

# Introduction: Pietism in Two Worlds

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From the first major transport of Pietists to the New World in 1694, Pietism became a transatlantic phenomenon in the long eighteenth century. The migration of individuals, the creation of new communicative networks, and the continuing economic ties of religious communities in Europe and North America forged Pietist movements that shaped Protestantism on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, the interrelated development of these “pan-Atlantic” Pietist communities and networks underscores Bernard Bailyn’s concept of an Atlantic World rather than individual histories based on separate national identities.<sup>1</sup>

German speaking immigrants constituted one of the largest if not the largest group of European immigrants to North America in the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Many settled in Pennsylvania, but there were significant German settlements throughout the Atlantic colonies from Georgia to the upper Hudson River Valley. The wave of German immigration to the New World coincided with the rise of Pietist movements in Germany. Most immigrants brought with them their religion and religious controversies, and while only a small yet significant portion of the immigrants left Europe explicitly because of their Pietist convictions, North America presented new challenges for traditional European religions and afforded Pietists fresh opportunities for religious community and proselytization.

As the essays in this volume make clear, this was not simply a one-way form of traffic. Many Pietists were highly mobile within Europe and the larger Atlantic World. Pietists crossed the Atlantic with surprising frequency in both directions. As important as individual travel were the kinds of communicative networks that were established. Books, letters, and reports connected Protestants

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*, (Cambridge, Mass.: 2005), pp. 98–100. Bailyn described the development of an explicit Atlantic historiography in his foundational essay, ‘The Idea of Atlantic History’, *Itinerario*, 20 (1996), pp. 19–44, now revised and published with a second essay, “On the Countours of Atlantic History,” in *Atlantic History*. On recent approaches to Atlantic history see David Eltis, ‘Atlantic History in Global Perspective’, in *Itinerario* 23 (1999): 141–61, and the essays in Horst Pietschmann, (ed.) *Atlantic History: History of the Atlantic System*, (Göttingen, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Aaron Spencer Folsom, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 1–11. See also Marianne S. Wokeck, “German Settlements in the British North American Colonies: A Patchwork of Cultural Assimilation and Persistence,” in Hartmut Lehmann, et al., (eds), *In Search of Peace and Prosperity*, (University Park, 2000), p. 197.

interested in “building the Kingdom of God” throughout the Caribbean, the Atlantic colonies, Great Britain, Germany, and India, and creating part of what W.R. Ward has called the “Evangelical awakening.”<sup>3</sup> These networks extended beyond individual German Pietist groups and their daughter communities in North America and included, as well John Wesley and the Moravians, correspondence between Cotton Mather in New England and August Herman Francke in Halle, and the avid interest of German Pietists in the beginnings of the Great Awakening in New England.<sup>4</sup> To sustain their communities and missionary outreach, Pietists established important transatlantic economic ties that extended well beyond direct Pietist dependencies.<sup>5</sup>

Pietists in Europe and North America were by no means homogenous. Emerging in German speaking territories during the seventeenth century, Pietism was closely related to Puritanism in England and the *nadere reformatie* in the Netherlands. Dissatisfied with the established Lutheran and Reformed churches, Pietists sought to revivify Christianity and emphasized godly living, biblical devotion, regeneration, millennialism, and new forms of religious association. Pietists remained, however, theologically heterogeneous and varied significantly in their aims. Some churchly or ecclesial Pietists such as Philipp Jakob Spener, August Hermann Francke, and Theodor Untereyck sought to inculcate their reforms through the established churches. Other more radical Pietists such as Johann Konrad Dippel fiercely criticized the established churches and withdrew from them. Some like the Schwarzenau Brethren eventually established innovative forms of religious communities in places where the civil authorities would allow it.<sup>6</sup> The lines between radical and churchly Pietists could be quite fluid, but fundamental differences among Pietist groups remained, and their representatives carried their differences – and conflicts – with them to New World.

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<sup>3</sup> W.R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, (Cambridge, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> On Wesley and his connections to Pietism, see Frederick Dreyer, *The Genesis of Methodism*, (Bethlehem, 1999). On Mather and Francke, see Kuno Francke, “Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke,” *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* V, (1896): 57–67 and Richard Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather*, (Grand Rapids, 1979). Johann Adam Steinmetz translated Edwards’ *A Faithful Narrative* within a year as *Glaubwürdige Nachricht von dem herrlichen Werck Gottes, Welches sich In Bekehrung vieler hundert Seelen zu Northampton und an andern Orten in Neu-Engeland geäußert hat*, (Magdeburg, 1738).

