

over a half-century, the author demonstrates how this development was an ongoing, organic process, yet one that was static enough to be used consciously as a political expedient. These insights are both valuable and thought provoking. Still, the narrow geographical limits of the study leave something to be desired. Many readers may still wonder, was Pennsylvania and the mid-Atlantic unique, or do they represent the colonies as a whole?

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Katherine Carté Engel. *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Pp. 313, illustrations, notes, index. Cloth, \$39.95.)

Moravian settlements in colonial Pennsylvania have attracted a considerable amount of attention in recent years, with Craig D. Atwood's *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (2004) and Aaron Spencer Fogleman's *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (2007) addressing various aspects of religious life in Moravian Bethlehem. Katherine Carté Engel's *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* is an outstanding contribution to this literature. She effectively places Moravian missionary activity and economic relationships in the context of the larger global community of the *Unitas Fratrum* by exploring the bonds between the community at Bethlehem with the "home base" on Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf's estate in Herrnhut, Saxony.

Engel contends that missionary work was the basis of Moravian life. Zinzendorf established the main community of Bethlehem in December 1741 as a pilgrim congregation (*Pilgergemeinde*), and it quickly became the hub for missionary activity throughout the mid-Atlantic. Led by August Spangenberg, who began Moravian work in the colony in 1736, and Zinzendorf, Bethlehem developed into a thriving religious and economic center. These Moravian founders created a communal economic system known as the *Oeconomy* that, according to Engel, "implied a natural link between a practical, earthly household and a larger spiritual order" (33). A devotion to work dominated the daily life of Bethlehem's settlers; unfortunately, the emphasis on missionary work depleted the labor force and made the communal society less viable.

During the early years of Bethlehem, Zinzendorf's focus on uniting all of the German-speaking peoples into one Church of God in the Spirit caused considerable problems for the Moravians. All of their missionary efforts fit into the context of the Great Awakening, but Zinzendorf's efforts to include other German religious groups in the revivals met great resistance. Through a series of ecumenical conferences in early 1742, Zinzendorf hoped to incorporate these disparate religious groups into the Moravian fold. His efforts failed when some of the religious groups objected to the manner in which he baptized native converts. Because of this opposition, the Moravians concentrated their missionary efforts on converting the native populations to Christianity, although they did achieve some success in establishing new Moravian congregations in present-day Berks and Lancaster Counties.

Throughout the book, Engel reinforces the relationship between missionary activity among the natives and economic ventures—religion and profit—among the Moravians. Bethlehem's location along the Lehigh River enabled the community to engage in regional and international trade, along with developing trading partnerships with the Native Americans. These economic interactions with the Indians attempted to teach them moral trading practices, and financial considerations were often part of treaty negotiations.

The French and Indian War in the colonies and the Seven Years' War in Europe adversely affected the Moravians in Bethlehem and Herrnhut. The naval confrontations, in particular, disrupted communication and travel between the two communities, and the French navy sunk commercial vessels. Herrnhut was on the front lines of the European theater, and colonists feared that the Moravians supported the French because of their interactions with the Indians. The native attack on Gnadenhütten, however, demonstrated that these fears were unjustified. Treaty talks at Easton kept Bethlehem in the middle of diplomatic affairs during the conflict. The renewed violence of Pontiac's War, with additional attacks on mission towns, led the Pennsylvania government to demand that the Moravians end the new missions at Nain and Wechquetank. As a result, Bethlehem Moravians had to accept that "biracial communities would no longer be accepted in eastern Pennsylvania," and they located new missions further into the interior (184).

The early 1760s saw a change in Bethlehem. After Zinzendorf's death in May 1760, Moravian leaders reevaluated the effectiveness of the Oeconomy and planned for the dissolution of the communal society. In Herrnhut, meanwhile, Moravian leaders sought to centralize all missions in Germany, resulting in the elimination of Bethlehem's pilgrim congregation by 1765.

This change transformed Bethlehem into a Moravian congregation town (*Ortsgemeine*) similar to Herrnhut; missionary work continued to be a prominent feature of Moravian society. The primary outcome was a shift from communal-based labor to wage labor with a profit motive, with earnings based on contracts that included both profit sharing and steady salaries.

The shift from a communal society continued to evolve in the 1760s and 1770s. Leaders focused on personal behavior instead of community goals, and they began to welcome commerce with outsiders. The American Revolution, however, caused new problems for the Moravians; once again, they were out of step with other residents of Pennsylvania. Their pacifist beliefs led patriots to question their loyalty, even after large buildings remaining from the Oeconomy were converted into patriot hospitals. The state government increased taxes to raise funds, and it assessed fines on the Moravians who refused to pay levies to support the war effort and new government. Meanwhile, frontier warfare in the Wyoming Valley adversely affected the Moravian Indian mission at Friedenshütten, and missionaries relocated the settlement to Ohio.

The new communities along the frontier also reflected a shift in missionary work from volunteer to professional missionaries. This is especially evident with the efforts of David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder. This change reflected Bethlehem's transition from a "pilgrim congregation" to a congregation town, one that evolved from an emphasis on missionary work to one that focused on individual moral action within an increasingly complicated and diverse economy. The massacre of Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten in Ohio during the Revolution typifies the transformation; it resembled the earlier one in Pennsylvania, except that this time soldiers killed Indians, instead of Indians killing Christian missionaries. The main difference between the two was the delay in notification; Moravian leaders in Bethlehem knew about the attack in Pennsylvania the next day, while it took almost a month for news of the massacre in Ohio to reach Bethlehem.

Overall, *Religion and Profit* is an interesting study that places Moravian activity in the context of the Great Awakening, expanding Atlantic economy, and evolution of society in colonial Pennsylvania. The communal society created in the 1740s raised the capital necessary for Christian missionary activity, and its dissolution in the early 1760s reflected the changing interests and needs of the Moravian community following the death of its founder but did not reduce the efforts to convert the natives. The research is solid, and the endnotes thoroughly incorporate relevant primary sources and secondary

works related to the topic. The only weakness is a lack of information on the Moravian congregations outside Bethlehem, as the Moravians did succeed in establishing congregations among the German-speaking peoples in the region. In fact, Moravian activity in present-day Berks and Lancaster Counties attracted considerable attention from German Lutheran and Reformed religious leaders and ultimately contributed to the formation of their respective denominational organizations in the late 1740s. Overall, though, this is a fine book, and it is a worthy contribution to the growing literature on German settlement in colonial Pennsylvania.

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Mark Haberlein. *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1730–1820*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. Pp. xi, 276, notes, tables, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$79.00.)

“You can hardly imagine how many denominations you will find here,” a German settler in Hereford Township, Berks County, wrote to friends in Europe in 1768, but “we are always at peace with each other.” Indeed, anyone who despised another because of his religion would be considered foolish. “Everybody speaks his mind freely. A Mennonite preacher is my next neighbor and I could not wish for a better one. On the other side I have a big Catholic church” and “the present Jesuit Father . . . confides more in me than in those who come to him for confession . . . Next to them the Lutherans and Reformed have their congregations.” Pluralism was the rule in the experience of Schwenkfelder elder Christoph Schultz. “We are all going to and fro like fish in water.”

Was this the experience of other Pennsylvania communities? Was it confined to rural pockets like Schultz’s neighborhood? Mark Haberlein, professor of early modern history at the University of Bamberg in Germany, chose Lancaster to “demonstrate how religious diversity emerged and how adherents of various faiths interacted with one another in a single town.” He has succeeded in an admirable study illuminating many aspects of Lancaster’s first century. His meticulously-researched local history has broad implications for American religious history, as Haberlein has made a case for seeing