

**PERPLEXION AND PLEASURE:  
THE GEISTLICHER IRRGARTEN BROADSIDES IN THE GERMAN-  
AMERICAN PRINTSHOP, HOME, AND MIND**

by

Trevor Carl Brandt

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in American Material Culture

Spring 2017

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Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Catharine Dann Roeber, Ph.D.  
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
J. Ritchie Garrison, Ph.D.  
Director of the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
George H. Watson, Ph.D.  
Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Ann L. Ardis, Ph.D.  
Senior Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A project involving the compilation of German-language broadsides spread across two continents and nearly four centuries must necessarily involve a substantial support network, and it is to the people of this network that I extend my thanks. My sincerest gratitude goes out to the staff and faculty at the Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library. My time at Winterthur has taught me to explore the lives of paper objects beyond what is evident through their printed or written text, and these skills have formed the foundations of this thesis. Friends and mentors at Winterthur such as Dr. J. Ritchie Garrison, Gregory Landrey, Dr. Thomas Guiler, Chase Markee, Susan Newton, Laura Olds Schmidt, and the incomparable curators have offered support and guidance throughout my time at Winterthur, and I would not have progressed through this program without them. Librarians and archivists such as Emily Guthrie, Laurie Perkins, Jeanne Solensky, and Laura Parrish have also provided their advice and aid throughout my time at Winterthur, and I thank them as well. Joan Irving, paper conservator and affiliated associated professor at Winterthur, offered invaluable advice in the examination of paper objects early in my research, and I could not have studied these devotional broadsides without her expertise. Lisa Minardi and Alex Ames—Winterthur graduates, brilliant scholars of Pennsylvania German material culture, and wonderful friends—provided continuous support and guidance throughout this project, and the 1832 Enos Benner Geistlicher Irrgarten loaned by Lisa for the duration of my thesis provided an unending source of academic edification.

I also thank those who have opened their archives, libraries, and collections to me. Russell Earnest and Pat Earnest Suter, experts in German-American broadside scholarship, generously allowed me to peruse their massive archive and library and offered valuable advice on several aspects of these broadsides that I would not have discovered on my own. David Luthy of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library in Ontario opened his collection to me over several days, and I thank him for his time and insight. Staff and librarians at several other academic and heritage institutions were also greatly supportive during this project—Christopher Raab at the Franklin and Marshall College Library and Candace Perry and Dr. Allen Viehmeyer at the Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library are a few of the many people who have lent their time and energy to my project. I also thank Reg Good for our helpful email correspondences and for providing images of Canadian Geistlicher Irrgarten that I would not otherwise have found. I also thank Ray and Jill Nichols at Lead Graffiti, Inc. for an afternoon teaching of me the basics of eighteenth-century printing. Their enthusiasm for the Geistlicher Irrgarten was also much appreciated, and it gave me the impetus that I needed to finish my first body chapter.

Finally, I must thank those who have remained at the heart of this thesis. My family—Bruce, Cindy, Derek, and Parker—have continued to be supportive and enthusiastic throughout the entire process. I also extend my warmest thanks and gratitude to my cohort at Winterthur—Sarah Berndt, Michelle Fitzgerald, Emelie Gevalt, Libby Meier, Lan Morgan, Kristen Semento, and Allie Ward. Bouncing ideas around with you all has been an endless source of inspiration, and I am pleased that we have remained a close group of friends throughout our two years at Winterthur. Finally, I thank my brilliant adviser, Dr. Catharine Dann Roeber. Catharine's expert



advice and editing has brought this thesis from vague curiosity to a sizeable compilation of devotional broadsides. At the same time, Catharine's endless enthusiasm for my project has allowed me to continue writing and hunting more broadsides when my own optimism began to waver. I could not have asked for a better friend and mentor.

*For My Family*

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on a long-lived genre of German-language, Christian devotional broadsides—the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* (Spiritual Labyrinths). First printed by German-speakers in Europe and later by German Protestants in North America, the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* use wandering text—printed sideways and upside-down into the form of a garden maze—to force readers to physically manipulate the broadside for pleasure and spiritual edification. In this way, the *Irrgarten* are “imagetexts”, or a synthesis of both image and text.<sup>1</sup> While arresting the eyes by combining image and text, the *Irrgarten* are also objects that engage the other senses by encouraging verbalization of the rhyming story and cleverly replicating an underlying element of structural labyrinths: bodily movement.

I use material-based evidence to understand North American *Geistlicher Irrgarten* through the lens of various forms of movement. I begin by examining the genre’s adoption by German-American printers and the motivations for producing these technically-challenging objects across several nineteenth-century, Mid-Atlantic printshops. Next, I study evidence of use and storage in the household such as folding and pinning. By delineating patterns in the physical treatment of these paper objects, I frame the movement of these objects both within one’s hands and in the domestic

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of “imagetexts” are expanded upon by David Morgan in his work on religious visual culture. Such constructs might also be termed ‘calligrams.’ See David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: The University of California Press, 2012), 163.

space, allowing me to connect the Irrgarten with wider traditions of Protestant devotional culture. Finally, while one must “perform” the Irrgarten to engage with it, they are also objects carried across geographic and confessional boundaries and embody the mobility of Christian worldviews across space. This final chapter examines the movement of individual broadsides across these boundaries and ends by interpreting the Geistlicher Irrgarten as objects still in motion today. Through discussion of the production, usage, and longevity of this genre of devotional materials, I demonstrate the importance of approaching paper-based objects—traditionally understood as intended only for visual engagement—instead as three-dimensional constructs requiring complex physical understanding.

## INTRODUCTION

“I SAW A GARDEN IN THE DISTANCE...”<sup>2</sup>

The *Geistlicher Irrgarten* (Spiritual Labyrinth) broadsides printed and purchased in North America between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries constitute a fascinating yet largely unexamined area of broadside scholarship. This study remedies this lack of representation in scholarly literature by surveying known editions of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* to provide a reference for scholars and collectors of Protestant and German-American printed materials. In addition to this survey, I deepen understanding of these broadsides through three chapters that explore the genre’s embodiment of commercial, domestic, geographic, and spiritual movement. After describing these objects and tracing their early histories in Europe and North America in this introduction, I track changes in design and textual elements that provide evidence for the genre’s movement across early-nineteenth century Mid-Atlantic printshops and printers’ motivations for creating these demanding objects. In the second chapter, I study the broadsides’ storage patterns within German-American households such as folding and pinning, allowing greater contextualization of how users engaged with these objects in the domestic environment and revealing links between the *Irrgarten* and wider trends in Protestant devotional culture. Finally, the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* are also objects carried across geographic and confessional

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<sup>2</sup> All quotations from *Geistlicher Irrgarten*, unless otherwise noted, derive from the author’s translations. Chapter titles are translated from the 1784 edition of Ephrata’s *Geistlicher Irrgarten*. See Appendix A for transcription and translation and Appendix B, cat. 14.1 for the broadside.



boundaries and embody the movement of Christian worldviews across space. This final chapter examines the movement of individual broadsides across such boundaries and ends by interpreting the Irrgarten as remaining in motion among enthusiasts and pious readers today.

This research is delineated in two primary ways. The Geistlicher Irrgarten, despite the seeming uniqueness of their non-linear printed text, fall within wider traditions of paper-based materials employing labyrinth motifs. Manuscripts such as the English and German “A True Love Knot” also utilize non-linear text to encourage higher degrees of tactility and concentration in the act of reading. While these objects are thematically related to the Geistlicher Irrgarten, their associations with courtship practices distinguish them from the Irrgarten, which I define as printed objects incorporating a fusion of image and text intended to provide the reader with spiritual edification.<sup>3</sup> Additional labyrinth-motif religious manuscripts such as the “Spiritual Flower Gardens” surviving in Mid-Atlantic archives are historically related to the Geistlicher Irrgarten but are excluded as this study focuses on broadsides. Manuscript imitations of printed Geistlicher Irrgarten are included within this study’s catalog for reference, but they are not included within core analyses.<sup>4</sup> Second, this research only examines objects printed in North America. While this body of research and work by scholars such as David Luthy have identified European Geistlicher Irrgarten, the genre remained far more popular in the New World due to reasons specific to the

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<sup>3</sup> David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: The University of California Press, 2012), 163.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B, cat. 35.1, 36.1 and 37.1

experiences of German-Americans in North America.<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting that the two restrictions to this research do not exclude non-German language Geistlicher Irrgarten. This study has identified examples printed in French, Dutch, and English.<sup>6</sup> While the French and Dutch broadsides were printed in Europe and thus are not analyzed, the English editions were translated directly from the German and printed in several locations in North America. These broadsides were only known to have been purchased and used by those of German ethno-religious—especially Anabaptist—heritage such as the Amish and Mennonites. These English examples were likely never popular among eighteenth and nineteenth-century Anglo-American Protestants.

The body of Geistlicher Irrgarten—German and occasionally English—remaining for analysis are divided into two categories. The majority of analyzed Irrgarten—92 of 103 total, between the years 1762 and 1983—fall within the *Vier Gnadenbrunnen* or the “Four Springs of Grace” category, representing the archetypical Geistlicher Irrgarten as the genre’s most common and long-lived form, as exhibited in figures 1 and 2. North American editions of the Four Springs broadsides feature the title “Geistlicher Irrgarten” and an introduction panel describing its purpose in teaching spiritual lessons through the wandering text.<sup>7</sup> As mentioned, this text also functions as an image as it twists into the form of a garden maze. While arresting the

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<sup>5</sup> David Luthy, *Our Amish Devotional Heritage* (Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers, 2016), 125. See cat. 7.1. This last-identified European edition was printed in 1822 while the last-known North American printing, cat. 22.1, dates to 1983.

<sup>6</sup> See cat. 10.1, 11.1, 16.1, 17.2, and 20.1 for English-language examples. See cat. 3.1 for the Dutch example and 5.1 for the French Geistlicher Irrgarten.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix A for transcriptions and translations of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen* printed at Ephrata in 1784.

eye by combining image and text, the Four Springs broadsides engage other senses by encouraging verbalization of the rhyming story and cleverly replicating the bodily movement needed to traverse a structural labyrinth or garden maze.<sup>8</sup> This feature forces readers to lift and manipulate the sheet to accommodate hundreds of text-turns, turning reading into a performative act. The text itself narrates the decidedly non-denominational story of an anonymous protagonist dreaming of being lost within a strange garden. Through discussion with an angelic guide, the wanderer learns that the only path through the labyrinth of life is belief in Christ and adherence to his teachings. At four points, the text—and, therefore, the reader’s journey—passes through the four “Springs of Grace,” or places where one finds spiritual nourishment. These Four Springs are motifs drawn from medieval imagery of Paradise, which “includes the Well of Life, from which the four rivers flowed to water the world...”<sup>9</sup> Thus, the Springs are areas where the waters of Paradise flow to nourish weary wanderers on the Christian path. As explored later in this chapter, the Four Springs also mimic picnic areas included within baroque court mazes, further mirroring themes of worldly nourishment. While these broadsides maintain remarkable degrees of consistency across an enormous temporal and geographic range, the Four Springs

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<sup>8</sup> Scholars of labyrinths and mazes distinguish between the two by noting, “The difference between [labyrinths and mazes] lies in the possibility of choosing between different Paths so as to reach the Center.” In a labyrinth, the difficulty is in “... losing one’s sense of orientation and time, and the hardships of the way” while mazes present the wanderer with many options. This possibility of choice is significant in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation. Note that the distinction between ‘maze’ and ‘labyrinth’ is maintained throughout this paper to avoid confusion. See Rubén Wengiel, *Europe’s Mazes: On Labyrinthine Thought in Architectural Design* (Jerusalem: European Forum at the Hebrew University, 2008), 9.

<sup>9</sup> Nancy-Lou Patterson, *The Language of Paradise: Folk Art from Mennonite and Other Anabaptist Communities of Ontario* (London, Ont.: London Regional Art Gallery, 1985), 16.

themselves are the areas where differences between editions are most evident. Several feature biblical verses corresponding to locations within the text while others contain biblical quotes or images. Others are left blank either for a simpler aesthetic or for customers to illuminate themselves.<sup>10</sup> While editions differ in ornamentation, the wandering text in all examples eventually returns to the top of the text opposite the first line, in the “same way that all waters flow out of the sea and return again to the same.” Finally, printers often included their imprint above or below the labyrinth identifying his name, location, and. occasionally the broadside’s price.

While the text itself remains largely consistent in all identified Four Springs of Grace broadsides, a single variation in how printers composed the type permits the recognition of two additional subcategories of the Four Springs that become popular in different areas of North America. The persistence of this variation between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries resulted from printers copying the Geistlicher Irrgarten of local competitors to expedite composition of their edition. The first subcategory, “version A”, is highlighted in figure 1. These broadsides feature the opening three lines of the labyrinth’s text trailing back-and-forth across the width of the broadside’s recto before twisting around the first Spring. Version A broadsides were simpler to compose and read as they incorporate relatively few twists. This version is also the older variety of Irrgarten in North America and is only form of the printed Four Springs of Grace identified in Europe. By the mid-nineteenth and

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<sup>10</sup> Printers, peddlers, and consumers occasionally illuminated, or hand-colored, the Geistlicher Irrgarten. This practice is especially evident in the broadsides printed at Ephrata in 1784 and 1785 by the renowned scrivener, Henrich Otto. Illuminated Irrgarten are also evident into the nineteenth century. Excluding the examples printed at Ephrata, illuminated Irrgarten were the minority of each printshop’s identified broadsides. See cat. 14.1, 14.2, 27.1.6, and 26.1.3 for examples of illuminated broadsides.

twentieth centuries, Anabaptist printers in the American Midwest and Canada were the sole printers of the version A broadsides. These broadsides will be more fully contextualized in the third chapter when considering Amish and Mennonite usage of these objects. The second type of the Four Springs Geistlicher Irrgarten, “version B”, can be seen in figure 2. This version features the opening line twisting after only three words (*Als Adam in*) instead of traversing the page’s width. These broadsides are more complex to print and read as they include a higher degree of non-linear text than the first version. The text of version B broadsides (excluding those printed at Ephrata) often end in ‘Amen’, suggesting a clearer understanding of their role in prayer. As mentioned above, this research has not identified version B Four Springs broadsides printed in Europe. Instead, the form appears to have been developed at the Ephrata Cloister’s printshop in the late-1780s.<sup>11</sup> Printers in the Mid-Atlantic states, especially Pennsylvania, continued to produce this form into the mid-nineteenth century, and the patterns in the print history of this version are the focus of chapter one.

Although the first broad category of Geistlicher Irrgarten—the Four Springs of Grace—is represented over an extended period, the second category, the *Irr-und Abwegen* or the “Perplexing and Winding Way” broadsides, saw more concise production. Joseph Bauman of Ephrata (1789-1862) printed these broadsides in 1819 and 1820, and they comprise 11 of the 103 surveyed objects.<sup>12</sup> These broadsides, though Bauman does not refer to them as Geistlicher Irrgarten, are included within analysis as they are printed devotional imagetexts and therefore subject to this study.

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<sup>11</sup> See cat. 14.3.

<sup>12</sup> See cat. 34.1 and 34.2.

Bauman's 1819 edition contains only a short imprint, but the 1820 reprint includes a detailed introduction explaining that the broadside's arcane designs were drawn from Ezechiel Sangmeister (1723-1785), an Ephratan monk and mystical theologian. While the Cloister and its printshop had ceased to function by 1792, Bauman's family had managed the Brotherhood's printing operations and continued private operations after its official dissolution.<sup>13</sup> The broadsides' designs form an imagetext that mimics the "Broad and Narrow Way" images popular among German-speakers, especially evident in the frontispiece to Ephrata's edition of the Mennonite text, *The Martyrs Mirror*. As seen in figure 3, both Bauman's broadside and the possibly-Dutch copperplate etching feature heaven and earth at opposite corners while delineating paths for believers and the dangers awaiting non-believers.<sup>14</sup> Like this frontispiece, the Winding Way broadsides feature a stylized sun in one corner noted as representing "the eternal and incomprehensible Divinity."<sup>15</sup> The path to union with this divinity proceeds diagonally from a circular representation of earth—"that great Babel, or the worldly kingdom"—in the bottom-left. By following God's laws, one's soul could proceed directly from earth to God. The sins warned against in the key, however, caused one to falter and become caught in the spinning text on either side of the path. Like the Four Springs broadsides, Bauman's editions represent God's teachings as guiding man out of the world-labyrinth. However, the Winding Way eschews the non-denominational nature

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<sup>13</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets: Pennsylvania German Broadside, Fraktur and Their Printers* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Books, 2005), 280.

<sup>14</sup> David Luthy, *A History of the Printings of the Martyrs' Mirror: Dutch, German, English 1660-2012*, (Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers, 2012), 21.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix A for original quotations from the Winding Way broadsides.

of the Springs of Grace, instead hearkening to radical Ephratan pietism—perhaps spurred by the Second Great Awakening—by warning against, among other worldly vices, “the maze of reading too many books” and “false preachers.” Additionally, while the Springs of Grace suggest that salvation is accessible from within the world by providing springs where man finds nourishment, Bauman’s prints reveal that God’s teachings remove one’s soul from the earth as “the final sacrifice offered to the Father’s hands.” In this sense, the Winding Way broadsides are spiritual maps to God, emphasized by the inclusion of a referential key.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, the Four Springs of Grace and Winding Way broadsides represent the North American incarnations of the Geistlicher Irrgarten examined in this study. Before beginning discussion of the genre’s history in North America and analyzing surveyed examples, I summarize existing scholarly examination of these printed labyrinths. I then discuss the genre’s origins in the spiritual literature of early modern Europe and adoption by early pietist circles in the German states.<sup>17</sup> Understanding the genre’s history in Europe allows us to better understand its movement to America and popularity among German-speakers on both continents.

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<sup>16</sup> See Appendix A for a transcription and translation of the 1820 edition of Joseph Bauman’s Winding Way broadsides.

<sup>17</sup> Pietism is defined as the trends in folk mysticism emerging in 17th century Christianity “emphasiz[ing] the practice of the Christian life along with themes of repentance, sanctification, and millenarian hopes” and a general rejection of the mainstream, ‘high’ ecclesial life seen in orthodox Catholic and Protestant churches. See Jonathan Strom, ed., *Pietism and Community in Europe and North America, 1650-1850* (Boston: Brill Publishers, 2010), p. 2.

## Historiography

German-American broadsides have received a great deal of attention within the last several decades. While the field has traditionally been neglected due to the relative popularity of manuscript fraktur, researchers such as Herman Wellenreuther, Klaus Stopp, Trudy Gilgenast, Don Yoder, Russell and Corinne Earnest, and Pat Earnest Suter have vitally contributed to the invigoration of German-language broadside scholarship. These scholars have recognized the unique value of broadsides in providing snapshots of the political, religious, economic, and social conditions surrounding their German-speaking printers and consumers.<sup>18</sup>

Several scholarly works have provided the methodological and conceptual foundation for this study. Klaus Stopp's definitive six volume *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans* and Corinne and Russell Earnest's *Paper for Birth Days: Guide to the Fraktur Artists*, in addition to providing great deals of information on individual printers, demonstrate the necessity of a well-trained eye when attributing anonymous broadsides to printers and differentiating between a single printer's reprinted editions. This far smaller study of the Geistlicher Irrgarten has replicated several aspects of Stopp's survey as is evident in the attached catalog. While Stopp and Russell and Corinne Earnest have provided methodological

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<sup>18</sup> Herman Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730-1830* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets: Pennsylvania German Broadsides, Fraktur and Their Printers* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Books, 2005); Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Papers for Birth Days: Guide to the Fraktur Artists and Scriveners* (Albuquerque, NM: Russell D. Earnest Associates, 1989); Don Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); Klaus Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans vols. 1-6* (Mainz, Germany and East Berlin, PA: Klaus Stopp, 1997); Trudy Gilgenast, *Pennsylvania German Broadsides: A Reflection of Daily Life, 1741-1890* (Wilmington, DE: Cedar Tree Books, 2009).



inspiration for the survey accompanying this paper, Herman Wellenreuther's *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730-1830* has been particularly beneficial for better understanding the social and economic contexts of German-American religious broadsides. Wellenreuther's research undertakes a thorough compilation and statistical analysis of German-American broadsides, breaking them into thematic categories. While dedicating only a page to the Geistlicher Irrgarten, Wellenreuther's collation is key to framing the Irrgarten within larger understandings of pietist broadsides. Wellenreuther's textual analysis, by revealing the surprisingly non-denominational nature of most German-language devotional broadsides, has helped to form the theoretical foundation for the first and third chapters of this study as the Geistlicher Irrgarten closely adhered to such trends.<sup>19</sup> Wellenreuther, by suggesting that devotional broadsides fulfilled vital religious needs when qualified German-speaking pastors were underrepresented through the early-nineteenth century, has helped to underline the reasons that North American printers and purchasers in particular favored the Geistlicher Irrgarten.<sup>20</sup>

Several scholars have engaged more deeply with individual broadside genres than the wider studies discussed above. The most in-depth analysis of the Geistlicher Irrgarten has been conducted by David Luthy, a historian of Anabaptist history and culture, in his book on Amish devotional literature and a brief article on the Irrgarten themselves. Luthy's article traces a history of the genre and poses several questions

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<sup>19</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 154.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

with which this thesis has also grappled. The following chapters have sought to build upon Luthy's article by broadening examination to include all known North American editions.<sup>21</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest's study of Pennsylvania-German broadsides also dedicates several pages to the Geistlicher Irrgarten, describing and contextualizing both the Four Springs of Grace and the Winding Way broadsides among other devotional materials. This book provides an invaluable textual analysis of the Irrgarten, and this thesis has built on this analysis with additional material evidence to deepen understanding of these objects' domestic lives as much as possible.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, several pages within Russell and Corinne Earnest and Patricia Earnest Suters' study of house blessings and Christa Pieske's work on the domestic lives and European origins of German-language broadsides have inspired this focus on material evidence.<sup>23</sup> Don Yoder's guide, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide*, also provides an overview of the Geistlicher Irrgarten while suggesting that they possibly functioned as games, though he does not engage in further discussion of the genre.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> David Luthy, *Our Amish Devotional Heritage* (Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers, 2016), 125-126; David Luthy, "Spiritual Labyrinth: An Unusual Devotional Form," *Family Life—Pathway Publishers*. (March 1984): 18-21.

<sup>22</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 280-285.

<sup>23</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest and Patricia Earnest Suter, *God Bless This House: The Printed House Blessings (Haus-Segen) of the Pennsylvania Germans 1780-1921* (Clayton, DE: Russell D. Earnest Associates, 2015), 17-18; Christa Pieske, "The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes," *Der Reggeboge* 23:1 (1989).

<sup>24</sup> Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside*, 182-183.

Altogether, references to the Geistlicher Irrgarten reveal a level of uncertainty as to their primary function for both printer and consumer. While Yoder and Wellenreuther speculate on their significance for “meditation and contemplation by the whole family,” Russell and Corinne Earnest suggest that their primary purpose was for printers “to demonstrate their skills [in setting type] and attract[ing] customers.”<sup>25</sup> Remarking on the Winding Way, these scholars theorize that “the twisted, mystical text... is indicative of Sangmeister’s own abstract thoughts.”<sup>26</sup> While these studies have engaged with the Geistlicher Irrgarten and hypothesized on their usage to some extent, I expand on these efforts by examining the Geistlicher Irrgarten through a primarily material-based lens. Studying the Irrgarten only as literary objects is problematic due to their consistency of text both geographically and through time, falsely implying that they are static objects. As valuable as these studies are in forming a foundation for contextualizing the Irrgarten among other German-American broadsides, they must necessarily function as jumping-off-points for understanding the Geistlicher Irrgarten.

### **Origins in Europe**

Focused examination of the Geistlicher Irrgarten clarifies uncertainties about their origins. While scholars have not yet broadly recognized the European origins of the Geistlicher Irrgarten—Wellenreuther recently noted that “... the complex religious design of the text was, it seems, not copied from Europe but probably developed in

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<sup>25</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 178; Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 284.

<sup>26</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 280.

North America ...”—this thesis and additional studies have grounded the genre in seventeenth-century continental Europe.<sup>27</sup> The genre’s European origins, then, are part of a wider trend in cross-Atlantic, German-language devotional broadsides that scholars have traced over several decades.<sup>28</sup> While Luthy notes the existence of a 1630 edition of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* printed in Germany, research for this project has identified the earliest-known version of the Four Springs of Grace broadsides. This example was printed in 1607 in Stuttgart, though its printer notes that its form and text had originally been designed in Nuremberg.<sup>29</sup>

The appearance of this early form of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* is hardly surprising considering the popularity of labyrinths as architectural and landscape features by the late Renaissance and early modern period.<sup>30</sup> Labyrinths had already functioned for centuries as allegorical representations of pilgrimage in European

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<sup>27</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 177; Luthy, “Spiritual Labyrinth: An Unusual Devotional Form,” 18.

<sup>28</sup> Pieske, “The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes,” 7.

<sup>29</sup> See cat. 1.1.

<sup>30</sup> The Renaissance also saw the popularity of manuscript and printed knot motifs. The popularity of these knots and, perhaps also the earliest *Irrgarten*, was spurred by advances in 15<sup>th</sup> century printing technology allowing for popular ‘interlaced’ Islamic textile and ceramics patterns to appear in European pattern books. Leonardo Da Vinci capitalized on the popularity of interlaced ‘knots’ while in Milan, and these prints later inspired Albrecht Dürer to imitate them, further promulgating the motif’s popularity. Pedagogical usage of these knots followed, as seen in a calligraphy book by Wolfgang Fugger in Nuremberg, the city known to have composed the first *Geistlicher Irrgarten* (collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 28.106.29). Fugger used this twisting text to emphasize the beauty of proper handwriting. Whether these pedagogical uses of the knots had direct influence on the design of printed *Irrgarten* remains unknown, though it appears likely given their similarities in form and use. See Rubén Wengiel, *Europe’s Mazes: On Labyrinthine Thought in Architectural Design* (Jerusalem: European Forum at the Hebrew University, 2008), 8.

cathedrals such those in Chartres, Lyon, and Ravenna, but emerging court labyrinths were uniquely secular and whimsical developments compared to the earlier forms.<sup>31</sup> Architects and dabbling nobles across Europe designed these labyrinths with the guidance of titles such as Thomas Hill's 1577 *The Gardener's Labyrinth* and Johann Peschel's 1597 *Garten-Ordnung*.<sup>32</sup> These guidebooks provided dozens of labyrinth and knot-garden templates for construction in courts, even including blank gridded pages for planning. Peschel's designs especially might have been influential in the formation of the printed Irrgarten. Instructions and templates within *Garten-Ordnung* suggest the enclosure of structures or fountains within these labyrinths where guests could refresh themselves.<sup>33</sup> Wanderers could eat and drink in such areas before passing through the rest of the garden. These features, in combination with medieval 'Four Springs' imagery, likely inspired subsequent printed labyrinths. Despite their developing usage in secular court gardens, structural labyrinths retained some associations with Christian spirituality. Joseph Furttembach of Ulm proposed that gardens could help to raise children by "rous[ing] good thoughts in the children, of walking in Paradise..."<sup>34</sup> Despite the extensive literature around late-Renaissance

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<sup>31</sup> Wengiel, *Europe's Mazes: On Labyrinthine Thought in Architectural Design*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Hill, *The Gardener's Labyrinth* (London: Adam Islip, 1594); Johann Peschel, *Garten-Ordnung* (Leipzig: Henning Große Verlag, 1597).

<sup>33</sup> "Man mag auch wol in einem Gang ein verschlossene Thür halten, dadurch man bald in das mittel kommen kann. Unnd dienet darzu, das wenn man um freuden unnd lust willen im mittel ein Sommerhaus hat, und darinnen Essen oder Zech halten wollte, die Diener mit Essen und trincken balt hinein kommen könnten, da man solsten wol hungerich und durstig werden möche, ehe sie im Labyrnithen den rechten eingang finden." See Peschel, *Garten-Ordnung*, 65 and 71.

<sup>34</sup> Nancy-Lou Latterson, "Imagery of Paradise in Swiss-German Mennonite Folk Art," unpublished paper notes and draft, 1979, the Conrad Grebel University College archives.

court gardens and their secular and sacred underpinnings, determining the design sources for the earliest Geistlicher Irrgarten remains unlikely without dedicated research in Swiss and German archives. However, the popularity of court labyrinths, themselves partially founded on and, in some cases, retaining ties with Christian imagery, provided the setting for authors to reframe these secular constructs around Christian use once more. Repurposing these secular labyrinths was tied to increasingly introspective post-Reformation mystical literature.

Catholic religious orders likely worked to re-align the labyrinth with Christian themes during the Counter-Reformation through numerous publications. Jesuits, after the example of Ignatius of Loyola, engaged in the cultivation of “embodied, highly emotive practices of devotion and prayer” that were “affective, deeply imaginative, rigorously introspective”<sup>35</sup> This new, more imaginative form of spiritual literature was well-suited to re-imagining the Christian worldview as a labyrinth. That Jesuit discussion of the labyrinth responded to popular court mazes instead of continuing medieval labyrinth usage is suggested in Georg Stengel’s 1629 book comparing the labyrinths of the classical world with modern European court gardens. Stengel understands the labyrinth as “such a place wherein pleasure and pain, charites and sirens, gratiae and furiae; that is, angels and devils, speak, live, and govern together. It is a pleasure garden for some, a miracle for others, but it exists, for the rest, as a deception, a fallacy ...”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> David Morgan, *The Forge of Vision: A Visual History of Modern Christianity* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 23.

<sup>36</sup> Georg Stengel, *Aegyptischer Labyrinth, Oder Geistlicher Irr-Garten der betrieglichen Welt* (Dillingen: Akademische Druckerey, 1629), 24.

Mixing classical and modern understanding of the labyrinth, Stengel recognizes the layers of history surrounding the physical labyrinth—for some, a place hiding classical monsters and for others a baroque pleasure garden. Ultimately, Stengel represents the labyrinth not as a court garden, but as an illusory world that Catholic teachings help one to escape. Other Jesuit authors such as Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) or Herman Hugo (1588-1629) in his 1624 *Pia Desideria* were both fascinated by labyrinths and used them to represent Christian pilgrimage and themes tied to Counter-Reformation introspective reading.<sup>37</sup>

How the original printed Geistlicher Irrgarten evolved in this atmosphere remains unknown due to the non-denominational nature of the 1607 example. While Jesuits wrote on classical and baroque labyrinths and emphasized re-imagining the world around this theme, Protestant authors “rushed to close the gap” in the emphasis on such imaginative literature.<sup>38</sup> Already skilled at utilizing printing presses for propagandizing flyers and broadsides, Protestants worked to develop similar forms of mystical literature. Even as early as the 1610s, imagination literature “became a spiritual practice for Protestants... that it could do so owes to the Ignatian tradition that made visualization part of introspection or spiritual discernment.”<sup>39</sup> Such forms of early Protestant spiritual literature spurred the development of continental pietism.

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<sup>37</sup> Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipi Aegyptici* (Rome: Vitalis Mascardi, 1653); Herman Hug, *Pia Desideria emblematis elegiis at affectibus* (Antwerp, 1624).

<sup>38</sup> Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 28.

<sup>39</sup> Morgan, *The Forge of Vision*, 139.

As Protestant mystical literature became more proscriptive of Jesuit forms of spiritual reading, they also made greater use of labyrinth and garden imagery. This imitation of Jesuit motifs is seen in Protestant use of the garden “as a metaphor for the devotional setting ... as the beloved came to his spouse in the garden, so Christ came to the devout soul in meditation and prayer.”<sup>40</sup> Johann Arndt (1555-1621), the forerunner of German pietism, was particularly instrumental in aligning Protestant literary and visual imagery with gardens, labyrinths, and spiritual pilgrimage through his 1612 book, *The Little Garden of Paradise of Christian Virtues*. John Bunyan’s 1678 *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, popular among English and German audiences, and eventually Gerhard Tersteegen’s 18<sup>th</sup> century *Spiritual Discussions* and *Spiritual Garden of Inner Souls* are indicative of the full shift of Protestant mystical literature to themes previously utilized largely by Jesuits. By this period, Jesuit literature had moved away from court labyrinths and spiritual pilgrimage and focused instead on Sacred Heart devotional imagery.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, by the time that German-speakers began to settle in the Mid-Atlantic colonies, spiritual literature tied to labyrinths and, through them, imaginative spiritual pilgrimage, were embedded in the pietist-Protestant worldview. While it is unknown whether the earliest Irrgarten developed among the Jesuits or Protestants, they were more closely aligned to literary and devotional themes employed by Protestants by the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The alignment of these Geistlicher Irrgarten with Protestantism and not

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<sup>40</sup> Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety*, 28.

<sup>41</sup> Morgan, *The Forge of Vision*, 140.



Catholicism remained true throughout their history in North America. It is the genre's spread to German-speakers in North America that I review next.

### **Emergence in North America**

As the Geistlicher Irrgarten grew popular in continental Europe, it was only a matter of time before the genre moved to the New World, following the precedent set by other cross-Atlantic German printed materials such as the “Adam and Eve” and “Broad and Narrow Way” broadsides.<sup>42</sup> Research has identified three Geistlicher Irrgarten with European provenances in North American archives, one of which suggests that German printers in Pennsylvania directly copied European broadsides when creating their early editions.<sup>43</sup> The genre's appearance in Pennsylvania is hardly surprising given the colony's disproportionately high number of German-speakers and the subsequent establishment of German-language printshops.<sup>44</sup> Scholars have long recognized the importance of several European-educated progenitors in establishing these influential colonial printshops. The earliest of these printers was the elder Christopher Saur (1695-1758) who, while not North America's first printer of German

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<sup>42</sup> Pieske, “The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes”, 7.

<sup>43</sup> See cat. 6.1.1, 7.1.1 and 7.1.2.

<sup>44</sup> Arndt and Eck estimate that between 1728 and 1830, around 5,151 books, tracts, essays, etc. were printed in America. See Arndt and Eck, *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America, vol. 1* (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 1989), 1; Wellenreuther adds to this the 1,682 broadsides from Pennsylvania's 232 printers during this period. See Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 11.

materials, was the first German to print there in his own language.<sup>45</sup> Unlike other early German printers who imported equipment from type foundries in Frankfurt, Saur purchased enormous amounts of type in a range of Fraktur and Latin fonts from Justus Fox (1736-1805) in Philadelphia, who initiated one of America's first successful type foundries and occasionally aided the Saur family in typesetting.<sup>46</sup> Saur's business eventually passed to his son, Christopher Saur II (1721-1784), whose property and equipment were confiscated by Continental authorities in 1778 on suspicion of loyalism. Apprentices soon reacquired the presses and type and continued to print religious and secular materials under 'Christopher Sower and Co.' well into the nineteenth century in Germantown and York, Pennsylvania.<sup>47</sup>

While the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* would have fit comfortably within the Saur family's retinue of pietist literature that included house-blessings and Gerhard Tersteegen's *Schatzkästlein*—small paper chests filled with cards printed with edifying text—the family was not known to have printed the *Geistlicher Irrgarten*. While Christopher Saur I had studied at the pietist University of Halle, he had not learned the printer's trade until after settling in Pennsylvania in 1724. The higher rate of surviving European *Geistlicher Irrgarten* in Switzerland might mark this area as having produced the broadsides more frequently, suggesting that Saur's education at Halle did not allow

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<sup>45</sup> That distinction was claimed by Andrew Bradford, who printed in 1728 a text written by Conrad Beissel, now lost. See Arndt and Eck, *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, vol. 1, 1.

<sup>46</sup> D. F. Durnbaugh, "Samuel Saur (1767-1820): German-American Printer and Typefounder," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 42 (1993), 66.

<sup>47</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 17.

him the opportunity to encounter the genre.<sup>48</sup> One might also consider it possible that Saur and his employees in Germantown did not have access to European broadsides from which to model their own Geistlicher Irrgarten—Saur was known to have been unusually resourceful in avoiding importation of European equipment and materials. Saur purchased type locally, created his own printing press and ink, launched a paper-making firm on the Schuylkill River, and authored many of his own political and religious materials. This degree of self-reliance contrasts with most colonial German-language printers who imported European equipment and literature.<sup>49</sup> Finally, one might consider it possible that if Saur had been familiar with the Geistlicher Irrgarten and had the means to create them, he simply might not have considered production as economically sensible.

Although Germantown's earliest printers did not create the Geistlicher Irrgarten, evidence suggests that the Saur family's main competitor in Philadelphia introduced the genre to North America.<sup>50</sup> Like Christopher Saur I, Henrich Miller (1702-1782) was a European-born printer influential in the establishment of early German-language printshops in America. Trained in Basel and unusually well-traveled, Miller established a printshop in Philadelphia in 1760, publishing his newspaper, *The Weekly Pennsylvania Public-Messenger* (*Der Wöchentliche*

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<sup>48</sup> Museum für Gestaltung, *Schreibkunst: Schulkunst und Volkskunst in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz, 1548 bis 1980* (Zürich: Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Zürich, 1981). See cat. 6.1 and 7.1.

<sup>49</sup> John Bidwell, "Printers' Supplies and Capitalization," in *A History of the Book in America: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, Hugh Amory and David Hall, eds. (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 182.

<sup>50</sup> See cat. 13.1.

*pennsylvanische Staatsbote*) in January 1762. Like the Saur, Miller printed secular materials such as calendars and his newspaper, the latter of which demonstrated an especially “... cosmopolitan, acculturated, pro-British posture.”<sup>51</sup> In addition to this civic orientation, Miller printed pietist materials for his general Protestant-German audience as well as more exclusive groups such as the Moravians, of whom Miller had once been a member.<sup>52</sup> Miller’s familiarity with a broad swath of pietist literature is unsurprising given his upbringing and apprenticeship in Basel, a print-culture capital of Europe.<sup>53</sup> After his apprenticeship, Miller supplemented his training with extensive travels through Europe. Miller’s journeyman years brought him to London, Rhoden in Waldeck, Zurich, Leipzig, Altona, Marienborn, Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam, exposing him to an even wider range of religious books and broadsides. Miller’s original training in Basel likely exposed him to the Geistlicher Irrgarten as evidenced by the discovery of a 1771 edition attributed to printers in Basel and virtually identical to Miller’s 1762 Irrgarten. Although this broadside postdates Miller’s edition, it is highly likely that this Swiss example was a reprint of an earlier edition on which Miller modeled his broadsides.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> A. Gregg Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 202.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>53</sup> Several mid-eighteenth century knots and manuscript Geistlicher Irrgarten are preserved in Basel’s archives. See Museum für Gestaltung, *Schreibkunst: Schulkunst und Volkskunst in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz, 1548 bis 1980* (Zürich: Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Zürich, 1981).