<sup>5</sup> On this see Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2000) and Kate Carté Engel’s essay below.

<sup>6</sup> The most authoritative work on Pietism is the magisterial four-volume handbook, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, edited by Martin Brecht et al., (Göttingen, 1992–2004). The best short introduction is Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus*, (Göttingen, 2005). In English, F. Ernest Stoeffler’s two volumes: *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, 1965) and *German Pietism in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1973) remain the most detailed if considerably outdated treatments.

Over the past thirty years, scholarship on Pietism has flourished and become a vibrant area of inquiry on religion in the early modern/modern era.<sup>7</sup> Yet, its potential for understanding the Atlantic world in the eighteenth century has not been fully realized. German scholarship, with its emphasis on the more mainstream, “ecclesial” Pietists such as Philipp Jacob Spener and August Hemann Francke, has generally not incorporated the history of Pietist movements in North America into its central narratives of Pietism.<sup>8</sup> A few American scholars have taken up the influence of “ecclesial” or church Pietists in North America,<sup>9</sup> but American scholars of Pietism have tended to focus more on immigration and radical Pietist “sectarians” such as the Dunker Brethren or the Moravians rather than the “ecclesial” or church Pietists.<sup>10</sup> For their part, scholars of American religious history, while frequently acknowledging the numerous influences of Pietism on religion in North America, generally have not integrated themes of Pietism into their work.<sup>11</sup>

The essays in this volume are an attempt to bridge some of these divisions with work on the highest order. One problem in incorporating scholarship on Pietism more broadly has been the enduring problem of definition. In Anglo-American usage “Pietism” frequently lacks precision and can refer both to German Pietism

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<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, the diverse and interdisciplinary essays in *Glaubenswelt und Lebenswelten*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann, volume 4 of *Geschichte des Pietismus*, (Göttingen, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Typical of this are two recent but very distinct surveys by veteran Pietist scholars: Wallmann’s *Der Pietismus*, cited above, and Peter Schicketanz, *Der Pietismus von 1675 bis 1800*, (Leipzig, 2001). The same is true of Martin Schmidt’s older overview, *Pietismus*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, (Stuttgart, 1983). An important step towards inclusion of North American Pietist movements in German Pietist scholarship is the work of Hermann Wellenreuther and his students. See his essay below and Thomas J. Müller, *Kirche zwischen zwei Welten: Die Obrigkeitsproblematik bei Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg und die Kirchengründung der deutschen Lutheraner in Pennsylvania*, (Stuttgart, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> A. Gregg Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*, (Baltimore, 1993) and Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America* (University Park, Penn., 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Most recently, see Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2007). See also Stephen Longenecker, *Piety and Tolerance: Pennsylvania German Religion, 1700–1850* (Metuchen, N.J., 1994) and J. Steven O’Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith: The Legacy of the Otterbeins*, (Metuchen, N.J., 1973). Literature on the Moravians in America, especially, is flourishing in recent years. See the essays below by Kate Carté Engel, Beverly Smaby, and Jon Sensbach.

<sup>11</sup> On this point see A. Gregg Roeber, “The Problem of the Eighteenth Century in Transatlantic Religious History,” in *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, (University Park, PA: 2000), pp. 115–139, esp. p. 125, and the essay by Stephen J. Stein below.

in the narrow sense as well as a generic religious renewal.<sup>12</sup> In recent German scholarship, the controversy over the definition of Pietism has been intense and at times vituperative.<sup>13</sup> The first set of essays in this volume all deal with definitional questions of Pietism in a transatlantic context. Hartmut Lehmann provides an historical overview of the ways that definitions of the Pietism have changed in the last century, particularly in specific national contexts. Lehmann proposes that rather than understanding Pietism in strict definitional terms that often obscure the heterogeneity of Pietist movements, it be understood as a series of religious revivals in the Central Europe that were themselves part of a larger group of revivals in Europe and North America. As a consequence, Lehmann lays out a number of new directions for research that would extend Pietism studies and bring it into closer conversation with research of other religious renewal movements in the Atlantic World. This entails leaving an idealized understanding of German Pietism behind and taking social history, the process of migration, and the encounter with other religious revival movements more seriously.

