for a gift of money. Each of these cases included people who had migrated into the Palatinate from Switzerland.³⁵

Once in Pennsylvania, the immigrants continued their contact with friends and co-religionists in Europe. In 1708 the Mennonite leaders in Germantown wrote to "the Sun" congregation in Amsterdam requesting some catechisms and bibles for their children. They had considered purchasing a bible for the meeting house from a New York bookseller but it was too expensive for the struggling congregation. The journey to America and establishing their households had depleted their resources.³⁶

While some of the immigrants continued to rely on the aid of the Dutch Mennonites, others used their connections with them to transfer money to Pennsylvania. In 1709, Henrich Cassel, a Mennonite deacon in Germantown, and Johannes Hubbarts gave Isaac Norris a bill of exchange drawn on Hans Jacob Schnebeli and Dielman Kolb in Mannheim. Since Mannheim was a long distance from London, Cassel and Hubbarts named Hermanus Schijn, "doctor of Physick," and Adrian Rutgart, merchant in Amsterdam, as intermediaries to negotiate with Schnebeli and Kolb. Schijn, a member of the Commission, was also a minister in Amsterdam with whom Schnebeli and Kolb, both Mennonite ministers in the Palatinate, corresponded regularly. Prior to his emigration, Kassel had been a minister of the Gerolsheim congregation and had participated with Schnebeli and Kolb in distributing aid from the Dutch Mennonites to Swiss exiles. The channels that had worked to funnel

money throughout the Rhine Valley now extended across the Atlantic. As a result of their expansion, Pennsylvania became an option for religious refugees fleeing persecution.³⁷

A much larger number of requests for help from immigrants came in 1717. Early that year a group of elders from the Palatine congregations met and decided that some of their congregations should migrate to the British colonies. Reports sent from Swiss Mennonites already in Pennsylvania likely influenced the leaders' decision. The families who the Commission had helped to migrate in 1710 had established a settlement in Lancaster and had secured a large tract of land. Martin Kindig, one of their members, reportedly returned to the Palatinate between 1714 and 1717 and recruited additional settlers. Another motivating factor may have been an attempt by Johannes Rudolf Ochs, Engraver of the Mint in London, to secure settlers for a colonization scheme he was planning. Ochs had targeted the Swiss and Palatine Mennonites specifically when he circulated an advertisement for inexpensive land west of the Allegheny mountains.³⁸

Regardless of the motivating factor behind the decision of the Swiss and Palatine church leaders, when Commission members heard about it, they advised against migration and stated that they would not help anyone who left for Pennsylvania. According to the Commission, the money they collected was to aid those who were suffering persecution. Since Mennonites in the Palatinate enjoyed religious toleration at that time, the Commission was going to give the money to fellow believers in Poland experiencing discrimination.³⁹

Attempts to discourage emigration were unsuccessful, however. In March the Commission received a report that over 100 people were preparing for the journey. Several weeks later church leaders in Rotterdam noted that more than 300 people had arrived on their way to Pennsylvania. Among the emigrants were several families who could not pay for their passage. Although the Commission had determined not to offer help to the emigrants officially, they privately agreed to give the poorer families money and supplies. Many of those who left in 1717 were Swiss Anabaptists who had arrived in previous migrations and had never achieved economic stability in the Palatinate. Benedict Brechbuhl, a Swiss minister who had worked tirelessly with the Dutch Mennonites to resettle his congregants, was among the Pennsylvania immigrants in 1717.⁴⁰

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While the Pennsylvania migration represented a continuation of the Dutch Mennonites' financial assistance program, it also demonstrated the complex push factors of European emigration. Church leaders eventually were forced to distinguish between individuals whose lives were threatened because of their faith and those who were not able to succeed economically because of

displacement that resulted from their religious beliefs. The Commission hesitated to support Swiss emigrants who had lived in the Palatinate for a period of time. At the same time, church leaders privately continued to make donations to aid poor emigrant families. The Commission's dual response to transatlantic migration marked the beginning of a transition in the migration system.