<sup>54</sup> There is little chance that Miller’s 1762 edition influenced the Geistlicher Irrgarten in Basel as North American broadsides were virtually never transported to Europe. See Pieske, “The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes,” 9; see cat. 6.1.

Evidence suggests that Miller's 1762 edition of *Geistlicher Irrgarten* marked the genre's first appearance in North America. The variable survival rate of eighteenth-century German-language broadsides makes this statement impossible to prove definitively, but we must also note that printed materials sold as limitless sources of spiritual edification tend to survive in greater numbers than advertisements or those tied to finite events such as elections and funerals.<sup>55</sup> We might begin by considering the uniqueness of Miller's edition in colonial Philadelphia. Miller announced the creation of his broadside in January 1762 with an unusually descriptive advertisement in his newspaper. Miller explains that "... ([the text] amazingly passes around and through itself!)]" and that his broadside was "... a quite extraordinary piece."<sup>56</sup> While clearly excited about printing these broadsides, Miller's advertisements also assume readers' unfamiliarity with the genre's premise by offering further extended descriptions. Later printers marketing their *Irrgarten* might simply note that their pieces were "neatly printed", assuming readers' understanding of the objects' appearance, purpose, and complexity.<sup>57</sup>

Evidence *within* Miller's broadsides also suggest their uniqueness in colonial Philadelphia. Miller's imprint, for example, suggests that his *Geistlicher Irrgarten* were unchallenged by local competitors. This imprint reads: "Philadelphia, printed by Henrich Miller, in the year after his release out of the labyrinth and the opening of

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<sup>55</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 46.

<sup>56</sup> Henrich Miller, "Bey dem Verleger dieser Zeitung ist ganz neulich heraus gekommen..." *Der Wöchentliche pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 1, 1762.

<sup>57</sup> Johann Ritter, "Geistlicher Irrgarten," *Der Readinger Adler*, November 19, 1811.

heaven's gate, 1762." The cryptic wording likely refers to Miller settling in Philadelphia and his recent cessation of long-standing ties with the Moravians.<sup>58</sup> The imprint also suggests Miller's ascription to the edifying effects of the broadside, emphasized by his advertisement of the Irrgarten as "very uplifting" and capable of filling a role within the "devotional exercises in the house that built up, maintained, and strengthened the Pennsylvania Germans in their religious beliefs."<sup>59</sup> Miller's personal connection with his wares complicates conclusions drawn by Herman Wellenreuther. Printers creating religious materials (Wellenreuther names them the *infinite*, *immaterial*, and *abstract*) had little motivation for including personal information aside from their name and location as they advertised their materials with an amorphaously pietist message to avoid alienating theologically disparate audiences such as Anabaptists or Schwenkfelders.<sup>60</sup> Miller's liberties with his imprint suggest confidence in both the broadside's spiritual value and its local distinctiveness. As printers often copied the format of competitors' imprints to maximize familiarity vis a vis these competitors, Miller's imprint implies that the printer did not consider his broadside threatened by competitors in Philadelphia or Germantown. While Miller's creation of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in 1762 cannot be proven as the genre's first appearance in North America, evidence strongly suggests that it represents one of the genre's earliest, if not *the* earliest, appearances in the New World.

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<sup>58</sup> Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property*, 202.

<sup>59</sup> Henrich Miller, "Bey dem Verleger dieser Zeitung ist ganz neulich heraus gekommen..." *Der Wöchentliche pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 1, 1762; Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 155.

<sup>60</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 46.

While Henrich Miller's broadsides likely marked the advent of North American Geistlicher Irrgarten, his edition was not the most popular edition of eighteenth-century Irrgarten. This distinction is claimed by the printers at the Ephrata Cloister, whose three editions in the 1780s are among the genre's most successful and were influential in spreading the genre among North American printers and consumers.<sup>61</sup> Founded in 1745 by Johann Peter Miller, an apprentice of Christopher Saur, the printing presses at Ephrata in northern Lancaster County supplied the Sabbatarian community with the tools with which they could expand their regional economic and spiritual resources. While the Cloister, itself founded in 1732 by Conrad Beissel, generally produced materials tied to their own unique brand of eschatological, ascetic Christianity, they also printed a range of materials for Anabaptists and pietist Protestants throughout southeastern Pennsylvania. Their operations produced colonial America's largest book, *the Martyrs Mirror*, and countless broadsides such as house-blessings and the Geistlicher Irrgarten.<sup>62</sup> Ephrata's earlier two editions are both version A Four Springs Irrgarten and exhibit several similarities with Miller's broadsides, suggesting that Miller served as their model. All identified 1784 and 1785 broadsides were also illuminated by famed scrivener, Henrich Otto (fl. 1762-1797). The Cloister's 1788 version B Geistlicher Irrgarten were likely developed by Ephrata's printers after the success of the earlier editions, possibly through the influence of another famed scrivener, Friedrich Krebs (1749-1815). As mentioned, no European Geistlicher Irrgarten feature the traits of the version B broadsides,

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<sup>61</sup> See cat. 14.1, 14.2, and 14.3.

<sup>62</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 4.

suggesting that by this later year the printers at Ephrata had designed this variety without direct European influence.

That Ephrata printed three editions of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* originates in the genre's compatibility with Ephratan mystical theology. Ephrata's focus on spiritual "motifs of homelessness, orphanhood, and pilgrimage" are well-established while the Cloister's founder, Conrad Beissel, "often called himself 'one who possesses nothing' and 'on pilgrimage to silent eternity.'"<sup>63</sup> Of course, it is easy to draw comparisons with these themes and those featured within the edifying text-labyrinths, which are predicated on themes of spiritual wandering. Indeed, Ephrata's scribes created enormous labyrinth wall-charts drawing on similar themes decades before printing the *Geistlicher Irrgarten*.<sup>64</sup> Even the sisters at Snow Hill, Pennsylvania, a nineteenth-century branch of the Ephrata Cloister, copied out manuscript versions of Ephrata's editions of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* into the 1850s, demonstrating the long-term compatibility of Ephrata's pietist theology with the *Geistlicher Irrgarten*.<sup>65</sup>

Ephrata's broadsides were apparently as popular with regional German-speaking pietist Protestants as with the monastics at the Cloister. This popularity can be determined from several sources aside from the sheer volume of broadsides produced at Ephrata. First, all of Ephrata's editions were associated with highly-

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<sup>63</sup> Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 117.

<sup>64</sup> One wall labyrinth measuring 41.5 x 45.25 inches was created by the sisters at Ephrata in the mid-eighteenth century. Such objects were likely hung on walls as ornaments or for devotional purposes. See Cynda Benson, "Early American Illuminated Manuscripts from the Ephrata Cloister" (Northampton, MA: Smith College Museum of Art, 1994), 19.

<sup>65</sup> See cat. 37.1.



regarded scribes. Henrich Otto is attributed to have stamped and illuminated all identified examples of Ephrata's 1784 and 1785 Geistlicher Irrgarten. Indeed, this level of involvement might indicate that Otto was a factor in the printshop producing these materials in the first place, as was likely true with the Cloister's birth and baptismal certificates.<sup>66</sup> While Otto is not known to have illuminated any of Ephrata's 1788 labyrinths, another scribe named Friedrich Krebs illuminated at least two identified copies. Three additional examples of this broadside were sold by Ephrata without illumination by Krebs, suggesting that either the materials had become popular enough by 1788 for peddlers to purchase and distribute independent of scribes or that Ephrata began to sell the materials independent of these scribes. The former situation might be more likely when considering the non-illuminated Irrgarten with "Elizabeth Karch / Lebanon / 1826" inscribed on the verso. This broadside was removed enough in time from the Cloister's dissolution to suggest that it was sold by a peddler at a fair distance from Ephrata.<sup>67</sup>

Finally, Ephrata's role in popularizing the Geistlicher Irrgarten is exhibited by their influence on later editions. Ephrata's 1784 and 1785 version A Geistlicher Irrgarten influenced the broadsides of at least two printshops—those of Henrich Ruby in Chambersburg and John Funk (later the Mennonite Publishing Company) in Elkhart, Indiana.<sup>68</sup> The Cloister's 1788 version B Irrgarten, on the other hand, were models for at least three printshops in Pennsylvania and Virginia, showing the degree

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<sup>66</sup> Klaus Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans vol 1*, 40.

<sup>67</sup> See cat. 14.3.1.

<sup>68</sup> See cat. 15.1 and 17.1.

to which the Cloister's broadsides were distributed throughout the German-speaking diaspora among several denominations and sects, influencing production through the nineteenth century.<sup>69</sup>

The end of production at Ephrata in 1792 marked the collapse of the genre's most prolific printers in the eighteenth century. The twenty-year delay between Ephrata's 1788 edition and the next documented Mid-Atlantic printings in 1808 and 1811 indicates that the broadsides experienced overproduction at Ephrata. Despite their long history of printing among German-speakers, such devotional materials rarely sold quickly. Wellenreuther notes of similarly non-denominational hymns that "this was a product that promised a continuous sale over a long period of time—if not the money machine the printer would have liked, it would bring in a steady dribble of cents adding up to dollars and contribute to the well-being of the shop."<sup>70</sup> Slow sales are also indicated by the fact that consumers likely did not purchase the Irrgarten more than once. That consumers did not repeat purchases is indicated by the identification of several carefully-maintained and repaired broadsides.<sup>71</sup> Consumers likely did not consider these edifying objects as 'ephemera', instead continuing to value them due to their spiritual value unrestricted by time. Ephrata's overproduction of the broadsides is further indicated by several examples of the 1788 edition that appear never to have sold at all due to their pristine conditions mirroring those of broadsides *known* never to

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<sup>69</sup> These printers are Johann Ritter, Gustav S. Peters, and Ambrose Henkel. See cat. 26.1, 27.1, and 29.1.

<sup>70</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 151.

<sup>71</sup> See cat. 14.1.3, 14.1.5, and 27.1.2.

have sold.<sup>72</sup> These unsold Geistlicher Irrgarten are further explored within chapter two. Regardless of the gap between production at Ephrata other printshops, the genre eventually re-initiated by the early-nineteenth century under printers operating in the frontiers of German-speaking settlement as the genre's movement mirrored the demographic expansion of German-speakers through the Mid-Atlantic. It is this movement from Ephrata to these burgeoning firms and the motivations for printers adopting production of these broadsides that I turn to next.

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<sup>72</sup> Compare cat. 14.3.2 and 14.3.4 with cat. 30.1.5, 30.1.6, and 30.1.8.

## Chapter 1

### “IT WAS STRANGELY LAID OUT”: PRINTING THE GEISTLICHER IRRGARTEN

The Ephrata Cloister’s dissolution did not halt their influence on later Geistlicher Irrgarten. While the broadsides were especially well-attuned to the Cloister’s mystical theology and themes of spiritual pilgrimage, the Geistlicher Irrgarten still appealed to a wide audience of pietist Germans spreading across America, and one might view Ephrata’s three editions as the foundation from which nearly all subsequent printers of the Geistlicher Irrgarten either directly or indirectly drew influence. Ephrata’s 1784 and 1785 version A broadsides formed the basis for later Anabaptist-printed editions in Indiana and Ontario that are examined in the third chapter while Ephrata’s 1788 edition influenced virtually all later editions printed in the Mid-Atlantic. This chapter focuses on the latter broadsides—the ‘post-Ephrata’ Four Springs of Grace editions printed in Pennsylvania and Virginia before production of the genre atrophied in this area in the 1850s. While following the genre’s development and movement through Mid-Atlantic printshops falls within this chapter’s purview, I relegate this largely descriptive effort in tracing the repetition of textual and design elements to this study’s catalog. Examining the edition notes included with each catalog entry provides a summation of the genre’s movement through printshops in the Mid-Atlantic as printers copied one another. Thus, this chapter builds on this descriptive work by addressing *why* the genre moved through regional printshops in specific patterns. By examining printers’ adoption of the genre through newspaper advertisements, I suggest that production of the Geistlicher Irrgarten was ultimately undertaken by only a handful of printers not because the broadsides were inherently challenging to create but rather because printing these

broad­sides required capital-heavy investments of lead and labor that most smaller printshops in the Mid-Atlantic were unable to accommodate.

When considering the creation of any given object, one might see its production as the result of a simple calculation. Namely, producers anticipate a series of benefits that would result from creating an object and had the sufficient means to do so. While the Geistlicher Irrgarten differ in appearance from many of the materials in a printshop, they nonetheless adhered to this general rule. Printers of the Geistlicher Irrgarten recognized two benefits resulting from production: direct capital return and the production of an object with an associated prestige. Immediate economic gain—selling the broad­sides—resulted from the broad­sides’ claimed edifying nature. This ironic intersection of immaterial faith and material production is a nuanced feature of the production of devotional materials by German-speakers in early America. Printers’ design and creation of these objects hinged upon considerations of their spiritual value and coherence with the beliefs of as many German-speakers as possible to maximize sales. Consumers, on the other hand, valued the spiritual comfort provided by these objects and purchased them accordingly. This market exchange contrasted with more ‘mundane’ broad­sides such as those advertising sales, elections, or funerals that were not actually ‘used’ by those who paid for them.<sup>73</sup>

Indeed, advertisements for the Geistlicher Irrgarten show that they were either sold directly to customers intending to use or gift them or they were purchased and resold by retailers such as book-sellers, fair-merchants, and peddlers.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 46.

<sup>74</sup> See cat. 17.2.1, 21.1.1, and 26.1.3.

Advertisements for the Geistlicher Irrgarten printed by Enos Benner (1799 to 1860) of Sumneytown, Pennsylvania, for example, reveal that his broadsides sold for six and one-quarter cents and were available individually or by the dozen.<sup>75</sup> Such prices remained fairly consistent as other examples in the late-nineteenth century are priced at five cents singly, fifty per dozen, and three dollars per hundred.<sup>76</sup> The attempt at distributing these broadsides in bulk further indicates their sale to third-party retailers such as book merchants and peddlers. While hardly as lucrative as books and newspapers—the ‘bread-and-butter’ of a capital-intensive printshop—the Geistlicher Irrgarten could still be part of a printer’s profitable retinue of one-sheets that might also include ballads, house-blessings, and birth and baptismal certificates.

The second benefit recognized by printers of the Geistlicher Irrgarten was the skill that customers associated these objects and their apparent reflection of the printer’s creativity and typesetting abilities. While other printed materials such as birth and baptismal certificates could also reflect skill in neatly setting type, few objects were as brazenly indicative of a printer’s claimed mastery as the Geistlicher Irrgarten. Nineteenth-century printers marketed their Geistlicher Irrgarten as “neatly printed”, “artfully composed”, and “a truly clever piece” while an advertisement for a lost French edition noted that it was “... well-executed through the patience of the printer, who has managed to show his dexterity through the arrangement of the many lines,

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<sup>75</sup> Enos Benner, “Geistlicher Irrgarten,” *Der Bauernfreund*, August 15 1832.

<sup>76</sup> See cat. 17.1. Broadside prices varied depending on the content and complexity of orders. Benner’s 6.5 cent Geistlicher Irrgarten are most similar in price to larger, relatively text-heavy broadsides such as the half-sheet handbills printed by Johann Ritter in the early-nineteenth century, selling for 7.5 cents each. Large orders of minute materials such as election tickets might be only 0.2 cents per object. See Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 265.

and his understanding of placing the elegant vignettes through which he forms his squares...”<sup>77</sup> While German-American printers might have been more muted in self-praise than our anonymous French printer, they had long recognized the prestige associated with creating these broadsides and advertised them accordingly. Indeed, the fact that the Geistlicher Irrgarten were difficult to create is unquestioned. The process required printers to compose the type backwards, upside-down, and sideways while still reading the type as it was mirrored. The truly challenging aspect was maintaining consistent spacing between letters and lines while composing the type precisely so that lines turned at the appropriate points and the broadside’s story ultimately “begins and ends at the same place.”<sup>78</sup> Improperly composing the type could result in words jammed into place, unnecessary spacing, or misaligned twists as seen in figure 4. Additionally, printers incorporating woodcuts for their border or ornamental motifs needed to print these features separately as they were sized differently than the lead type and required less pressure due to the risk of breaking the wood. As will be discussed, printers undertaking creation of these broadsides were highly cautious in composing the type and refused to deviate from their models—even the more enterprising printers such as Gustav S. Peters of Harrisburg (1793-1847) copied Ephrata’s editions nearly exactly rather than attempt to compose freehand.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Enos Benner, “Geistlicher Irrgarten,” *Der Bauernfreund*, August 15 1832; Johann Ritter, “Geistlicher Irrgarten,” *Der Readinger Adler*, November 19, 1811; Henrich Miller, “Bey dem Verleger dieser Zeitung ist ganz neulich heraus gekommen...” *Der Wöchentliche pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 1, 1762; Unknown editor, “Labyrinthe Spirituel,” *Le Moniteur Judiciaire de Lyon*, October 11, 1769.

<sup>78</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>79</sup> See cat. 29.1.

Depending on the resources available to a printshop, composing and printing a run of Geistlicher Irrgarten required patience and manpower, and the process likely took several days to complete.<sup>80</sup>

Returning to the economic equation discussed above, printers recognized financial and reputational benefits associated with creating the Geistlicher Irrgarten. This recognition fails to explain why only ten printers operating in the Mid-Atlantic during the nineteenth century are known to have undertaken production of the Four Springs of Grace broadsides, contrasting with the widespread printed editions of broadsides such as house-blessings and birth and baptismal certificates.<sup>81</sup> This leads us to consider the second component of the equation: a printer's ability to create these objects. Although scholars have suggested that a printer's skill in composing type was the primary factor limiting production, this does not account for the widespread practice of any given printer—gifted such as Gustav Peters or more modest such as partners Gräter and Blumer or John Dreisbach—to simply copy the Geistlicher Irrgarten of regional competitors to simplify the process of composing the type.<sup>82</sup>

Instead, the factor limiting production of the broadsides was the amount of capital-intensive lead type and possibly labor resources available to printshops. The association between the capital resources available to a printer and capability to create the Geistlicher Irrgarten is evident in the fact that every identified printer of these

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<sup>80</sup> Personal communication with Ray and Jill Nichols of *Lead Graffiti Inc.*, November 11, 2016.

<sup>81</sup> Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans vols. 1-6*; Russell and Corinne Earnest and Patricia Earnest Suter, *God Bless This House: The Printed House Blessings (Haus-Segen) of the Pennsylvania Germans 1780-1921* (Clayton, DE: Russell D. Earnest Associates, 2015).

<sup>82</sup> See cat. 29.1, 31.1, and 33.1.



broad­sides in the Mid-Atlantic also published weekly newspapers.<sup>83</sup> While the specific resources available to newspaper printers as opposed to lower-capital printers of contract jobs or almanacs varied, newspaper printers generally required more lead type, the most expensive component of any printshop. Scholars demonstrate that “the chronic scarcity of printing materials is one of the defining characteristics” of colonial and early republic English-language printers, being even rarer for German-language printers due to the dearth of type foundries into the early republic period. Altogether, an English-language printer’s type might have constituted more than 60% of a shop’s entire capital value, and one must assume that this number was even higher for German printers.<sup>84</sup> Newspaper printers, by necessity, possessed an unusually large amount of this type for their weekly publications. A sample sheet printed by Christoph Saur I in Germantown reveals that he possessed 27,500 cicero fraktur-font types, 18,000 Schwabacher types, and, for his smaller fonts, as many as 46,760 individual types.<sup>85</sup> This massive amount of type was unnecessary and unobtainable for smaller firms, but a newspaper could easily require several tens of thousands of types to print a single week’s paper.<sup>86</sup>

As the Geistlicher Irrgarten were imagetexts forming an entire labyrinth through letters, they required an unusual amount of lead type compared to other

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<sup>83</sup> This excludes John Dreisbach operating out of Bath and Kreidersville, Pennsylvania. Dreisbach inherited the press and type of a newspaper printer, however. See cat. 33.1.

<sup>84</sup> Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds., *A History of the Book in America, Volume One: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2000), 168.

<sup>85</sup> Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania German Broad­sides: A History and Guide*,

<sup>86</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 191.

broad­sides, or approximately 6,000 individual types in addition to spacing (leading) and borders. As the process for composing the type for an edition of Geistlicher Irrgarten potentially lasted for several days, it was likely difficult for lower-capital printshops to justify the creation of these relatively low-cost objects versus more functional and therefore fungible objects such as almanacs or certificates. Even newspaper printers likely encountered difficulty balancing the labor and type needed to compose a run of the Geistlicher Irrgarten with normal operations. As will be shown in the next sections, however, newspaper printers acquiring new shipments of type had the opportunity to undertake the creation of these objects while simultaneously exhibiting enhanced and, in some cases, new typefaces. For early-nineteenth century Mid-Atlantic newspaper printers, creating an edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten provided the opportunity to showcase their skill and success to subscribers.

This link between printers' type supply and the Geistlicher Irrgarten can be traced by examining the products and advertisements of Johann Ritter (1779-1851) in Reading, the partners Augustus Gräter (1803-1863) and Alexander Blumer (1806-1842) in Allentown, and Enos Benner (1799 to 1860) in Sumneytown. These newspaper printers are useful to this study due to the survival of both their Geistlicher Irrgarten and major portions of their newspapers, where they advertised their printed wares and the printshop's growth. While advertisements for the Geistlicher Irrgarten rarely reveal information aside from their price and a brief description, these newspapers occasionally suggests information about the acquisition of type utilized by their printers. Unfortunately, the newspapers of other known printers of the Geistlicher Irrgarten such as Gustav Peters, George Maurer, M. M. Rohrer, and H. Ruby do not

survive in any known collection.<sup>87</sup> The newspaper of Ambrose Henkel in Virginia, on the other hand, is only available in limited format and was unavailable to this research.<sup>88</sup> Nonetheless, the capital resources of the examined printers will be studied to prove that printing the Geistlicher Irrgarten was dependent on available resources and thus shaped the movement and adoption of these broadsides.

The first firm examined is that of Johann Ritter, one of the most influential German-language printers of the nineteenth century and publisher of the famously long-lived *Der Readinger Adler* (*The Reading Eagle*). Ritter's ownership of the weekly newspaper began in 1807 and continued until around 1843 when he became a state senator.<sup>89</sup> While Ritter published numerous editions of birth and baptismal certificates, house blessings, and pietist books by Gerhard Tersteegen and Thomas von Kempen, Ritter printed his single edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in 1811 under the aegis of Johann Ritter and Company.<sup>90</sup> Ritter based his edition directly on Ephrata's 1788 edition with several alterations including the addition of 'Amen' at the end of the labyrinth.<sup>91</sup> Ritter's edition also introduced a persistent compositional mistake, switching the correct "Ecclesiastes 53:6" with "Ecclesiastes 63:6" in the lower-right

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<sup>87</sup> See entries for Harrisburg, Somerset, Lancaster, and Chambersburg in Arndt and Eck, *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 1989).

<sup>88</sup> Henkel's newspaper, *Der Virginische Volksberichter, und Neumarketer Wochenschrift*, is most complete within the holdings of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

<sup>89</sup> Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 294.

<sup>90</sup> Johann Ritter, "Soeben erhalten und zum Verkauf in dieser Druckerey," *Der Readinger Adler*, April 23, 1811.

<sup>91</sup> See cat. 27.1.

Spring of Grace. Several subsequent printers unwittingly replicated this typo, demonstrating the long-term influence of Ritter's Irrgarten on later editions.<sup>92</sup>

Ritter's Geistlicher Irrgarten did not emerge in a vacuum, of course. Rather, these broadsides appeared while the *Reading Eagle* was expanding operations due to commercial success. Ritter announced to readers in late 1810 that "the publishers have decided to acquire new type (which recently has been struck for 14 cents per pound) in order to dress the *Eagle* with new feathers, as the older ones have been worn out through service to the readers ... We thank the subscribers who have provided us with the appropriate funds."<sup>93</sup> Several months later, Ritter notes that the "so long awaited new type, which had been delayed by ice on its way from Baltimore, finally arrived in Philadelphia and is expected [in Reading] shortly...", noting that he planned to incorporate the new types by April.<sup>94</sup> The anticipated shipment was likely purchased from Samuel Saur, a Christopher Saur descendant operating a type foundry in Baltimore and likely one of the few American type founders sensitive to fashions in German fonts.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, the *Luther* or *Breitkopf* fraktur typefaces used in the *Reading Eagle* before 1811 would have been considered outdated by the early-nineteenth century. The latest trends in Germany, especially those popularized by Johann

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<sup>92</sup> See cat. 24.1, 23.1, 31.1, and 33.1.

<sup>93</sup> Johann Ritter, "An die Leser des Readinger Adlers," *Der Readinger Adler*, November 27, 1810.

<sup>94</sup> Johann Ritter, "An die Leser des Adlers," *Der Readinger Adler*, March 19, 1811.

<sup>95</sup> D. F. Durnbaugh, "Samuel Saur (1767-1820): German-American Printer and Typefounder," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 42 (1993), 67.

Friedrich Unger in late-eighteenth century Berlin, emphasized more delicate fraktur styles than those of the early-eighteenth century.

As promised, the *Reading Eagle* incorporated its new types by April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1811, as new typefaces appear in news and advertisements that had not been present in earlier months. The influx of this new type, perhaps in addition to other hallmarks of an expanding shop such as hiring new labor, likely encouraged Ritter to create the Geistlicher Irrgarten within the next few months. By later in 1811, advertisements for these broadsides first appear in the *Reading Eagle*, noting them as “very artfully composed and beautifully printed.”<sup>96</sup> The Geistlicher Irrgarten were evidently composed entirely of the *Reading Eagle*’s new typeface as these broadsides’ more delicate font does not appear in any prior editions of the *Reading Eagle*. It is possible that Ritter’s edition of Geistlicher Irrgarten was encouraged by either the desire to showcase the new fonts to subscribers or the influx of new type provided the firm with the resources needed to print the broadsides. In either situation, the type utilized in the Geistlicher Irrgarten was far more consistent with fashionable typefaces than those used in previous editions of the *Reading Eagle*, especially evident in the increased slenderness of capital letters such as ‘G’ or ‘E’ as exhibited in figures 5, 6, and 7. As the acquisition of new type was exceedingly rare over the lifetime of a printshop, the coinciding of this major purchase and the creation of the Geistlicher Irrgarten several months later exhibiting new type suggests a relationship between new supplies and the broadsides that will be further explored in additional regional printshops.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Johann Ritter, “Geistlicher Irrgarten,” *Der Readinger Adler*, November 19, 1811.

<sup>97</sup> Amory and Hall, eds., *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1, 171.

Unlike his predecessors at Ephrata, Ritter published only a single edition of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten*, though his broadsides remained similarly influential on the genre's movement through southeastern Pennsylvania. An anonymous edition of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* likely produced in Reading appears to have copied directly from Johann Ritter's example.<sup>98</sup> Attempts at attribution have failed, though it seems possible that this edition was printed by the short-lived partnership between Baab and Döbler who printed birth-and-baptismal certificates in Reading around 1828. This tentative attribution is based on several identical border motifs in their known broadsides and the anonymous *Geistlicher Irrgarten*, though such borders are rarely unique enough to be distinguishing factors on their own.<sup>99</sup> While this edition resists attempts at positive identification, it continued to influence the broadsides printed by a partnership in Allentown, Pennsylvania that will be examined next.

Although Gräter and Blumers' partnership was also short-lived, their firm was successful while it lasted. Having acquired the newspaper, *Der Friedens-Bothe und Lecha, Northampton, Bucks und Montgomery Caunties wöchentlicher Anzeiger* (*The Messenger of Peace and the Lehigh, Northampton, Bucks, and Montgomery Counties Weekly Gazette*), from Heinrich Ebner in 1832, the partners marketed in and around Allentown until Gräter left the partnership in January 1834.<sup>100</sup> The firm also sold supplementary printed materials such as books, certificates, and, in either 1832 or

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<sup>98</sup> See cat. 23.1.

<sup>99</sup> Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the Pennsylvania Germans*, vo. 4, 298.

<sup>100</sup> Arndt and Eck, *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, vol. 1, 503.

1833, the Geistlicher Irrgarten.<sup>101</sup> As mentioned, this edition likely copied the complex imagetext of the anonymous Reading edition. While not straying far from the composition of their model's labyrinth, Gräter and Blumer innovated the appearance of the introductory panel at the top of the broadside, splitting this text into two columns. Other deviations include the addition of four woodblock-printed trees on either side of the broadside's title and several minor variations that are more fully explained in the catalog.

The exact year that Gräter and Blumer printed this edition remains unknown as these broadsides do not contain a year in their imprint and are not advertised within their newspaper. The brevity of the partnership between Gräter and Blumer does, however, situate production in either 1832 or 1833. While this object's year of creation remains undetermined, newspaper advertisements in mid-1833 reveal that the printers had recently purchased new lead type, suggesting a link between this acquisition and production of the Geistlicher Irrgarten. This advertisement explains that the songbook, *The Little Spiritual Harp of Zion's Children*, had recently been printed and was available for purchase. After printing the book's title, the partners include a description of the text's merits and it having been "printed on beautiful, white paper with our new type..."<sup>102</sup> Most notable, however, is that the book's title, unlike the rest of the advertisement, is printed in this new typeface. Comparisons between this new type and that of their edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten reveal that they are identical, suggesting that the partners also printed their Geistlicher Irrgarten

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<sup>101</sup> See cat. 31.1.

<sup>102</sup> Augustus Gräter and Alexander Blumer, "Ankündigung," *Der Friedens-Bothe und Lecha, Northampton, Bucks und Montgomery Caunties wöchentlicher Anzeiger*, August 22, 1833.

around this period, as seen in figures 5, 6, and 7. Thus, as was also exhibited by Ritter, the production of Geistlicher Irrgarten was nearly concurrent with the purchase of new types, suggesting that the availability and condition of this resource impacted production of the genre.<sup>103</sup>

The final printer to be examined, Enos Benner of Sumneytown, produced his Geistlicher Irrgarten in close geographic and temporal proximity to the edition printed by Gräter and Blumer.<sup>104</sup> Benner created these broadsides in 1832 and, as Sumneytown is only located about twenty miles south of Allentown, one must wonder whether the firms competed directly in the production of these objects. While the two editions are distinct and do not appear to have influenced the composition of one another, the relatively high population of Schwenkfelders and Mennonites, known purchasers of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in the early-nineteenth century, living between Allentown and Sumneytown in the “Upper District” might have been a source of competition between Benner and Gräter and Blumer.<sup>105</sup> Benner in particular appears to have focused on this market as he advertises in 1832 his sale of the works and biography of Caspar Schwenkfeld, the founder of their denomination.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Gräter and Blumer’s advertisements also raise the question of how much the availability of labor influenced production of the genre. The firm advertises for a new apprentice on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1832 and again on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1833. Hiring an apprentice does not appear to have been a factor in the other two examined printshops as Enos Benner is only known to have hired an apprentice in 1829 while Ritter is not known to have advertised for one. This question, at present, remains unanswered.

<sup>104</sup> See cat. 30.1.

<sup>105</sup> Dennis K. Moyer, *Fraktur Writings and Folk Art Drawings of the Schwenkfelder Library Collection* (Kutztown, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1998), 163.

<sup>106</sup> Enos Benner, “In der Druckerey dieser Zeitung ist zum Verkauf erhalten worden,” *Der Bauernfreund*, May 2, 1832.



That Benner's edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten appeared amidst competition with Allentown printers is difficult to prove, but other aspects of Benner's editions show that his Geistlicher Irrgarten adhere to the patterns exhibited by Ritter and Gräter and Blumers' production of the genre. Benner's printshop was founded in 1828 and printed a weekly newspaper called *Der Bauernfreund* (*The Farmer's Friend*). Benner began advertising his Geistlicher Irrgarten in 1832, and surviving examples of these broadsides are among the best-preserved and most numerous examples of the Geistlicher Irrgarten today. As discussed in chapter three and the attached catalog, Benner might have encountered difficulty selling these broadsides. Staff at the Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library have suggested that Benner also had difficulty selling his ABC Books, surviving examples of which remain similarly well-preserved.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, while Benner was only known to have printed a single edition of the broadsides, he continues to advertise them sporadically for at least three years after their printing, suggesting either that the broadsides did not sell quickly or that Benner simply printed an enormous amount of the Irrgarten.<sup>108</sup> Benner's edition remains among the most challenging to contextualize vis a vis other editions as he does not seem to have drawn influence from any previous printer. It is possible that Benner copied the text of a Ritter broadside but composed the type without relying on this model and took additional liberties with ornamentation.

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<sup>107</sup> Personal communication with Dr. Allen Viehmeyer, the Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library, August 2016.

<sup>108</sup> Advertisements appear between August 15, 1832 and April 16, 1834 with some frequency, indicating that Benner also had difficulty selling advertising space within his weekly newspaper.

Enos Benner's newspaper reveals that, like other examined printers, his production of the Geistlicher Irrgarten coincided with the acquisition of new lead type. Benner notes in December of 1831 that "with the start of this next year, this newspaper will become larger and we will also consider the acquisition of new letters as soon as we receive some minor support."<sup>109</sup> *The Farmer's Friend* sorely needed new type—advertisements printed in 1829 and 1831 reveal many worn letters. Unfortunately, Benner does not announce subsequent purchases or the arrival of new type as did Johann Ritter. It was evidently present by August 1832, though, as Benner printed his first advertisement of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in a renewed type. This new font had already been in earlier years, but it was now less obviously worn. While Benner's new font does not appear to have been as popular among advertisers as desired, appearing rarely in association with local figures such as the postmaster, it is likely that production of Benner's Geistlicher Irrgarten was enabled by the new type and aided Enos Benner in marketing this renewed font to subscribers.<sup>110</sup>

Although the survival rates of German-American newspapers and broadsides challenge full contextualization of the production of Geistlicher Irrgarten in the Mid-Atlantic, patterns emerging from examinations of three Mid-Atlantic printers help to better understand the genre's sporadic movement through regional printshops. It is evident that virtually every identified printer of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in the early-

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<sup>109</sup> Enos Benner, "An die Leser dieser Zeitung," *Der Bauernfreund*, December 28, 1832.

<sup>110</sup> Enos Benner, "Georg Schied, P.M.," *Der Bauernfreund*, October 3, 1832. Also note that Benner's surviving printshop in Sumneytown is located directly on the main thoroughfare and has several large windows that could easily have been intended for advertising such fascinating objects as the Geistlicher Irrgarten to those on the road.

nineteenth century Mid-Atlantic states also published weekly newspapers, suggesting that the primary factors limiting production were related to capital, not skill in typesetting. The few printers with surviving advertisements and Geistlicher Irrgarten have allowed us to examine this emerging trend more closely. In the three examined cases, printers likely composed and printed the Geistlicher Irrgarten only after acquiring new inventories of lead type, an expensive and therefore infrequent purchase for any printer. By producing the Geistlicher Irrgarten in new or renewed typefaces, printers could showcase their expense and therefore success to subscribers. While the genre's movement among printshops in the Mid-Atlantic states therefore depended more on the ability to acquire expensive shipments of new type than skills in typesetting, printers were doubtless happy to claim the creativity and dexterity that customers associated with these complex objects. It is these customers and the genre's movement within their devotional practices and homes that I examine next.

## Chapter 2

### “BACK AND FORTH I WALKED”: THE GEISTLICHER IRRGARTEN AT HOME

Rather than pace back and forth through a garden labyrinth, contemplating Christ’s teachings and the Christian path to eternal life, thirteen-year old Hanna Schulz performed an internal pilgrimage as she copied a Gräter and Blumer Geistlicher Irrgarten into manuscript form, replicating nearly every twist and turn and carefully including the printers’ imprint. Hanna’s only original contribution to the whole endeavor was her addition of “Set out by Hanna Ye Schultz, Herfort Township Berks County. 1833.”<sup>111</sup> The original broadside was possibly purchased for Hanna by her father, Rev. Christopher Schultz, a Schwenkfelder minister, and Hanna subsequently transformed this object of amusement and edification into a sign of her diligence and piety, encouraging her descendants to preserve her work and later to donate it to the Schwenkfelder Heritage Center.<sup>112</sup> While copying an entire Four Springs of Grace broadside was certainly unusual, Hanna Yeakel Schultz represents the peak of how people engaged visually, tactilely, and mentally with their Geistlicher Irrgarten.<sup>113</sup>

This chapter follows Hanna’s initiative in closely examining the Geistlicher Irrgarten to better understand the teachings that they offer. The enlightenment that we seek, however, is a more complete understanding of how German-speaking consumers

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<sup>111</sup> See cat. 36.1.

<sup>112</sup> Information about the life of Hannah Yeakel Schultz is available from genealogical research on the Christman family of Berks County, Pennsylvania and accessible within [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). Unfortunately, the family does not provide supporting documentation on Hannah’s life.

<sup>113</sup> Unusual, but not otherwise unheard of. This is exhibited by an eighteenth-century manuscript likely copied from Miller’s 1762 edition in addition to a Snow Hill manuscript labyrinth copied from an 1788 Ephrata broadside by S. Martha in 1850. See cat. 35.1 and 37.1.

throughout North America engaged with their edifying broadsides—both the Four Springs of Grace explored in the previous chapter and the Winding Way broadsides printed at Ephrata. Unfortunately, the journey to understanding these broadsides’ use and storage is not guided by account books or probate inventories. Such documents tend not to track broadsides due to their low-cost and seeming role as ephemera. Instead of relying on these more traditional sources, this chapter addresses consumers’ usage of the broadsides by quantifying the most common patterns in material condition vis a vis the total body of Irrgarten examined within this chapter—ninety-two Four Springs of Grace and eleven Winding Way broadsides. Analysis of this sample suggests that most surveyed Geistlicher Irrgarten were stored within ‘closed’ domestic locations such as books and chests where the broadsides could be removed and ‘used’ at will. Only a minority of broadsides were treated like secular and sacred decorative broadsides in being kept within ‘open’ domestic spaces such as doors, mantels, or walls, where consumers ‘immobilized’ the broadsides’ edifying functions through pinning or framing. Such distinctions between a broadside’s location within the household are informed both by this body of broadsides and by scholars who have addressed the domestic lives of German broadsides.<sup>114</sup> After considering how early consumers generally engaged with these objects, this chapter addresses the significant overlap between broadsides exhibiting evidence of ‘closed’ and ‘open’ storage and considers how these objects moved within domestic environments throughout time. This chapter then briefly considers the surveyed broadsides not exhibiting any signs of having been sold or used as edifying or decorative objects and, finally, connects

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<sup>114</sup> Pieske, “The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes,” 8-10.

emerging patterns in storage and use with wider trends in Protestant devotional culture.