From the point of view of a historian of American religion, Stephen Stein reviews the limited attention that standard works on American religious historians have granted Pietism and its influence on Protestantism in North America. Stein identifies a few exceptions, notably F. Ernest Stoeffler and Donald Durnbaugh, but Stein points out a series of the advantages that would accrue to American religious history if Pietism were taken more seriously: it would reinforce the transatlantic dimension of American religion, underscore the importance of non-English speaking religious communities, provide a stronger contextualization of the early evangelical awakenings in America, further the study of the social and cultural aspects of religious history, and geographically diversify narratives of American religious history by reorienting them away from their preoccupation with New England.

Alexander Pyrges explicitly addresses the question of Pietism and the Atlantic World. Drawing on Bailyn and others, he argues that the religious communication network that developed between the Ebenezer community in Georgia, England, and the Empire illustrates the advantage of placing Pietism within the context of an Atlantic system of networks. This, in turn, allows him to challenge older meta-narratives that tended to interpret Ebenezer as an outpost of Halle Pietism that gradually became “Americanized.” Drawing on extensive correspondence between England, Germany, and Ebenezer, Pyrges demonstrates how the analysis of such communicative networks enrich the scholarship on Pietism by showing the concrete conditions in which specific religious ideas and concepts developed and were received, giving better insight into Pietist linguistic forms, and illustrating how previously neglected sources can contribute to a broader picture of Pietism.

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<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Strom, ‘Problems and Promises of Pietism Research’, *Church History*, 71 (September 2002): 536–554.

<sup>13</sup> In overview, see Hartmut Lehmann ‘Engerer, weiterer und erweiterter Pietismusbegriff’, *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 29 (2004): 18–36.

Approaching the question of definition from the point of view of radical Pietism, Donald Durnbaugh argues that while the current historiographical disagreements on definitions have sometimes hindered the study of Pietism, in other respects the disagreements themselves underscore the eclectic nature of Pietist movements and the way in which Pietist networks crossed confessional, territorial, and “sectarian” boundaries. Analyzing three radical Pietists groups in colonial North America – the Philadelphians, the Ephrata Society, and the Separatists – Durnbaugh shows how each of these constituted a transatlantic network including Germany, England, and Pennsylvania. Letters, publications, and travelers flowed in multiple directions and influenced religious life on both sides of the Atlantic. Durnbaugh demonstrates that beyond geography, class, and even intellectual divisions, Pietists formed enduring networks among like-minded, spiritually awakened individuals, which did not prevent conflict, as he notes, but reinforces the idea of Pietist movements as an ecumenical expression of a religion of the heart.

In the second section on Dissent and Migration: The Old World Heritage, the authors examine the peripatetic existence that religious dissent forced upon radical Pietist groups in Europe and especially the Empire. As Hans-Jürgen Schrader notes in his essay, radical Pietists found themselves outside the legal structures of the official churches in the Empire because of by their heterodoxy and alternate visions of Christian community and were periodically forced by persecution to migrate and resettle. In his examination of the Inspirationist movement, Schrader observes that the practice of traveling to visit other awakened individuals and communities took on foundational importance for the Inspirationist movement and their prophets. Tracing their origins from the *Inspirés* in southern France, Schrader shows how the Inspirationists, even in the relatively tolerant territories of Wittgenstein and the Wetterau, were repeatedly uprooted and forced to migrate upon the death of a tolerant ruler or because of increasing imperial pressure. Yet it was not only persecution; the idea of the pilgrim congregation became central to Inspirationist identity in their goal of gathering awakened Christians for the coming kingdom of God. The persecutions continued well into the nineteenth century and eventually led to the emigration of the entire religious community to North America. In exploring the travel connections of the Inspirationists, Schrader suggests a number of new directions for continued research, especially in connections between literary and religious conceptions of “inspiration.”