In the decade following 1717, the Commission received few requests from emigrants leaving for Pennsylvania; however, in 1727 another wave of immigrants poured into Rotterdam enroute to America. Motivated primarily by increases in taxes (especially military taxes) and harsh economic conditions, large numbers of families determined to migrate. Promises of help from friends in the New World also spurred migration. When Mennonite ministers in the Palatinate tried to discourage emigrants who could not pay for their passage, several reported that family or friends in Pennsylvania had offered to pay their fare.⁴¹

In April, 1727, church leaders warned the Commission that more than 150 people were preparing to leave for America.⁴² The Commission responded to the warning with a request for the numbers of emigrants requiring aid so they could prepare in advance. On May 20, Jacob Schnebeli, the Mennonite merchant in Mannheim, wrote to the Commission on behalf of the Palatine church leaders listing 45 individuals who needed financial assistance. By the end of the summer, at least 31 additional people received help from the Commission.⁴³

Concerned by the large number of emigrants who travelled through Rotterdam on their way to Pennsylvania, the Commission sent a strong statement to church leaders in the Palatinate ordering the ministers to make no promises of help under any circumstances. The emigrants that year had cost the Commission 4,000 guilders which they had collected on behalf of Polish refugees. The ministers were to encourage their congregants to remain in the Palatinate where the Commission promised continued support.⁴⁴

In 1728, church leaders in the Palatinate received a letter that marked a shift in the financial structure of the transatlantic voyage. Peter and Oswald Zigfried, two Swiss refugees who had moved from the Palatinate to the Netherlands, reported that they knew of a merchant in Amsterdam who would pay for the fare of passengers who could not afford their transportation costs. In return, the passengers would agree to work for a specified time to repay their debt. The ministers wrote to the Commission asking for its advice on the information.⁴⁵

The Commission responded by discouraging potential immigrants from taking the Zigfrieds' advice. The Dutch leaders had received word that life in Pennsylvania was not as easy as people believed and that working off transportation costs could take years. According to reports, immigrants were

forced to live in a sort of slavery during the period of the contract. The Commission promised to continue sending assistance to those who had insufficient funds to make the journey if they would remain in Europe.⁴⁶

For the next several years, the Commission continued to send letters emphatically requesting church leaders to discourage emigration. Ministers in the Palatinate repeatedly reported that they were doing everything possible to convince families to remain in Europe, but letters and promises from American friends and relatives were luring their congregants away. In the meantime, the Commission continued to lend aid unofficially to those who arrived on their doorstep needing help.⁴⁷ Finally, in 1732, Palatine church leaders warned the Commission of more than 3,000 Lutheran and Reformed emigrants who were preparing to move to Pennsylvania. The ministers feared that some of the travelers might pose as Mennonites and appeal for aid from the Dutch congregations. The Commission responded on June 15 by adopting a strong resolution to no longer aid Palatine emigrants under any circumstance.⁴⁸

With the resolution of 1732, the Commission ended its role in financing emigration to America as a part of its efforts to aid religious refugees. Mennonites leaving the Rhine Valley were no longer suffering from persecution but were fleeing economic hardship. By the time the church officially withdrew its financial support, however, merchants had begun to replace it as a source of credit. The Zigmunds' letter indicated the beginning of the commercial transportation system that dominated the period of largest German-speaking immigration from 1727-1775.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, men like Jacob Schnebeli and the Amsterdam and Rotterdam merchants who participated in both the religious and commercial networks of the early eighteenth century provided the foundation on which the Hopes, Stedmans, and Shoemakers built their businesses. Schnebeli, who corresponded regularly with the Commission on behalf of Palatine Mennonite leaders, passed on information to emigrants about where and how to secure passage to America. Philadelphia merchants like Wistar, who did business with Swiss and Palatine immigrants, understood Schnebeli's role as a conduit of information. He relied on Schnebeli to find immigrants willing to carry his merchandise to Philadelphia and to collect money from the European relatives of his Pennsylvania debtors.⁵⁰ Thus Palatine and Dutch Mennonite leaders continued to convey information and make travel arrangements for Europeans migrating to America even after the church discontinued its financial support.