As I draw these conclusions about the usage and storage of the Geistlicher Irrgarten from the objects that have survived generations of users, uses, and storage conditions, they include a degree of selection bias. Methodologically-similar research of Puritan books acknowledges that “attention to individual copies that date from the era permits analysis of the historical witness, a text that bears marks of use over time and use in its moment. As witnesses to their own patterns in storage and usage, they are necessarily the sources needed when lacking corroborating primary documentary sources.”<sup>115</sup> As a point of further methodological comparison, studies of the Germanic-tradition *Patenbriefen* (godparents’ letters), or paper letters folded around coins and gifted to godchildren, must necessarily include examination of *how* they were folded in order to understand their roles as gifted objects.<sup>116</sup> In these examples, the absence of complementary written sources means that these fragile ‘witnesses’ are vital for understanding their interactions with humans, especially when considering the degree of physical interaction characteristic of objects such as the *Patenbriefen* and Geistlicher Irrgarten. Additionally, the sample size of surveyed broadsides and the emergence of consistent patterns in material treatment suggest that the conclusions drawn in this chapter are not so biased as to be weakened.

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<sup>115</sup> Matthew Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 91.

<sup>116</sup> Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans*, vol. 1, 19-20; Christa Pieske, *Das ABC des Luxuspapiers* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußische Kulturbesitz, 1983), 217-221.

### Closed Domestic Storage

Among the surveyed North American Geistlicher Irrgarten included within this portion of the study, 87% of Four Springs of Grace broadsides and 82% of Winding Way broadsides exhibit evidence of having *potentially* been stored within areas of restricted domestic access such as Bibles, devotional books, or possibly chests.<sup>117</sup> The latter storage form remains hypothetical as no known Irrgarten have been identified in chests or drawers, though children—predominant users of the Geistlicher Irrgarten—were known to place their paper belongings in chests with “... a shelf or drawer inside on which pieces of fraktur could be placed and saved.”<sup>118</sup> Storage within books and chests ensured that the broadsides could be handled at will and maintain their intended mobility within one’s hands as they were used for edification. The overall percentages of broadsides likely having been stored within closed locations is determined by considering the material evidence constituting each broadside—in this section, primarily through patterns in folding and paper aging. In cases when folding is considered, the precision of folding and the tendency to position the text inwards and away from sources of wear suggests that this activity was undertaken with consideration for the object’s longevity and was intentional. In other words, chance ‘crumpling’ or folded corners are not considered as indicative of storage treatments.

Of course, the mutability of paper means that an activity as pervasive as folding does not necessarily indicate treatment immediately after an object’s original

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<sup>117</sup> This number only accounts for the broadsides deemed likely to have been purchased by consumers during the printer’s lifetime—five of Enos Benner’s broadsides and four twentieth-century examples were excluded due to the likelihood of having entered archives and private collections directly from the printer’s unsold wares after consultation with staff at the Schwenkfelder Heritage Center.

<sup>118</sup> Susan M. Burke and Matthew H. Hill, *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo: Pennsylvania-German Folk Culture in Transition* (Kitchener, Ontario: Friends of the Joesph Schneider Haus, 1991), 49.

purchase. Consultation with archivists regarding the historic treatment of these broadsides underlines the rarity of donors—especially early-twentieth century collectors—recording the contexts of discovered or purchased objects. Fortunately, several broadsides have had their locations of discovery recorded, especially the Winding Way broadsides printed at Ephrata in 1819 and 1820.<sup>119</sup> While only three of the eleven Winding Way examples were recorded as pulled from books, these broadsides provide overwhelming evidence of having been stored within books due to Joseph Bauman selling them tipped into his edition of *Mystische Theologie*, originally authored by Ezechiel Sangmeister at the Ephrata Cloister.<sup>120</sup> This association between codex and broadside is seen in the broadsides' imprints, reading "also sold by the sheet," indicating, of course, that most were not sold as broadsides. Additionally, nearly all cataloged Winding Way broadsides not recorded as pulled from Bauman's book exhibit folding consistent to having been sold within this diminutive volume. Nine out of the eleven surveyed broadsides—the 82% mentioned at the chapter's beginning—are folded between four and six times, precisely the amount of resizing needed to fit within *Mystische Theologie* and thus introducing the potential of consumers storing them within books or other closed locations.<sup>121</sup>

Customers purchasing *Mystische Theologie* tended to keep their broadsides folded within the book. Seven out of the nine broadsides with multiple folds, or 64%

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<sup>119</sup> See cat. 34.1 and 34.2.

<sup>120</sup> Bach, *Voices of the Turtle Doves*, 62-63; Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 280. See cat. 34.1.4 and 34.2.5.

<sup>121</sup> See cat. 34.1.1 through 34.1.6 and 34.2.1, 34.2.2, 34.3.4, and 34.4.5.



of the eleven surveyed Winding Way broadsides—also possess mirrored foxing, resulting in them being considered as *very* likely of having remained stored within a closed location for extended periods. The term foxing broadly includes the “stains, specks, spots, and blotches in paper” resulting from chemical processes often associated with the aging of paper and, in this survey, including a range of stains as exhibited in figure 11.<sup>122</sup> That identical foxmarks and stains within the Winding Way broadsides are mirrored *across* folded sections suggests that the folded broadside was put under pressure by an external force for extended periods as would be expected from long-term storage within a book. Indeed, the Winding Way broadsides exhibit the most extravagant examples of storage within books. A copy of *Mystische Theologie* held within a private collection contains two copies of the Winding Way broadsides sewn in as endpapers, as seen in figure 10.<sup>123</sup> As the book dates to 1846 and is thus a considerably later edition, it is likely that this alteration was undertaken by a consumer instead of the printer. The few Winding Way broadsides exhibiting neither heavy folding nor mirrored staining will be examined in the section focusing on public domestic forms of storage as they likely functioned as primarily decorative objects.

Just as the Winding Way broadsides suggest predominant storage within books, the 87% of Four Springs Irrgarten evidencing potential closed storage similarly suggests a consensus in object treatment. Again, examining patterns in folding and foxing prove to be the most effective method for speculating on early treatment and

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<sup>122</sup> Matt T. Roberts and Don Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books: A Dictionary of Descriptive Terminology* (Washington D.C.: The Library of Congress), 109.

<sup>123</sup> Also see cat. 34.1.5 and 34.1.6.

storage. This 87% includes broadsides that are folded at least once, a broad form of treatment that is not easily tied to a specific location. The Four Springs broadsides were evidently not stored within books as diminutive as *Mystische Theologie* but instead were kept within larger books common to German-Americans such as Bibles as even the smallest editions of the Four Springs broadsides were at least a foot wide.<sup>124</sup> Thus, the 87% of broadsides that are folded only exhibit the *potential* for having been stored within books or other closed spaces. By further delving into patterns in folding and mirrored foxing, we can more confidently distinguish between these broadsides' likely locations within the domestic environment and how users maintained the ability to access the Irrgarten.

Analysis of the Four Springs Irrgarten reveals that of the 71 folded Four Springs broadsides, fifty, or 70% possess multiple folds while the remaining 30% have only a single fold. Evidence drawn from evidence such as mirrored staining suggests that most multi-folded broadsides had been stored for extended periods within closed areas, most likely books. Among the broadsides possessing from two folds (dividing a broadside into four sections) to six folds (dividing it into fifteen sections), thirty-one, or 62% exhibit mirrored foxmarks across folded sections. As mentioned above, a condition such as foxing mirrored across these sections indicates that the broadside was compressed for extended periods as would be expected from storage within a book. Another 54% of multi-folded broadsides—often overlapping with those exhibiting mirrored foxing—are torn along folds resulting from wear. This tearing suggests that folding has likely not been a modern alteration and that these broadsides

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<sup>124</sup> Few Geistlicher Irrgarten in private collections, archives, and libraries are specifically noted as having been discovered within family Bibles. These include cat. 6.1.1 and 17.4.4.

experienced the process of folding and unfolding many times, perhaps corresponding to their early periods of usage.

The 38% of multi-folded Four Springs broadsides without mirrored foxing might be considered in several ways. For example, relatively few late-nineteenth and twentieth century broadsides with multiple folds have evidence of foxing or other obvious signs of wear.<sup>125</sup> As these editions are considerably more modern than other surveyed examples and were printed on paper created through different processes and with different materials, they might not be expected to possess the same level of chemical alterations resulting from processes of aging. Additionally, several of the examples without mirrored foxing have signs of pinning or framing, suggesting that they were folded for sale or transportation and were then primarily displayed in public areas of the household.<sup>126</sup> Finally, as is possible with the broadsides folded only once and discussed next, these Irrgarten might have been stored within chests or drawers, as has been hypothesized by scholars.<sup>127</sup>

None of the twenty-two broadsides with a single fold possess mirrored foxing, suggesting that they were not stored in a condition resulting in the exertion of pressure upon the folded sections causing the mirroring of chemical alterations. While research has not revealed the methods through which these examples were stored, one might consider that as only two of these singly-folded broadsides are torn along the fold,

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<sup>125</sup> See cat. 17.1.2, 17.1.4, 17.4.4, and 19.1.2.

<sup>126</sup> See cat. 14.2.4 and 29.1.1.

<sup>127</sup> David Luthy, "Spiritual Labyrinth: An Unusual Devotional Form," *Family Life—Pathway Publishers*. (March 1984), 21.

folding might have resulted from relatively modern handling and storage processes.<sup>128</sup> Additionally, they might also include several broadsides stored within furniture as such conditions need not have applied consistent pressure onto the broadsides.

### **Open Domestic Storage**

The dual functions inherent to the Geistlicher Irrgarten—objects meant to be handled while also appreciated as decorative images—meant that users could also use these objects primarily at the aesthetic level and were affixed to locations such as walls, doors, and mantels. Patterns in condition suggesting the display of these broadsides are less common than those suggesting storage in books or furniture, but the practice certainly existed and, as discussed later in the chapter, gained more traction the longer the broadsides were kept within families. While most Four Springs and Winding Way broadsides suggest long-term storage within books or other closed areas, only 27% of Winding Way broadsides and 28% of Four Springs broadsides exhibit evidence of open storage such as flyspecking, backing, pinning, and framing. Evidence of pasting, a treatment common to German-American decorative broadsides, has not emerged within this survey.<sup>129</sup> This absence could be attributed to the heavy damage occurring after removing a pasted broadside from its adhered surface, resulting in it being ruined and discarded. Although evidence of pasted Geistlicher Irrgarten has not emerged, it is certainly possible that this form of treatment and storage was practiced but has not survived in the material record.

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<sup>128</sup> See cat. 29.1.2 and 32.1.1.

<sup>129</sup> Christa Pieske, “The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes,” 9.

While evidence of pasting has not emerged, the presence of flyspecking on surveyed broadsides factors into determining the likelihood that they were displayed within the household. Flyspecking, or the small dark stains left by the excrement of flies, appears on paper objects left in the open where they are accessible to such pests. While formal usage of flyspecking to determine a broadside's storage patterns has not been conducted in known research, a parallel examination conducted by this research of forty-eight late-eighteenth and nineteenth century German-language almanacs suggests its potential benefit. These objects, cheaply-printed booklets intended for quick access, were common among German-speaking farmers in America due to their advice in medical and astrological matters.<sup>130</sup> This assembly of calendars within the collection of the Winterthur Library indicate the association between the treatment of such paper objects and flyspecking. Thirty-eight calendars possess a string tied through a puncture in the upper-left corner, used to hang the calendars from nails for easier access. 90% of these calendars possessing strings are flyspecked, suggesting that these strings were indeed used to keep the calendars hanging exposed on walls either within the household or in other domestic structures. Alternatively, of the ten calendars without a string or evidence of a string, only two possess light flyspecking, suggesting that they were kept in less exposed locations such as drawers or desks. These calendars exhibit the association between storage patterns and the presence of flyspecking.

The association between evidence of display and flyspecking are also exhibited by the Geistlicher Irrgarten. Among the sixteen surveyed Irrgarten—Four

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<sup>130</sup> Suzanne Karr Schmidt, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 73.

Springs and Winding Way broadsides—with flyspecking, seven possess evidence of having been pinned while another three were either backed or likely framed earlier in their lives.<sup>131</sup> Evidence of pinning is seen in symmetrical puncture marks either across a broadside’s upper portion or through its corners. Only three broadsides with evidence of having been pinned do not exhibit flyspecking—one is an example discovered in the twentieth century hanging within a bedroom, perhaps a space relatively secure from pests.<sup>132</sup> While the Geistlicher Irrgarten were perhaps not originally intended for pinning to walls as this negated their roles as mobile, edifying devotional objects, the ten broadsides with evidence of pinning suggest that this was a relatively common form of treatment after folding and storage within books or furniture. Additionally, as scholars suggest that religious prints were commonly pinned to areas of the household such as the mantelpiece, where “after being blackened by smoke and singed by fire they had to be replaced often”, it is likely that a more significant proportion of pinned broadsides have not survived, especially when compared to those folded and kept more secure.<sup>133</sup>

Early framing and backing appear to have been significantly less common treatment patterns, especially after differentiating between modern framing and framing undertaken before the broadside’s acquisition by collectors or heritage centers. While the illuminated, neatly-printed, or better-preserved examples of Geistlicher Irrgarten such as those printed at Ephrata or by Enos Benner tend to be

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<sup>131</sup> For flyspecked and pinned/framed broadsides, see cat. 14.2.2, 17.1.5, 27.1.2, 27.1.6, 29.1.1, 32.1.2, 34.2.2, 34.2.3.

<sup>132</sup> See cat. 12.1.1.

<sup>133</sup> Christa Pieske, “The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes,” 9.

framed today, these frames are modern additions and not indicative of treatment during their earlier lives.<sup>134</sup> Only six surveyed broadsides indicate non-modern framing or backing.<sup>135</sup> These prior treatments are seen in either parallel areas of discoloration resulting from contact with acidic wood or an adhered pasteboard backing. Among the six broadsides with evidence of earlier framing, two are illuminated, indicating a possible tie between illumination and framing.<sup>136</sup> While these broadsides maintain evidence of having been framed earlier in their histories than acquisition by collectors and libraries, it is difficult to determine whether this was contemporaneous with their original purchase. For example, one multi-folded and backed nineteenth-century broadside has been mounted onto an early-twentieth century advertisement, suggesting that it was perhaps folded and stored earlier in its life and backed later.<sup>137</sup> As scholars note that, at least when examining European broadsides, framed and mounted broadsides were unusual until the 1860s, it is likely that many eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Irrgarten with such evidence were originally stored in closed areas of the household and only displayed later in their histories of ownership.<sup>138</sup>

Although evidence suggesting the display of the Geistlicher Irrgarten on doors, walls, and mantelpieces is only exhibited in a minority of surveyed examples,

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<sup>134</sup> See cat. and 14.1.1, 14.3.3, 30.1.2.

<sup>135</sup> See cat. 17.1.2, 17.1.4, 17.1.5, 26.1.3, 27.1.6, and 34.2.3.

<sup>136</sup> See cat. 26.1.3 and 27.1.6.

<sup>137</sup> See cat. 17.1.4.

<sup>138</sup> Christa Pieske, "The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes," 8.

the broadsides' combination of both image and text meant that they served a decorative function in addition to their role as mobile, edifying tools. Evidence such as flyspecking, pinning, framing, and backing indicates their relatively long-term storage within these areas where they could be viewed and appreciated for their aesthetic qualities. As mentioned, however, the relatively low number of displayed Irrgarten within this survey must be considered as partially due to a biased sample. As the objects pinned or otherwise attached in an exposed environment were the most susceptible to damage resulting from light, dirt, pests, or fire, they not as well-represented within this survey as they were within German-American homes.

### **Movement through the Home**

As simple as it would be to draw a clear distinction between closed and open methods of storing the Geistlicher Irrgarten, this dichotomy does not account for the tendency for broadsides to fulfill several different roles throughout their lifetimes and therefore inhabit different areas of the home. While the evidence presented above suggests that the Geistlicher Irrgarten were more often folded and stored within books and potentially furniture, the survey reveals much overlap in the types of usage experienced by these objects throughout their lifetimes. That these objects shifted in meaning across generations of users is consistent with the somewhat vague nature of the broadsides—as devotional objects, they would traditionally have been stored within religious texts and Bibles. However, as these broadsides do not store valuable family information such as birth, baptismal, and marriage dates as other sacred materials, their spiritual value waned as newer generations no longer used the broadsides as edifying objects, meaning that they were not long viewed as appropriate



for storage within a family's Bible.<sup>139</sup> However, as the Geistlicher Irrgarten were also visual objects with at least a vague family connection—especially in cases where early users' names are inscribed onto the broadsides—they were able to move into roles more consistent with objects of display.<sup>140</sup> As discussed, this later treatment is made evident in pinning, framing, or backing. While these patterns of display immobilized the broadsides and thus nullified their edifying functions, these later users instead came to appreciate the Geistlicher Irrgarten from an entirely different perspective.

These patterns of movement within the household are evident in several subcategories of the surveyed Geistlicher Irrgarten. For example, eight of the fifteen broadsides with flyspecking also have multiple folds and exhibit mirrored foxing.<sup>141</sup> While it is impossible to determine the precise histories of these objects without detailed provenances, it is possible that they were stored within books during their early lives and later moved to a location of display. Perhaps the most obvious example of this change in usage can be seen in a G. S. Peters broadside possessing heavy folding in addition to puncture marks *over* repaired sections on the broadside's upper-right corner.<sup>142</sup> This punctured area in addition to light flyspecking indicate that the broadside was pinned and displayed after experiencing wear during an earlier period of usage. Additionally, an example of the Winding Way broadsides possessing six folds and no mirrored foxing was almost certainly purchased within an edition of

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<sup>139</sup> Christa Pieske, "The European Origins of Four Pennsylvania German Broadside Themes," 10.

<sup>140</sup> See cat. 34.2.3 as an example.

<sup>141</sup> See cat. 15.1.1, 28.1.1, and 31.1.4.

<sup>142</sup> See cat. 29.1.1.

Bauman's *Mystische Theologie* due to its distinctive folding.<sup>143</sup> However, its heavy flyspecking and single rectangular puncture-mark suggest that it did not remain stored within the book for long, instead being pinned to an open location within the household. These multiple examples remind us that usage of the Geistlicher Irrgarten change throughout time—an object's original purchasers likely appreciated the broadsides as primarily devotional tools while later inheritors of these objects, perhaps not possessing the same pietist background, came to appreciate the objects from a more aesthetic level. That the Geistlicher Irrgarten could change function within the household over a period of generations underlines their mobility through the German-American home even after they ceased to move within one's hands.

### **Unsold Geistlicher Irrgarten**

Several surveyed Geistlicher Irrgarten—in this case, all Four Springs of Grace broadsides—exhibit no evidence of ever having been sold by the printer or being used by consumers for edifying or decorative purposes. As discussed in the previous chapter, the amount of type and time required to compose and print the Geistlicher Irrgarten meant that nearly all printers undertaking their creation printed only a single large edition instead of tailoring production to subsequent successes in sales.<sup>144</sup> The inability to fine-tune production meant that producers such as Ambrose Henkel, the anonymous Reading printer, and Enos Benner evidently printed more broadsides than they could sell. While the history of these broadsides between their creation and

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<sup>143</sup> See cat. 34.2.2.

<sup>144</sup> This generalization excludes, of course, Ephrata, John Funk, and the Mennonite Company. It also, somewhat inexplicably, excludes the small printshop in Somerset, Pennsylvania owned by George Maurer, who printed two editions in the early-nineteenth century. See cat. 28.1 and 28.2.

acquisition by collectors or archives in the twentieth century remains unknown, it is apparent that they were not used either as devotional tools or objects of display as they exhibit no evidence of typical storage or display other than expected aging. As they were likely not used by consumers until the twentieth century, these virtually-pristine broadsides were excluded from analysis in the previous sections.

Two of the four surveyed broadsides printed by Ambrose Henkel (1786-1870), a printer in the early-nineteenth century Shenandoah Valley, possess evidence that indicates that they might not have sold easily. These broadsides both possess ink that had bled from other members of the edition, suggesting that the broadsides remained stacked on top of one another for extended periods after printing.<sup>145</sup> Additionally, the edges of both broadsides are uncut, suggesting that Ambrose Henkel did not ultimately prepare them for sale. While authors discussing Henkel's production and sale of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* have speculated on his inability to sell these broadsides for religious reasons, these few unsold examples provide evidence for this claim.<sup>146</sup> These attributes, in addition to a dearth of evidence of usage such as more than a single fold, mirrored foxing, puncturing, discoloration from frames, and tearing indicates that these broadsides were not used as either mobile or visual objects until the late-twentieth century.

These features of the unsold Henkel *Irrgarten* are also evident in several broadsides printed by the anonymous printer likely operating in Reading. Three of his anonymous broadsides in the collection of the Franklin and Marshall College Library

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<sup>145</sup> See cat. 26.1.1 and 26.1.2.

<sup>146</sup> Christopher Dolmetsch, *The German Press of the Shenandoah Valley* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 74.

are virtually identical in their pristine conditions.<sup>147</sup> While these do not have bled ink from other Geistlicher Irrgarten, all three are folded once and their edges are uncut. Additionally, they possess no evidence of usage or display, suggesting that they remained unsold for an extended period before acquisition by collectors and were therefore never used as edifying or decorative objects.

Finally, several Geistlicher Irrgarten printed by Enos Benner also appear to have remained unsold during the printer's life. Among the ten surveyed broadsides printed by Benner, five are unfolded with three of these five exhibiting bled ink.<sup>148</sup> A sixth is folded once and exhibits bled ink from other Geistlicher Irrgarten.<sup>149</sup> The generally pristine conditions of these five broadsides—again, none possessing evidence of folding, puncturing, or other forms of use or display—suggests that Benner did not sell these broadsides. As mentioned in chapter one, communication with staff at the Schwenkfelder Heritage Center reveals that Benner likely had difficulty selling other printed materials such as his “ABC Books.” Stacks of these books were uncovered in the twentieth century in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania at Benner's later residence, and these books exhibit similarly pristine conditions as the Geistlicher Irrgarten.<sup>150</sup> Both these books and the evidently-unused Geistlicher Irrgarten suggest that Benner, like several other regional printers, overproduced his Geistlicher Irrgarten or was unsuccessful in selling them.

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<sup>147</sup> See cat. 23.1.3, 23.1.4, and 23.1.5.

<sup>148</sup> See cat. 30.1.5, 30.1.6 and 30.1.8.

<sup>149</sup> See cat. 30.1.9.

<sup>150</sup> Personal communication with Dr. Allen Viehmeyer, the Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library, August 2016.

## German-American Devotional Culture

As the previous sections have discussed, the role of the Geistlicher Irrgarten within German-American households is complicated by their status as both image and text, enabling them to function either as decorative or didactic objects depending on the preferences of individual users. This section utilizes the material evidence gathered in the previous examinations to contextualize the role of these objects within one sphere of intended usage—German-American devotional and literary cultures of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Afterwards, I expand this contextualization to understand these broadsides within a wider range of Protestant-American edifying objects, ultimately suggesting further points for comparative research between German-American devotional broadsides and additional Protestant printed religious materials.

There is no reason to believe that the Geistlicher Irrgarten, especially those with evidence of folding and thus the maintenance of mobility, were not used as genuine devotional tools. That is, users likely lifted the broadsides and, through twisting and turning the sheet, followed the text through the labyrinth. As the text rhymed, users might have verbalized their reading, turning the experience into a multisensory engagement with the devotional object and, perhaps through it, the divine. Both these objects' likely storage within religious texts such as Bibles in addition to their numerous biblical verses within both the labyrinth and the springs further suggests their role in a system of reading such broadsides in conjunction with other books as a cross-referential system.<sup>151</sup> The likelihood of this usage is most

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<sup>151</sup> Several surveyed editions possess sections along their edges where the ink has been rubbed and smeared. As these sections often correspond to where one would place their fingers if lifting and

obviously seen in Bauman's Winding Way broadsides, where the broadside's text quotes directly from the first chapters of Sangmeister's *Mystische Theologie* in which it was either tipped or bound. By engaging directly with this volume and encouraging movement between book and broadside, Bauman molded the teachings expounded within both *Mystische Theologie* and the Bible into a visual didactic and, by moving through the texts at hand, into a performative act.

The intertextuality between Bible and broadside is also apparent in the Four Springs of Grace, though to varying degrees depending on the edition. Earlier printings, especially those by Henrich Miller and the Ephrata Cloister, utilize an intricate system of matching free-standing letters within the winding text to corresponding points within the springs. At these points, one finds citations for locations in the Bible without reproductions of the text itself, suggesting that those reading the broadsides are meant to be pulled from the labyrinth and into the nourishing springs and thus led to sustenance within the Bible itself. Later editions of the Four Springs, on the other hand, reproduce portions of Psalm 119 within each of the springs. Scholars of Protestant literature have noted that this psalm, "... David's reverential treatment of God's Word, is perhaps *the* model for pious reading in Reformation culture."<sup>152</sup> As the longest psalm and, indeed, the longest chapter in the Bible, the themes explored in Psalm 119 likely inspired the early Geistlicher Irrgarten as it focuses on "comprehend[ing] texts as spatial objects" while addressing themes of

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twisting the broadside, these could indicate evidence of literal usage, though such evidence is too tentative for formal conclusion. See cat. 14.2.2 and 14.3.3.

<sup>152</sup> Matthew Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 34.

spiritual pilgrimage and understanding God's teachings as a literal path.<sup>153</sup> These, of course, are exactly the goals and themes inherent to the Four Springs of Grace Geistlicher Irrgarten.

The role of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in encouraging intertextual reading between Bible and broadside helps us to understand the genre's predominant usage among children, especially young girls. All Geistlicher Irrgarten inscribed with names suggests that the owners and users of these objects tended to be young girls, usually between ten and twelve years old, receiving these broadsides as gifts from friends or family. Three of these four examples also contain the name of the gifter—an aunt, a father, and a man of unknown acquaintance. As, at least in mainstream Protestant groups such as the Lutherans and Reformed, proper religious education “presupposed a deep linkage between what was taught in the home, what was learned in schools, to that which was first properly heard and received in word and sacrament in the churches,” the role of these objects as encouraging proper religious education and knowledge of the Bible at home in addition to their evident popularity among children likely made them popular among parents, clergy, and children.<sup>154</sup>

Use of these broadsides within an intertextual nexus of printed materials in the German-American household is mirrored in other Protestant-American reading

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<sup>153</sup> Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee*, 45.

<sup>154</sup> That young girls are the only identified users of the Geistlicher Irrgarten points towards their being gendered objects. This reason for this remains unknown, though it has been hypothesized that devotional ‘games’ such as the Irrgarten were primarily used by children on Sundays when children were required to spend time quietly sitting at home. Perhaps the Geistlicher Irrgarten were similar enough to calligraphic and papercutting exercises in female ornamental education such as ‘True Love’s Knots’ to be preferred by young girls. Also see A. Gregg Roeber, “Official and Nonofficial Piety and Ritual in Early Lutheranism,” in *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 63:2 (April 1999), 125.

practices, suggesting areas for further comparison and collaborative research. German-American treatment of the Geistlicher Irrgarten as a ‘text-made-manifest’ and ‘prop’ within a cross-referential system of devotional texts invites comparison with seemingly unrelated systems of spiritual reading practiced by the Reformed in early New England. Understandings of Psalm 119 as the model for pious reading were shared by pietist Germans and the Anglo-Reformed of New England, but the groups also shared common appreciation for themes of pilgrimage and journey and the role of proper methods of reading in guiding one through life. Both German pietists and the English Reformed saw “piety in terms of a spiritual journey and trial, the pilgrim identity is both metaphor and reality for the transatlantic movement of the English devout to the northeastern Americas. In this context, godly writers fashion the reading act as an anchor, a stabilizing force in the pilgrim’s travel in this world.”<sup>155</sup> Such similarities between Puritan and German-pietist reading cultures have already been suggested by scholars such as Patrick Erben, who encourages researchers to map the “interconnected worlds of reading and writing among German- and English-speaking people in early America.”<sup>156</sup> The role of the Geistlicher Irrgarten within an intertextual nexus of reading materials and its encouragement of spiritual pilgrimage indicates that the genre is a further point of similarity between the seemingly disparate religious and linguistic traditions.

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<sup>155</sup> Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee*, 90.

<sup>156</sup> Patrick Erben, “(Re)Discovering the German-Language Literature of Colonial America,” in *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, Jan Stievernann and Oliver Scheiding, eds. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 119.



As the Geistlicher Irrgarten possess the capability of fulfilling several roles within the household—edification, decorative, and educational—it is hardly surprising that the conditions of surveyed broadsides point to several potential uses, some overlapping. While the exact location of these objects within the German-American household is difficult to pinpoint without corroboration from provenance or documentary sources, evidence suggests that most Geistlicher Irrgarten were folded to enable storage within closed areas such as books and drawers. Likely storage within books is seen in thirty of the ninety-two surveyed Four Springs of Grace broadsides while fifty of the ninety-two broadsides suggest the potential for such storage. This is matched by the seven out of eleven Winding Way broadsides having likely been stored for long periods within devotional texts. The minority of broadsides with evidence of having been appreciated at a primarily aesthetic level exhibit signs of pinning, framing, mounting, and flyspecking that highlight their exposure in more open areas of the house. By focusing on the predominant storage patterns of these objects within books, however, we come to see how these broadsides likely functioned in a cross-referential system of reading within the household as one engaged with devotional texts such as Ezekiel Sangmeister's *Mystische Theologie* and the Bible while reading the Geistlicher Irrgarten, needing to check citations and moving between book and broadside. This 'prop' role within cross-referential literary culture mirrors reading practices common to the Puritans, suggesting areas for comparison between the seemingly disparate ethnic and religious groups. Understanding the polyvalent and mutable roles of these broadsides to their users brings us to their final examination as we turn to their emergent popularity among Anabaptist groups throughout North America.

### Chapter 3

#### “LEAD US OUT AND INTO YOUR HEAVENLY HOUSE”: THE GEISTLICHER IRRGARTEN IN THE GERMAN-AMERICAN MIND

Over her five-hundred-mile journey between southeastern Pennsylvania and Ontario, Anna Weber traversed mountains, dark forests, swamps, and even the Niagara River west of the falls. Crossing the Niagara was likely one of the tenser parts of the trip as Anna, only ten years old at the time, nestled deep within the family's Conestoga wagon as her father and uncle paddled it across the tumultuous waters. Anna and her family, Mennonites descended from early settlers of Lancaster County, had suffered during the “very hard times in old Pennsylvania” and looked to Ontario, where Mennonites had lived and farmed on cheaper land since 1786.<sup>157</sup> Seeking new opportunities, Anna's father spearheaded a group of emigrants seeking their new home in 1825. Alongside her parents, siblings, and uncle's family, Anna must have envisioned herself a seasoned traveler as she completed the journey that normally lasted over a month in only nineteen days, reaching Waterloo County by the end of April. Anna went on to become an incredibly prolific, if eccentric, fraktur artist in her new home, helping to disseminate an art more commonly associated with southeastern Pennsylvania to other areas of the German-American diaspora.<sup>158</sup>

Anna brought on her journey a companion who understood all too well the meandering and homelessness experienced in this life—a Geistlicher Irrgarten

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<sup>157</sup> Ezra E. Eby, *A Biographical History of Waterloo Township* (Berlin, Ontario, 1895), 199.

<sup>158</sup> E. Reginald Good, *Anna's Art: The Fraktur Art of Anna Weber, a Waterloo County Mennonite Artist, 1814-1888* (Kitchener, Ontario: Pochauna Publications, 1976), 10.

broadside.<sup>159</sup> Printed at Ephrata in 1784 and glued to a linen backing, perhaps for increased durability during the journey, this broadside's travels with Anna helps to frame the genre's final form of movement as Protestant sects brought the Geistlicher Irrgarten to new areas of North America through the nineteenth century. At the same time, production and use of these objects ceased among German-speaking Lutherans and Reformed throughout North America, a trend possibly tied to the strengthening of confessional identity among these churches with the gradual decline of pietism.<sup>160</sup> Thus, this final examination follows interrelated geographic and religious movement as sectarian groups continued use of the broadsides while it atrophied among mainline German-Protestants. To explore this final form of movement, I examine individual broadsides embodying these wider trends.

Specific patterns in denominational and sectarian use of the Geistlicher Irrgarten remain unknown due to the anonymity of most purchasers and users, though more general trends in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries become evident when examining the few broadsides with established provenances. Studying the printers is generally not helpful as the makers of such broadly-appealing devotional materials could belong to any given Protestant group—Enos Benner and Heinrich Ruby were Reformed, John Funk was Mennonite, and the printers at Ephrata adhered to their pietist asceticism. These printers marketed their wares to both the *Kirchenleute*—‘church people’ such as the Lutherans and Reformed—and the

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<sup>159</sup> See cat. 14.1.3.

<sup>160</sup> Confessional identity is here understood as a general appreciation for one's status as either Reformed or Lutheran. Pietism had seen the blurring of lines between these denominations, but trends in the early to mid-nineteenth century saw the resurgence of stronger identification as pietism waned amongst these groups.

*Sektenleute*—‘sectarian people’ such as the Amish, Mennonites, Hutterites, and Schwenkfelders. As these printers were generally more concerned with sales than producing objects tailored to their own group, they marketed such broadsides with “a message for all Christians in the Middle Atlantic colonies and states” instead of individual denominations.<sup>161</sup> This strategy was more effective for selling one’s devotional books and broadsides to as large a swath of German-speakers as possible, therefore challenging attempts to link the printer’s creed with any denominational message in his advertisements or wares.

Only one printer breaks with this trend and suggests the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* finding popularity among church Germans into the early-nineteenth century. Ambrose Henkel’s printshop in New Market, Virginia advertised most of its printed books and broadsides to the Shenandoah Valley’s burgeoning Lutheran population, suggesting that when Henkel printed an 1808 edition of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten*, he expected the genre’s popularity among this predominant audience.<sup>162</sup> Like most printers, Henkel only printed a single edition, resulting, according to scholars, from the broadside’s “frivolity [being] inconsistent with the Henkels’ puritanical views as it makes a game of the reading of scriptural passages.”<sup>163</sup> Previously-mentioned evidence suggests that there was not such a clash between ‘puritanical’ beliefs with production and sale of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* in New Market. This is also reinforced by the fact that the broadside evidently had at least minor success among Henkel’s Lutheran market.

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<sup>161</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 148.

<sup>162</sup> Dolmetsch, *The German Press of the Shenandoah Valley*, 28.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.* 74.

While only a handful of the 1808 Geistlicher Irrgarten have been identified, at least one is known to have been purchased from an itinerant scrivener around 1810 by Shenandoah Lutherans. This illuminated example descended within the family of Jacob Rolar, an early-nineteenth century settler in Rockingham County, Virginia.<sup>164</sup>

Henkel's marketing and sale of the Geistlicher Irrgarten to the Shenandoah Valley's Lutherans indicates that the broadsides were at least partially represented among mainline Protestants in the early-nineteenth century. The broadsides had likely been more popular among these groups in the previous few decades due to the "dramatic lack of pastors to serve the flock" of German-American denominations in the eighteenth century, though newly-settled or rural areas such as the Shenandoah Valley experienced this lack of pastors into the early-nineteenth century.<sup>165</sup> Scholars have noted an association between the acquisition of devotional broadsides and a lack of qualified ministers as German Lutherans and Reformed sought to balance the absence of an organized church structure with a more active domestic religious environment.<sup>166</sup> No Reformed users of the Irrgarten have been identified, though it is likely that their use of the broadsides mirrored those of the Lutherans due to the "extremely close and usually cordial relation" between these churches in the colonial period and early republic.<sup>167</sup> This closeness, combined with the underlying

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<sup>164</sup> Bonnie Lineweaver Paul et al., *Shenandoah Valley Folk Art Fraktur (1774-1850)* (Harrisonburg: Bernhart & Company, 2011), 29. See cat. 26.1.3.

<sup>165</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 151; Dolmetsch, *The German Press of the Shenandoah*, 9.

<sup>166</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 151.

<sup>167</sup> Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide*, 169.

“importance of Christian religion outside formally organized churches”, suggests that the Mid-Atlantic Lutherans and Reformed purchased and used the Geistlicher Irrgarten to some extent during the early-nineteenth century, especially in rural locations or areas of new settlement.<sup>168</sup>

While the popularity of the Geistlicher Irrgarten among the mainstream Protestant Germans is partially evident, the genre’s early use among Anabaptist groups is made apparent through several sources. Anabaptist use of the Irrgarten in Europe is indicated by the survival of a broadside likely printed at the von Mechel printshop in Basel, Switzerland and brought to America within a Swiss-Mennonite immigrant’s Bible.<sup>169</sup> This example, especially when considering both the early production of the Geistlicher Irrgarten and the origin of many North American Anabaptists in Switzerland, suggests the longstanding association between Anabaptists and the Irrgarten. In North America, early use of the Geistlicher Irrgarten among the Amish and Mennonites is exhibited by their ties with the Ephrata Cloister in addition to eighteenth-century broadsides with likely Anabaptist provenance.<sup>170</sup> Early contact between Anabaptist groups and Ephrata saw the printing of key texts during the mid-eighteenth century such as the *Golden Apples in Silver Rind* and *The Martyrs Mirror*. Through the rest of the century, Ephrata remained “the principal American source for

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<sup>168</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 150

<sup>169</sup> See cat. 6.1.

<sup>170</sup> See cat. 14.1.3 and 14.3.1.

religious literature for the Mennonite community.”<sup>171</sup> Ties between the pietist groups went deeper than commercial relationships. As scholars have noted, the Cloister’s “financial loss on the *Martyrs Mirror* suggests a motivation other than profit” in translating and printing the massive book. Theological ties with the Mennonites seems to have been more of a factor in production than commercial gain, as the press at Ephrata “was at least at that time not considered a big money-making endeavor but rather the means to communicate spiritual insights through the many songs, essays, and texts of Beissel to the pious German settlers”<sup>172</sup> Anabaptists in southeastern Pennsylvania also purchased broadsides from Ephrata through the eighteenth century such as birth and baptismal certificates, house blessings, and the *Geistlicher Irrgarten*, suggested both by Anna Weber’s broadside and the fact that later Mennonite editions were modeled on Ephrata’s 1784 and 1785 version *A Four Springs of Grace* broadsides. In addition to being early purchasers and users of the genre from Ephrata, it is likely that Anabaptists remained a key, if not dominant, market of the broadsides for early-nineteenth century printers in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Printers in Reading, Allentown, New Market, and other towns throughout the Mid-Atlantic were well-situated to cater to the sectarian groups tending to live in rural areas. As such, peddlers and rural markets likely enabled the sale and distribution of these broadsides in rural areas through the first decades of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>171</sup> E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh, PA: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 112.

<sup>172</sup> Bach, *Voice of the Turtle Doves*, 29; Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 161.