Douglas Shantz draws on Peter Berger’s understanding of modern religiosity and the characteristic ideas of mobility and “homelessness” and applied them to radical Pietists in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Against the idea of an increasing confessionalization after 1648, Shantz argues that migration and the continued weakening of confessional structures were characteristic of Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century. Focusing on two radical clergy, Andreas Achilles in Brandenburg and Heinrich Horch in Hessen, Shantz follows their persecutions and forced relocations. In the context of their migrations, Shantz argues that the gathering of the pious in conventicles took on special meaning for both and that they incorporated notions of homelessness into their theological

worldviews. Once, however, their wanderings ceased, the conventicle lost its centrality for both, even as their chiliastic and sectarian convictions remained.

Following the migration of religious ideas across Europe, Willi Temme in his essay on Jakob Böhme, Jane Leade, and Eva von Buttlar describes how the idea of the divine Sophia, first developed in Böhme, was transformed through its English reception among the English Philadelphians, including John Pordage and his disciple Jane Leade who transmitted it back to radical Pietists in Germany. In the thought of the visionary Leade, Temme argues, the divine Sophia assumed dynamic new associations with mother, womb, and rebirth. Consequently, the apocalyptic sun-woman of Revelation 12 is taken from the realm of metaphysical and placed into the realm of history and fueled chiliastic expectation. Temme describes how Leade's young associate Francis Lee published her works in German through which her transfigured Behmenists ideas, particularly the more embodied sense of Sophia, were transmitted back to the radical Pietists in Germany around 1700. There they played an important role in the development of the radical Mother Eve Society, led by Eva von Buttlar, whose sexual practices made them one of the most notorious religious communities in the early eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Ruth Albrecht tackles religious dissent in her examination of Johanna Eleonora Petersen, the best-known woman in the early Pietist movement. Long neglected in Pietist studies, Petersen has become the subject of increasing attention in recent years along with the broader topic of women and Pietism.<sup>15</sup> Drawing on women's and gender studies, Albrecht argues that the case of Petersen challenges previous conceptions of women and the laity in Pietism. While Petersen felt compelled to provide justification for her published theological works in a way that educated laymen did not, Albrecht argues that Petersen cannot be understood simply as female lay theologian. Her role as a visionary – often cited as typically feminine in earlier works – was much more limited than that of Jane Leade and was subordinated to a Biblicism characteristic of the radical Pietists in Frankfurt, Albrecht notes. Instead, she depicts Petersen as a theological author who deliberately sought public debate on a range of theological issues, someone who did not call for a revision of gender relations but nonetheless contributed to a re-evaluation of gender relations through her publishing activity.

In the third section, Dissent and Migration: New World Confrontations, the contributors turn their attention to Pietist conflicts and diversity in North America. In his essay, Hermann Wellenreuther returns to the question of the heterogeneity of Pietist movements and the ensuing conflicts among them as they sought to take the

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<sup>14</sup> On von Buttlar, See Willi Temme, *Krise der Leiblichkeit. Die Sozietät der Mutter Eva (Buttlarsche Rotte) und der radikale Pietismus um 1700*, (Göttingen, 1998) and Barbara Hoffmann, *Radikalpietismus um 1700. Der Streit um das Recht auf eine neue Gesellschaft*, (Frankfurt/Main, 1996).

<sup>15</sup> A new translation of Petersen's influential autobiography has just appeared: *The Life of Lady Johanna Eleonora Petersen, Written by Herself*, edited and translated by Barbara Becker-Cantarino, (Chicago, 2005).

lead among German immigrants. Wellenreuther identifies three varieties of Pietist movements in colonial America: the followers of Zinzendorf, the independently minded Pietists from Württemberg and Baden, and the institutional Hallensian Pietism represented by Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg. The quarrels that erupted centered less on theological doctrines, per se, than on the understanding and governance of the church, and, in particular the role of the laity vis á vis the clergy. While Mühlenberg triumphed in some respects, Wellenreuther argues that the North American context did not allow for a continuation of the established church structure of Germany (*Amtskirche*), whether the congregations were Pietistic or Orthodox in orientation. Wellenreuther argues that the conflicts between Mühlenberg and the more radical Pietists led to a distinctly American synthesis of German Pietism, in which the laity took on a more powerful role in the affairs of the church and yet continued to practice an active piety within the household.