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While Pennsylvania and London merchants dominated the German-speaking immigrant transportation system of the eighteenth century, it was based on the religious communication channels of seventeenth-century radical Protestants. Dutch and Palatine Mennonites established regular correspondence

in an effort to aid fellow believers who were forced into exile. Close connections between Dutch and English Quakers and Mennonites in continental Europe resulted in the promotion of colonial ventures through those same channels. When Swiss exiles living in the Rhine Valley sought religious freedom in Pennsylvania, the Mennonite financial aid system extended across the Atlantic.

As increasing numbers of emigrants making the transatlantic voyage requested financial assistance, however, Dutch Mennonites were forced to re-evaluate their mission. While the Swiss exiles of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were fleeing religious persecution, Palatine emigrants in the 1710s and 1720s sought economic security. The Commission for Foreign Need withdrew its support for emigrants to Pennsylvania at the same time that English merchants began to offer credit. Ministers and lay leaders, however, continued to relay information and make travel arrangements for the emigrants. Thus, while the financial basis for the transportation system shifted, the structure that had been established in the seventeenth century remained at its foundation.

Notes

1. Caspar Wistar to Georg Friederich Hölzer, Nov. 20, 1736, Morris Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereinafter HSP).
2. Elizabeth F. Washburn, *Snively-Snavely Family History* (Baltimore, MD, 1986), 645-7 and Daniel K. Cassel, *History of the Kolb-Kulp Family* (Norristown, PA, 1895), 483-4.
3. Virginia D. Anderson, "Migrants and Motives: Religion and the Settlement of New England," *New England Quarterly*, 58 (1985):339-83; Gary Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726* (Princeton, NJ, 1968); George Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans along the Savannah* (Athens, GA, 1984).
4. For example, Bernard Bailyn, in *The Peopling of British North America, An Introduction* (New York, 1986), 60-86, argues that labor needs and land speculation drove much of the migration to the British colonies. Economic expansion is also the dominant common motivation factor cited by authors in Nicholas Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 1994).
5. Marianne Wokeck, "The Flow and Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (1981): 249-75 [hereafter PMHB]; Aaron Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia, 1996); Georg Fertig, "Transatlantic Migration from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe, 1600-1800: Proportions, Structures, and Explanations," in Canny, ed., *Europeans on the Move*, 192-235.
6. Marianne Wokeck, "Promoters and Passengers: The German Immigrant Trade, 1683-1775," in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1986) 259-78; Farley Grubb, "The Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants to Colonial America," *PMHB* 111 (1987): 27-48.
7. A. G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore, 1993), 95-132; Mark Häberlein, "German Migrants in Colonial Pennsylvania: Resources, Opportunities, and Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 50 (1993): 555-74.
8. Gary Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 3-47; Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House* (Chapel Hill, 1948), chapter 4; Renate Wilson, "Halle and Ebenezer: Pietism, Agriculture and Commerce in Colonial Georgia" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1988), chapters 6 and 7; and Wilson, "Die Halleschen Waisenhausmedikamente und die 'Höchstnötigste Erkenntnis' im Kolonialstaat Georgien: 1733-1765," *Schriftenreihe für Technik, Naturwissenschaften und Medizin* 28 (1991):109-28.
9. Richard K. MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683-1790* (Scottsdale, PA, 1985), 19-21; Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Believer's Church: The History and Character of Radical Protestantism* (Scottsdale, PA, 1985, 2nd ed.), 64-74.
10. MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood*, 21-4.
11. Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., *An Introduction to Mennonite History* (Scottsdale, PA, 1967) 89-102; MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood*, 24-5. By the end of the seventeenth century, Anabaptists throughout Central Europe were referred to as Mennonites or Baptists (*Mennoniten*, *Mennisten*, *Täufer*, *Wiedertäufer* etc.). For examples of the persecution of Dutch Anabaptists, see Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1883), 22-5.
12. Cornelius Krahn, *Dutch Anabaptism* (Scottsdale, PA, 1981), 253-4.
13. Karl Ludwig, Elector of the Palatinate (1649-1680), granted religious toleration to Mennonites, Hutterites, Sabbatarians, Huguenots, and Jews in an effort to rebuild the population of the Palatinate following the devastation of the Thirty Years War. See Meinrad Schaab, *Geschichte der Kurpfalz*, vol. 2, *Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1992), 136-8.
14. MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood*, 26-8. The communication channels of European Anabaptist groups are outlined in the papers