Thus, into the early-nineteenth century, both the *Kirchenleute* and *Sektenleute* purchased and used the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* in the Mid-Atlantic states, though Anabaptist groups likely maintained stronger ties with the genre. While more specific information about the relative popularity of these broadsides both within these groups and vis a vis one another is impossible to determine due to the anonymity of users, the non-denominational nature of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* and its advertising and provenance among both the church and sect groups suggest that both maintained at least some users, likely among children in providing pleasure and spiritual lessons and with adults in maintaining domestic piety if organized church life was unavailable. Trends among the Lutheran and Reformed churches by the mid-nineteenth century, however, saw the disappearance of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* among these groups. After the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* disappeared among the Lutheran and Reformed, the genre was renewed as it moved with Anabaptist emigrants to Ontario and Indiana.

The circumstances resulting in the atrophy of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* among Lutherans and Reformed remain unknown, though it likely relates to the resurgence of stronger confessional identities, or stronger recognition of the Lutheran and Reformed churches as distinct entities with specialized rituals, that had waned with popular forms of pietism. The genre's disappearance among these Protestants is apparent by the 1850s, when the last identified printer of these broadsides in the Mid-Atlantic, John Dreisbach, printed his edition in Bath, Pennsylvania.<sup>173</sup> While the genre was not known to have been printed in the Mid-Atlantic after Dreisbach, it had likely long-since waned in popularity among church Germans. Several newspaper advertisements

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<sup>173</sup> See cat. 33.1.



suggest that attempts to market these broadsides to orthodox Protestants had vanished within the first three decades of the century. Spatial examinations of the *Reading Eagle's* advertisements in 1811 show that the Geistlicher Irrgarten were set between German-language editions of the United States Constitution and the life and works of John Calvin, suggesting more general popularity among markets in and around Reading.<sup>174</sup> By the early 1830s, however, at least one series of advertisements for the Geistlicher Irrgarten situated them either underneath a biography of Caspar Schwenkfeld, eponymous founder of the Schwenkfelders, or more ambiguously at the bottom of a list that included non-denominational hymns and secular biographies.<sup>175</sup> This analysis of the broadsides' spatial context within these newspapers might suggest the genre's distancing from the spiritual literature previously popular among the Lutherans and Reformed. This distancing is consistent with trends within German-American Lutheran and Reformed churches towards strengthened denominational identities by the 1830s. This strengthening of identity was seen, at least in the Lutheran camp, in a "growing Lutheran confessional consciousness ... Lutherans became conscious once again of their distinctive confessional identity within Christendom. The Enlightenment and pietism had, in different ways, nearly obliterated this confessional awareness."<sup>176</sup> Similar patterns emerged among the Reformed Church, evidenced in part by the surge of Reformed parochial schools in eastern

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<sup>174</sup> Johann Ritter, "Ankündigung," *Der Readinger Adler*, November 19, 1811.

<sup>175</sup> Enos Benner, "In der Druckerey dieser Zeitung ist zum Verkauf erhalten worden," *Der Bauernfreund*, April 10 1833; May 2, 1832.

<sup>176</sup> James A. Scherer, "The Triumph of Confessionalism in Nineteenth-Century German Lutheran Missions," in *Missio Apostolica* 2:71 (1993), 8.

Pennsylvania by the 1830s.<sup>177</sup> As pietism and the trans-confessional tendencies that had helped German-American Lutherans and the Reform maintain active religious lives eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries gave way to stronger individual identities, broadly-Christian devotional broadsides such as the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* likely played less of a role in the domestic devotional lives of these German-speakers. Additional factors leading to the disappearance of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* among these groups might also include the spike in immigration from German-speaking countries, where broadsides did not function in as vital a role in the domestic devotional environment due to the presence of more organized local churches, and the disappearance of spoken and written high German in Protestant churches in the Mid-Atlantic through the nineteenth century.<sup>178</sup>

The genre's disappearance in the German-language printshops of the Mid-Atlantic was countered by its movement to Anabaptist printshops established in Ontario and later the American Midwest, reflecting the genre's continued popularity among the Amish and Mennonites. As prefaced by Anna Weber's story, Mennonite settlements in Waterloo County, Ontario surged during the first two decades of the nineteenth century due to the abundance of inexpensive farmland there. These groups' settlement in Ontario led to the flourishing of this area as a parallel, 'sister' culture to southeastern Pennsylvania, and it did not take long for German-language newspapers to emerge in Berlin, Ontario (now Kitchener). The first newspaper in this region, the *Canada Museum and Allgemeine Zeitung*, was founded by H. W. Peterson in 1835 and

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<sup>177</sup> Ralph Wood, ed. *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, New Jersey: The Princeton University Press, 1942), 112.

<sup>178</sup> Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 152.

printed a run of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in 1838.<sup>179</sup> Local Mennonites were “very likely customers for” this edition as the population of Anabaptists in Ontario at the time greatly outnumbered those of the Lutherans and Reformed.<sup>180</sup> Peterson modeled his edition on Enos Benner’s 1832 Geistlicher Irrgarten, though it is unknown whether he imported Benner’s broadsides, as occasionally occurred with birth and baptismal certificates, or if he brought an example from Pennsylvania.<sup>181</sup>

Canadian Anabaptists eventually produced additional editions of the Geistlicher Irrgarten by the mid-twentieth century, but the nineteenth-century Canadian editions were overshadowed by those of the Mennonites in the American Midwest.<sup>182</sup> These groups oversaw the production of the broadsides at a scale that had only been matched by the Ephrata Cloister. Mennonite migration to Indiana in the mid-nineteenth century occurred in the aftermath of the emigration to Canada, and the establishment of communities in areas such as Elkhart closely mirrored those founded in Ontario.<sup>183</sup> As was true with the Mennonites migrating to Canada, the groups settling in Indiana carried printed materials to their new homes that included the Geistlicher Irrgarten. For example, an edition of Joseph Bauman’s *Winding Way* broadsides is noted to have been brought to the Midwest from Pennsylvania, and later Mennonite publishers in Elkhart, Indiana copied their editions of the Geistlicher

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<sup>179</sup> See cat. 32.1.

<sup>180</sup> Luthy, “The Spiritual Labyrinth: An Unusual Devotional Form,” 19.

<sup>181</sup> Burke and Hill, *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo*, 55.

<sup>182</sup> See cat. 19.1, 20.1, and 21.1.

<sup>183</sup> Burke and Hill, *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo*, 40.

Irrgarten from earlier Pennsylvania models.<sup>184</sup> Indeed, all editions printed at Elkhart were modeled on version A Irrgarten printed at Ephrata in 1784 and 1785. The production of the Midwestern Irrgarten was initiated under the Mennonite printer and writer John Funk, who was descended from one of the most influential early-American Mennonites, Heinrich Funk. Heinrich had been closely associated with Ephrata's press operations during the mid-eighteenth century, and one must wonder whether John Funk's edition of the Irrgarten had been based on examples originating with his ancestor. Regardless of where he acquired his model, Funk's production of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in the 1870s resulted in two editions—one in German and another in English. The transformation of Funk's company into the Mennonite Publishing Company in 1875 saw additional reprintings of the Geistlicher Irrgarten into the early-twentieth century, resulting in another German-language edition with an ivy border but otherwise identical text.<sup>185</sup>

Even as the Geistlicher Irrgarten experienced renewal under John Funk and the Mennonite Publishing Company, commercial and spiritual interests ensured that Anabaptists remaining in Pennsylvania were not neglected. One broadside with an imprint identifying it as a John Funk and Brother edition also carries a sticker identifying it as having been sold at the Herr Bookstore in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, likely around the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>186</sup> This broadside's appearance in southeastern Pennsylvania indicates that it had been imported by the bookseller,

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<sup>184</sup> See cat. 34.2.3.

<sup>185</sup> See cat. 17.1 – 17.4.

<sup>186</sup> See cat. 17.2.1.

almost certainly due to its continued popularity among the plentiful Mennonite and Amish communities remaining in Pennsylvania. Another broadside printed by John Funk and Brother had, at one point, been backed onto a thick wove paper advertising the Schwenksville Roller Mills, operating in the early-twentieth century, suggesting that the broadside had been imported from Indiana to eastern Pennsylvania and eventually backed for display.<sup>187</sup> Even into the mid-twentieth century, *Geistlicher Irrgarten* printed by J. A. Raber in Baltic, Ohio, were exported to Pennsylvania and sold through agents, as advertised in Raber's almanacs and calendars.<sup>188</sup>

Clearly, from the mid-nineteenth century through the late-twentieth century the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* maintained popularity among Anabaptists in the American Midwest, Ontario, and, through exports, back to southeastern Pennsylvania. As exhibited by European-Anabaptist broadsides, Anabaptist closeness with the Ephrata Cloister, and the Anabaptist provenance of *Geistlicher Irrgarten*, the genre's popularity into the late-twentieth century was a continuation of long-standing interest in the broadsides and not a nineteenth-century development. The genre's atrophy among orthodox Protestants and the establishment of Mennonite printshops in areas of new settlement had caused the Amish and Mennonites to finally begin production and distribution of the genre on their own terms instead of relying on the more traditional, 'non-denominational' sources of printed materials in southeastern Pennsylvania.

The genre's longevity among the Amish and Mennonites is hardly surprising given the abundance of Anabaptist spirituality in the broadsides. Scholars of

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<sup>187</sup> See cat. 17.1.4.

<sup>188</sup> See cat. 18.1.

Anabaptist decorative arts and visual culture have long noted that “Mennonite symbolism ... is resplendent with paradisial imagery of the most extravagant kind: floral, astral, geometric, landscape, figural, and calligraphic forms abound. These motifs coalesce around a central theme of Mennonite thought: the creation anew, through separation from the world, the eschewing of violence, and the adherence to a rural lifestyle, of the *Paradiesgärtlein*, the Garden of Paradise.”<sup>189</sup> As intended by the genre’s seventeenth-century originators, the Geistlicher Irrgarten were grounded within these strongly-pietist themes that were further expanded upon in the works of popular seventeenth and eighteenth-century spiritual authors such as Johann Arndt and Gerhard Tersteegen, both of whom also remained popular among Anabaptists and pietist Protestants through the nineteenth century.

Scholars have also somewhat tentatively associated the popularity of ‘Garden of Paradise’ themes with forms of actual gardening among the Mennonites. This association is, according to some, observed in “the four-square garden [which] was a specific image of the *Paradiesgärtlein*: it reminded the family of the pre-lapsarian Garden of Eden with its four rivers (now paths) and was always placed close to the house where it could be contemplated with pleasure and edification.”<sup>190</sup> While perhaps overly simplifying the history of the four-square garden, spiritual language surrounding the Garden of Paradise deeply infused design and decorative motifs among the Amish and Mennonites and found long-lived expression in the Geistlicher Irrgarten broadsides. In addition to their reflection of Anabaptist spiritual imagery, the

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<sup>189</sup> Nancy-Lou Patterson, *The Language of Paradise*, 6.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

Geistlicher Irrgarten also conformed with Anabaptist regulations on domestic decoration. In the Amish and Mennonite domestic settings, “items which are decorative or depictive must be perceived to be useful before they can be tolerated. A calendar can have a picture on it but a picture by itself is not allowed. A family register can be decorated, framed, and displayed on the wall, even though a painting cannot be so exhibited.”<sup>191</sup> Similarly, a Geistlicher Irrgarten, both image and text, functions as decorative and didactic, and it was treated as appropriate for use and display within the Anabaptist household. The display of Geistlicher Irrgarten within Anabaptist homes is seen in the discovery of at least one broadside mounted within the bedroom of an Old Order Mennonite woman in the mid-twentieth century and another to the back of a closet door.<sup>192</sup> One must also wonder whether a late-nineteenth century John Funk and Bro. Irrgarten, sewn to a calendar as a backing, was intended as assurance that the broadside was not mistaken as too decorative.<sup>193</sup> Indeed, that a disproportionately high number of late-nineteenth and twentieth century Anabaptist editions of the Geistlicher Irrgarten are backed, printed on thicker wove paper, or pinned suggests that use of these broadsides as decorative objects had gained greater traction among the Amish and Mennonites than in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

Thus, while the Geistlicher Irrgarten maintained some popularity among mainline Protestants and the Anabaptists during the late-eighteenth and early-

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<sup>191</sup> Patterson, *The Language of Paradise*, 19.

<sup>192</sup> See cat. 11.1.1 and 17.4.5.

<sup>193</sup> See cat. 17.1.2.

nineteenth centuries, it atrophied among the *Kirchenleute*, likely related to the general move towards greater confessional awareness and a more organized church life, possibly compounding the influence of additional German-speaking immigrants and the reduced use of German in churches by mid-century. This atrophy among the Lutherans and Reformed was offset by the genre's movement to southern Ontario and the American Midwest as Anabaptist groups migrated to new areas of settlement. As these groups established printshops catering to their unique spiritual themes and retention of pietism, they renewed production of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* through companies such as John Funk and Brother, the Mennonite Publishing Company, and Jacob Raber well into the late-twentieth century.

The movement of the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* with Anabaptist groups to Ontario and the American Midwest brings us to its status today as a type of object tied to the retention of ancestral forms of domestic piety. After its migration from continental Europe to North America and this "very edifying" genre's popularity among pietist mainline Protestants and Anabaptists, the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* experienced multiple forms of movement throughout their history of production in the New World.<sup>194</sup> Between the late-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, German-language printshops in the Mid-Atlantic produced the *Geistlicher Irrgarten* intermittently due to the relatively high level of capital needed to produce objects that only sold infrequently. Thus, this first form of movement was bounded not by the skill of a printer, as has been assumed, but rather by the amount of type that a printer maintained. This pattern is highlighted by the fact that all known printers of the genre,

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<sup>194</sup> Henrich Miller, "Bey dem Verleger dieser Zeitung ist ganz neulich heraus gekommen..." *Der Wöchentliche pennsylvanische Staatsbote*, January 1, 1762.



excluding the Ephrata Cloister, also printed newspapers. As the genre moved across German-language printshops, the Geistlicher Irrgarten continued to experience motion as consumers brought them into the household. While the specific contexts of when and why users interacted with these objects remain unknown, patterns in the conditions of surveyed objects suggest that most broadsides were folded and stored within Bibles and other devotional books, allowing them to maintain their intended mobility as they could be removed and used at will. A minority were either framed or pinned to doors, mantels, and walls. The degree of overlap between broadsides with signs of private and public storage within the household suggests that such display likely occurred after earlier storage within books, reflecting another form of motion as broadsides changed location in the house depending on the generation.

The Geistlicher Irrgarten remain as objects of motion in the twenty-first century among pious readers and scattered enthusiasts. A letter in 1995 from Ms. Sarah Plowden of New York written to the Heritage Historical Library in Aylmer, Ontario inquires whether the Geistlicher Irrgarten are available for purchase. Further correspondence notes that Sarah was subsequently mailed an English reprint of the mid-twentieth century edition printed in Ontario by Ira Huber. Although Sarah notes that she is “extremely deficient in religious reading,” she was fascinated by the genre as she had “never come across anything similar to the Spiritual Labyrinth before” and, though a Baptist unfamiliar with spoken or written German, she wished to possess the object.<sup>195</sup> Thus, Sarah represents a reader who desired both to use the Geistlicher Irrgarten as a devotional tool and as a printed object inspiring fascination. Modern

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<sup>195</sup> Sarah Plowden, “Letter to the Ayler Heritage Historical Library,” in the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, July 14, 1995.

fascination with the Geistlicher Irrgarten is mirrored in another series of correspondences between Robert Tibbetts, curator of Special Collections at the Ohio State University, and the Heritage Historical Library. Mr. Tibbetts notes his possession of an Irrgarten that he has “hung, but in such a way that it can be taken down for the contortions necessary for reading.”<sup>196</sup> Of course, heritage centers and libraries such as the Montgomery County Historical Society and the Winterthur Museum continue to display the objects, though without the ability to remove and handle them as devotional tools. Such ‘displayed’ Geistlicher Irrgarten are not necessarily objects relegated to full stasis, though. As scholars such as Martin Brückner have noted in the study of early American maps, objects once experiencing forms of movement relegated to a decorative role still experience limited forms of mobility when, as aesthetic objects, they move in and out of “the channels or rituals of communicative exchange.”<sup>197</sup>

Following the Geistlicher Irrgarten from Europe, through the Mid-Atlantic region, to Ontario and the American Midwest more fully contextualizes the long life of a genre of broadsides used within several German-language religious traditions. By better understanding the production and use of the Geistlicher Irrgarten, we, paradoxically, can challenge both its ephemerality and longevity. While paper-based materials are often seen as disposable, the dedication of many consumers to the repair and continued use or display of their Geistlicher Irrgarten indicates that we must better

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<sup>196</sup> Robert Tibbetts, “Letters to the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library,” in the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, August 11, 1986. Likely cat. 23.1.

<sup>197</sup> Martin Brückner, “The Ambulatory Map: Commodity, Mobility, and Visualcy in Eighteenth-Century Colonial America,” in the *Winterthur Portfolio* 45:2 (Summer 2011), 150.

understand such objects as maintaining the potential to move in and out of states of commodity and usage long after their creation and initial period of use. The genre's movement also helps us to reconsider objects with a static dogmatic appeal. As a genre originating among Counter-Reformation Jesuits or early-pietist Protestants, it eventually found adherents among the latter group, as exhibited by Henrich Miller and the Ephrata Cloister. While the Irrgarten maintained users among the Lutherans and Reformed into the early-nineteenth century, the genre eventually experienced its latest resurgence among Anabaptist groups who had been dedicated users through the past three centuries. Rather than being objects maintaining popularity among only a single denomination or sect, the Geistlicher Irrgarten have moved through several religious traditions and Protestant churches depending on each group's changing preferences. The genre has also encouraged us to use all available material evidence to enter the German-American domestic devotional environment to explore the vitality of spiritual practices within the home. By tracing these devotional and reading patterns, we have followed the paths set out by the Geistlicher Irrgarten as they have lead through the printshop, home, and mind of North America's German-speakers between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Through these winding ways, we can better understand both the long life of a single genre of devotional broadsides and the wider connections that it helps us to perceive within German-American forms of pietism and wider trends in Protestant devotional culture.

## FIGURES

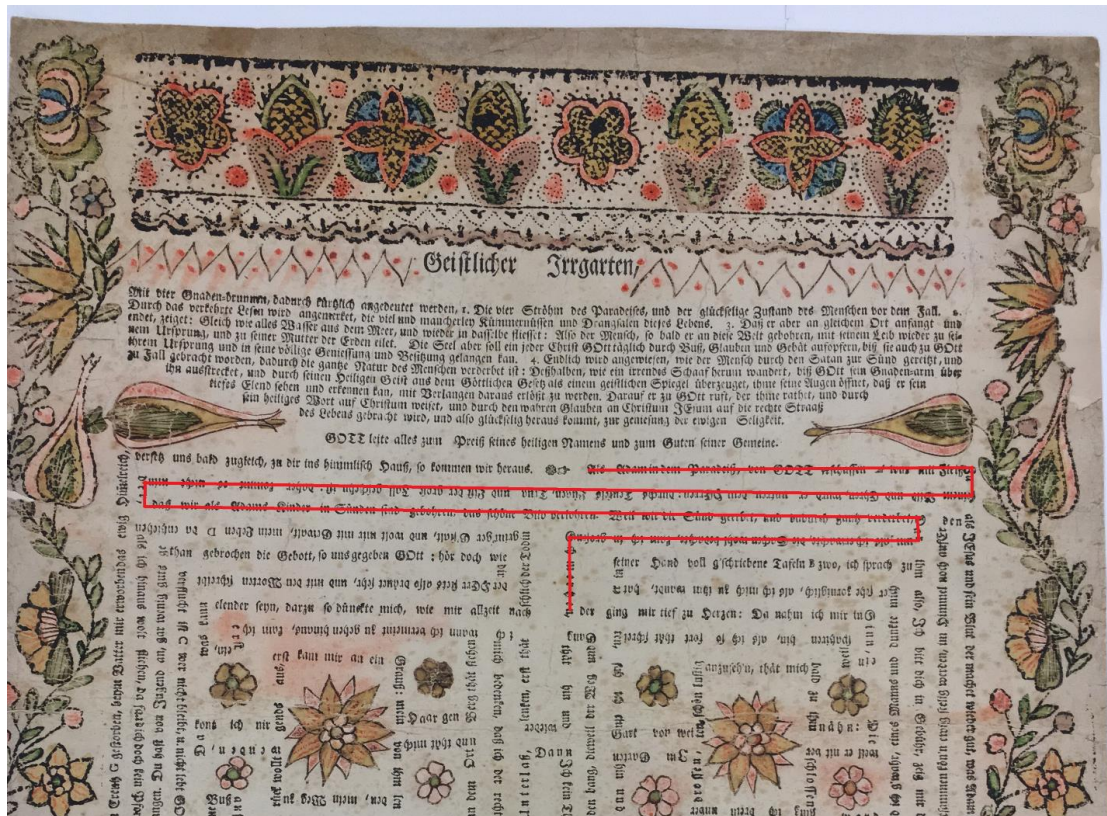


Figure 1: “Version A” Geistlicher Irrgarten. Note how the labyrinth’s initial lines flow border-to-border before dropping to the upper-right spring of grace. Catalog number 14.2.2. Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

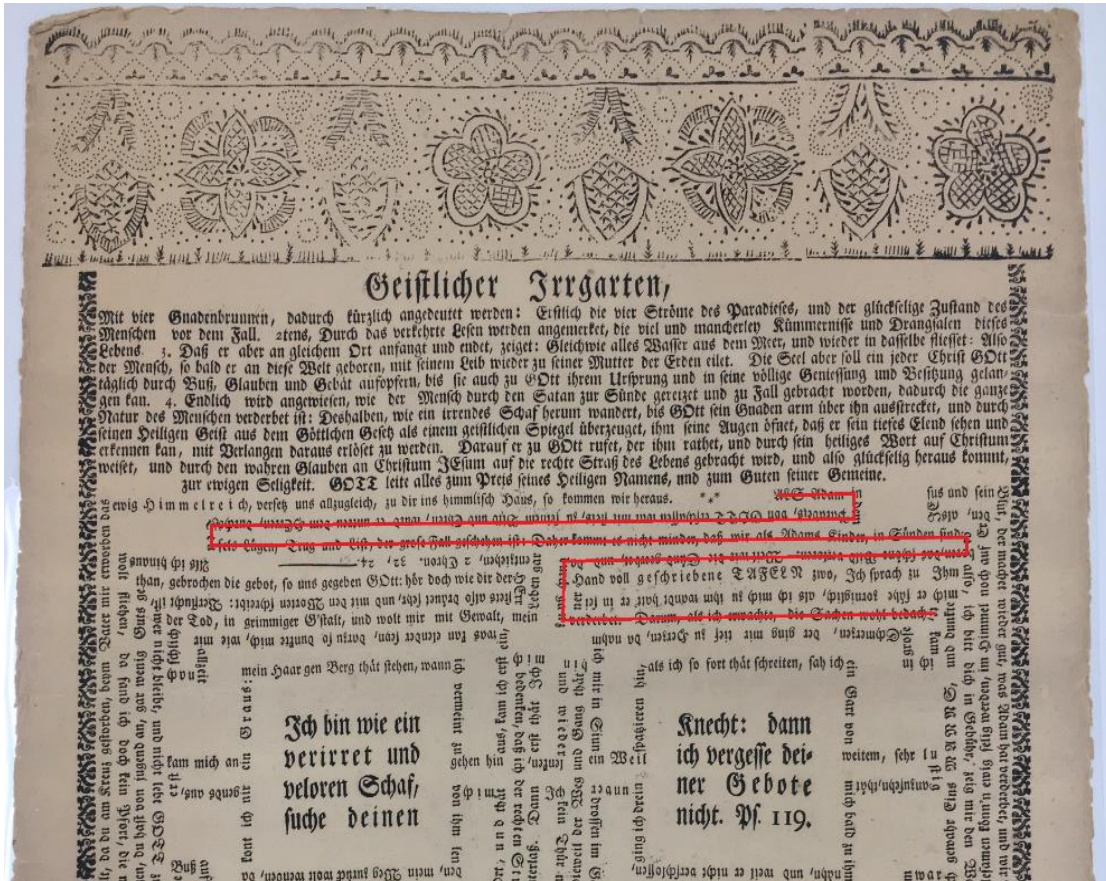


Figure 2: Juxtapose this “version B” Four Springs of Grace broadside with the previous figure. Note the text twisting after only three words before reaching the top-right spring of grace. Catalog number 14.3.1. Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.





Figure 3: An example of the “Broad and Narrow Path” imagery that might have inspired Ezekiel Sangmeister and later Joseph Bauman to produce the Winding Way broadsides. Courtesy of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library.

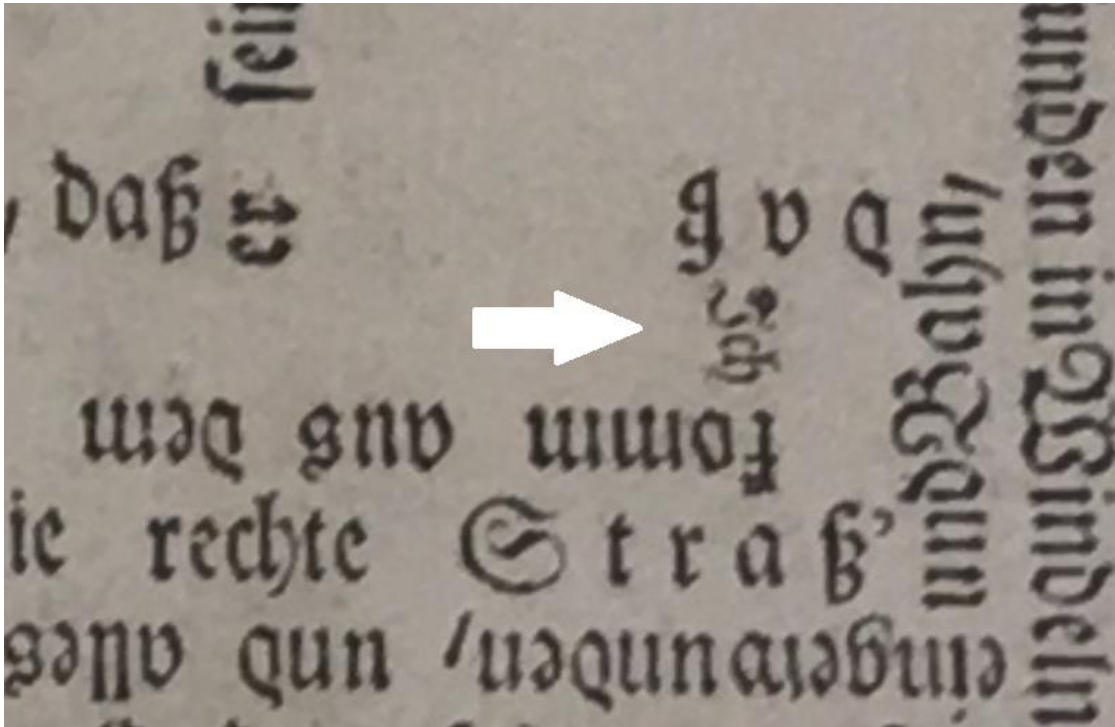


Figure 4: Note the word “Ich” having been inserted in a smaller font due to the composer not properly setting the type. Image edited by the author from an 1833 Gräter and Blumer broadside. Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.



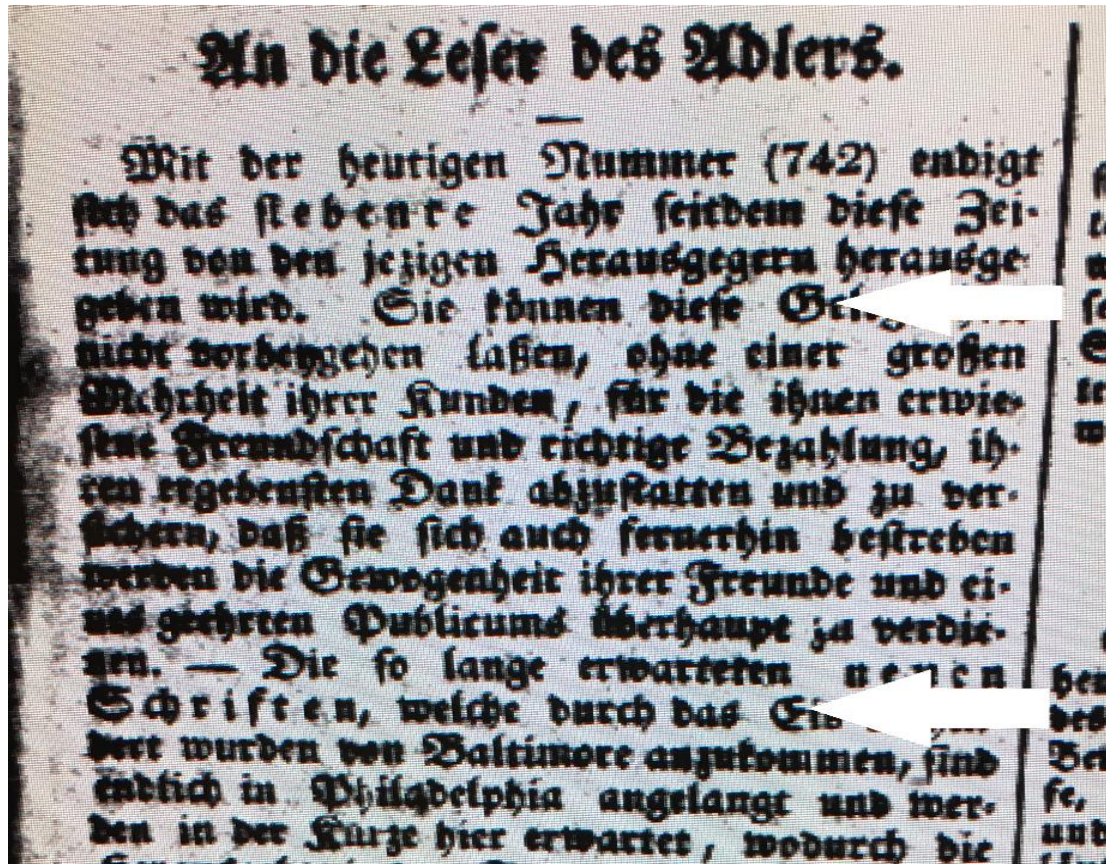


Figure 5: A notice within a March 1811 edition of *The Reading Eagle*. Notice the *Breitkopf* typeface of the capital 'G's and 'E's. Contrast these more traditional fraktur letters with the type in Ritter's *Geistlicher Irrgarten* and later advertisements in *The Reading Eagle*.



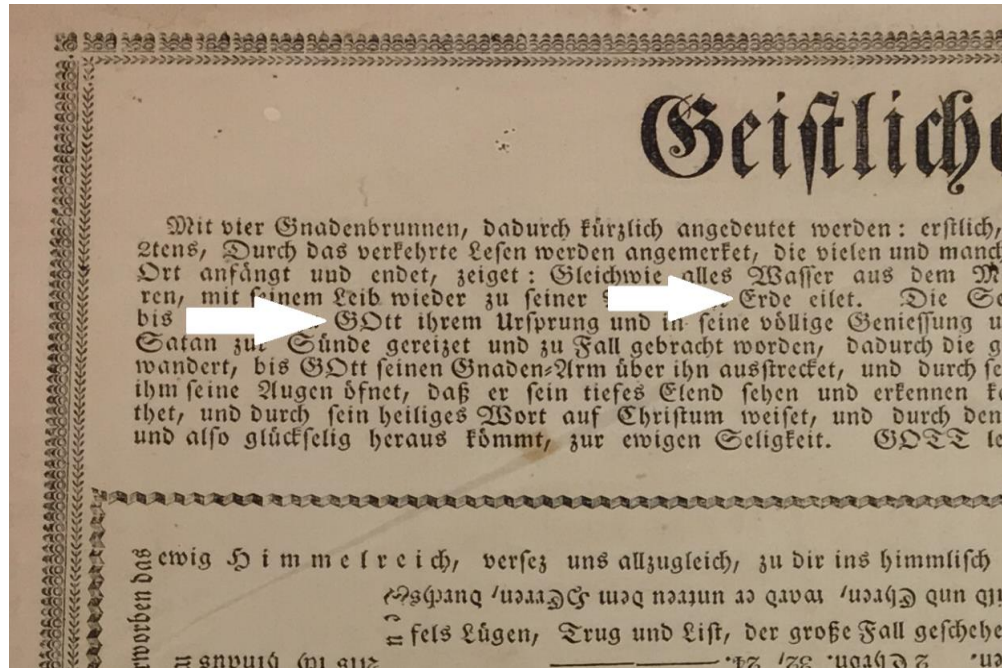


Figure 6: Compare the appearance of the capital 'E' and G' in Ritter and Co.'s Geistlicher Irrgarten with those in the previous figure. Now examine the advertisements appearing in the *Reading Eagle* by late 1811. Courtesy of the MS 31 Broad sides of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

Den 19ten November, 1811.  
**Zu verkaufen,**  
 Durch privat Handel, drey neu  
 köstliche Grundstücke  
 nahe in der Nähe der neu ange-  
 legten Stadt von Schupplitz  
 Ormigsburg, welche für öffentli-  
 che Geschäfte sehr gelegen sind; so  
 noch andere Bauweisen dafelbst. —  
 eine Plantage von 200 Aekern  
 mit einem großen zweyf-  
 feuerne Haufe, Scheuer,  
 und einem langen Schen vor dem  
 Es ist ein alter Stand für  
 Viehstand, an der Center, Thore

Figure 7: (above) Finally, compare the new font in Ritter's 1811 Geistlicher Irrgarten with the typeface of later advertisements within the *Reading Eagle* by November 1811.

**A n k ü n d i g u n g.**  
 Die Unterzeichneten stehen im Begriff, eine  
 neue, verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage des fol-  
 genden Werks zu drucken:  
 Die kleine geistliche Harfe der Kinder Zion,  
 oder auserlesene geistliche Gesänge, allen  
 wahren und heilsbegierigen Säuglingen der  
 Wahrheit, insbesondere aber allen christlichen  
 Gemeinden des Herrn zum Dienst und Ge-  
 brauch mit Fleiß zusammengetragen und in  
 gegenwärtige Form und Ordnung gestellt.  
 Mit einem dreifachen Register. Auf Ver-  
 ordnung der Mennonisten-Gemeinden.  
 Wer Bestellungen darauf zu machen wünscht,  
 beliebe sich unverzüglich zu melden, da nur eine  
 gewisse Anzahl Exemplare gedruckt werden.  
 Das Werk wird auf schönes, weißes Papier  
 mit neuen Schriften gedruckt, dauerhaft in Le-  
 der, mit Schloffer, eingebunden und etwa 500  
 Duodezseiten enthalten.  
 Gräter und Blumer.  
 Allentaun, Penns. August 22. 3w

Figure 8: Contrast the typeface of letters within the central portion of this August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1833 advertisement within Gräter and Blumers' newspaper with the top and bottom sections. Letters such as capital 'W' and 'D' in the central portion are more delicately printed, suggesting that these might have been applied in the advertised new type.

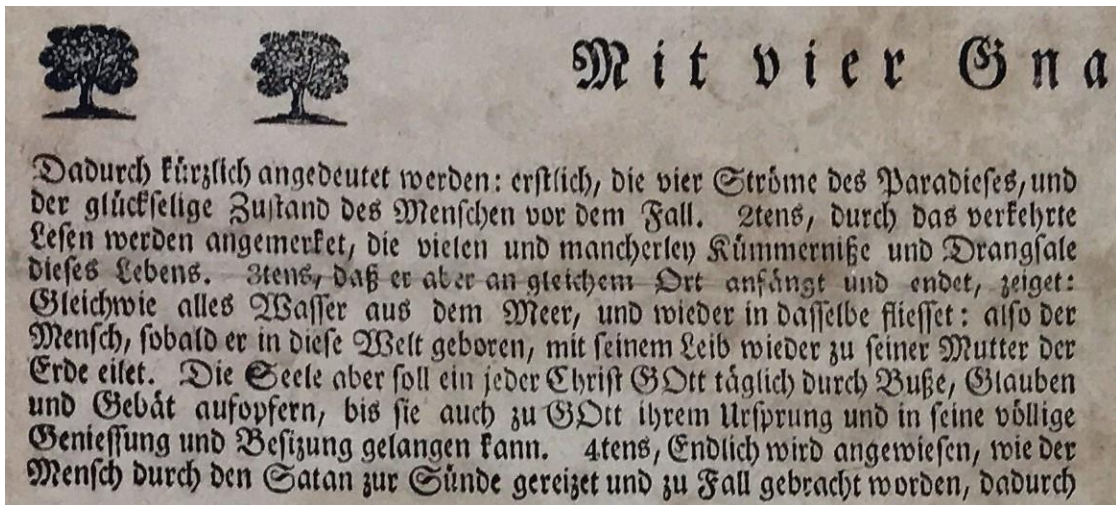


Figure 9: Compare the central portion of the previous image's typeface with that used to print the c. 1833 edition of Gräter and Blumer's *Geistlicher Irrgarten*. Again, note the more delicate types used for capital 'W' and 'D' letters. Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.