One of the most vibrant areas of current research on Pietism in the New World is focused on the renewed Unity of the Brethren, usually known in English as the Moravians. Three essays in this section deal with the conflicts of the Moravians – among themselves and within the larger culture of the Atlantic world. Kate Carté Engel examines the Moravian community in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Engel notes the difficulty of locating Bethlehem's unique history within current models of historiography, which generally see in Bethlehem a model of decline and gradual American assimilation after the dissolution of the practice of communal property and living or *Oeconomy*. Instead, Engel stresses the uniqueness of Bethlehem as a *Pilgergemeinde* or pilgrim congregation among large Moravian settlements. She argues that Bethlehem was predominately a place of support and outreach for Moravian missionary activity, and this, much more than its communalism, was central to Bethlehem's identity. The communalism of the *Oeconomy* was originally a tool designed to serve the town's missionary endeavors better, and only gradually, she argues, did the inhabitants of the community come to imbue communalism with its own spiritual value. Consequently, the end of the *Oeconomy* in Bethlehem was less about a decline in spiritual fervor than it was a change in the nature of the community from a *Pilgergemeinde* to a *Ortsgemeinde*, a form of community more typical of Herrnhut and other Moravian settlements. In the process, Bethlehem lost its distinctive place in Moravian missionary activity.

Beverly Smaby investigates the loss of female authority among the Moravians after the death of Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. During his lifetime, women enjoyed an extraordinary amount of leadership within Moravian communities. Women were ordained as deaconesses and individuals, such as Anna Nitschmann, exercised enormous influence throughout the Moravian movement. While there were clear limits to women's authority under Zinzendorf, the Moravians represented a clear challenge to gender norms in both Europe and North America. After Zinzendorf's death the situation for women changed substantially, and Smaby describes the deliberate attempts by Moravian leaders in the 1760s to restrict women's activities in Bethlehem and exclude them from positions of authority, even within the Single Sisters Choir, where Moravian women had

traditionally enjoyed the highest levels of autonomy. Describing these changes in Bethlehem and the reactions of women to them, Smaby notes that many women resisted the strictures placed on them in the work of the church, but the structure of the Moravian synods and communities afforded women little opportunity to reverse the decisions of the male leadership.

In his essay on the Moravian missions in the West Indies, Jon Sensbach explores the beginnings of Black Protestantism in the Atlantic World. Arguing that the importance of the Caribbean missions for the development of Black evangelical religion has not been fully appreciated, Sensbach describes the origins of the Moravian mission on St. Thomas and the challenge this presented to racial norms there. By drawing on the Afro-Caribbean worshippers to spread their message, such as the free black woman Rebecca, the early Moravian missions enjoyed particular success, despite violent responses from the planters. The marriage of Rebecca to a German missionary intensified the conflict between Moravians and the planters, and both she and her husband were arrested. While Zinzendorf was able to save the mission with a personal appeal to the authorities, it came at a cost, as Zinzendorf and the Moravians invoked Biblical justifications for slavery. Eventually the colonial authorities came to welcome them as desirable buttresses for the plantation system. Sensbach points to the continuing success of the Moravian mission on St. Thomas, which became a model for expanding their work throughout the Caribbean by bringing Black evangelists with them. Sensbach sees these as part of a larger Black Pietist community that became increasingly mobile and created a transatlantic community of Black Pietists whose activities in America, Europe, and Africa came to form a spiritual triangle trade.

Helene Kastinger Riley describes in her essay the challenges and controversies confronting Pietist immigrants as they vied for religious leadership in Georgia. With support from Halle, the Salzburg refugees settled near Savannah at Ebenezer, but they were challenged by Zinzendorf's followers, the Moravians, who had much more success in their attempts to missionize the Native Americans. Although the Moravians eventually abandoned Georgia, Riley described how another Pietist, Christian Gottlieb Priber, developed his utopian ideals among the Cherokee. When his activities conflicted with Oglethorpe's colonial designs in Georgia, he was arrested, and he died in captivity.

In the fourth section on new directions in Pietist research, Benjamin Marschke approaches Pietism through a re-evaluation of the relationship between Pietism and the Prussian state. Marschke reviews the historiography on Brandenburg Prussia and Pietism, particularly the influence of seminal works by Carl Hinrichs and Klaus Deppermann.<sup>16</sup> Where Deppermann and Hinrichs tended to emphasize the cooperation and collaborations between the Hohenzollerns and the Pietists, Marschke's analysis of the intricate patronage network established by Pietists in

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<sup>16</sup> Carl Hinrichs, *Preußentum und Pietismus: Der Pietismus in Brandenburg-Preußen als religiös-soziale Reformbewegung* (Göttingen, 1971) and Klaus Deppermann, *Der halleische Pietismus und der preußische Staat unter Friedrich III. (I.)*, (Göttingen, 1961).