of the Dutch Mennonites' *Commissie voor de Buitenlandsche Nooden* (Commission for Foreign Needs), Archives of the Dutch Mennonite Church, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, Amsterdam (hereafter CFN). The collection consists of more than one thousand documents which are abstracted in J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Inventar der Archiefstukken Berustende bij de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdaam* (Amsterdam, 1883). A selection of these papers are on microfilm at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster, PA. Additional transcripts are at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, in a collection identified as "Dutch Papers."

15. CFN #1248 lists heads of households, family members, and the property they brought with them.

16. CFN #s 1248, 1400-1406; Nanne van der Zijpp, "The Dutch Aid the Swiss Mennonites," in Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., *A Legacy of Faith* (Newton, Kansas, 1962), 139-40; MacMaster, *Land, Piety, and Peoplehood*, 27.

17. CFN #1405. The ministers who signed a letter from the council included Valentin Huetwohl, Kriegsheim; Christian Peters, Gundersheim; Jacob Everlingh, Obersülzen; Jacob Gut, Hilsbach (Kraichgau); Hans Luscher, Schimbsheim; and Ulli Seyler, leader of the Swiss refugees. CFN #1248. For locations of the ministers, see Harold S. Bender, ed., "Palatine Mennonite Census Lists, 1664-1774," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 14 (1940):5-40.

18. CFN #1248. Many of the Mennonites in Krefeld originally came from the Netherlands and the surrounding areas of Gladbach (1654) and Rheydt (1694). Those from Gladbach and Rheydt were linen weavers who were instrumental in making Krefeld the regional center for the textile industry. Peter Kriedte, *Proto-Industrialisierung und Großes Kapital: Das Seidengewerbe in Krefeld und seinem Umland bis zum Ende des Ancien Regime*, (Bonn, 1983), 221-4.

19. CFN #1248.

20. William I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Swarthmore, PA, 1941) 8-11; Wilhelm Hubben, *Die Quäker in*

der deutschen Vergangenheit (Leipzig, 1929); Paul Michel, "Täufer, Mennoniten und Quäker in Kriegsheim bei Worms," *Der Wormsgau* 7 (1965/66): 41-8. Andrew Fix, "Mennonites and Collegiants in Holland, 1630-1700," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 64 (1990): 160-77; Leszek Kolakowski, "Dutch Seventeenth-Century Anticonfessional Ideas and Rational Religion: The Mennonite, Collegiant and Spinozan Connections," trans. by James Satterwhite, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 64 (1990): 162-297; 385-416; Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 25-8.

21. Hull, *Benjamin Furly*, 59-60; William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, PA, 1935), 196-204.

22. Badisches Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 77/4336b, 35 (hereafter GLA).

23. Hull, *Benjamin Furly*, 10-11; 59-60.

24. Hull, *William Penn*, 91-6, 280-4; Michel, "Täufer, Mennoniten, und Quäker," 44; MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood*, 34-5. For Penn's journal from his second journey, see Mary Maples Dunn and Richard Dunn, eds., *Papers of William Penn*, Vol. 1, 1644-1679 (Philadelphia, 1981). For Quakers speaking about Mennonites, see Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 25-8.