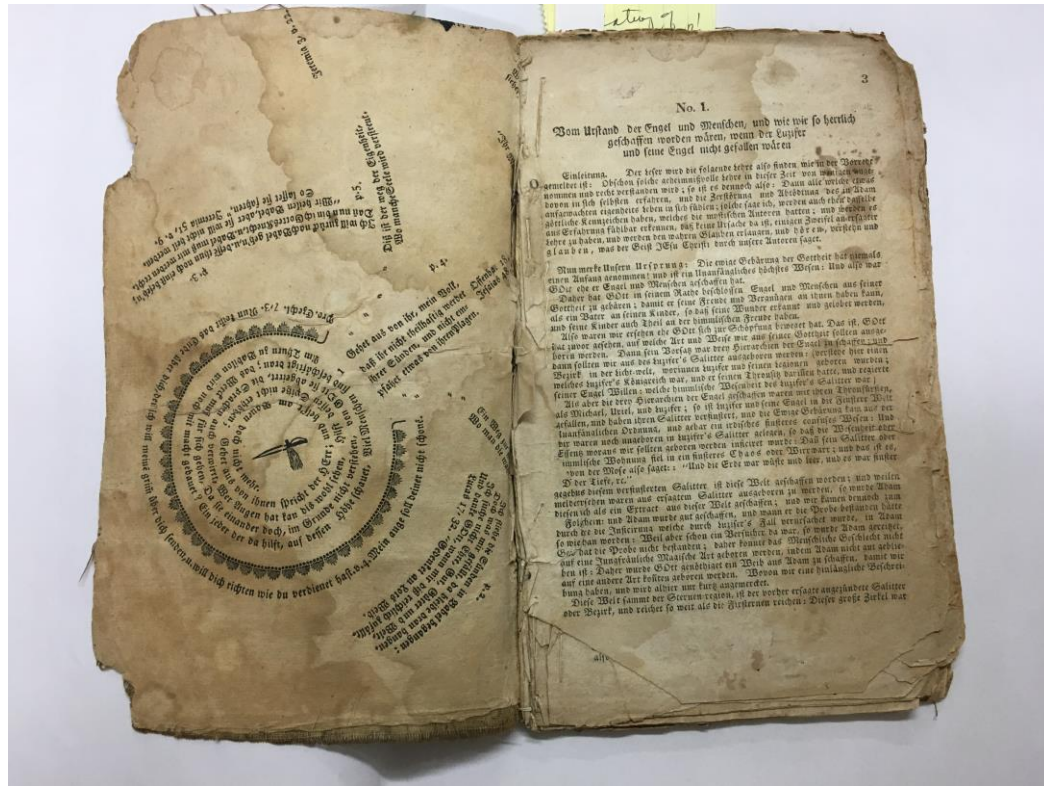


Figure 10: An example of an 1819 Winding Way broadside printed by Joseph Bauman and sewn into an 1848 edition of *Mystische Theologie* as the endpapers. The association between these broadsides and devotional books apparently remained strong throughout the nineteenth century as users appeared to store their broadsides within them. Courtesy of the Earnest Archives and Library. Not to be reproduced without permission. [www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com](http://www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com)

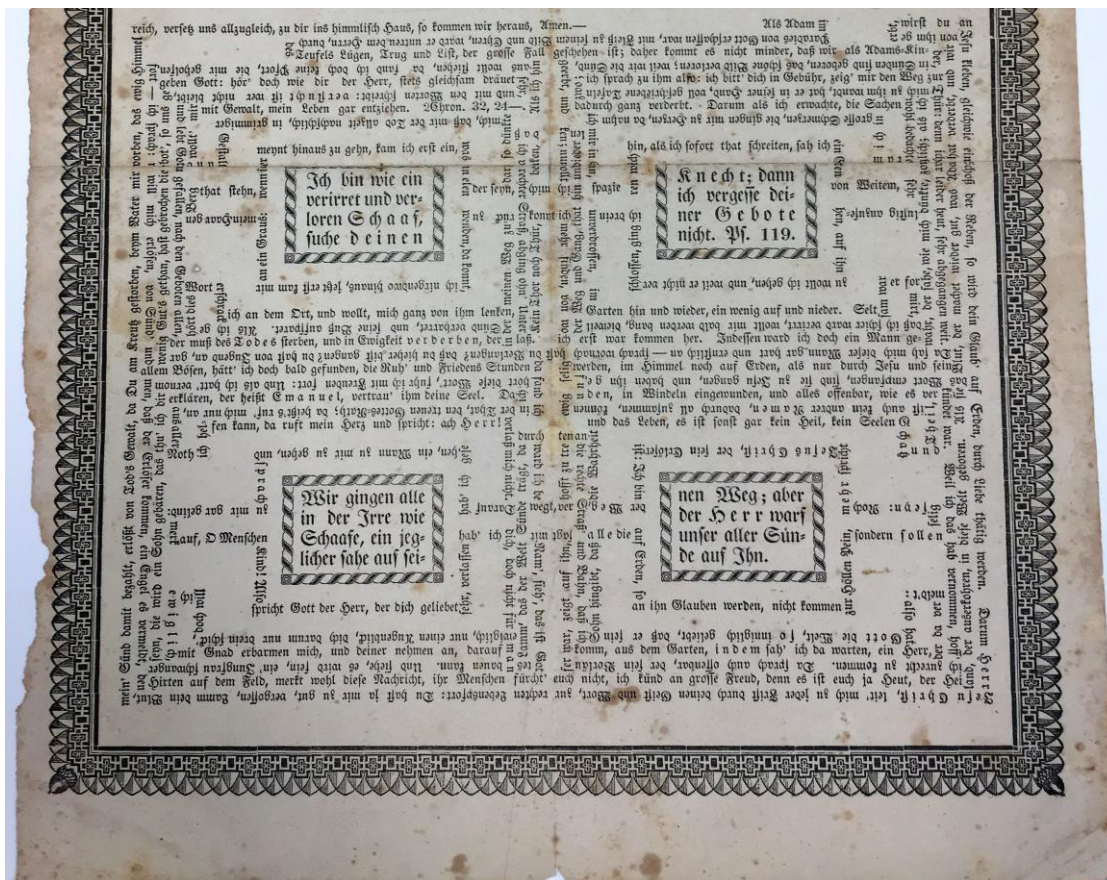


Figure 11: This 1832 Enos Benner broadside exhibits many of the varieties of foxing resulting from a paper's age or perhaps oily ink or other environmental factors that are considered within chapter two of this thesis. Note how patterns in staining are mirrored across folded sections, suggesting that they were pressed together for extended periods. Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

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## Appendix

### TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The following transcription and translation are drawn from the 1784 edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten (*Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen*) printed at Ephrata. While other editions of the Four Springs of Grace printed before and after this version possess minor changes in text, especially the addition of abbreviations such as *gewahr* becoming *g'wahr* or *Mannes* becoming *Manns* to better position twists in the text, most text remains consistent in all North American Geistlicher Irrgarten. Slashes within the introduction to the Four Springs of Grace show where lines end, while the slashes within the Four Springs imagetext indicate text twisting. The transcription and translation of the 'Winding Way' broadsides are drawn from Joseph Bauman's 1820 edition as it is more 'complete' than the nearly-identical 1819 edition in its inclusion of an additional introduction.

#### Four Springs of Grace Transcription:

##### [Introduction Panel:]

Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnaden=brunnen, dadurch kürzlich angedeutet werden,  
1. Die vier Ströhm des Paradieses, und der glückselige Zustand des Menschen vor dem Fall. 2. / Durch das verkehrte Lesen wird angemerket, die viel und mancherley Kummernüssen und Drangsalen dieses Lebens. 3. Daß er aber an gleichem Ort anfangt und / endet, zeigt: Gleich wie alles Wasser aus dem Meer, und wieder in dasselbe fließet: Also der Mensch, so bald er an diese Welt gebohren, mit seinem Leib wieder zu sei= / nem Ursprung, und zu seiner Mutter der Erden eilet. Die Seel aber soll ein jeder Christ GOtt täglich durch Buß, Glauben und Gebät aufopfern, bis sie auch zu GOtt / ihrem Ursprung und in seine völlige Geniessung und Besizung gelangen kan.  
4. Endlich wird angewiesen, wie der Mensch durch den Satan zur Sünd gereizt, und / zu Fall gebracht worden, dadurch die gantze Natur des Menschen verderbet ist: Deßhalben, wie ein irrendes Schaaf herum wandert, biß GOtt sein Gnaden=arm über / ihn austreckt, und durch seinen Heiligen Geist aus dem Göttlichen Gesetz als einem geistlichen Spiegel überzeuget, ihme seine Augen öffnet, daß er sein / tiefes Elend sehen und erkennen kan, mit Verlangen daraus erlöst zu werden. Darauf zu GOtt ruft, der ihme rathet, und durch / sein heiliges Wort auf Christum weiset, und durch den

wahren Glauben an Christum JESum auf die rechte Straaß / des Lebens gebracht wird,  
und also glücklich heraus kommt, zur geniesung der ewigen Seligkeit. /

Gott leite alles zum Preiß seines heiligen Namens und zum Guten seiner Gemeinde.

### [Labyrinth:]

Als Adam in dem Paradeiß, von GOTT erschaffen A<sup>198</sup> war mit Fleiß / zu / seinem  
Bild und Ehren, wurd er untreu dem HERren: durchs Taufels Lügen , Trug und List der  
grose Fall geschehn ist: daher kommt es nicht min / der, / daß wir als Adams Kinder in  
Sünden sind gebohren; das schöne Bild verlohren. Weil wir die Sünd geerbet, und  
dadurch gantz verderbet, / Dar / um als ich erwachte, die Sachen wohl bedachte, kam  
ich in grosen / Schmerzen, / der ging mir tief zu Herzen: Da nahm ich mir in / Sinn, /  
ein / weil / spaziren hin, als ich so fort thät schrei / ten, sah ich ein / Gart von weit / en,  
schön lustig / anzuseh'n, thät mich / bald zu ihm / nähn: / Die / weil er nit ver /  
schlossen / ging ich drein unver / drossen, / Im Garten / hin und wie / der, ein klein  
weil auf und nieder, Sel / tsam / ward / er for / mirt, daß ich schier wurd verirrt, wollt  
mir / gleich werden bang, dieweil der Weg und / Gang / thät hin und / wieder / lenken,  
erst thät / ich / mich bedenken, daß ich der rechten Straaß / ab / ging ohn Unterlaß, /  
Dann / Ich kein Thür noch Thor, / konnt finden da ich vor war ertlich kommen her, /  
Indessen wurd ich g'wahr, eines Manns und dunkte mich / er sehe zorniglich, als ich  
mich zu ihm wandt, hat / er in / seiner Hand voll g'schriebene Tafeln B zwo, ich  
sprach zu / ihm also, Ich bitt dich in Gebühr, zeig mir den Weg zur Thür, / Dann ich  
war leider heut, sehr abgegangen weit: Da sah mich dieser Mann gar hart und ernstlich  
an, sprach, wornach hast Verlangen, daß / du hieher bist gegangen. Du hast von  
Jugend an, gar wenig guts ge / than gebrochen die Gebott, so uns gegeben GOTT: hör  
doch wie / dir / der HErr stets also dräuet sehr, und mit den Worten schreibt / verflucht  
ist C wer nicht bleibt, u. nicht lebt GOTT g'fallen, / nach den Gebotten allen, der muß  
des Todes sterben, / in E / wigkeit verderben, der in der Sünd verharret, / und seine /

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<sup>198</sup> Sporadic letters within the text—'A' through 'Q' and excluding 'J' because these letters are printed in Latin (letters in order within the labyrinth, though not in any order in the Springs, perhaps to increase the need for concentration in finding the proper letter—are intended to link points within the labyrinth to biblical references within the Four Springs of Grace, playing upon themes of spiritual nourishment. Ephrata's 1784 and 1785 editions, however, have floral stamps over the top two Springs, meaning that 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', 'F', 'G', 'N', and 'P' within the text have no corresponding letters in the Springs. It is likely that Ephrata's printers copied Henrich Miller's 1762 Geistlicher Irrgarten too closely and did not make the proper changes.

Buß / auf / sparret: Als ich gehört die Wort, erschrack / ich an dem Ort / und thät mich  
 / von ihm len / den, mein Weg zu / rück wollt / wenden, / Da / kont ich nir / gends aus,  
 / erst kam mir an ein / Grauß: mein / Haar gen / Berg thät stehen / wann ich vermeint  
 zu gehen hinaus, kam ich / erst / ein, / was kann / elender seyn, darzu so dünckte mich,  
 wie mir allzeit nach / schlich der Tod in / grim'ger G'stalt, und wolt mir mit Gewalt,  
 mein Leben D da entziehen / als ich hinaus wolt fliehen, da fand ich doch kein Pfort  
 die mich recht weiset / fort, sprach wer will mich erlösen, von Sünd und allem Bösen,  
 hätt' / ich doch bald / gefunden die Ruh und Freuden=stunden. Da fand ich in / der /  
 That / den / treuen Gottes=rath, so heists ruff mich / nur F an, aus Noth / ich helffen /  
 kan, Da rufft / mein Herz und / spricht, ach! / Herr verlaß mich / nicht / Darauf hab ich  
 ersehen, / ein Mann thät zu / mir gehen, / und sprach / zu mir gar lind / merk auf O  
 Menschen=Kind. Also spricht / GOtt / der / Herr, der / dich geliebet sehr, verlasen hab  
 ich dich, doch nicht für / ewig / lich, nur einen Augenblick, dich darum nur drein  
 schick, / doch will ich ewiglich, mit Gnad erbarmen mich, und die / ner nehmen an,  
 darauf man bauen kan. Und siehe es wird / sein, / ein Jungfrau schwanger seyn, die  
 wird ein Sohn gebären, / das thu ich dir erklären, der heißt H Emanuel vertrau ihm  
 deine Seel, / da ich hört diese Wort fuhr ich mir freuden fort: Und als ich hat  
 vernommen, daß der Erlöser kommen: Ein Engel es vermeldt, den Hirten auf / dem  
 Feld, Merkt wohl den guten B'richt, ihr Menschen fürcht / euch nicht ich künd an  
 grose Freud, dann es ist euch ja heut der Heyland / der / erkohren, an diese Welt  
 gebohren, als sie das Wort empfangen, sind / sie zu JESu gangen, und haben ihn  
 gefunden in Windeln / eingewunden und alles offenbahr, wie es verkündet war. Weil /  
 ich das hab vernommen, / hoff / ich zurecht zu kommen: / Da / sprach auch offenbahr,  
 der sein Vorläuffer K war / zeigt / auf ihn sagt mit / Nam, / sih das ist GOTTes / Lamm,  
 / daß der Welt Sünden trägt, dardurch / wurd ich bewegt, Verhoff zu treffen an, die  
 rechte Straß / und Bahn, / daß / ich kam / aus dem Garten, in dem da sah ich warten /  
 ein Herr der / da vermeldt also / hat GOtt / die Welt, so hoch / und breit / geliebet, daß  
 er / sein / Sohn hiengie / bet: Daß / alle die auf L Erden, so / an ihn glau / ben werden,  
 / nicht kom'n zur Höl / len=Pein, Nein: sondern selig sein: Noch / nicht / spricht Jesus  
 / Christ der dein Erlöser ist, ich bin der Weg, merk eben die Warheit / und das M Le /  
 ben: Es ist sonst N gar kein Heyl, kein Seelen=schatz und Teil, Ist auch kein andrer /  
 Namen dadurch wir allesammen kön'n ewig seelig werden, im Himmel noch auf Er /  
 den / als JESus und sein Blut der machet wieder gut, was Adam hat verderbet, u. wir O  
 von ihm geerbet. Wirst du an JESum kleben, gleich wie ein Schoß der P Reben, so  
 wird / dein Glaub auf Erden durch Liebe thätig werden. Darum HErr JESu Christ, leit  
 mich zu jeder Frist. Durch deinen Geist u. Wort, zur rechten Lebens=Pfort: Du hast /  
 ja mir zu gut, vergiesen lan dein Blut, mein Sünd darmit bezahlt, trlöst vons Todts

Gewalt, da du am Creutz G gestorben, beym Vatter mir erworben das ewig  
Himmelreich, / versetz uns bald zugleich, zu dir ins himmlisch Hauß, so kommen wir  
heraus.

**[Four Springs:]**

[Lower left:]

F Psalm 50.

H Jes. 7.

& 54.

i Luc. I 31

[Lower Right:]

K Johann. I.

L und 3.

M & 17.

O Röm.5.

**[Imprint:]**

Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1784

**Four Springs of Grace Translation<sup>199</sup>**

**[Introduction Panel]**

Spiritual Maze with four wells of grace to denote briefly: 1. The four rivers of Paradise, and the happy condition of man before the Fall. 2. The twisted reading characterizes the many and varied worries and afflictions of this life. 3. However, that is begins and ends at the same place, illustrates in the same way that all waters flow out of the sea and return again to the same, so also man, as soon as he is born into the world, hurries back to his origin and to his mother earth. However, each day every Christian shall offer his soul to God through penance, faith and prayer, until it too has

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<sup>199</sup> Translation of the textually-identical 1785 Ephrata edition provided by Lisa Minardi, *Drawn with Spirit: Pennsylvania German Fraktur from the Joan and Victor Johnson Collection* (Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2015), 347.

reached God, its origin, and his complete enjoyment and possession. 4. Finally it is pointed out how man is induced into sin through Satan and is brought to the Fall, through which the whole nature of man is corrupted: Wherefore he wanders around like a lost sheep until God extends His arm of grace over him and convinces him through his holy spirit with the divine law as with a spiritual mirror, opens his eyes that he can see his deep misery, and recognize his desire to be redeemed from it. Thereupon he calls to God, Who counsels him and through His Holy Word points to Christ, and through true faith in Christ Jesus he is brought to the proper road of life and so comes out of it happily, to the enjoyment of eternal blessedness.

May God direct all things to the honor of His holy name and to the good of his church.

### **[Labyrinth]**

When Adam had been A created with virtue in Paradise by God in his image and glory, he became unfaithful to the Lord through the lies, deceit and guile of the devil; the great fall occurred. Thus it is no little thing that we as Adam's children are born in sin and have lost the precious image because we have inherited sin and are thereby totally corrupted.

That is why, when awakening and seriously reflecting upon this matter, I felt great grief deep in my heart. There in my mind I was, out walking for a while. And as I was walking along, I saw a garden in the distance that looked so appealing, I was soon drawn near to it. Since it wasn't locked, I went into it undismayed. Back and forth I walked and up and down in this garden. It was strangely laid out. I felt I could very nearly get lost in it. Then I almost became afraid because the path wound back and forth so much and I thought at first I was going the wrong way without a chance of ever getting back on the right way. For I could find no door or gate which was at the place where I first came in. In the midst of this I became aware of a man, who, I thought, looked at me angrily as I turned to him. In his hand he had B two written tablets. I said to him, "I beg of you, with all due respect, show me the way to the gate, for today it was my misfortune to have strayed so far off course." This man looked at me seriously and sternly and said: "Of what are you desirous that you have come here? From your youth onward you have done little good and broken the commandments which God gave us. Hear how distressed the Lord is over you, as He states in the words, 'Cursed is C he who does not live and remain pleasing to God in accord with all of the commandments. He must die the death and perish in eternity who revels in

his sin and reserves his repentance.” When I heard those words a fright came over me in that place. I would have turned back and fled from him, but there was no way out. The thought of leaving by the way I came in filled me with such dread that I felt my hair would stand on end. What could be more miserable, it occurred to me, then the grim figure of death creeping incessantly after me. With all my might I wanted to preserve my life and flee from there. But I could find no gateway to lead me out. I cried, “Who is there to deliver me from sin and all evil?” If only I could have the hour of peace and joy. Instead I had the true wrath of God. All I could do was call on Him who could help in time of need. So my heart besought and said, “O Lord, depart not from me.” Then I indeed found the loyal advice of God that says just call on me, for I can help in need. So my heart called out and said, “O! Lord, don’t leave me.” I then noticed a man approach me. He spoke to me quite calmly: “Take note, O child of man, to what God, the Lord, who loves you dearly, says to you. ‘I left you but not forever, only for a moment, that you may bear with it. But I will forever have mercy on such as you. On that you can depend. And see it will be that a virgin shall be pregnant, she will bear a son, I will tell you, his name will be Emmanuel. Commit your soul to him.’” When I heard these words I continued joyfully. And when I heard that the savior will come, how an angel had announced it to the shepherds in the fields, “Hear the good news, you people are not afraid, I am announcing great joy, for today the savior that was chosen for you was born into the world.” When they received the word they went to Jesus, and they found him wrapped in diapers and everything as it had been told to them. When I heard this I hoped that I would be set right. There also spoke clearly the one who was his forerunner, John the Baptist, he pointed at him and called him by his name, “Look, this is God’s lamb that carries the sins of the world on its back. “I was moved by all this. I had hope that I would find the right way and path so that I can get out of the garden in which I saw a man waiting who announced: “God loved the world so highly and totally that gave his son, that all on earth who believe in him will not know the pains of hell, but instead will be blessed. “Not yet,” says Jesus Christ, who is your savior. “I am the way, remember the truth and the life or else there is no salvation, no portion or treasure for the soul. There is no other name by which we all together can become blessed, neither in heaven nor on earth, besides Jesus and his blood, who restores again what Adam corrupted and we, O, inherited from him. If you stick to Jesus like the branches to the vine, your faith on earth will become active through love.” Therefore, Lord Jesus Christ, guide me at all times with your spirit and word to the right gate of life. You have to my benefit spilled your blood and paid with it for my sins, freed me from the power of death. Because you

died on the cross G you received for me from the father the eternal kingdom of heaven. place us soon in the heavenly house so that we will get out.

**[Four Springs:]**

[Lower Left]

F Psalm 50

H Jesus 7

I Lucas 1:31

[Lower Right]

K John 1

L and 3

M & 17

O Romans 5.

**[Imprint]**

Printed in the year of Christ 1784

**Winding Way Transcription**

**[Introduction at upper-left:]**

Ein kleiner Abriß von denen Irr=und Abwegen, derer von GOtt gerufenen Seelen, in diesen unsern betrübten Zeiten in America. Zu meiner eigenen Erinnerung ausgesetzt. Wie solche in ihren Reisen sich selbst versäumen, aufhalten und aufhalten lassen, und vom engen Crutzes=Wege abgehen, und eigene Wege erwählen und suchen. Und so keine Umkehrung geschiehet, eine harte Heimsuchung folgen wird. Gestellt von Ezechiel Sangmeister. Ephrata, gedruckt bey Joseph Bauman. 1820.

**[Key at right:]**

Folgendes ist der Inhalt von diesem Abriß.

pag. I. Das große Babel, oder Weltreich worin wir von Natur alle stehe.

p. 2 Die unrichtige Babels verlasser.



- p. 3. Die Babelsstürmer und Zurückkehrer.
- p. 4. Der rechte Weg nach Zion aus Babel.
- p. 5. Der Weg der Eigenheit aus Babel.
- p. 6. Man gehet aus Babel, aber man thut nicht Buße.
- p. 7. Die rechte Quelle verlässet man, und sucht eigne.
- p. 8. GOtt ruft der Seelen vom Irrwege umzukehren.
- p. 9. Der enge schmale Kreutzes=Weg zur wahren Buße.
- p. 10. In was einen Irrgarten die Seele kommen kann, wann sie vom schmalen Wege ab, in eine Secte gehet.
- p. 11. Der Abweg des vielen Bücher lesens.
- p. 12. Der Weg der falschen Ruhe.
- p. 13. Der Ausgang aus denen Secten in eine falsche Freyheit und richtens.
- p. 14. Die unrichtigen Prediger und Bekehrer.
- p. 15. Zurufende Stimme GOtts, zum Kreutzeswege.
- p. 16. Die unrichtige Bekehrung auf dem schmalen Kreutzes=Wege.
- p. 17. Der Zuruf GOttes, zur Umkehrung an alle Menschen
- p. 18. Die enge Pforte auf dem Kreutzes=Wege durch zu gehen.
- p. 19. Der Zug JEsu, zum Kreutz.
- p. 20. JEsus selbst der Weg und die Wahrheit.
- p. 21. Die letzte Ausopferung am Kreutz, in die Hände des Vaters.
- p. 22. Die Unendliche Unbegreifliche GOTT=heit.

Diese Figur wird auch beym Bogen verkauft, ins Baumans Druckerey, in Ephrata, Lancaster Cauntly, Pensylv.

[“Imagetext“:]<sup>200</sup>

1 Am Thurn zu Babilon wird noch mit macht gebauet? Ein jeder der da hilft, auf dessen höhe schauet, Viel Menschen sind beschäftigt dran; daß Werck muß für sich gehen, Da sie einander doch, im Grunde nicht verstehen, von GOtt sie abeirrt, die Sprachen auch verwirrt, Wer Augen hat kann diß wohl sehen, hilft dessen Spitze nicht erhöhen; Gehet aus vom ihnen spricht der HErr; und helft am Bauen doch nicht mehr.

---

<sup>200</sup> Translations of German-language quotes from the Luther bible are drawn from the King James Bible.

Prs. Ezechl. 7,3. Nun komt das Ende über dich, den ich will meine grim über dich senden, u. will dich richten wie du verdienet hast. v. 4. Mein auge soll deiner nicht schont.

p. 2. Ich fliehe die Sünden in Babel begangen: Doch was mir gefällt, da bleibe dran hangen. Ich suche nicht Ehre, Gut, Güter und Welt. Und danke GOtt, wann mir diß reichlich zufällt. Lucas 17,32. "Gedenket an Lots Weib.

p. 3. Ich will zurück nach Babel geh'n, u. desse thun noch einst beseh'n; Dan nun bin ich Gottes Knecht, u. Babel muß mir werden recht. "Wir heilen Babel, aber sie will nicht heil werden. So lasset sie fahren." Jeremia 51, v. 9.

p. 4. "Gehet aus von ihr, mein Volk, daß ihr nicht theilhaftig werdet ihrer Sünden, und nicht empfalet etwas von ihren Plagen. Offenba. 18,4. Jesaias 48,20.

p. 5. Diß ist der weg der Eigenheit, Wo manche Seele wird verstreut.

p. 6. Ein Weg zur großen Sicherheit, Wo man die wahre Buße scheu't.

p. 7. Jeremia 2, v. 13. "Denn mein Volk thut eine zwiefache Sünde; Mich die lebendige Quelle, verlassen sie; und machen ihnen hie und da ausgehauene Brunnen, die doch löchricht sind, und kein Wasser geben.

p. 8. Jeremia 3, v. 22. "So kehret nun wieder, ihr abtrünnigen Kinder; So will ich euch heilen von eurem Ungehorsam.

p. 9. Frage und Antwort. "Ihr Männer, lieben Brüder, was sollen wir thun? "Thut Busse." Apostel Gesch. 2, v. 37.38.

p. 10 Wie leichtlich wird man doch verirrt, So man vom schmalen Weg abirrt. ---- Die beste Gmeinde hab ich nun erwehlet, Viel Br. Und Schwestern sind mir zugefellet, Ich achte nun alles gering, Wes Brod ich Esse des Liedgen ich sing, (1ste Cor. 3, 4, 5.) Nun will ich mit ihnen im Zirkel umlaufen, Und sollt' ich mit Esan mein Erbrecht verkaufen. Ein anderer: Ich bin bekehret, will andere auch bekehren; Las sey'n wer will mir dieses wehren. Ich bin durch viele Proben gangen, Will selbst eine Sect anfangen.

p. 11. Ich hab bereits sehr viel gelesen, Von GOtt und seinem Liebe Wesen, Niemand mir was sagen kann; Was gehen mir nun die Bücher an, Ich weiß ich bin von vielem Wissen, Laß meine Gaben auf andere fließen, Wer will der folge mir nur nach, So trifft ihn nicht der Frommen Schmach.

p. 12 Die falsche Ruh Deckt alles zu. Ich liebe die Ruhe ich liebe den Schlummer, die Secten die mögen sich verzehren im Kummer; Nun hab ich die Welt als hät ich sie nicht, und seh' ich gleich böses so bestraf' es auch nicht: Läßt man mich mit frieden, so sind wir geschieden, und ich genietze mein Gutes hienieben. Wache auf, der du schläfest, und stehe auf von den Todten, so wird dich Christus erleuchten. Epheser 5, v. 14.

- p. 13 Jetziger Zeit, Falsche Freyheit. Gallatter 5, 13. Und will so fördern meiner Lauf. Ich deck mein eignes zu, und jenen ihres auf, Will such GOtt in Freyheit draus, Aufdecken ihre Schande; Nun geh ich von den Secten aus, Werf von mir ihre Bande,
- p. 14 Psalm 5c, v. 16. 18. "Was verkündigest du meine Rechte, u. Wenn du ein Dieb siehest, so laufst du mit ihm, u.
- p. 15 Jesai 44, 22. Kehre dich zu mir, denn ich erlöse dich.
- p. 16, Sie bekehren sich, aber nicht recht, sondern sind wie ein falscher Bogen. Hosea 7, vers 16.
- Durch viel Trübsal, müssen wir ins Reich Gottes gehen. Apostel Geschichte 14, v. 22. "Und wer nicht sein Creutz auf sich nimt, und folget mir nach: Der ist mein nicht werth. Math. 10, v. 38.
- p. 17. Kehre wieder, du abtrüniges Israel, spricht der Herr; so will ich mein Antlitz nicht gegen euch verstellen u. Alle in erkenne deine Misserthat, daß du wider den Herrn, deinen GOtt, gesündigt hast, und hin und wieder gelaufen zu den fremden Göttern. Jeremia 3, v. 12. 13.
- p. 18 Die Pforte ist enge und der Weg ist schmal, der zum Leben führet: Und wenig sind ihrer, die ihn finden. Matthäi 7, v. 14.
- Und deine Ohren werden hören dis Wort hinder dir sagen also her: Dis ist der Weg, denselbigen gehet; sonst weder zur rechte noch zur linke. Jesaia 30, v. 21.
- Zur engen Thür will man nicht gehen ein, Drum dient man GOtt in einem äussern Schein.
- p. 19. Und ich, wenn ich erhöht werde von der Erden; so will ich sie alle zur mir ziehen. Johannes 12, 32.
- p. 20. Ich bin der Weg, und die Wahrheit, u. das Leben; niemand kommt zum Vater, denn durch mich. Johannes 14, v. 6.
- p. 21. Vater, ich befehle meinen Geist in deine Hände. Lucas 23, v. 46.

## **Winding Way Translation**

### **[Introduction at upper-left:]**

A short portion of the Confounding and Winding Way of those souls called to God, in our wearying times in America. Set out per my own memory. How they travel, those who become drowned and hindered as they depart from the narrow Way of the Cross, instead seeking their own path. And their great return to the divine does not occur,

instead what happens is a difficult wandering and search for home. Designed by Ezechiel Sangmeister. Ephrata, printed by Joseph Bauman. 1820.

**[Key at right:]**

The following is the content of this figure.

- pag. I. That great Babel, or the wordly kingdom where we all originate from nature
- p. 2 The unjust souls who leave Babel.
- p. 3. The attackers of Babel and those who return.
- p. 4. The proper path to Zion from Babel.
- p. 5. The strange path from Babel.
- p. 6. One leaves Babel, but does not perform penance.
- p. 7. One would abandon the right Spring and himself.
- p. 8. Gott calls the souls from the winding paths to return.
- p. 9. The narrow, small path of the Cross to true penance.
- p. 10. The type of labyrinth that one might enter, when he abandons the narrow path by entering a sect.
- p. 11. The winding way of having read too many books.
- p. 12. The path of false peace.
- p. 13. The escape from the sect in false freedom and justice.
- p. 14. The immoral preachers and proselytizers.
- p. 15. The Calling-Voice of God to the way of the Cross.
- p. 16. The immoral proselytizers from the narrow way of the Cross.
- p. 17. God's call, for the return of all men.
- p. 18. To enter the narrow Door of the Way of the Cross
- p. 19. Christ's Path to the Cross.
- p. 20. Jesus himself is the Way and the Truth.
- p. 21. The last offering on the Cross, into the Hands of the Father.
- p. 22. The Eternal, Incomprehensible Divinity

This figure is also sold by the single sheet in Bauman's Printshop, in Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylv.

**["Imagetext" portion:]**

1 Ezechiel. 7,3. Now is the end come upon thee, and I will send mine anger upon thee, and will judge thee according to thy ways. V. 4. And mine eye shall not spare thee

- p. 2. I flee the sins begot in Babel: Therefore, whatever pleases me, I leave behind. I seek not honor, good, wares, and world. Thank God, when this pleases me. Lucas 17, 32. "Remember Lot's Wife."
- p. 3. I want to return to Babel and see it once more; but now I am God's servant, and Babel must be made right by me. "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her." Jeremiah 51, v. 9.
- p. 4. "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. Revelations 18,4. Isaiah 48,20.
- p. 5. This is the path of selfishness, where many souls are scattered.
- p. 6. The path to safety, where one shys away from true penance.
- p. 7. Jeremiah 2, v. 13. "For my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water."
- p. 8. Jeremiah 3, v. 22. "Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings."
- p. 9. "Repent." Acts, v. 37, 38. "Men and brethren, what shall we do?  
Question and Answer.
- p. 10 How easily man is confused, and strays from the narrow Path—the best community I have chosen, many Brothers and Sisters have come to me, I see all the lower things (1st Cor. 3, 4, 5.) Now I wish to dance with you in the circle, and should therefore purchase my inheritance with Esau.
- p. 11. I have already read very much of God and his beloved wisdom: none might teach me; I know that I have fled from his wisdom and gifts.
- p. 12 The false rest conceals all. I love the peace, I love the slumber, the sects they wish to waste away in the closet; Now I possess the world as if I did not have it, and I see the evil but do not pay for it: let one with joy use my goodness, so are we separated, and use my goodness. "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." Ephesians 5, v. 14.
- p. 13 Every time, false freedom. Galatians 5, 13. And so it encourage my journey. I cover my possessions. I wish to seek God in freedom out there, reveal your shame; Now I escape from the sects and throw their chains away.
- p. 14 Psalm 5c, v. 16. 18. "What announces my rights, and when you see a thief, then travel with him
- p. Return unto me; for I have redeemed thee. 15 Isaiah 44, 22.
- p. 16, They return, but not to the most High: they are like a deceitful bow. Hosea 7, verse 16.

Through much tribulation must we enter into the kingdom of God. Acts 14, v. 22.

“And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. Math. 10, v. 38.

p. 17. Go and proclaim these words toward the north, and say, Return, thou backsliding Israel, saith the Lord; and I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you. Only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the Lord thy God, and hast scattered thy ways to the strangers under every green tree. Jeremiah 3, v. 12. 13.

p. 18 Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. Matthew 7, v. 14.

And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left. Isaiah 30, v. 21.

Those do not wish to enter the narrow Gate, who only serve God by illusion.

p. 19. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. John 12, 32.

p. 20. I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me. John 14, v. 6.

p. 21. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Luke 23, v. 46.

## **BROADSIDE CATALOG**

This catalog provides information about each identified edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten created in Europe and North American between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. It primarily includes printed broadsides, but related manuscripts have also been included at the end as a general reference. As this research has predominantly focused on North American examples, this catalog is not intended as a definitive resource for editions printed in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and France. While several examples of these European editions were available as reproductions or in digitized form, more examples likely exist within regional European archives and research in Europe must address these editions.

This catalog's format has been inspired by Stopp's definitive study of printed birth and baptismal certificates. It is broken into five sections and is further divided in several ways. It first exhibits the few identified European Irrgarten before moving into version A Springs of Grace Broadside. Next, it examines the version B Springs of Grace followed by Joseph Bauman's Winding Way broadsides. Finally, I provide information and images for several examples of manuscript Geistlicher Irrgarten.

Excluding the European section, each portion of this catalog begins with anonymous editions before moving chronologically through the included broadsides. The Geistlicher Irrgarten are first identified numerically by printer and then by their edition number. As most printers undertook the creation of only a single edition, this second digit is only occasionally informative. The third digit indicates the individual surveyed broadside. While a single image for each edition is provided, images of every surveyed Geistlicher Irrgarten are not included for reasons of logistics. Instead, notes on each surveyed broadside are provided within its edition.

## **European Geistlicher Irrgarten**

This first section of the catalog features broadsides known or strongly suspected to have been printed in Europe. Although these objects were not used within this study's formal analysis, they have been included here for reference and as an encouragement for future scholars to more fully address the existence of European Geistlicher Irrgarten and the genre's cross-Atlantic connections. The European Geistlicher Irrgarten are organized chronologically and, when the date of production is unknown, they are positioned with likely-contemporaneous broadsides.

As discussed within this study's introduction, the Geistlicher Irrgarten originated within the spiritual literature of early-seventeenth century continental Europe, drawing on the popularity of court mazes, medieval imagery, and manuscript knots. While these objects' early confessional histories remain unknown, they were possibly products of Jesuit printing in Switzerland and the southern Holy Roman Empire or, perhaps more likely, printed by those drawing influences from the earliest trends in recognizable pietism that also influenced mystics such as Johann Arndt. This early-seventeenth century pietism formed the foundation for the later movement in folk Christianity. By the late-eighteenth century, and likely earlier due to Catholic literature moving towards sacred heart imagery in the late-seventeenth century, the objects were entrenched within pietist Protestantism, as evidenced by Henrich Miller's production of the objects and their subsequent popularity at the Ephrata Cloister.



## 1.1 Der Christlich Irrgarten

Printer: Gebhardt Grieb, 1607, Stuttgart; Composer: Conrad Baur (Conradus Agricola), Nuremberg, unknown year

**Imprint:** *Gedruckt zu Stutdgard / Bey Gebhardt Grieb / Im Jahr 1607* [Printed at Stuttgart / By Gebhardt Grieb / in the year 1607]

**Edition Notes:** This broadside, digitized by the Bavarian State Library, represents the earliest-identified version of the Geistlicher Irrgarten. Although this broadside is called the ‘Christlich Irrgarten’, or the ‘Christian Labyrinth,’ the general layout is largely consistent with examples that would be printed in North America into the late-twentieth century. While the broadside’s premise is consistent with all later examples of the Four Springs of Grace, its unique text and lack of an introductory panel reveal it as a progenitor to later editions.

This labyrinth and its blank spaces so closely resemble contemporaneous templates for court mazes, as discussed within the introduction to this paper, that it seems likely that these early Irrgarten were modeled on them.

The composer notes that the broadside is dedicated “humbly for the Honor of the Noble / Glorious / Respectable / Worthy / and Brilliant Lord Mayor and Council of the glorious Free Imperial City of Nuremberg / My generous and commanding Lords. / Designed and composed at the bookshop of Conrad Baur in Nuremberg.”