Brandenburg-Prussia reveals a more conflictual relationship, both within Pietism itself and with regard to the crown. Further, understanding Pietism as a “faction,” particularly at court, affords historians a better understanding of the nature of Pietism in Prussia and the functioning of the Prussian state. Marschke argues that Pietists were often vigorously opposed to policies of Friedrich Wilhelm, and through their patronage network they sought to block his agenda. Although this never resulted in open dissent, for Marschke these conflicts within Pietism and the contentious relationship to the state call for a re-evaluation of Pietism and Prussia.

James van Horn Melton examines the nature of clandestine Protestantism in Salzburg and the role of Pietism and the confessional identity of Protestants in the archbishopric prior to their mass expulsion in the 1730s. Although Pietists in Germany would hail these oppressed Protestants as true Pietists, Melton shows through inventories and interrogation records that the Salzburg Protestants demonstrated little Pietist influence before their exile. Melton describes the way the Salzburg Protestants retained a relatively strong Lutheran confessional identity through continued circulation of Protestant literature, clandestine conventicles, and the periodic migration of individuals to other territories. Even figures such as Joseph Schaitberger, an earlier exile whose frequently reprinted *Sendbrief* was crucial for maintaining confessional identity of the Protestants, demonstrate little affinity for any form of Pietism that would challenge Lutheran orthodoxy. Melton concludes that while the Salzburg Protestants shared a number of characteristics with German Pietists – especially conventicles and an emphasis on Biblicism – the influence of Pietism remained negligible until Pietist leaders such as Samuel Urlsberger took up their cause in the wake of the expulsions.

In his essay Christopher Clark examines the connection between Pietist millenarian thought and the conversion of the Jews. The goal of Jewish conversion was not limited to Pietists in the seventeenth century, but Clark describes the way in which the reform agenda of Spener and Francke became closely linked with the conversion of the Jewish people, which would then herald a new era. In their efforts, Pietists were particularly concerned with the socio-economic status of Jews in Germany and they sought to draw Jewish converts away from what Pietists understood as the morally damaging occupations of itinerant trading and peddling. Clark shows a striking affinity between Pietist criticisms of Judaism and those found in the German Enlightenment. While Pietist successes at Jewish conversion were, at best, modest in the eighteenth century, their unique joining of millenarian and missionary impulses continued in German Protestantism well into the nineteenth century, placing Jews in the difficult bind of being asked to deny the validity of their religion and nevertheless to play a central part in Christian millenarian plans. Clark suggests that this understanding of the Jews was characteristic of German Protestantism, but among evangelicals in North America, under radically different social and cultural circumstances, this view could gain little purchase, even among those strongly influenced by Pietism.

Ulrike Gleixner explores how the methods of gender studies can direct Pietism studies toward new lines of inquiry. Noting the lack of attention given to women in traditional scholarship on Pietism, Gleixner proposes incorporating new sources and re-appropriating older ones in order to develop narratives and counter-narratives that would address issues of women in history, femininity, masculinity, and the role of gender difference in establishing power. Using examples from Lutheran Pietism of Württemberg, Gleixner argues that Pietism enabled women to expand their participation and agency in religion. Many Pietist women took an active role in prayer meetings and conventicles, corresponded extensively with Pietist pastors, and became involved with the production of Pietist literature. This was the case not only at the beginning of the movement, as some scholars have argued, but continued throughout the eighteenth century. These changes, Gleixner points out, inevitably led to tensions within Lutheran Pietism, which did not challenge the traditional subordination of women in the family. Consequently, while Pietism expanded women's activities and the concept of "spiritual equality," it did not lead to a Pietist demand for civil equality.

These new essays on Pietism in Germany and North America represent some of the most innovative research on Protestantism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Illuminating the migrations, networks, dissent, and social workings of Pietists, they describe how these movements shaped Protestantism and religious culture on both sides of the Atlantic in the transition from the early modern to modern periods.