25. Michel, "Täufer, Mennoniten und Quäker," 43-4, Hull, *William Penn*, 266-91. Documentation concerning the Quakers in Kriegsheim is in the GLA, 77/4336 and 77/4337.

26. Hull, *William Penn*, 196-204.

27. Richard S. Dunn, "Penny Wise and Pound Foolish: Penn as a Businessman," in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 43; Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 13-15.

28. Sally Schwartz, "A Mixed Multitude: The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania" (New York, 1987), 23-4; Hull, *William Penn*, 236.

29. Historians of the nineteenth century disagreed over whether the settlers of Germantown were Quakers or Mennonites. While contemporary historians accept that the original immigrants were Quaker, many of

them were recently converted Mennonites and some had family members who remained in the Mennonite church. See, for instance, the Op den Graeff family, Hull, *William Penn*, p. 210-11; the Cassel family, Michel, "Täufer, Mennoniten und Quäker," 50; and the Kolb family, Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 37.

30. Hull, *William Penn*, 329-39.

31. Hull, *William Penn*, 239-53; J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, "Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania," *PMHB* 2 (1878): 122-3; Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 32-34.

32. CFN #s 1208-1225; 1254-11399; MacMaster, *Land, Piety and Peoplehood*, 27-8.

33. CFN #s 1009, 1255, 1392; Nanne van der Zijpp, "Dutch Aid the Swiss Mennonites," in Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., *A Legacy of Faith: The Heritage of Menno Simons* (Newton, KA, 1962), 145-9.

34. van der Zijpp, "Dutch aid Swiss Mennonites," 149-55.

35. CFN #s 2245, 2248-50, 2253.

36. CFN #2247. de Hoop Scheffer, "Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania," 120-1. For the organization of this congregation, see MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood*, 46.

37. Norris Family Papers, Journal, 1709-1716, 52; Number 7 1/2, Letterbook, 1709-1716, 103-4, in HSP; CFN #s 1420-1426. Adrian Rutgers may have been David Rutgers, an Amsterdam merchant involved in the Commission for Foreign Needs in the first decade of the 1700s. For examples of David Rutgers' participation, see CFN#s 1204, 1206, 1253. See also, van der Zijpp, "The Dutch Aid the Swiss Mennonites," 145-6.

38. MacMaster, *Land, Piety and Peoplehood*,

73; 80-3; Steve Friesen, *A Modest Mennonite Home* (Intercourse, PA, 1990), 25-39.

39. de Hoop Scheffer, "Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania," 126-30.

40. CFN #2256; de Hoop Scheffer, "Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania," 129-30.

41. CFN #s 1445, 2260 and 2262.

42. CFN #2261.

43. de Hoop Scheffer, "Mennonite Emigration," 130-1; CFN #s 2263, 2265. For the arrival of these immigrants, see Ralph B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers: A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727-1808*, ed. William J. Hinke (Baltimore, 1966), vol. I, 12-14.

44. CFN #2266.

45. CFN #s 1440, 2296.

46. CFN #2269.

47. CFN #s 2270-2278; de Hoop Scheffer, "Mennonite Emigration," 131.

48. CFN #2282, 2283; de Hoop Scheffer, "Mennonite Emigration," 131-2.

49. Marianne Wokeck has outlined the immigrant transportation system in "Promoters and Passengers: The German Immigrant Trade, 1683-1775," in Dunn and Dunn, *The World of William Penn*, 259-78. While Wokeck refers to the importance of the religious migration between 1683 and 1727 in forming the system, her evidence comes primarily from the period following 1727 and focuses on the secular immigration trade.

50. Georg Friederich Hölzer to Caspar Wistar, May 4, 1732; Caspar Wistar to George Friederich Hölzer, Oct. 28, 1733; Nov. 4, 1733; Nov. 20, 1736; Morris Family Papers, HSP. See also CFN #s 2260, 2263, 2270.