### Surveyed Broad sides:

#### 1.1.1

(Original not examined by author)

Laid paper; ink

36 x 39 cm

The Bavarian State Library, Einbl XI 722

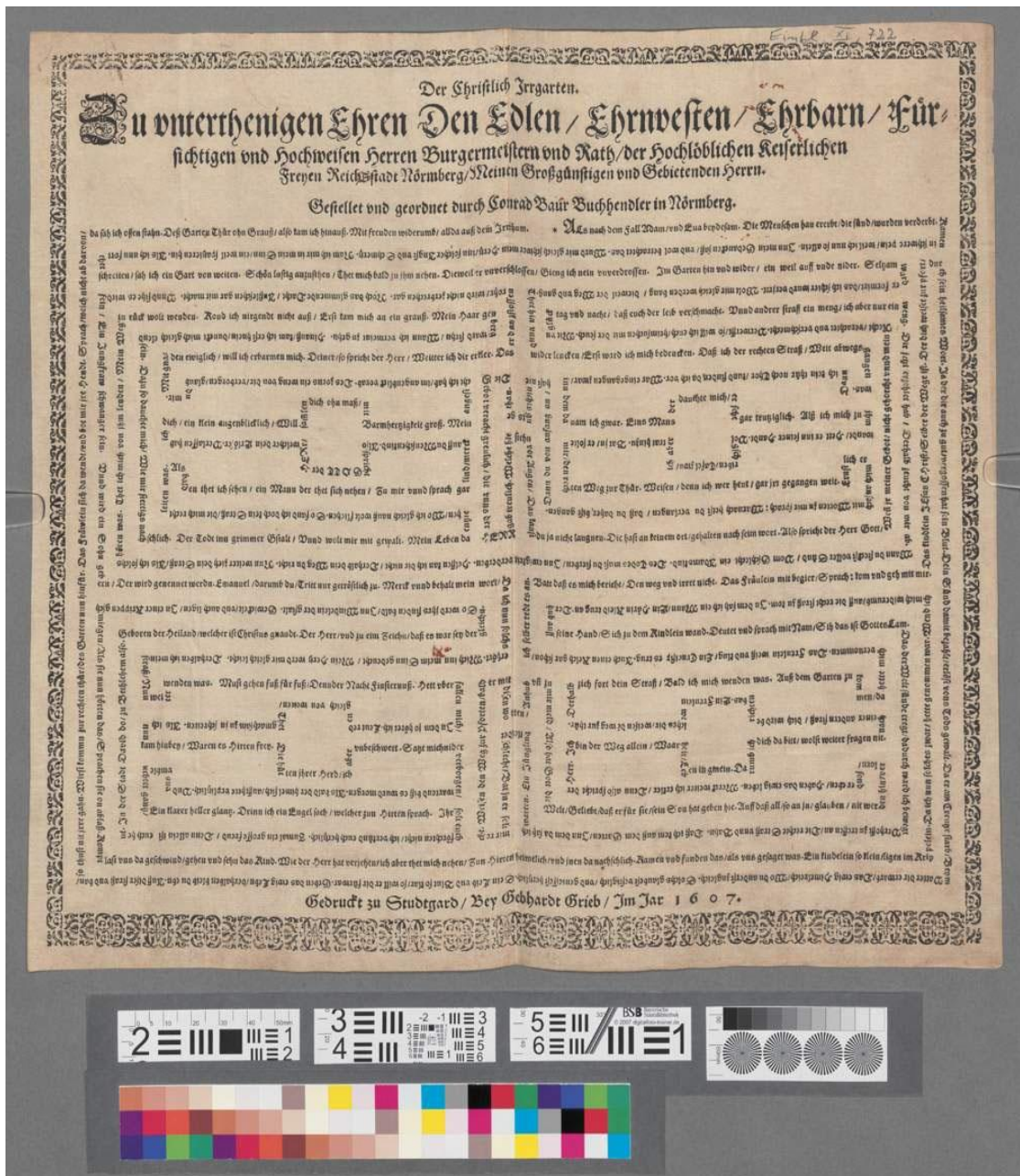
**Folds:** Single vertical fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



1.1.1: Reproduced with the permission of the Bavarian State Library.

## 2.1 Ein schöner Neuer Irrgarten

Anonymous printer; unknown location; c. 17<sup>th</sup> century

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** This unusual printed object is considered as a “Geistlicher Irrgarten” due to it fulfilling the basic requirements of the definition—it is a printed imagetext intended for spiritual edification. Of course, it is neither one of the Four Springs of Grace nor an early inspiration for the Winding Way broadsides. Rather, this broadside reproduces the legend of Saint Augustine through its imagetext, forming a unique labyrinth consistent with many baroque court mazes seen in contemporaneous manuals. That its title is “a beautiful new labyrinth” suggests, of course, that prior editions existed.

For manuscript labyrinths of the legend of St. Augustine, see Franz Weinitz, “Ein papierene Irrgarten,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 21:1 (1911), 336-338.

### Surveyed Broadside:

#### 2.1.1

(Original not examined by author)

Paper; ink

53 x 44 cm (reproduction is reduced)

Unknown original location

**Folds:** Some folding evident in reproduction.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:**

**Other:** n/a





2.1.1: Reproduction courtesy of Earnest Archives and Library. Not to be reproduced without permission. [www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com](http://www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com)

### 3.1 Dool-Hoff

Claes Braau; Haarlem; 1705.

Imprint: n/a

**Edition Notes:** Like the previous example, this Dutch edition is considered as being a Geistlicher Irrgarten due to its printed imagetext, but it is neither a Springs of Grace nor Winding Way version. Rather, it plays upon themes tied to reaching New Jerusalem, and therefore perhaps has more in common with the Winding Way broadsides than other identified Geistlicher Irrgarten.

#### Surveyed Broadsides:

##### 3.1.1

(Original not examined by the author)

Paper; ink

50 x 41 cm

The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-76.978

**Folds:** Some folding evident in photo-reproduction.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

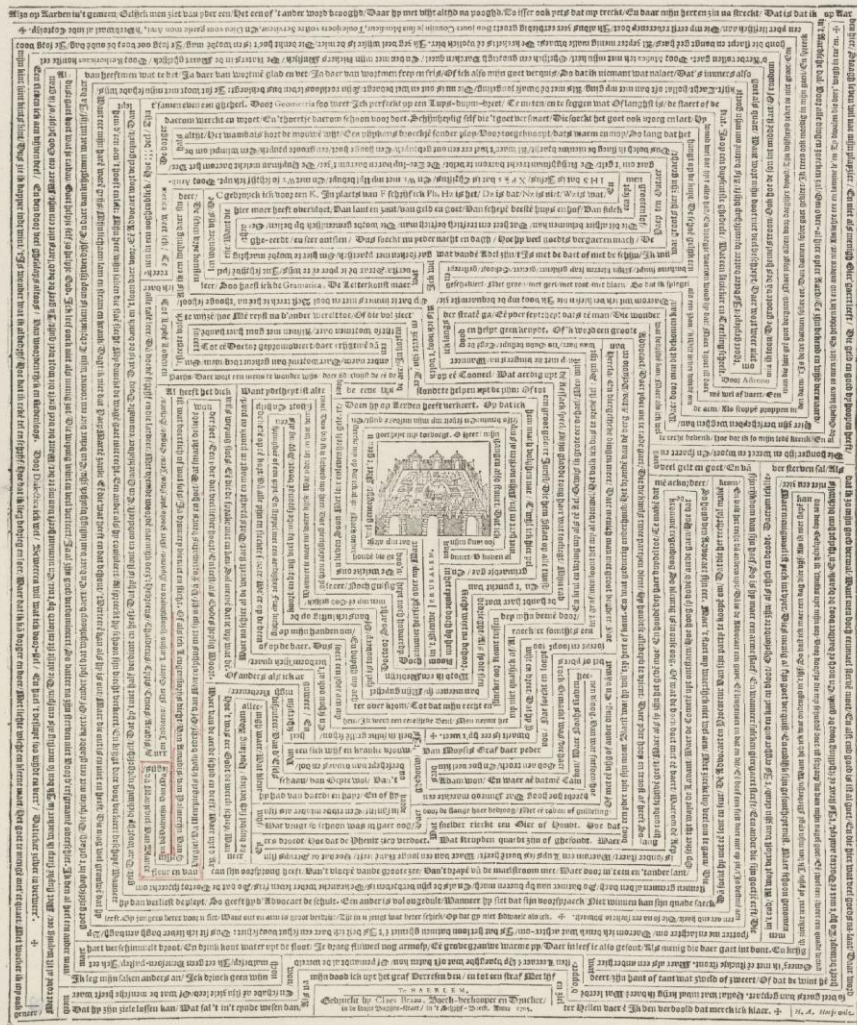
**Other:** n/a

**See:** Piet J. Buijnsters, *Papertoys: speelprenten en papieren speelgoed in Nederland (1640-1920)* (Zwolle : Waanders, 2005), 110



# DOOL-HOFF.

Proverb. 14. 12. Meenighen behaecht eenen wegh wel, Maer cyndelick brenghet hy hem totter doode.  
Ephes. 5. 15. So ziet nu toe, hoe ghy voorhebbelijck wandelt, niet als de onvrijen, maer als de wijzen.



3.1.1: Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, gift of F.G. Waller, Amsterdam. Available within the public domain.

#### 4.1 Geistlicher Irr=Garten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

Jacob Koch, Hegnau, 1742

Imprint: *Von einem componisten vorgesetzt / Jacob Koch ??? / Hegnau / ??? / 1742* [Laid out by a composer / Jacob Koch ??? / Hegnau / ??? /1742

**Edition Notes:** This edition constitutes the first recognizable Four Springs of Grace broadsides. While the text within the springs is nearly unreadable, it does not appear to mimic the free-standing letters seen in later European examples and the first North American editions. Like all other European Four Springs of Grace Irrgarten, it is considered part of the version A subcategory.

#### Surveyed Broadsides:

##### 4.1.1

(Original not examined by the author)

Paper; ink

46 x 38 cm

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung

**Folds:** Folding evident in reproduction

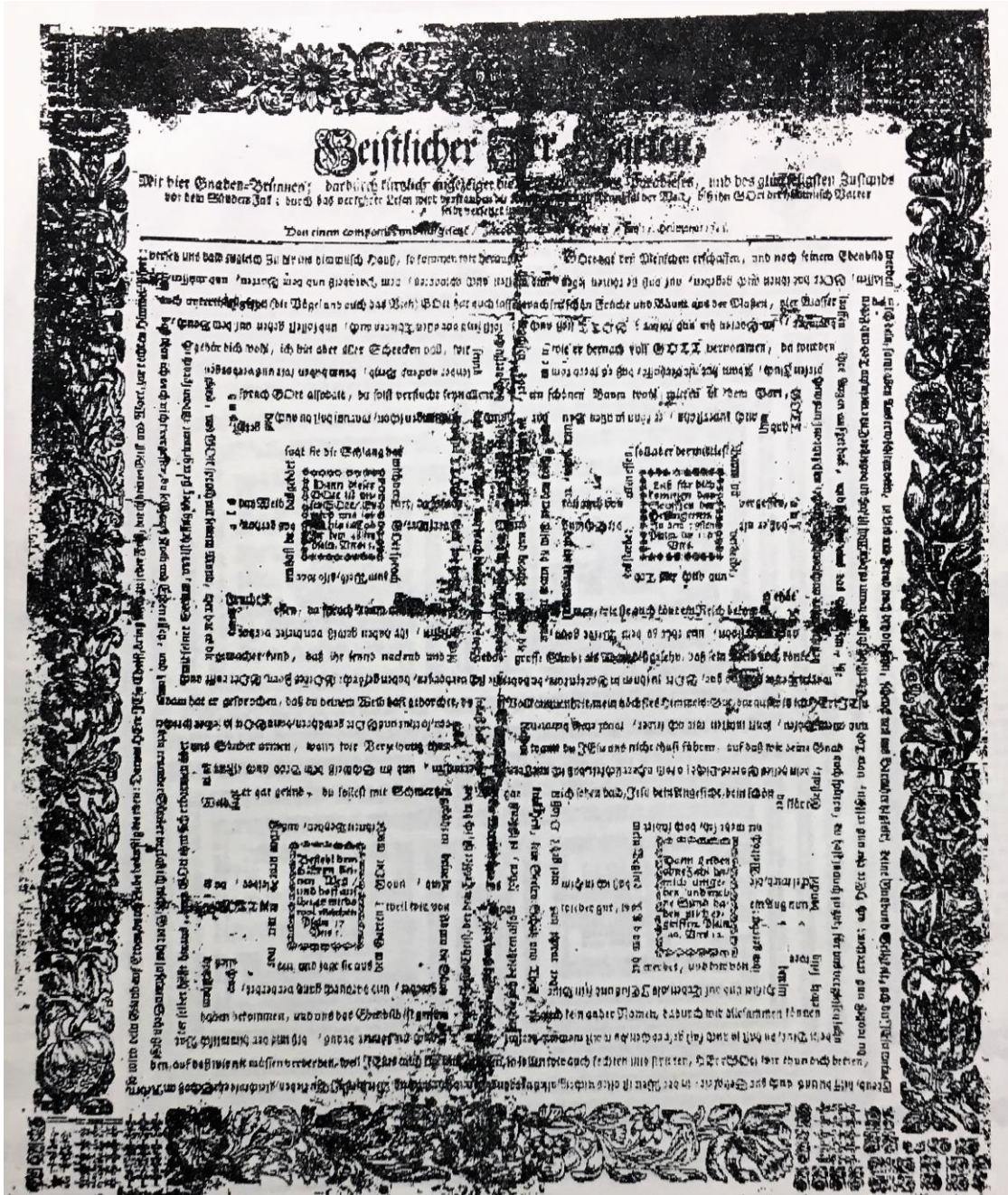
**Foxing:** Slight mirrored staining evident in reproduction

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a





4.1.1: Courtesy of the Zurich Zentralbibliothek



## 5.1 Geistlicher Irr=Garten. / Labyrinthe Spirituel.

Albrecht Wagner; Bern, Switzerland; 1758

Imprint: *EX OFFICINA TYPOGRAPHICA ILLUSTRISIME REIPUBLICAE  
BERNENSIS* fr Abr. Wagner jan. Typ. Bern. (From the Typographic Workshop of  
the Illustrious Republic of Bern for Abr. Wagner ...)

**Edition Notes:** This broadside is one of the more unusual surveyed examples as it combines German and French text in a single maze. It is likely that the French text was later copied by L. Buisson in Lyon as the text in the introductory panel is identical. The labyrinth's dual nature is also exhibited in the title and in two introductory panels in each language being relegated to the side. The Four Springs of Grace motifs appear to mimic the letters and biblical citations utilized by Henrich Miller and other Swiss printers.

See: "Labyrinthe Spirituel," *Le Moniteur Judiciaire de Lyon*, October 11, 1769 for an advertisement and description for L. Buisson's lost edition of French Geistlicher Irrgarten.

### Surveyed Broadsides:

#### 5.1.1

(Original not examined by the author)

Paper; ink

41 x 37 cm

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek;

**Folds:** Single vertical fold, no other folding evident

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



5.1.1: Reproduction courtesy of Earnest Archives and Library. Not to be reproduced without permission. [www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com](http://www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com)

## 6.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnaden=Brunnen

Anonymous Printers; Unknown Location; 1771

Imprint: *Gedruckt im Jahr 1771* [Printed in the year 1771]

**Edition Notes:** Notes in the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, which possesses a reproduction of this broadside, note that the original was discovered within a Swiss-Mennonite immigrant's Bible, and that it was likely printed by the von Mechel printshop in Basel, Switzerland, who printed for the Swiss Anabaptists during the eighteenth century.

This broadside is virtually identical to the 1762 edition printed by Henrich Miller in Philadelphia as seen in the inclusion of "...zu Gutem seiner Kirchen" in the introductory panel, the square motif at the beginning and end of the labyrinth, and identical free-standing letters within the four springs. Given Miller's upbringing and training as a printer in Basel, it is highly likely that Miller copied his Geistlicher Irrgarten on an earlier edition of this broadside, suggesting that the Irrgarten came to the New World via Switzerland.

### Surveyed Broad sides:

#### 6.1.1

(Original not examined by the author)

Laid paper; ink

Original: Goshen College Library, Indiana. Reproduction in the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library.

**Folds:** Some folding evident in photo reproduction.

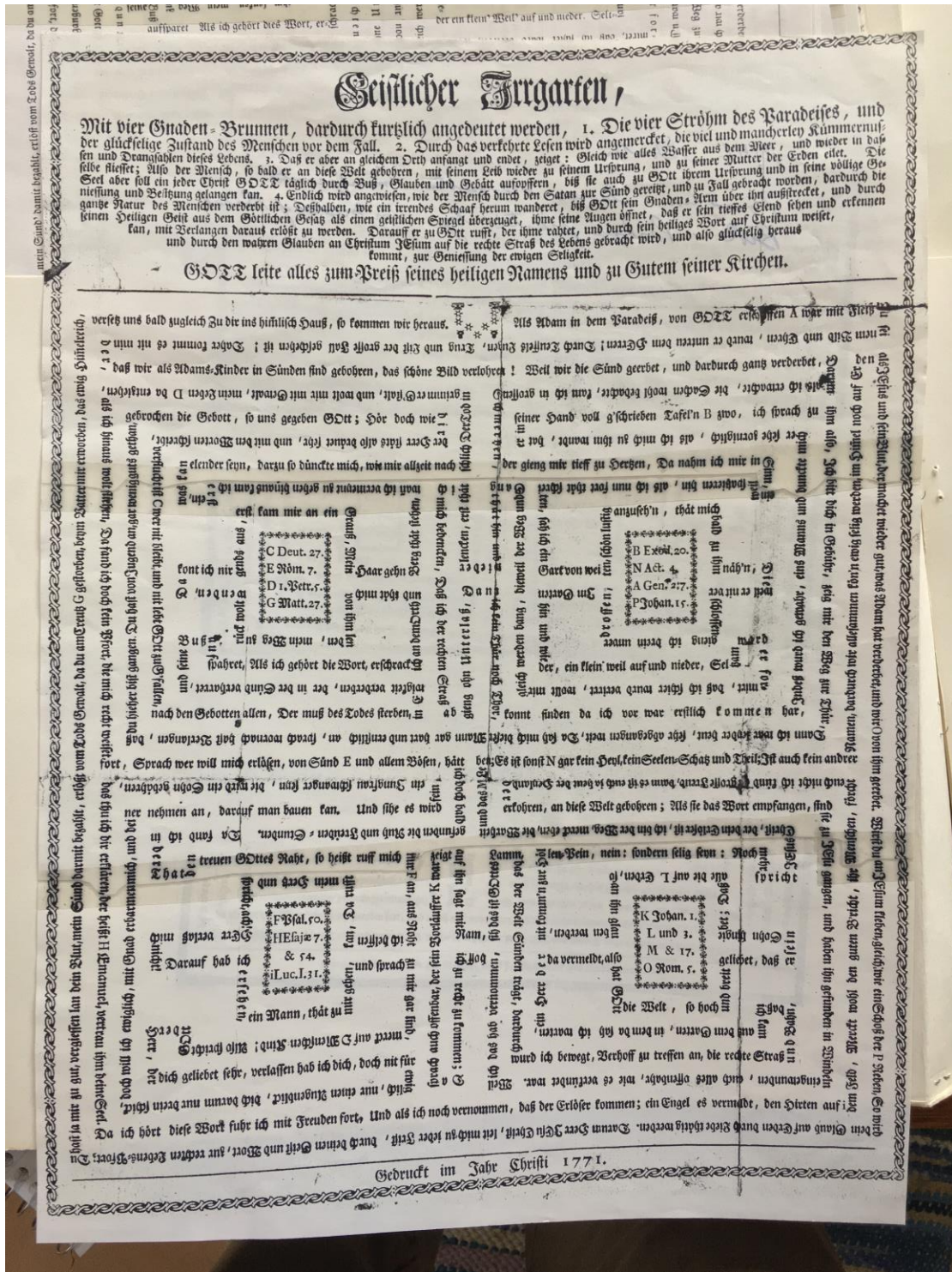
**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a





6.1.1: Reproduction courtesy of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library

## 7.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnaden=Brunnen

Michael Weiß; Sargemünde, Germany; 1822

Imprint: *Sargemünde, gedruckt bey Michael Weiß, Buchdrucker und Buchhändler, 1822* [Sargemünde, printed by Michael Weiß, Bookprinter and Bookseller, 1822]

**Edition Notes:** This edition reproduces many of the features seen in 6.1 and mirrors Henrich Miller's 1762 edition. That this edition is so similar to 6.1 despite its great temporal distance suggests that the broadsides did not experience the extent of change that they did in North America. This broadside also constitutes the last-identified Geistlicher Irrgarten printed in Europe.

### Surveyed Broadsides:

#### 7.1.1

(Original not examined by the author)

Paper; ink

53 x 44 cm (reproduction is reduced)

Original: Goshen College, Indiana. Reproduction at the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library.

**Folds:** Some folding evident in photo reproduction.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

#### 7.1.2

(Original not examined by the author)

Paper; ink

Original: Goshen College, Indiana

**Folds:** Unknown.

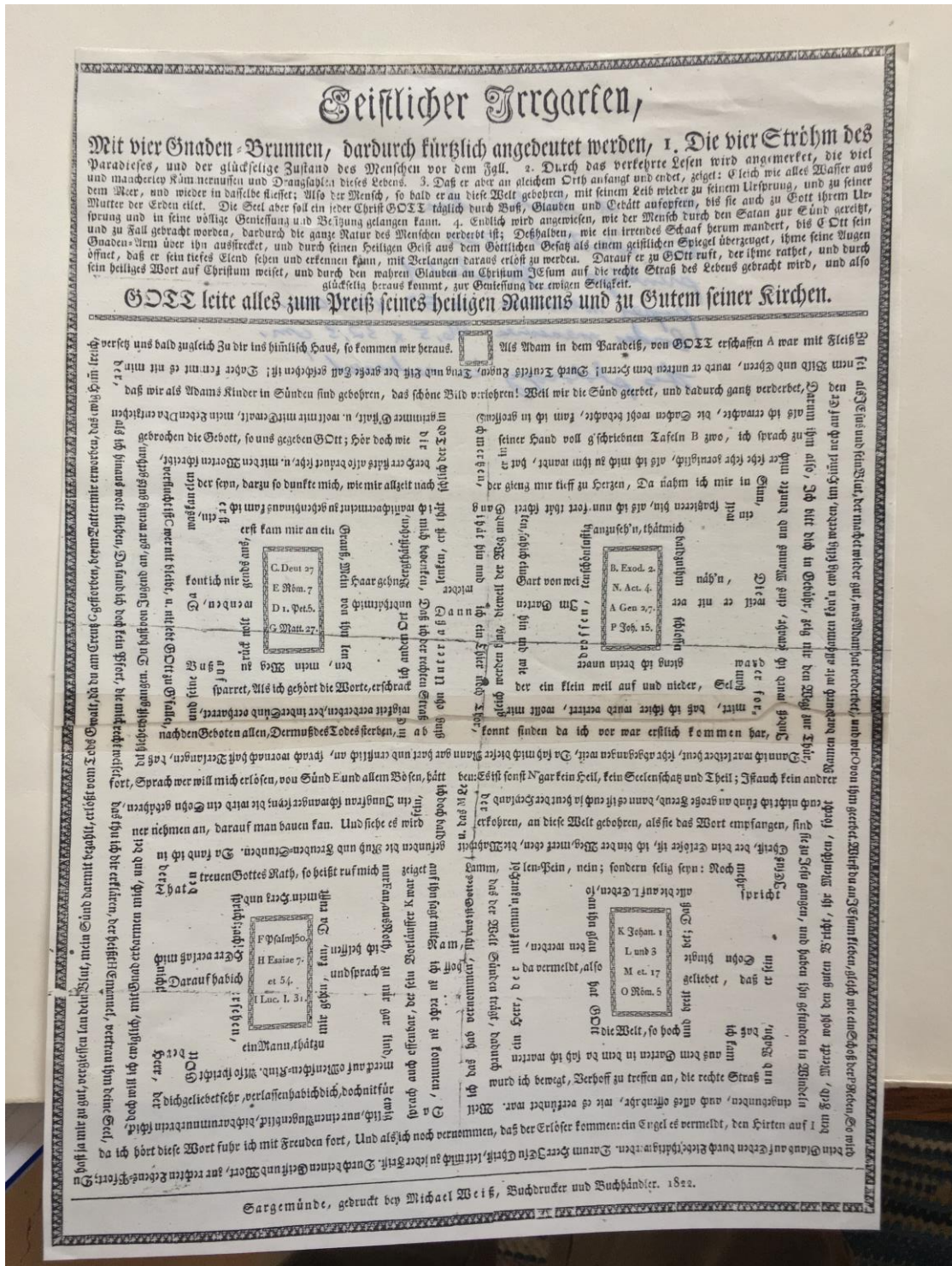
**Foxing:** Unknown

**Pinning/Framing:** Unknown

**Flyspecking:** Unknown

**Other:** n/a





7.1.1: Reproduction courtesy of the Aylmer Historical Heritage Library

### **“Version A” Four Springs of Grace**

The version A Four Springs of Grace broadsides are the oldest identified versions of the Geistlicher Irrgarten—the first known edition having been printed in Stuttgart as exhibited in cat. 1.1.1. As mentioned, the version A broadsides are the only known Geistlicher Irrgarten printed in Europe. Version A broadsides are characterized by the first line of the labyrinth-text, which trails across half the width of the labyrinth before twisting and retreating across the labyrinth’s width, turning again, and retreating before sinking into the first spring of grace. See figure 1 for a visual representation of these differences in typesetting. These editions require users to turn the broadside approximately 162 times.

## 8.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Anonymous printer, c. 1795, likely Philadelphia

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** This broadside constitutes one of the more unusual examples as its verso is printed with a narrative about the fortunes of Robert Forbes, who was lost in the wilderness in 1784. The Irrgarten itself appears to be based on Henrich Miller's 1762 edition as it recreates the full biblical citations and freestanding letters within the springs. This edition also exhibits a unique blessing at the close of the labyrinth's introduction: "May God direct all things to the honor of his name and to the good of humanity." ("GOtt leite alles zum Preise seines Neamens, und zum Besten der Menschheit." (sic).)

### Surveyed Broad sides:

#### 8.1.1

Laid paper; ink

53 x 42 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Am 1795 Geis 9131.F

**Folds:** Six folds dividing the broadside into sixteen sections. Two of the vertical folds are barely discernable and not torn along the edges, suggesting that they were later alterations.

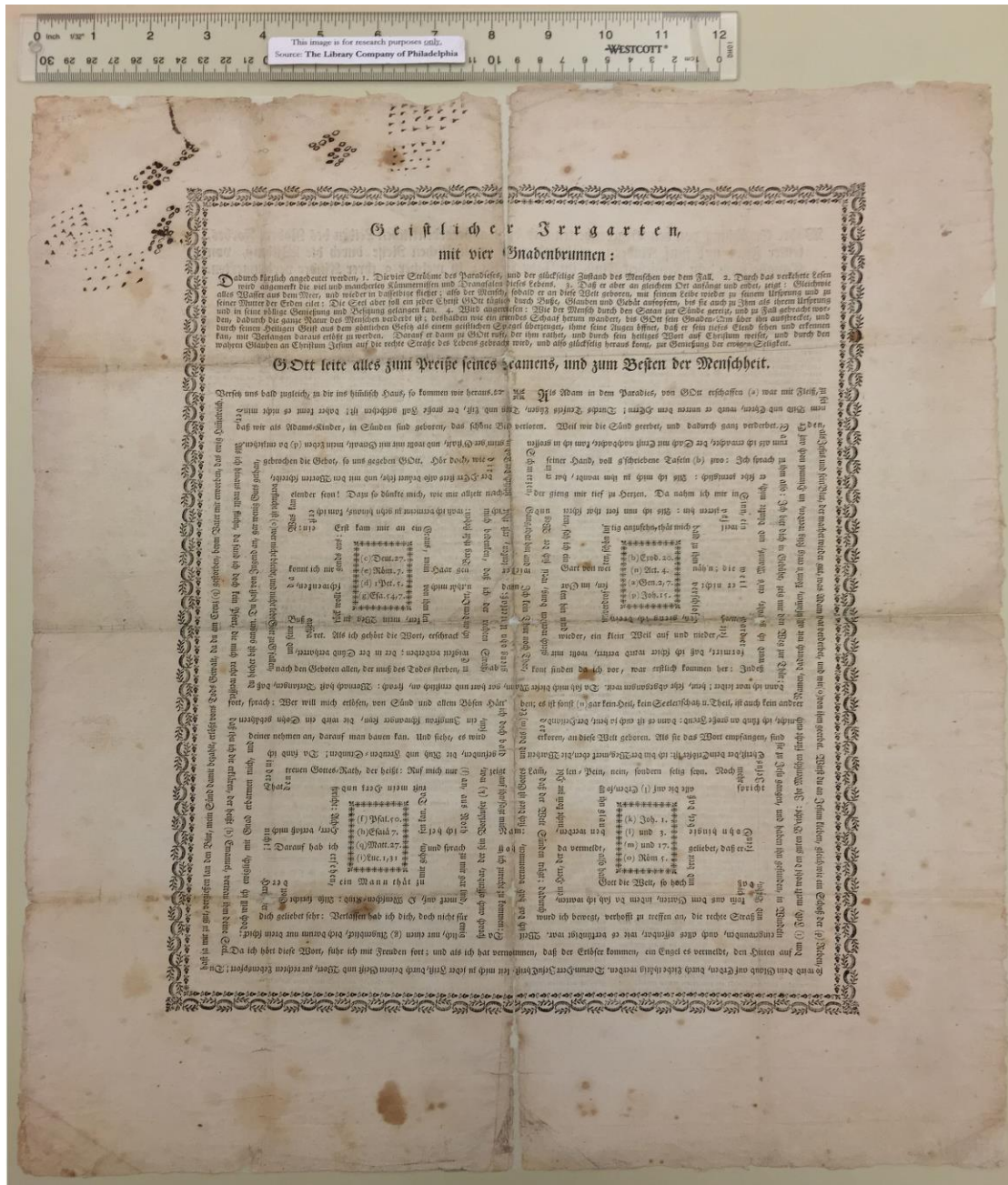
**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing suggests that this broadside was first folded horizontally before alternating between vertical and additional horizontal folds. The mirroring can be seen in the stain to the left of the upper-right Spring of Grace, below the bottom-left Spring of Grace, and above the border adjacent to the title word, 'Geistlicher'.

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Iron-gall ink is evident in two of the upper-left folds on the recto. As this ink has only been applied to these folded sections, this might suggest that the broadside was folded into eight sections while placed near a writing desk or a similar environment. The ink has been applied with a quill, suggesting its early addition.





8.1.1: Reproduced with the permission of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

## 9.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Anonymous printer, c. 1850, possibly Lancaster

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** While the printer of this broadside is anonymous, it was likely based upon Henrich Miller's 1762 edition due to its inclusion of all four areas of biblical references and freestanding letters within the four springs. The letters corresponding to locations within the text are identical to Miller's broadside, excluding 'G Esa 54:7' in the upper-left spring and 'Q Matt. 27' in the lower-left spring being switched. Additionally, this edition replicates the square motif at the beginning and end of the labyrinth and Miller's inclusion of 'Kirche' in the last line of the introduction at the top of the broadside.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 9.1.1

Wove paper, ink

32 x 49 cm

Franklin and Marshall College Library, D92

**Folds:** Folded across vertical and horizontal axes into four sections.

**Foxing:** Heavy staining, but mirroring is only slightly evident in the large central stain. Little mirrored foxing appears to have occurred from natural processes of paper aging.

**Pinning/Framing:** Backed onto modern laid paper as part of conservation efforts but no evidence of historical backing, pinning, or framing.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



9.1.1. Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

## 10.1 Spiritual Labyrinth, with Four Fountains of Grace

Anonymous Printer, Unknown Location, c. 1850

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** This English edition notes at the end of the introduction panel that it had been translated from the German. Additionally, this broadside is unusual in that its Four Springs have been left blank, perhaps for purchasers to illuminate themselves or, more likely, for a simpler aesthetic or printing process. The broadside's border is not seen in any other Geistlicher Irrgarten, making it difficult to attempt even tentative attributions as to the printer or his location.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 10.1.1

Wove paper, ink

Franklin and Marshall College Library, DIV

**Folds:** Folded once across the vertical axis.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing evident across the vertical fold (three large stains and many smaller ones)

**Pinning/Framing:** Backed onto modern laid paper per conservation efforts, but no evidence of historical backing, pinning, or framing.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Several portions of the text, especially the area between all four springs, are jammed together, suggesting that the printer was less skilled or less concerned with the fineness of the printed labyrinth text.



# SPIRITUAL LABYRINTH.

With four fountains of grace, briefly representing, 1st, the streams of paradise, and the happy condition of man before the fall. 2nd, By the windings of the road, is represented the various cares and perplexities of life. 3d, He begins and ends travelling at the same place—even as the waters rise from the sea, and return thither, so it is with man—from his birth he hastens to the dust from whence he came. 4th, It represents how man was tempted by satan and fell from the state wherein he was created, to his present state of depravity; therefore he wanders like a stray sheep, till convinced and convicted of his sin and misery through the law of God, he then desires to seek the way of salvation, whereupon he calls upon God, who counsels with him, and directs him to Christ. 5th His course is compared to the wandering of the children of Israel; and his deliverance, like theirs, is in the promised Canaan of rest

[From the German.]

[illegible]

### **11.1 Spiritual Labyrinth, with Four Fountains of Grace**

Anonymous printer (possibly M. M. Rohrer), c. 1850, possibly Lancaster, PA.

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** This example is an anonymous edition printed in English, likely around the mid-nineteenth century. The similarity between this broadside's border and title and those of M. M. Rohrer, a printer in Lancaster, Pennsylvania in the late 1850s, makes it possible that this broadside was printed by Rohrer. See cat. 16.1.

#### **Surveyed Examples:**

##### **11.1.1**

Wove paper; ink

Earnest Archives and Library, BS #206

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



With four fountains of grace, briefly representing 1st, the streams of Paradise, and the happy condition of man before the Fall. 2d, By the windings of the reading is represented the various cares and perplexities of life. 3d, He begins and ends travelling at the same place—even as the waters rise from the sea, and sink in thereto, so it is with man—from his birth he hastens to the dust from whence he came. 4th, It represents how man was tempted by Satan and fell from the state wherein he was created, to his present state of depravity: therefore he wanders like a stray sheep, till convinced and convicted of his sin and misery through the law of God, he then desires to seek the way of salvation, whereupon he calls upon God, who counsels with him, and directs him to Christ. 5th, His course is compared to the wandering of the children of Israel: and his deliverance, like theirs, is in the promised Canaan of rest.

peace, And guides our doubtful ways. Through ferny ways and watry deeps We march at Thy command Led to possess the promised place By Thine

## 12.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten

Anonymous Printer, likely Elkhart, Indiana or Ontario, c. 1875

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** Although this edition is anonymous, it shares similarities with the broadsides printed by John Funk and Bro. and the Mennonite Publishing Company in Elkhart, Indiana. These similarities include the red-printed border, the shape of the introduction panel, and inclusion of ‘Gemeinde’ in the last line of the introduction. This broadside is likely a later—perhaps twentieth century—reprinted of these earlier editions by enthusiasts in Indiana or Ontario as also seen in 18.1 through 22.1.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 11.1.1

Wove paper; ink  
Joseph Schneider Haus Museum, Kitchener, Ontario;  
1984.028.347.

**Folds:** Folding across the horizontal and vertical axes divide the broadside into four sections.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Three areas of damage in the broadside’s upper-portion possibly indicative of having been pinned or nailed to a wall/mantel/door.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Noted by Reg Good as having been discovered by him hanging within the bedroom of an Old Order Amish woman.



Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen.

[illegible]

Gott leite Alles zum Preis seines heiligen Namens, und zum Guten seiner Gemeinde.

[illegible]

### 13.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

Henrich Miller, Philadelphia, 1762

**Imprint:** *Philadelphia, Gedruckt bey Henrich Miller, im Jahr nach der Erlösung aus dem Irrgarten und Eröffnung der Himmelsthür, 1762*

[Philadelphia, printed by Henrich Miller, in the year after his release out of the labyrinth and the opening of heaven's gate, 1762]

**Edition Notes:** Henrich Miller's 1762 Geistlicher Irrgarten represent the genre's first-known appearance in North America. Miller's training as a printer in Basel, Switzerland and the survival of a likely-Basel broadside virtually identical to Miller's edition and printed in 1771 makes it highly likely that Miller based his Geistlicher Irrgarten on editions printed in Basel (see cat. 6.1).

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 13.1.1

(Reproduction at the Earnest Archives and Library)

Laid paper; ink

Original: PA State Museum

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold that resize the broadside into eight sections. The folds are heavily torn.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing evident across the vertical fold

**Pinning/Framing:** Potential punctures in the upper-center, but otherwise no evidence of pinning, backing, or prior framing.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

##### 13.1.2

Laid paper, ink

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Ab [1762]-9

**Folds:** Single vertical fold

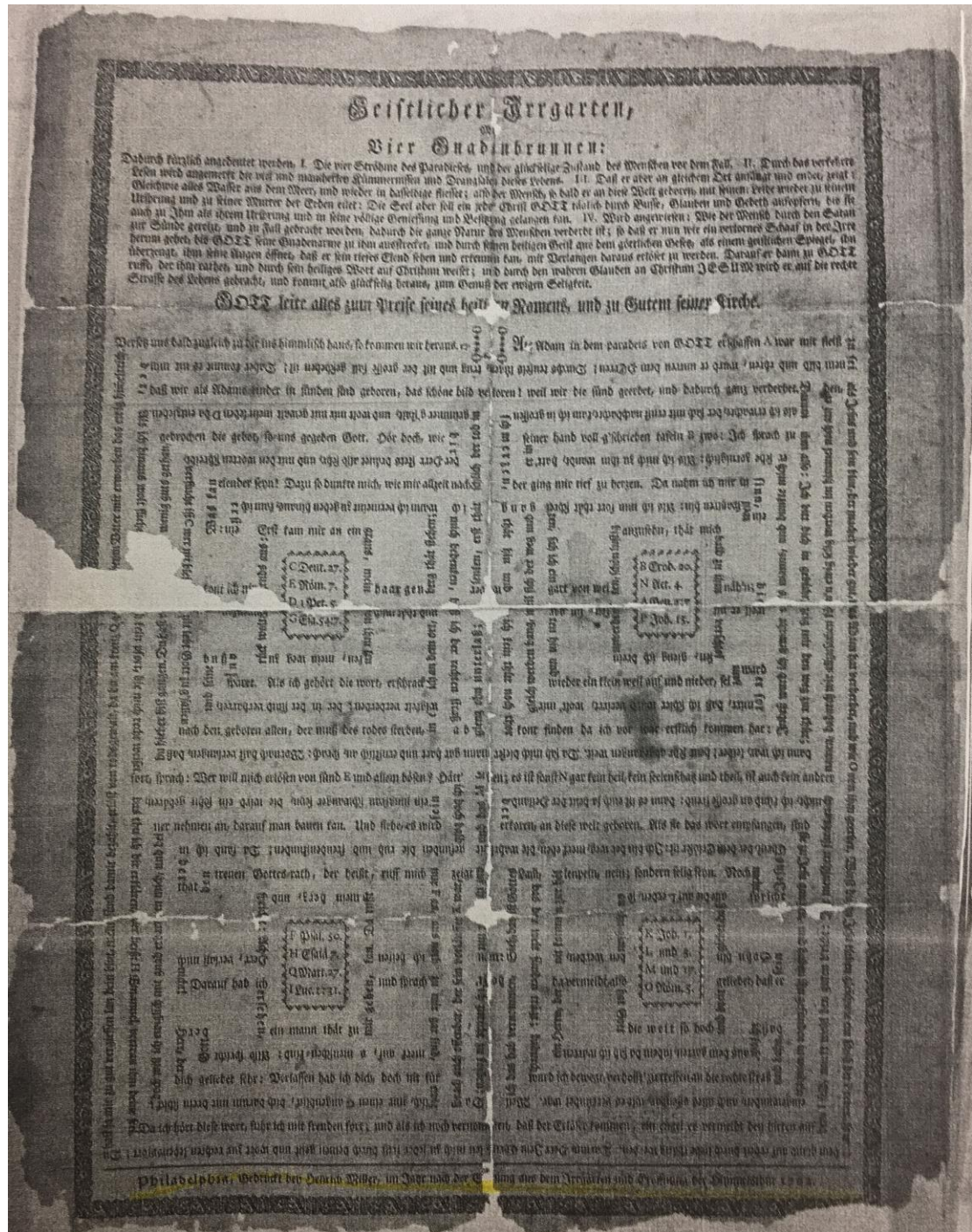
**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a





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## 14.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

Ephrata Cloister; Henrich Otto, Ephrata, PA, 1784

**Imprint:** *Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1784* [Printed in the year of Christ 1784]

**Edition Notes:** This edition constitutes Ephrata's first edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten, likely at the direction of Henrich Otto. A noted regional scrivener, Otto is attributed as having illuminated all identified examples of this edition. The text of this edition is virtually identical to Henrich Miller's 1762 example, suggesting that Ephrata might have copied this Philadelphia piece or one of the Swiss examples that Miller copied. The only notable difference is Ephrata applying stamps over the top two Springs of Grace. While the text of all 1784 editions were printed at the same time, woodcut borders and images were applied separately as they required different pressure than lead type. This explains the huge variation in borders and animal and floral imagery within this single edition.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 14.1.1

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

53 x 41 cm

The Winterthur Museum, 1958.0120.013

**Folds:** Folded across horizontal and vertical axes into four sections

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing or staining evident immediately across folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** Small pin-marks in each corner.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Mirrored foxing and pin marks suggest that this broadside was stored folded and displayed at various points during its life. That no flyspecking is evident might suggest that it was displayed relatively later in its life in a location free from pests. The ornamentation at the top includes Otto's famous parrots, not exhibited in any other object in this edition.

#### 14.1.2

Laid paper; ink; watercolor  
48.5 x 60 cm  
Johnson Collection

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** This object's excellent condition suggests that it has been displayed throughout its life, though no pin marks are apparent. The border at the top of the broadside is Ephrata's textile block border and it replaces the parrots and other birds seen in several other 1784 Geistlicher Irrgarten. Klaus Stopp discusses this border in his volumes on birth and baptismal certificates. This border and textile-block print at the top are also seen in cat. 14.1.5.

**See:** Lisa Minardi, *Drawn with Spirit: Pennsylvania German Fraktur from the Joan and Victor Johnson Collection* (Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2015), 59.

#### 14.1.3

Laid paper; ink; watercolor  
Conrad Grebel University College

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold besides heavy crumpling is evident.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Glued onto a linen backing

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** This piece is heavily worn, perhaps resulting from its travels with Anna Weber from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania to Ontario. Besides the heavy wear and crumpling, a single horizontal fold. Originally suggested to the author by Reg Good. Good also noted that he purchased this Geistlicher Irrgarten from an Old Order Mennonite woman in the 1970s. He

subsequently sold it, and it was eventually acquired by the Conrad Grebel University College Library.

**See:** E. Reginald Good, *Anna's Art: The Fraktur Art of Anna Weber, a Waterloo County Mennonite Artist, 1814-1888* (Kitchener, Ontario: Pochauna Publications, 1976), 10.

#### 14.1.4

(Not viewed by author)

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

Unknown Location (Hostetter Collection)

**Folds:** Not apparent in image

**Foxing:** Not apparent in image

**Pinning/Framing:** Not apparent in image

**Flyspecking:** Not apparent in image

**Other:** Included within Shelley's examination of Fraktur and noted as being in the Hostetter Collection in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This broadside's location today is unknown. This broadside is not considered in statistical analysis due to its low-quality image.

**See:** Donald Shelley, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Allentown, PA: Schlechter's, 1961), plate 189.

#### 14.1.5

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

47 x 39 cm

Franklin and Marshall College Library, D102

**Folds:** Folding across the horizontal and vertical axes divide the broadside into four sections. Additional heavy crumpling.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing and mirrored staining evident across the folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** No pinning or framing evident, but the broadside is backed onto a newspaper.

**Flyspecking:** No flyspecking is evident, but pest biting is apparent in several areas. These bites are both through the broadside itself and occasionally through both the broadside and its newspaper backing, suggesting that its environmental context before and after backing were similar.

**Other:** This broadside constitutes one of the most damaged and heavily-repaired objects within this survey. The Geistlicher Irrgarten appears to have experienced heavy use before being backed onto a 1797 *Readinger Adler* newspaper. The newspaper and Geistlicher Irrgarten subsequently underwent additional wear. The ornamentation and border of this broadside are identical to that of cat. 14.1.2.





14.1.5: Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College



## 14.2 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

The Ephrata Cloister Printshop; Henrich Otto (Illuminated), Ephrata, PA, 1785

Imprint: *Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1785* [Printed in the year of Christ 1785]

**Edition Notes:** Ephrata's second edition is virtually identical to the 1784 edition, excluding its updated imprint. Both the border and stamped decorative motifs remain largely similar, though several images such as the angels seen in 14.2.4 are not evident in Ephrata's earlier edition.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 14.2.1

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

53 x 40 cm

The Free Library of Philadelphia, frk1057

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** This piece includes both the textile border and the printed parrots also seen in 14.1.1.

#### 14.2.2

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

42.5 x 54 cm

Franklin and Marshall College Library, D61

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Backed onto a modern laid paper backing as part of conservation efforts, but no evidence of historical framing or pinning

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Textile block printed at the top of the broadside, but no angelic or animal motifs. Additionally, the side border is nearly perfectly mirrored, suggesting that it was printed in two steps.

Additionally, this broadside exhibits possible fingermarks on the bottom and sides where one would be expected to handle the object.

#### 14.2.3

(Original not viewed by author)

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

54 x 41.275 cm

Unknown (Sold through Pook and Pook, February 6, 2009)

**Folds:** Two vertical folds and one horizontal fold

**Foxing:** Light foxing mirrored across horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** Framed, but the frame is likely not original to the object's purchase.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** While this example was not able to be viewed by the author, its online image shows it as having heart and angel imagery. Noted that its provenance with Pennypacker Auction, October 1978, Lot 248.

#### 14.2.4

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

Earnest Archives and Library, BS #631

**Folds:** Four horizontal folds

**Foxing:** Heavy staining, but none are mirrored or resulting from foxing

**Pinning/Framing:** Pin marks evident in corners

**Flyspecking:** Heavy flyspecking on verso

**Other:** Possible fingermarks on bottom and sides where one would expect users to handle the object. Compare with 14.2.2.



14.2.2: Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

## 15.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

Heinrich Ruby, Chambersburg, PA, c. 1830

**Imprint:** *Chambersburg: Gedruckt und zu haben bey H. Ruby.*

[Chambersburg: Printed by and available from H. Ruby.]

**Edition Notes:** This edition constitutes one of the few Mid-Atlantic version A broadsides printed after the closure of the Ephrata Cloister's printshop as this version of the Four Springs of Grace became more popular with Anabaptists in Canada and the Midwest. Ruby evidently copied his model from a 1784 or 1785 Ephrata example, as, similar to Ephrata, he did not include 'Amen' at the end of the imagetext and included 'Gemeine' at the end of the introduction panel instead of Henrich Miller's 'Kirche.' Ruby also replaced all Springs of Grace with woodcut images of houses or squares, representing a dramatic divergence from including traditional biblical verses or text. That both identified examples of this broadside are similarly illuminated suggests that Ruby or an associated scrivener illuminated these objects. Ruby (1804-1891) also printed the newspaper, the *Chambersburg Correspondent und Allgemeiner Volksberichter*, between 1829 and c. 1830.<sup>201</sup>

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 15.1.1

Wove paper; ink; watercolor

Earnest Archives and Library, BS #392

44.5 x 29.8 cm

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing/staining evident across the central horizontal fold on the right side of the broadside.

**Evidence of Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** Light flyspecking, especially on verso

**Other:** n/a

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<sup>201</sup> Karl Arndt and May Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas, vol. 1* (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 512.

**See:** Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 282-283.

### 15.1.2

Wove paper; ink; watercolor

Juniata College Library, PhuJ IM 6

45.5 x 29.5 cm

**Folds:** Folding across the horizontal and vertical axes divide the broadside into four sections.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing/staining especially evident across vertical fold in upper-portion of the broadside. Mirrored foxing is also evident across horizontal fold.

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



Geistlicher Irergarten,

Wie vier Stacheln, Dornen, dadurch herzlich angestrichen werden: Ist die vier Erzählung der Paradieses, und der glückselige Zustand des Menschen vor dem Fall. Erst. Durch das verführte Leben viel angereichert, viel und manderlei Klammern und Dornen viel erlebt. Denn, daß er aber an gleichem Ort anfangen und endet, zeigt: Gleich wie alles Wasser und dem Meer, und wieder in dasselbe fließt; Also der Mensch, so bald er zu diese Welt geboren, mit seinem Leid wieder zu seinem Ursprung, und zu seiner Mutter der Erden kehrt. Die Zeit aber soll jeder Christ mit täglich hoher Angst, Gedanken und Betracht anfangen, bis sie auch zu Gott ihrem Ursprung und in seine ewige Überwindung und Befreiung gelangen kann. Denn, täglich wird angereichert, wird der Mensch durch den Sitten zur Erde gereinigt, und zu Hall gebracht werden, dadurch die ganze Natur des Menschen bereinigt ist: Deshalb, wie ein innerer Schaß herum wandert, bis Gott sein Gewand über ihn aufstreift, und durch seinen Heiligen Geist aus dem irdischen Geist als einem geistlichen Zügel überzogen, ihm seine Augen öffnet, daß er ein tiefes Elend sehen und erkennen kann, mit Vergleichen daraus eifrig zu werden. Darauf er zu Gott ruft, der ihm rathet, und durch sein heiliges Wort auf Christus weist, und durch den wahren Glauben an Christum Jesum auf die rechte Straß der Lebens gebracht wird, und also glückselig heran kommt, zur Beweinung der ewigen Zeitgeit. OCHT leide alles zum Preis seinen heiligen Namens und zum Guten seiner Gemeine.

[illegible]

Chambersburg: Geworke sind zu haben bey M. Anby.

## 16.1 Spiritual Labyrinth, with four fountains of grace

M. M. Rohrer, Lancaster, c. 1850

**Edition Notes:** Although little is known of the printer, this example represents one of the few English-language editions and might indicate that Rohrer was attempting to widen the genre's popularity to include English-speakers in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This was evidently unsuccessful as, by this time, usage of the broadsides had disappeared among most Protestant groups in southeastern Pennsylvania. Members of the Rohrer family are known to have operated the *Lancaster Freie Press* in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.<sup>202</sup>

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 16.1.1

Wove paper; ink

Earnest Archives and Library, BS #768

**Folds:** Three horizontal and one vertical fold

**Foxing:** Mirrored staining evident across both vertical and horizontal folds. Most evident in the upper-left folded portion in addition to the bottom-left section. Additional mirroring across the vertical fold in the bottom two panels.

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

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<sup>202</sup> Karl Arndt and May Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, vol. 1, 536.

With four fountains of grace, briefly representing 1st, the streams of paradise, and the happy condition of man before the fall. 2nd, By the windings of the reading is represented the various cares and perplexities of life. 3d, He begins and ends travelling at the same place—even as the waters rise from the sea, and return thereto, so it is with man—from his birth he hastens to the dust from whence he came. 4th, It represents how man was tempted by Satan and fell from the state wherein he was created, to his present state of depravity: therefore he wanders like a stray sheep, till convinced and convicted of his sin and misery through the law of God, he then desires to seek the way of salvation, whereupon he calls upon God, who counsels with him, and directs him to Christ. 5th, His course is compared to the wandering of the children of Israel: and his deliverance, like theirs, is in the promised Canaan of rest.

[illegible]

M. M. ROHRER, Printer, Lancaster, P.



## 17.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

John Funk and Brother, Elkhart, Indiana, c. 1869-1874

**Imprint:** *Gedruckt und zu haben bei John F. Funk und Brud., Elkhart, Ind. Preis, per Stück, 5 Cents; per Dutzend, 50 Cents; per Hundert, \$3.00.* [Printed by and available from John F. Funk and Brother, Elkhart, Ind. Price, per sheet, 5 cents; per dozen, 50 cents; per hundred, \$3.00.]

**Edition Notes:** This edition represents the first of several Geistlicher Irrgarten printed by John Funk and Brother, later the Mennonite Publishing Company. John Fretz Funk (1835-1930) founded a publishing company with his brother, A. K. Funk, in 1869 and continued it until it changed names to the Mennonite Publishing Company in 1875. This edition is occasionally printed in red ink, though the text and layout remain identical to the black ink broadsides. For more about Funk, see Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 284.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 17.1.1

Wove paper; ink  
Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, GI 1

**Folds:** Folded six times—five horizontal folds and a single vertical fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on back that this broadside was acquired by the Library in 1987 from Dan Zehr of Newton, Ontario, an Old Order Amish man.

#### 17.1.2

Wove paper; ink  
Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, GI 2

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and a single vertical fold

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing evident across folded sections. Especially evident across the central horizontal fold and at the top and bottom of the broadside.

**Pinning/Framing:** Sewn onto a calendar for the year 1913, but otherwise no signs of pinning or framing.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Noted on verso that the Library acquired this Geistlicher Irrgarten from Sam Jantzi of Millbank, Ontario in 1989.

Unusual example in that it is sewn onto a calendar backing. One must wonder whether Amish injunctions against displaying decorative objects other than calendars and other humble materials was the reason for this backing. This example is also printed with red ink, though it is part of the same edition as the text is set identically.

### 17.1.3

Heavy wove paper; ink

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Geist 9344.F

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Printed onto a much heavier paper than other examples of this edition, suggesting that it was designed for longevity rather than ease of storage. The text and typesetting is identical as other examples in this edition.

### 17.1.4

Wove paper; ink

Mennonite Heritage Center, Harleysville, PA, 2002.4.1

**Folds:** Folded three times vertically and three times horizontally

**Foxing:** Light mirrored staining is especially evident on either side of the central horizontal fold.

**Pinning/Framing:** Backed onto an early-twentieth century advertisement for the Schwenksville Rolling Mills.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Noted by the Mennonite Heritage Center that it was likely stored within a desk or drawer. The heavy folding indicates that it was kept folded before and later backed onto a heavier-stock advertisement.

#### 17.1.5

Wove paper; ink

39.5 x 51 cm

Franklin and Marshall College Library, D114

**Folds:** Some crumpling, but no deliberate folds

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Backed onto a wove paper and pinned across the top and bottom corners through the broadside and backing. Large puncture in the upper-center that does not extend into the backing might suggest the broadside having been nailed to a wall, removed and torn, backed, and pinned again.

**Flyspecking:** Light flyspecking on edges

**Other:** n/a

#### 17.1.6

Wove paper; ink

40 x 52 cm

Franklin and Marshall College Library, D114A

**Folds:** Folded across the horizontal and vertical axes into four smaller sections

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Border, portions of the introduction panel, and Four Springs printed in red ink.

### **17.1.7**

Wove paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS # 647

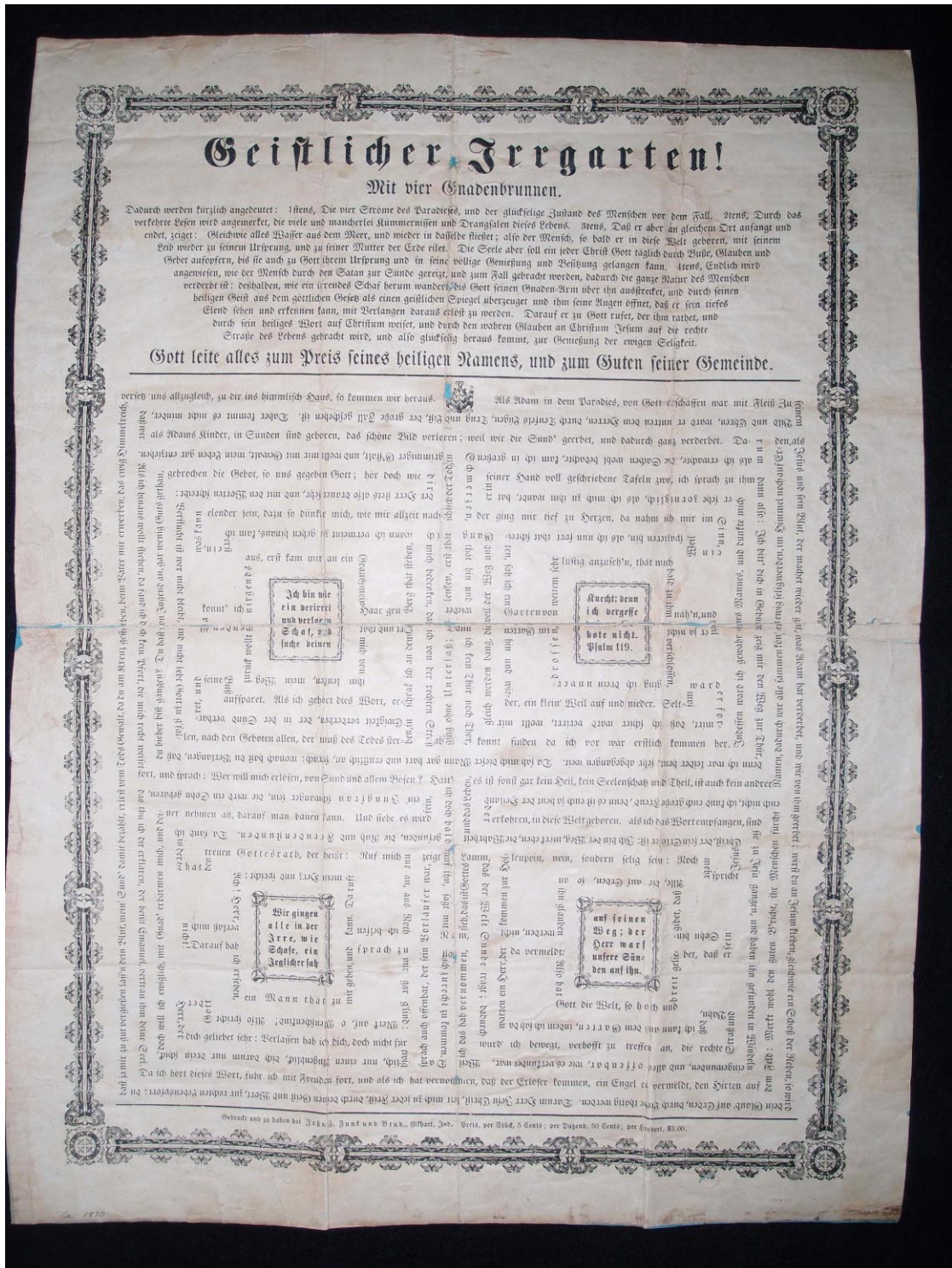
**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Like 17.1.3, this broadside is printed onto a heavy-stock wove paper and was evidently not intended for folding.



17.1.4: Courtesy of the Mennonite Heritage Center, Harleysville, Pennsylvania.

## 17.2 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

The Mennonite Publishing Co. (John Funk and Bro), Elkhart, Indiana, c. 1880

**Imprint:** Printed by the Mennonite Publishing Co., (John Funk and Bro.,)  
Elkhart, Ind. Price, per Single Copy, 5 cents; per Dozen, 50 cents; per  
Hundred, \$3.00.

**Edition Notes:** This edition is an English translation of John Funk and Bro.'s  
earliest edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten (17.1), though the imprint notes the  
names of both the Mennonite Publishing Co. and that of the earlier company.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 17.2.1

Wove paper; ink  
Earnest Archives and Library, BS #927

**Folds:** Three horizontal and two vertical folds.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Sticker on bottom-center of recto reads: "L. B. Herr's  
Book Store / 53 & 55 N. Queen St, / Lancaster, PA."

Rubberstamp on verso reads: "Lizzie S. Witmer." This  
broadside was likely imported by this bookstore from Indiana to  
sell to Lancaster County's Anabaptists, who maintained usage  
of the Geistlicher Irrgarten well into the twentieth century.

#### 17.2.2

Wove paper; ink  
38 x 51 cm  
Unknown location (sold on eBay, Sept. 7, 2013)

**Folds:** Folded along the vertical and horizontal axes

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on the verso in pencil: “Presented to Margie C. Grove / By her Aunt Susan Eby / 1888.” Eby is a common Mennonite surname among communities in Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Ontario.



WITH FOUR FOUNTAINS OF GRACE

WITH FOUR FOUNTAINS OF GRACE.

Briefly representing 1st, The streams of Paradise, and the happy condition of man before the fall. 2nd, By the windings of the reading is represented the various cares and perplexities of life. 3rd, He begins to seek travelling in the state of sin, and to return the river, so it is with man—from his birth he hastens to the dust from whence he came. 4th, It represents how man was tempted by Satan and fell from the state wherein he was created, to his present state of depravity, therefore he wanders like a stray sheep, till convinced and convicted of his sin and misery through the law of God, he then desires to seek the way of salvation, whereupon he calls upon God, who counsels with him, and directs him to Christ. 5th, His course is compared to the wandering of the children of Israel; and his deliverance, like theirs, is in the promised Canaan of rest.

"Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man."

[illegible]

Printed by the Mennonite Publishing Co., (J. F. Funk & Bro.,) Elkhart, Ind. Price, per Single Copy, 5 cents; per Dozen, 50 cents; per Hundred, \$3.00.

L. B. HERR'S  
Book Store,  
234 N. Queen St.  
Lancaster, Pa.



### 17.3 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

The Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana, c. 1880-1908

**Imprint:** *Gedruckt und zu haben bei der Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. Preis, per Stück, 5 Cents, per Dutzend, 50 Cents; per Hundert, \$3.00.*

[Printed at and available from the Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. Price, per sheet, 5 cents; per dozen, 50 cents; per hundred, #3.00.]

**Edition Notes:** This Geistlicher Irrgarten is identical to the earlier German-language edition printed by John Funk and Bro. This example was perhaps printed before the 17.4 edition, which features far fewer similarities with earlier John Funk and Bro. broadsides.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 17.3.1

Wove paper; ink

Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, Geistlicher Irrgarten 1

**Folds:** Five horizontal folds

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Red-ink border, portion of introduction panel, and Four Springs of Grace. The rest of the broadsides is printed in black ink. Yellowed sections where tape was used to repair tears. Written on verso in pencil: "Lydia".



17.3.1: Courtesy of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library

## 17.4 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

The Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana, c. 1880-1908

**Imprint:** *Gedruckt und zu haben bei der Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. Preis, per Stück, 5 Cents, per Dutzend, 50 Cents; per Hundert, \$3.00.*

[Printed at and available from the Mennonite Publishing Co., Elkhart, Ind. Price, per sheet, 5 cents; per dozen, 50 cents; per hundred, \$3.00.]

**Edition Notes:** This edition printed by the Mennonite Publishing Company, successors to John Funk and Bro., feature a holly-leaf border around the broadside and the Four Springs within diamond-motif borders. Similarities in how several broadsides were illuminated suggests that the Mennonite Publishing Company illuminated their broadsides before sale.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 17.4.1

Wove paper; ink; watercolor

Earnest Archives and Library, BS #127

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Illuminated in green, pink, blue, purple, and yellow watercolors.

**See:** Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 284.

#### 17.4.2

Wove paper; ink

51 x 38 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Geist 9518.F

**Folds:** Three horizontal and two vertical folds.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Light staining, but otherwise this broadside is in nearly pristine condition.

#### 17.4.3

Wove paper; ink; watercolor

50.5 x 37.5 cm

Unknown Location (sold on an unknown German-language auction site and noted as Lot 762. Image of this broadside in the Earnest Archives and Library)

**Folds:** Noted in auction description that, besides crumpling, there is one vertical fold.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Illuminated in pink and yellow watercolors in similar patterns as 17.4.1, suggesting that the Mennonite Publishing Company or an associated scrivener illuminated it themselves.

#### 17.4.4

Wove paper; ink

Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, Geistlicher Irrgarten 2

**Folds:** Three horizontal and one vertical folds.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing and staining across the horizontal folds

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on back: "Obtained April 20 1987 / from Miss Bene Bender, Tavistock, Ont. From her father Joseph Bender's Bible." Tape present in the upper-right section of the verso.

#### 17.4.5

Wove paper; ink

Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, Geistlicher Irrgarten 6

**Folds:** Two horizontal folds

**Foxing:** n/a

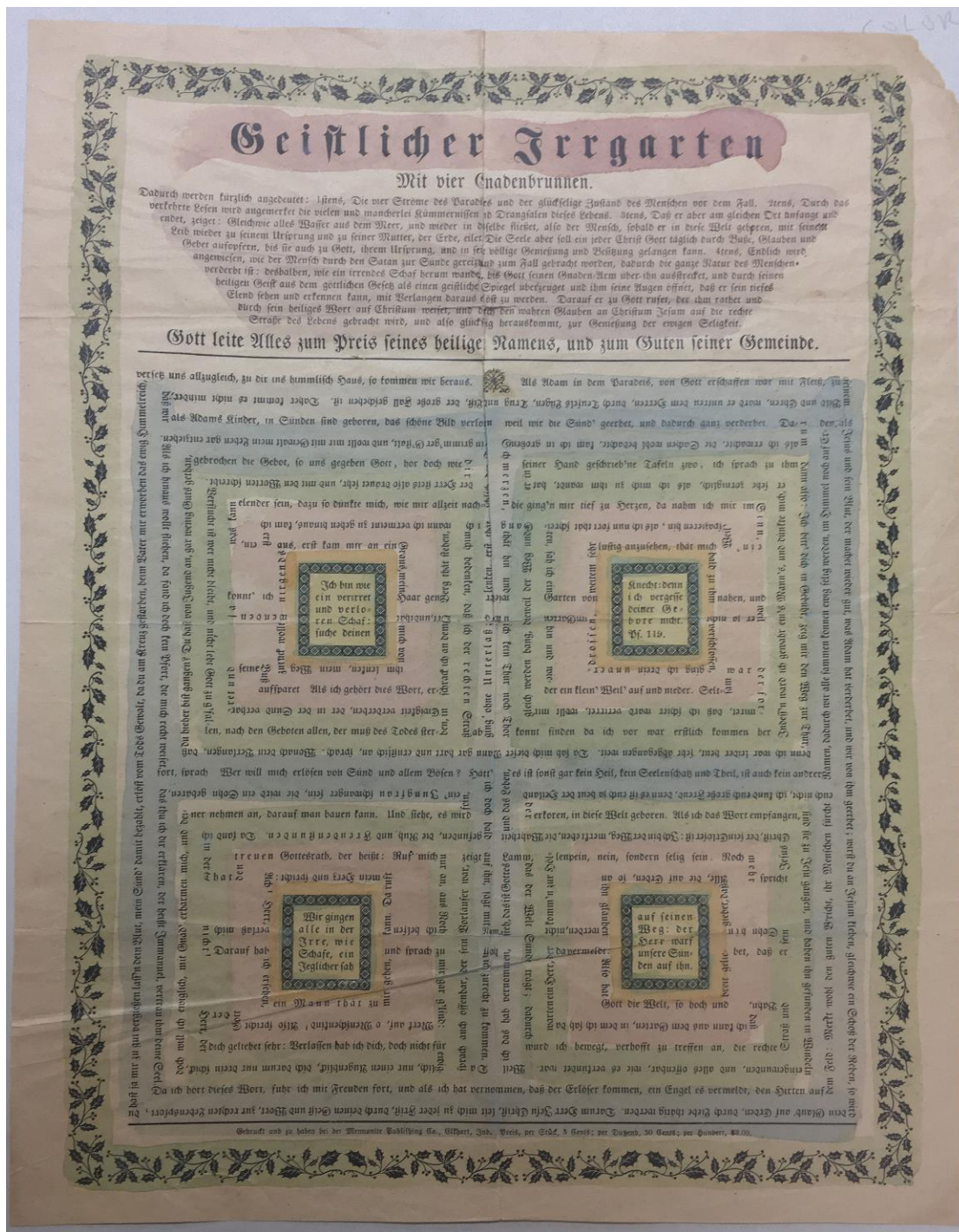
**Pinning/Framing:** Framed in a green and gilt frame, though it is unknown how long the broadside has been framed

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on the back of the frame: "This belonged to Catherine Leis / born Feb. 14, 1880 Wellesley, Ontario / Second wife of Jacob Lichty (1866-1944) / bishop at Cedar Grove Amish-Mennonite Church, Wellesley, Ontario. She died Aug. 17, 1945 / Placed in Heritage Historical Library / by her daughter Nancy (Lichty) Mrs. Noah / Gascho of Aylmer, Ontario in 1983 / on loan. Donated October 2014 by her / son, Pre-Joseph L. Gascho of Aylmer / -David Luthy / 10/23/2014" Noted in the archives of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library that this framed broadside was donated to the Library after having been hung in the closet of a family related to the 'Leis' family.

**See:** Rear cover of David Luthy, *Our Amish Devotional Heritage* (Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishers, 2016).





17.4.1: Courtesy of Earnest Archives and Library. Not to be reproduced without permission. [www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com](http://www.earnestarchivesandlibrary.com)

## **18.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen**

Jacob Raber, Baltic, Ohio, c. 1938

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** While this edition does not contain an imprint, notes within the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library reveal that it was printed by Jacob Raber around 1938. Raber also printed the Amish almanacs through the mid-twentieth century, and he advertises in his 1938 almanac the sale of his Geistlicher Irrgarten, also sold at the shop of Andy Byler in Hartstown, Pennsylvania. This advertisement also notes that the Irrgarten are sold for 10 cents each, a dozen for \$1, and one-hundred for \$8.00.

Raber's edition of the Irrgarten was reproduced through photomechanical methods from the broadsides printed by John Funk and Bro., cat. 17.1

### **Surveyed Examples:**

#### **18.1.1**

Wove paper; ink

Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, Geistlicher Irrgarten 5

**Folds:** Folded along horizontal and vertical axes

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Reproduction of J. A. Raber's 1938 calendar advertisement for the Geistlicher Irrgarten taped to verso.

#### **18.1.2**

Wove paper; ink

Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, Geistlicher Irrgarten 7

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on bottom of recto: "Received from Ben Raber / June 1978" and "By J.A. Raber."





## 19.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Simeon M. Bowman, Conestoga, Ontario, c. 1950

**Imprint:** “Copies of this Labyrinth (Puzzle) can be had from Simeon M. Bowman, Conestoga, Ontario.”

**Edition Notes:** This German-language edition contains an English imprint. It is clearly a photomechanical reproduction of the Mennonite Publishing Company’s holly-leaf border broadsides, though the border has been removed. See cat. 17.4.

**See:** Michael Bird, *Ontario Fraktur: A Pennsylvania-German Tradition in Early Canada*, 1977.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 19.1.1

Wove paper; ink  
Earnest Archives and Library, BS #1411

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

#### 19.1.2

Wove paper; ink  
Aylmer Heritage Historical Library, Geistlicher Irrgarten 8

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and three vertical folds

**Foxing:** Light mirrored stains across horizontal folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

Copies of this Labyrinth (Puzzle) can be had from Simeon M. Bowman, Conestoga, Ontario

## 20.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Ira Huber, Teeswater, Ontario, c. 1950

**Imprint:** “Printed by the Mennonite Publishing Co., (J F. Funk & Bro.,) Elkhart, Ind. Reprinted for Ira Huber, Route 2, Teeswater, Ontario N0G 2S0”

**Edition Notes:** An English-language edition is a photomechanical reproduction of cat. no. 17.2. This edition was printed and sold by the apparently-unrelated Ira Huber of Teeswater, Ontario, into the mid-twentieth century to local Anabaptists. It seems possible that Huber did not have much success selling these broadsides as all identified versions are completely unworn and notes within the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library from Ira Huber to David Luthy note that “We had 5,000 printed. The interest has not been as great as expected.”<sup>203</sup>

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 20.1.1

Wove paper; ink  
Aylmer Heritage Historical Library

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Largely pristine condition

#### 20.1.2

Wove paper; ink  
Aylmer Heritage Historical Library

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

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<sup>203</sup> Ira Huber, “Letter from Ira Huber to David Luthy,” January 13, 1987, archives of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Largely pristine condition

### **20.1.3**

Wove paper; ink

43 x 32 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, 9280.F

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Largely pristine condition. Perhaps acquired by the Library Company of Philadelphia directly from the printer.



WITH FOUR FOUNTAINS OF GRACE.

Briefly representing 1st, The streams of Paradise, and the happy condition of man before the fall. 2nd, By the windings of the reading is represented the various cares and perplexities of life. 3rd, He begins and ends travelling at the same place—even as the waters rise from the sea, and return thereto, so it is with man—from his birth he hastens to the dust from whence he came. 4th, It represents how man was tempted by Satan and fell from the state wherein he was created, to his present state of depravity, therefore he wanders like a stray sheep, till convinced and convicted of his sin and misery through the law of God, he then desires to seek the way of salvation, whereupon he calls upon God, who counsels with him, and directs him to Christ. 5th, His course is compared to the wandering of the children of Israel: and his deliverance, like theirs, is in the promised Canaan of rest.

"Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man."

[illegible]

Printed by the Mennonite Publishing Co., (J. F. Funk & Bro.) Elkhart, Ind.

Reprinted for Ira Huber, Route 2, Teeswater, Ontario N0G 2S0

## **21.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen**

Fair Dealer's Office, Elmira, Ontario, 1965

**Imprint:** "Additional copies of this puzzle may be obtained on application to the Fair Dealer office, Elmira, Ontario"

**Edition Notes:** German-language edition with an English imprint. Like Simeon Bowman's c. 1950 edition, this broadside is a reproduction of the Mennonite Publishing Company's late-nineteenth century Geistlicher Irrgarten. This broadside was printed within a newspaper dated to October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1965, where it is noted as being a puzzle. The name of the newspaper is unknown, though it was possibly the Waterloo North Progressive Conservative Association.

### **Surveyed Examples:**

#### **21.1.1**

Wove paper; ink; laminate

Aylmer Heritage Historical Library

**Folds:** Unknown due to laminate

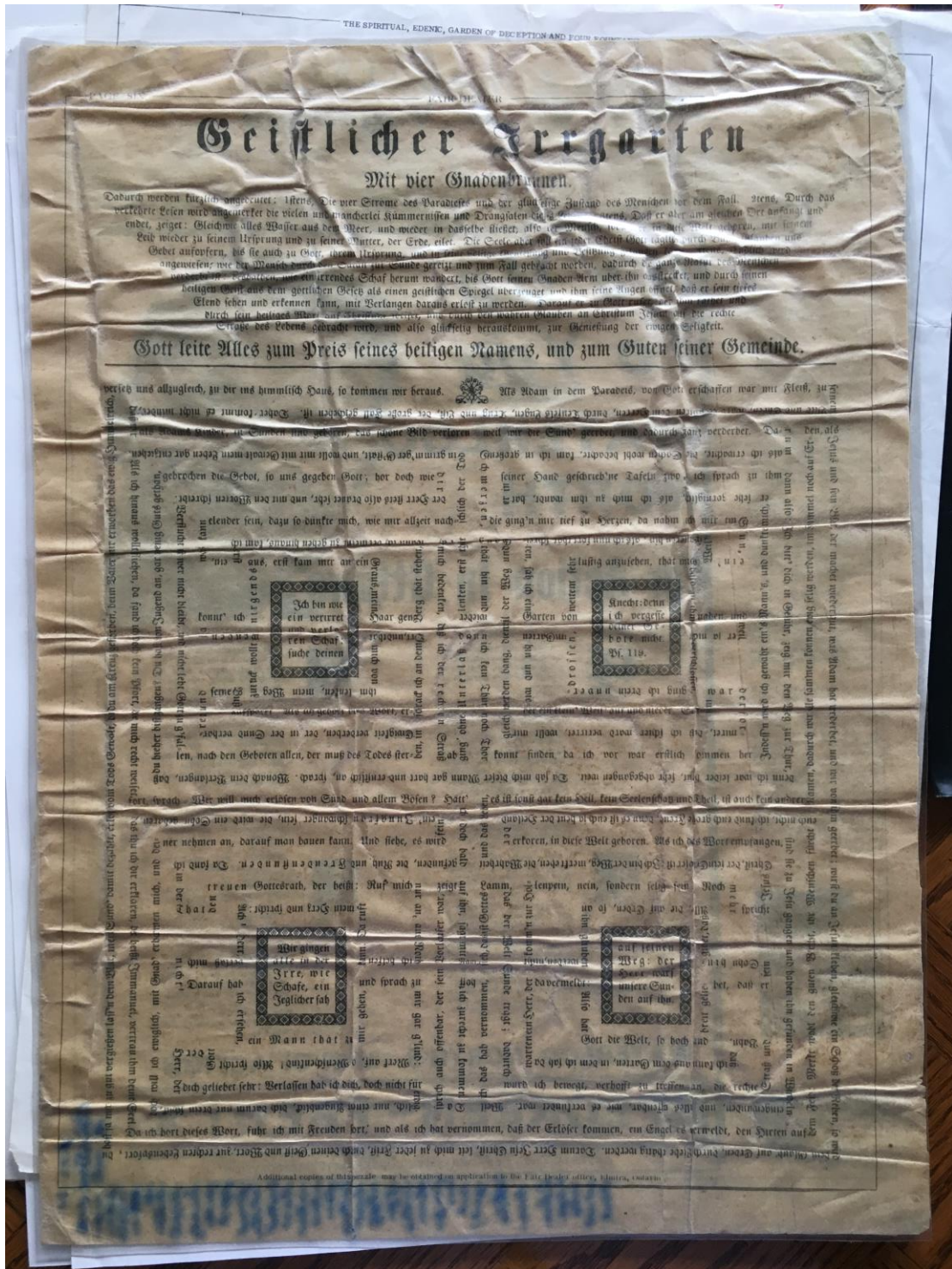
**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Encased within a laminate that obscures many features of the Geistlicher Irrgarten and newspaper. Blue-ink handwriting apparent





21.1.1: Courtesy of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library.



## 22.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Andy S. Kinsinger, Gordonville, Pennsylvania, c. 1983

**Imprint:** “Printed by and available from A. S. Kinsinger=Gordonville, Penna.”

**Edition Notes:** This edition, produced by an Amish-literature printer in Pennsylvania, is the last known printed edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten in North America. Kinsinger’s daughter noted in a later interview that her father printed “schoolbooks, workbooks etc. and mostly reproducing old books which were no longer available but well-liked by Amish schools.”<sup>204</sup> This might indicate that these Geistlicher Irrgarten were intended for use within Amish schools by the late-twentieth century.

Kinsinger’s Geistlicher Irrgarten were reproduced photomechanically from the earlier Mennonite Publishing Co. holly-leaf border broadsides as seen in cat. 17.3.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 22.1.1

Wove paper; ink  
Aylmer Heritage Historical Library

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Slight crumpling around edges, but otherwise this broadside is in near-pristine condition.

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<sup>204</sup> Karen Johnson-Weiner, *Train Up a Child: Old Order Amish and Mennonite Schools* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 207.



### **“Version B” Four Springs of Grace**

The version B Four Springs of Grace Geistlicher Irrgarten were likely modeled by printers at Ephrata around 1788 composing the type of earlier 1784 and 1785 editions differently, perhaps through the influence of Friedrich Krebs. Krebs is attributed to have illuminated several of the first version B Irrgarten, suggesting his potential influence on production at the Cloister.

Version B Geistlicher Irrgarten are characterized by their higher complexity in the number of twists and therefore an increased danger of becoming ‘lost’ within the labyrinth. This version is most easily differentiated from the version A Four Springs of Grace by viewing the labyrinth’s first few words: “*Als Adam in dem Paradies...*”, which will be broken by a twist at ‘*in*’, as exhibited in figure 2. Like the cataloged version A Four Springs broadsides, this portion of the catalog begins with anonymous or attributed editions before moving chronologically through the known printers of these Geistlicher Irrgarten

### 23.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Anonymous printer (possibly Jacob Baab and Döbler), c. 1820s, likely Reading

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** This anonymous edition includes a watermark belonging to Abraham Levan of Kutztown, Pennsylvania. Levan operated his papermill until about 1823. Kutztown's closeness to Reading, a burgeoning area of German-language printing in the early-nineteenth century, suggests that the broadsides were printed there. While Jacob Baab and Döbler were only in partnership between c. 1826 and 1829, their birth and baptismal certificates utilize similar border motifs, making it possible that this small firm printed the Geistlicher Irrgarten.

While the printers remain unknown, it is apparent that this edition likely copied from Johann Ritter and Co.'s Geistlicher Irrgarten printed in 1811. This anonymous example replicates the inclusion of 'Amen' and the mistake in biblical verse seen in the bottom-right Spring of Grace.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 23.1.1

Laid paper; ink

41 x 32 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, nn 85

**Folds:** Folded across horizontal and vertical axes into four sections

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing across the horizontal folds

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Writing on verso: "Presented by Adam S. Frankenfield / To Catharine Reichard in 1848." Below, in barely-legible pencil, is written: "[?] ... Whitehall township, Lehigh County ... [?]"

##### 23.1.2

Laid paper; ink

41 x 32 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, nn 86

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Writing on verso reveals that Franklin and Marshall acquired this broadside in 1988.

### 23.1.3

Laid paper; ink

33.5 x 41.5 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D32a

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Nearly pristine broadside, likely has had the same history and treatment patterns as 23.1.4 and 23.1.5, which entered Franklin and Marshall College's collection together.

### 23.1.4

Laid paper; ink

30.5 x 35 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D32b

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Nearly pristine broadside, likely has had the same history and treatment patterns as 23.1.3 and 23.1.5, which entered Franklin and Marshall College's collection together.

### 23.1.5

Laid paper; ink

32 x 39.5 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D32c

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Nearly pristine broadside, likely has had the same history and treatment patterns as 23.1.3 and 23.1.4, which entered Franklin and Marshall College's collection together.

### 23.1.6

(Original not viewed by author and not included in analysis)

Laid paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #540

**Folds:** Unknown

**Foxing:** Unknown

**Pinning/Framing:** Framed, but it is unknown whether the frame is original to the broadside.

**Flyspecking:** Unknown

**Other:** An image of this broadside is included within a catalog of the Earnest Archives and Library, but the original was not viewed during the author's visit, perhaps indicating that it is no longer within the Earnest Collection.

### 23.1.7

Laid paper; ink

33.1 x 28.9 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, 9516.F

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** Light flyspecking on edges

**Other:** n/a



## Geistlicher Irrgarten,

Mit vieler Dankbarkeit, dadurch höchlich angereichert werden: erlich, die vier Extreme des Paradieses und der schlechte Zustand des Menschen vor dem Fall. Taus, durch das verdorrene Eken werden angereichert. Die vielen und ständlichen Knechtschaft und Drangsal dieses Lebens. Aens, daß er aber an ständlich Dem au- Taus und in seine Tugend der Erde eilt. Die Seele aber soll ein Christ Gott täglich durch Buße, Glauben und Ghat anerkennen, bis sie auch zu Gott ihrer Uferung worden, dadurch die ganze Natur des Menschen vollkommen gelangen kann. Aens, Endlich wird angewiesen, wie der Mensch durch den Gaten zur Ehre gelangt und zu Soll gebracht wird, und durch seinen Heiligen Geist aus dem irdischen Geis als einem geistlichen Spiegel übergehet, kein Feind Jüden, daß er sein Feind nicht Fein und erkennen kann, und sich selbst anerkennen muß. Darauf er zu Gott führt, der ihm röhret, und durch sein heiliges Wort auf Christus verweist, und durch den rechten Glauben an Christus Tugend und Leben zu sich selbst gebracht wird, und also schließlich hysaus kommt, zur ewigen Seligkeit. GOTT, leste auch zum Vorein seines seligen Namens, und zum Guten seiner Gemeine.

[illegible]

Ich bin wie ein  
verirret und  
verloren Schaaf,  
suche d e i n e n

Knecht: dann  
ich vergesse dei-  
ner Gebote  
nicht. Ps. 119.

[illegible]

Wir giengen alle in  
der Irre wie Scha-  
fe, ein jeglicher sahe  
auf seinen Weg;

aber der HErr  
warf unser aller  
Sünde auf Ihn.  
Eſ. 63, 6. Ez. 34, 4.

Ich hab' diese Worte, fuhr ich mit Freuden fort: Und als ich hat vernommen, daß der Erlöser kommen, ein Engel es vermeldet, den Hirten auf dem Berge.

## **24.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen**

Anonymous printer, c. 1820, unknown location.

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** Little is known about this unattributed edition. It almost certainly either influenced or drew influence from the Gräter and Blumer edition printed in 1833 due to the split introduction panel and smaller-font biblical verse in the bottom-right Spring of Grace. Note that an image of this broadside was unavailable for reproduction within this catalog.

### **Surveyed Examples:**

#### **24.1.1**

Wove paper; ink

34.5 x 42.5 cm

The Ursinus College Collection, PAG 2005.039

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Backed onto modern paper as part of conservation

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



## **25.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen**

Anonymous printer, c. 1850, unknown location.

**Imprint:** n/a

**Edition Notes:** While this edition remains anonymous, the “Victorian” border is similar to editions printed by Rohrer and other anonymous version A Springs of Grace broadsides around the mid-nineteenth century in southeastern Pennsylvania.

### **Surveyed Examples:**

#### **25.1.1**

Wove paper; ink

34.5 x 42.5 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D117

**Folds:** Folds across the horizontal and vertical axes into four sections

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

#### **25.1.2**

Wove paper; ink

41 x 32 cm

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #334

**Folds:** Folded across the vertical and horizontal axes into four sections.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing and staining across the vertical fold.

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



25.1.1: Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

### 14.3.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Ephrata Cloister printers, Ephrata, Pennsylvania. 1788

**Imprint:** “*Ephrata, Im Jahr 1788*” [Ephrata, in the year 1788]

**Edition Notes:** This edition constitutes the first-known appearance of the version B Four Springs of Grace Geistlicher Irrgarten. The printers at Ephrata likely adapted this version from their 1784 and 1785 editions, though the specific reasons for this change remain unknown. It is possible that Friedrich Krebs played a part in altering the composition of Ephrata’s Geistlicher Irrgarten as he is the only known illuminator of several 1788 broadsides, perhaps having replaced Henrich Otto in coloring and selling Ephrata’s Geistlicher Irrgarten.

Ephrata’s 1788 version B broadsides went on to influence nearly all subsequent editions printed in the Mid-Atlantic states.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 14.3.1

Laid paper; ink

34.5 x 42.5 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D31

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:**

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on the verso: “Elizabeth Karch / Lebanon / 1826” Genealogical searches reveal that an Elizabeth Karch married in Lebanon in 1826, but there was also an eight-year old girl named Elizabeth Karch living in Lebanon in 1826.

See: Donald Shelley, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Allentown, PA: Schlechter’s, 1961), plate 131

##### 14.3.2

Laid paper; ink  
42 x 33 cm  
The Free Library of Philadelphia.

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Symmetrical staining around the edges suggests that the broadside was once framed.

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

#### 14.3.3

Laid paper; ink; watercolor  
41.4 x 33 cm  
The Winterthur Museum, 1957.1215

**Folds:** Folds across the horizontal and vertical axes, forming four sections

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing across the horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** Modern framing, no evidence of historical framing

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Watercolor illumination attributed to Friedrich Krebs, a well-known scrivener operating in association with the Ephrata Cloister in the late-nineteenth century.

#### 14.3.4

(Not examined by author)

Laid paper; ink  
Klaus Stopp Collection

**Folds:** Three horizontal and one vertical folds. Tearing present around folded portions

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

**See:** Klaus Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans* vol 2, 40.

**14.3.5**

Wove paper; ink

34.5 x 42.5 cm

PA State Museum (Ephrata)

**Folds:** Three vertical folds and one horizontal fold

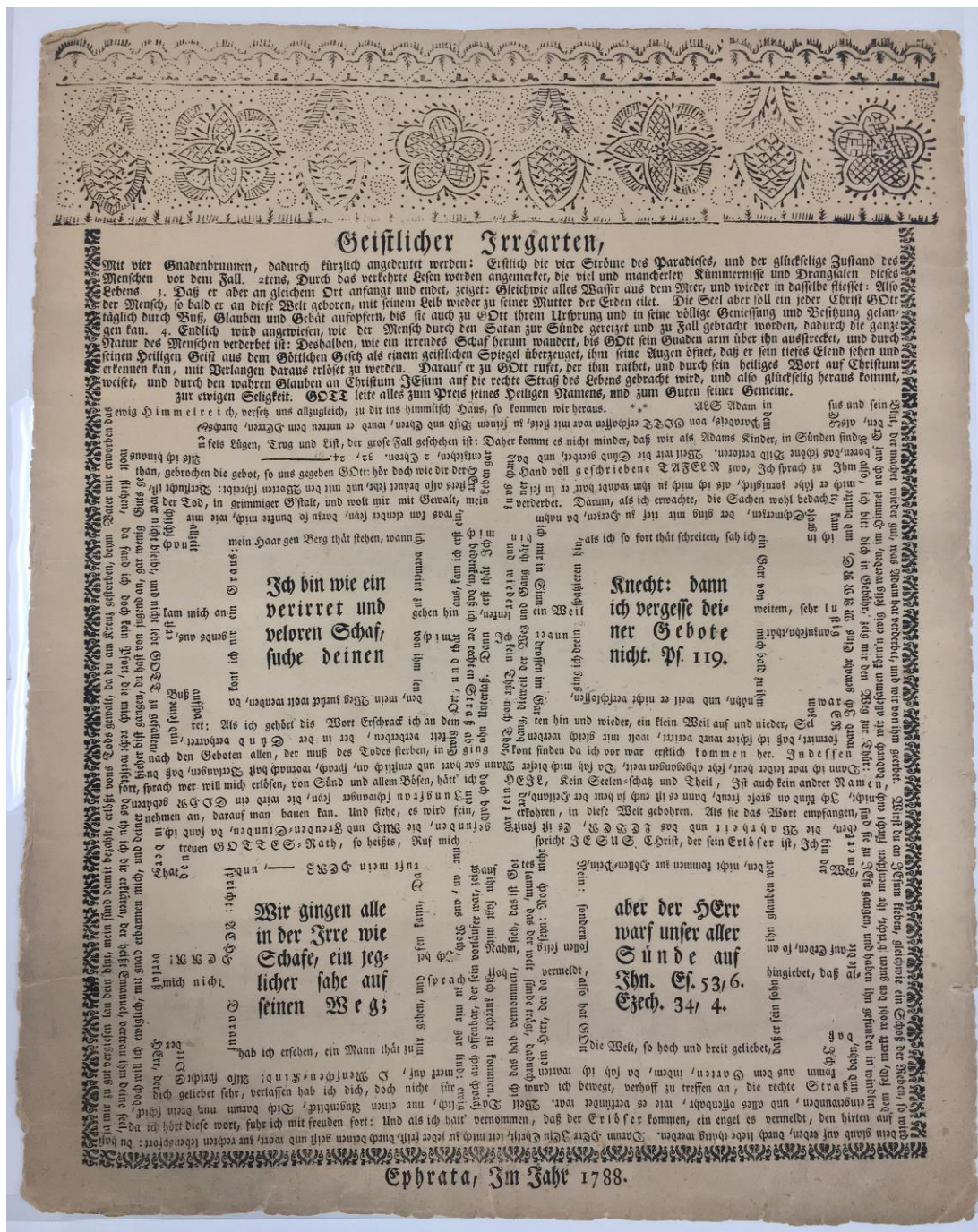
**Foxing:** Light foxing across the horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a





14.3.1: Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

## 26.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Ambrose Henkel, New Market, Virginia, 1808

**Imprint:** “*Neumarkt, (Virg.) Gedruckt bey Ambrosius Henkel, 1808*” [New Market, (Virg.) Printed by Ambrose Henkel, 1808]

**Edition Notes:** The Geistlicher Irrgarten printed by Ambrose Henkel in the Shenandoah Valley—the only identified Mid-Atlantic Irrgarten not printed in Pennsylvania—were modeled on Ephrata’s 1788 broadsides (cat. 14.3). This influence is seen in the asterisk-motifs at the beginning and end of the imagetext, the lack of ‘Amen’ at the end of the labyrinth that would be seen in early-nineteenth century Pennsylvania Irrgarten, and the virtually-identical Four Springs of Grace.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 26.1.1

Laid paper; ink

37.5 x 33.3 cm

The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 5550.2

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Modern frame but no evidence of historical framing

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on verso in German script: “Geistlicher Irrgarten”. Recto and verso also reveal bleeding ink from other Geistlicher Irrgarten, suggesting that this broadside was lain atop other broadsides either immediately after printing or during storage. The paper’s edges are not cut, further indicating that it was not prepared for sale.

#### 26.1.2

Laid paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold. Folds are torn in several places  
**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing or staining across the horizontal fold  
**Pinning/Framing:** n/a  
**Flyspecking:** n/a  
**Other:** Paper edges cut very close to the borders.

### 26.1.3

Laid paper; ink; watercolor  
38.1 x 33 cm  
Virginia Historical Society, 1997.71

**Folds:** Folded across the horizontal and vertical axes.  
**Foxing:** n/a  
**Pinning/Framing:** n/a  
**Flyspecking:** n/a  
**Other:** Noted at the bottom of the broadside that it was illuminated in 1810. The Virginia Historical Society notes in their record that the illuminator was Peter Bernhard (fl. 1794-1819) and that the object descended in the family of Jacob Rolar, a Lutheran settler of Rockingham County, Virginia.

**See:** Bonnie Lineweaver Paul, *Shenandoah Valley folk art fraktur (1774-1850)*, 29.

### 26.1.4

(Original not examined by author)  
Laid paper; ink  
Unknown Location (Showalter Collection?)

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold  
**Foxing:** n/a  
**Pinning/Framing:** n/a  
**Flyspecking:** n/a  
**Other:** n/a

**See:** Dolmetsch, *The German Press of the Shenandoah*, 73.





26.1.1: Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts

## 27.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Johann Ritter and Co., Reading, Pennsylvania, 1811

**Imprint:** “*Reading, gedruckt und zu haben bey Johann Ritter und Comp ... 1811.*” [Reading, printed by and available from Johann Ritter and Comp. ... 1811.]

**Edition Notes:** Johann Ritter was one of the most important German-language printers in the Mid-Atlantic, operating in Reading through the first half of the nineteenth century while operating the *Reading Eagle* newspaper. Ritter’s examples were likely adapted directly from Ephrata’s 1788 Geistlicher Irrgarten, as seen in the layout of the labyrinth and the specific text of the four springs. For more information about Ritter, see Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land*, 32.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 27.1.1

Laid paper; ink

37.7 x 31.7 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Geist 1868.F

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

#### 27.1.2

Laid paper; ink

37.5 x 33.3 cm

The Schwenkfelder Heritage Center

**Folds:** Much crumpling, but folds across the horizontal and vertical axes divide the broadside into four sections.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing evident across the horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** Square torn sections in the lower-left and lower-right corners suggest that the broadside was taped to a surface and removed.

**Flyspecking:** Moderate flyspecking on both recto and verso

**Other:** Broadside is mounted onto modern paper. This Irrgarten is also repaired in the upper-center portion where a large tear has been stitched back together.

### 27.1.3

Laid paper; ink

33 x 41 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D3

**Folds:** Folded across the horizontal and vertical axes into four sections

**Foxing:** Mirrored staining and foxing evident across the vertical fold

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

### 27.1.4

Laid paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #858

**Folds:** Folded across the horizontal and vertical axes into four sections.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** Light flyspecking

**Other:** n/a

### 27.1.5

Laid paper; ink

Historical Society of Berks County

**Folds:** Three vertical folds and one horizontal fold

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing evident across both horizontal and vertical folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Heavy use of tape to repair the vertical folds

#### **27.1.6**

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

Historical Society of Berks County

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Backed onto paper that appears to have been used for framing

**Flyspecking:** Heavy flyspecking on recto

**Other:** Illuminated blue, green, and red across borders. Appears to have been framed as the backing positions the broadside so that it is supported when upright.





## 28.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

George Maurer, Somerset, Pennsylvania, c. 1820

**Imprint:** “*Somerset—gedruckt bey G. Maurer.*” [Somerset—printed by G. Maurer.]

**Edition Notes:** This edition is one of the two runs of the Geistlicher Irrgarten printed by G. Maurer, a rare feat for regional printers in Pennsylvania. Maurer also printed a weekly newspaper, the *Somerset Gazette*, between about 1806-1807 and later edited the *Somerset Unabhängiger Republikaner* after 1848.<sup>205</sup> It is likely that Maurer copied directly from Ephrata’s 1788 edition as he does not replicate the typo seen in Ritter’s examples.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 28.1.1

Wove paper; ink

37.7 x 31.7 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, DI

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold

**Foxing:** Pest damage mirrored across the horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

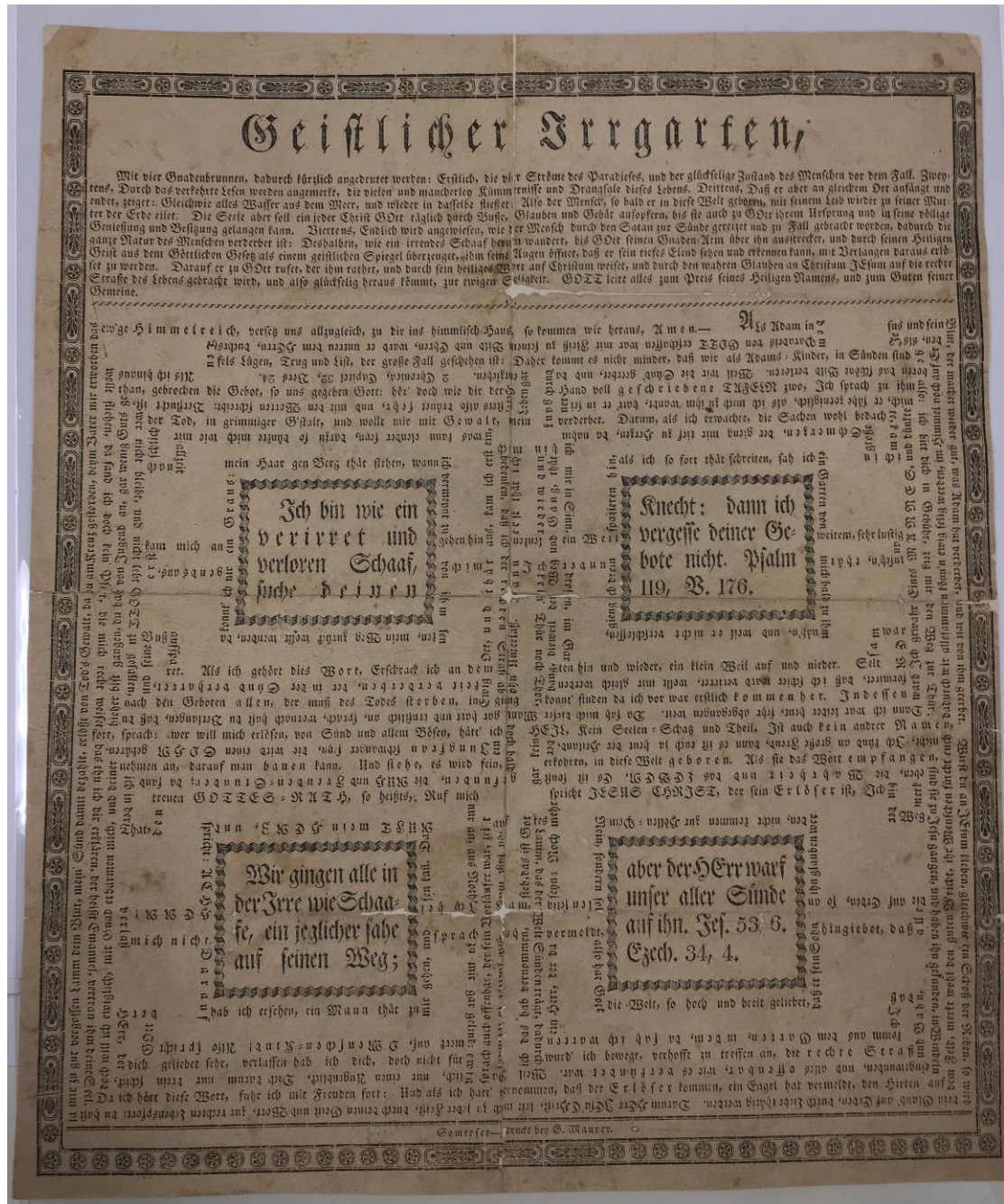
**Flyspecking:** Very light flyspecking on upper-center

**Other:** n/a

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<sup>205</sup> Arndt and Eck, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, vol. 1, 598.





28.1.1: Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

## 28.2 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

George Maurer, Somerset, Pennsylvania, c. 1828

**Imprint:** “*Somerset—gedruckt bey G. Maurer.*” [Somerset—printed by G. Maurer.]

**Edition Notes:** Maurer’s second edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten provides the exceedingly rare example of a printer (besides Ephrata and John Funk’s company) producing more than one example of the genre. It is unknown which edition Maurer printed first, but one can observe the differences in the position of the last line in the introduction panel, the nature of the border, and the title’s font.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 28.2.1

(Original not examined by author and not included in analysis)

Wove paper; ink

Unknown Location (Reproduction at the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library)

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold. Additional folding unknown

**Foxing:** No mirrored foxing evident on reproduction

**Pinning/Framing:** None evident on reproduction

**Flyspecking:** Flyspecking likely seen in the many black dots seen on the reproduction, but this remains undetermined.

**Other:** n/a



# Geistlicher Ergarten,

[illegible][illegible]

Ich bin wie ein  
verirrtes und ver-  
lorneſ Schaaf, ſu-  
che deinen Knecht;

denn ich vergesse  
deine Gebote nicht.  
Psaltn 119, Vers  
176.

ter. Als ich gehört dies Wort, Erschrack ich an dem  
 nach den Geheben allen, der muß der Todes sterben, in dem  
 sprach: Wer will mich erlösen, den Tod und allem Bösen, daß ich  
 nehmen an, darauf man bauen kann. Hat sich, es wird sein  
 treuen O T T E S K I N D, so heißt, Was mich

Wir gingen alle in  
der Irre wie Schaa-  
fe, ein jeglicher sahe  
auf seinen Weg:

aber der Herr warf  
unser aller Sünde  
auf ihn. Jes. 53, 6.  
Greck. 24. 4.

Die Welt, so hoch und breit geliebet,  
die dich geliebet sehr, verlassen hat ich dich, doch nicht ganz!  
Du, ich hab' diese Welt, sehr ich mit Freuden fort: Und alle hat  
ich nicht ganz, doch nicht ganz, doch nicht ganz!

## 29.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Gustav S. Peters, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, c. 1830

**Imprint:** “*Gedruckt bey G. S. Peters,—Harrisburg, Pa.*” [Printed by G. S. Peters, —Harrisburg, Pa.]

**Edition Notes:** Gustav Sigismund Peters (1793-1847) was one of the most prolific broadside printers in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, and he is perhaps best remembered as having introduced chromolithography to broadside printing. This edition was likely modeled on Ephrata’s 1788 *Geistlicher Irrgarten*, seen in the exclusion of ‘Amen’ at the end of the labyrinth (Johann Ritter likely introduced its inclusion). Additionally, the asterisk motifs at the beginning and end of the labyrinth are drawn directly from Ephrata’s broadsides. For more on Peters, see Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 204.

### Surveyed Examples:

#### 29.1.1

Wove paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #784

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and a single vertical fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Small punctures evident in all four corners.

**Flyspecking:** Moderate flyspecking across the broadside’s recto

**Other:** Punctures through repaired areas at the upper-right, suggesting that the broadside was only pinned after it had been repaired after earlier usage and wear.

#### 29.1.2

Wove paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #335

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Paper cut close to the broadside's border. Paper edges worn and exhibiting small tears along the fold.

### 29.1.3

(Original not examined by author)

Wove paper; ink

Unknown Location (Reproduction located in the papers of Pastor Frederick Weiser, the Winterthur Joseph Downs Collection. Original possibly located within the Library of Congress)

**Folds:** Single vertical fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Pest bites evident across broadside.

### 29.1.4

The Free Library of Philadelphia,

Wove paper; ink; watercolor

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Borders illuminated with a red watercolor while the title is colored in a blue watercolor.

### 29.1.5

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, DII

Wove paper; ink

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Largely pristine condition, excluding minor tears and other wear. Blue matted materials located on upper-right of recto, possibly indicating that it was backed for framing.



# Geistlicher Irrgarten,

Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen, dadurch kürzlich angedeutet wird: Erstlich die vier Ströme des Paradieses, und der glückselige Zustand des Menschen vor dem Fall. Zweitens.—Durch das verkehrte Leben wird angemerkt, die vielen und mancherley klammernde und Drangsale dieses Lebens. Drittens.—Daß er aber an gleichem Orte anfängt und endet, zeigt: Gleichwie alles Wasser aus dem Meer und wieder in dasselbe fließt, also der Mensch, so bald er an diese Welt geboren, mit seinem Leben wieder zu seiner Mutter, der Erde, eilet; die Seele aber soll ein jeder Christ Gott täglich durch Buße, Glauben und Gebet aufsuchen, bis sie auch zu Gott, ihrem Ursprung, und in seine völlige Genießung und Besingung gelangen kann. Viertens.—Endlich wird angedeutet, wie der Mensch durch den Satan zur Sünde gereizt und zu Fall gebracht werden, wodurch die ganze Natur des Menschen verderben ist; deshalb er wie ein irrendes Schaf herumwandert, bis Gott seinen Gnaden-Strahl über ihn ausstreckt, und durch seinen heiligen Geist aus dem göttlichen Geiste als einem geistlichen Siegel überzeugt, ihm seine Augen öffnet, daß er sein tiefes Elend sehen und erkennen kann, um mit Verlangen daraus erlöst zu werden. Darauf er Gott anruft, der ihm rathet und durch sein heiliges Wort auf Christum weist, und durch den wahren Glauben an Christum Jesum auf die rechte Straße des Lebens gebracht wird, und also glückselig heraufkommt zur ewigen Seligkeit. Gott leide alles zum Preis seines heiligen Namens, und zum Guten seiner Gemeine.

Wie man sich in diesem Irrgarten befindet, so kommt man heraus. Als Adam in

dem Paradiese, so war er wie ein König, der über alle Thiere herrschte, und die Erde war sein Reich. Er hatte einen Garten, in dem er sich aufhielt, und ein Weib, das er liebte. Aber er wurde von der Sünde gereizt, und fiel in den Irrgarten. Er wanderte herum, bis er endlich gefunden wurde, und wieder zum Paradiese zurückgeführt wurde.

Der Herr ist unser Gott, und wir sind sein Volk. Er hat uns von der Sünde erlöst, und wir sind ihm dankbar. Er hat uns sein Wort gegeben, und wir sind es gehalten. Er hat uns seine Gnade geschenkt, und wir sind sie angenommen.

**Ich bin wie ein verirrter und verlorenes Schaf, suche deinen Knecht: dannich vergesse deiner Gebote nicht. Psalter 119.**

Der Herr ist unser Gott, und wir sind sein Volk. Er hat uns von der Sünde erlöst, und wir sind ihm dankbar. Er hat uns sein Wort gegeben, und wir sind es gehalten. Er hat uns seine Gnade geschenkt, und wir sind sie angenommen.

**Wir gingen alle in der Irre wie Schafe, ein jeglicher sahe auf seinen Weg; aber der Herr warf unser aller Sünde auf Ihn. Es. 53, 6. Ezechiel 34, v. 4.**

Der Herr ist unser Gott, und wir sind sein Volk. Er hat uns von der Sünde erlöst, und wir sind ihm dankbar. Er hat uns sein Wort gegeben, und wir sind es gehalten. Er hat uns seine Gnade geschenkt, und wir sind sie angenommen.

Gebruckt bey G. S. Peters, —Hamburg, Pa.

29.1.5: Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

### 30.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Enos Benner, Sumneytown, Pennsylvania, 1832

**Imprint:** “*Gedruckt und zu haben beym Dutzend und Einzelnen, bey E. Benner, Sumnytaun, Pa.*” [Printed by and available in the dozen or singly by E. Benner, Sumneytown, PA.]

**Edition Notes:** Enos Benner’s edition does not appear to have been based on any known Geistlicher Irrgarten printed in southeastern Pennsylvania, though it is possible that he used Ritter’s edition as a basic model and took heavy liberties in composing the type.

Enos Benner (1799 to 1860) operated his printshop out of Sumneytown and later Pennsburg, Pennsylvania. Advertisements for his Geistlicher Irrgarten appear in his newspaper, *Der Bauernfreund*, in 1832 and continue sporadically for several additional years. Benner’s advertisement notes that the Geistlicher Irrgarten are sold singly or by the dozen for 6 ¼ cents per sheet. See Mark Loudon, *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language*, 159-160.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 30.1.1

Wove paper; ink  
Private Collection (Minardi)

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** This broadside’s pristine condition, combined with the apparent difficulty that Benner encountered while selling his broadsides, suggest that this example was not sold during the printer’s lifetime.

##### 30.1.2

Wove paper; ink  
The Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania;  
2014.393.001

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Modern framing but no evidence of historical frame

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Like 30.1.1, this broadside's pristine condition suggests that it likely did not sell during Benner's lifetime.

### 30.1.3

Wove paper; ink

The Free Library of Philadelphia, U0363-PP

**Folds:** Folding across the vertical and horizontal axes divide the broadside into four sections

**Foxing:** Light foxing evident across the horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Far more heavily worn than the previous examples of Benner's Geistlicher Irrgarten.

### 30.1.4

Wove paper; ink; watercolor

The Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and a single vertical fold

**Foxing:** Light foxing across the central horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Illuminated in orange, yellow, blue, pink, and green watercolors. Presence of the pigment within folds suggests that the broadside was likely illuminated before folding.

### 30.1.5

Wove paper; ink

35.3 x 28.7 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Geist 9515.7



**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Pristine condition consistent with 30.1.1 and 30.1.2. Heavy bleeding on verso suggests that it was positioned in a pile with other Geistlicher Irrgarten over extended periods.

### 30.1.6

Wove paper; ink

Unknown Location (Yoder notes that it is in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia, but searches have not been fruitful)

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** Staining and foxing but none mirrored

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Largely pristine condition consistent with previous examples. Heavy ink bleeding from other Geistlicher Irrgarten are also evident. See previous examples.

**See:** Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide*, 183.

### 30.1.7

Wove paper; ink

31 x 39.5 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D115

**Folds:** Folds across the horizontal and vertical axes divide the broadside into four sections

**Foxing:** Heavy mirrored foxing across both folds

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

### 30.1.8

(Not examined by the author)

Wove paper; ink

30.5 x 41.3 cm

Unknown Location (sold on eBay, September 07, 2013)

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Although this broadside has not been located, its auction entry and detailed photographs show that it is in pristine condition, similar to several other Benner Irrgarten. Slight ink bleeding evident above top border.

### 30.1.9

Wove paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #1517

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Evidence of ink bleeding from another Geistlicher Irrgarten, consistent with several examples above. The single fold is not worn, suggesting that it is a relatively modern alteration.

### 30.1.10

(Original not examined by author and not included in analysis)

Wove paper; ink

The Mennonite Library and Archives of Eastern Pennsylvania

**Folds:** One vertical fold, possibly more horizontal folding

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a  
**Other:** n/a



### 31.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

Augustus Gräter and Alexander Blumer, Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1832-1833

**Imprint:** “*Gedruckt und zu haben bei Gräter und Blumer, Allentaun, Penns.*”

[Printed by and available from Gräter and Blumer, Allentown, Penns]

**Edition Notes:** These printers were only in partnership between 1832 and 1833. Further evidence discussed within chapter one suggests that this Geistlicher Irrgarten edition was printed in 1833, though their newspaper does not mention its creation. For more information about this firm, see Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans*, vol. 2, 170-173.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 31.1.1

Laid paper; ink

36 x 31 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, 9515.F

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Largely pristine condition. Like many of the Benner and Henkel broadsides, this Geistlicher Irrgarten has ink bleeding from other Geistlicher Irrgarten. This likely resulted either from many broadsides being stacked after printing or from a pile remaining in storage for extended periods.

##### 31.1.2

Laid paper; ink

The Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library

**Folds:** Moderate degree of crumpling. Single vertical fold divides the broadside into two sections

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

### 31.1.3

Laid paper; ink

33.5 x 41.5 cm.

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D47

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing across both horizontal and vertical folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** Moderate flyspecking on verso

**Other:** n/a

### 31.1.4

Laid paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold. Heavy tearing along the folds.

**Foxing:** Light mirrored stains across the vertical fold

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** Light flyspecking on the edges

**Other:** n/a

### 31.1.5

Laid paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #1564

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold. Heavy tearing along the folds and staining resulting from tape repairs.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing across the vertical and horizontal folds.

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

### 31.1.6

Laid paper; ink

The Ursinus College Collection, PAG 392

**Folds:** Horizontal and vertical folds divide the broadside into four sections. Tearing along folds

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing across the horizontal fold

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

### 31.1.7

Laid paper; ink

The Ursinus College Collection, PAG 410

**Folds:** Three horizontal and one vertical fold.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a





### 32.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

H. W. Peterson, Berlin, Ontario, 1838

**Imprint:** “*Gedruckt und zu haben bey H. W. Peterson und Co. in Berlin, Ober Canada. —1838.*” [Printed by and available from H. W. Peterson and Co. in Berlin, Over Canada. —1838.]

**Edition Notes:** This edition represents the first identified Geistlicher Irrgarten printed in Canada. Peterson likely modeled this broadside on those of Enos Benner, as the layout of the imagetext and location of the imprint are identical. Despite the effort that Peterson must have put into copying Benner’s Irrgarten, one must wonder how he overlooked having misspelled “Irrgarten” in the title.

Peterson also published Canada’s first German-language newspaper, the *Canada Museum and Allgemeine Zeitung*, beginning in 1835. Peterson almost certainly marketed his run of Geistlicher Irrgarten to Canada’s burgeoning Mennonite population.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 32.1.1

Wove paper; ink  
The Joseph P. Schneider Haus Museum, Kitchener, Ontario;  
1996.018.001.

**Folds:** Single horizontal fold. Fold heavily torn

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Encased within a modern frame, no evidence of historic framing

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

##### 32.1.2

(Original not viewed by author)

Wove paper; ink

The Muddy Creek Library (reproduction in the Earnest Archives and Library)

**Folds:** Vertical and horizontal folds divide broadside into four sections. These folds are evident in the reproduction viewed by the author.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Square nail-mark evident in upper-right portion of the broadside

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a



# Geistlicher Irgarten,

Wie wir Gnadenbrunnen, dadurch häufig angedeutet werden: Erstlich, die vierte Strömung des Paradieses, und der glückselige Zustand des Menschen vor dem Fall, denn, durch das verheißene Essen, angemessen, die vielen und mannichfachen Kummerheiten und Drangsale dieses Lebens. Denn, daß es aber an gleichem Ort anfängt und endet, zeigt: Gleichwie alles Wasser aus dem Meer, und wieder in dasselbe fließet: Also der Mensch, sobald er in diese Welt geboren, mit seinem Leib wie der zu seiner Mutter der Erde erst. Die Erde aber soll ein jeder Christ Gott täglich durch Buße, Glauben und Gehet aufopfern, bis er auch zum Gott der Eltern in die Herrlichkeit und in seine völlige Genießung und Befriedigung gelangen kann. Atens, Erstlich wird angemessen, wie der Mensch durch den Saten zur Sünde gereizt und zum Gott gebracht worden, dadurch die ganze Natur des Menschen verderbet ist: deshalben, wie ein irrendes Schaf herum wandert, bis es Gott seinen Glauben an Ihn wieder aufstreckt, und durch seinen Heiligen Geist aus dem göttlichen Gesetz als einem geistlichen Spiegel überzeuge, ihm seine Augen öffnet, daß er sein tiefes Leid sehen und erkennen kann, mit Verlangen daraus erloset zu werden. Darauf er zu Gott ruft, der ihn rathet, und durch seine Heiligen Worte auf Christum weist, und durch den wahren Glauben an Christum Jesum auf die rechte Strömung des Lebens gebracht wird, und also glückselig heraus kommt, zur ewigen Seligkeit. — Gott wird alle zum Preis seines Heiligen Namens, und zum Guten seiner Gemeinde.

Gedruckt und zu haben bey H. W. Peterson und Co. in Berlin, Ober Canada.—1838

[illegible]

### 32.1.1: Courtesy of the Joseph Schneider Haus Museum

### 33.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit vier Gnadenbrunnen

John Dreisbach, Kreidersville or Bath, Pennsylvania, c. 1850

**Imprint:** “*Gedruckt und zu haben bey H. W. Peterson und Co. in Berlin, Ober Canada. —1838.*” [Printed by and available from H. W. Peterson and Co. in Berlin, Over Canada. —1838.]

**Edition Notes:** Dreisbach’s edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten represents the last-known printing of the version B Four Springs of Grace broadsides in North America. His edition was likely copied from the anonymous c. 1820s Reading edition due to their similarities in composition and the layout of the four springs.

While Dreisbach himself was not known to have printed a weekly newspaper, he inherited the type and presses of Samuel Siegfried, who published a newspaper in Bath around 1838-1840 that has now been lost. Having acquired Siegfried’s type, Dreisbach would have been well-situated to print his edition of the Geistlicher Irrgarten.<sup>206</sup>

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 33.1.1

Wove paper; ink

36 x 31 cm

The Free Library of Philadelphia

**Folds:** Three horizontal folds and one vertical fold.

**Foxing:** Mirroring especially evident in the sections across from the vertical fold.

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Heavy staining resulting from the use of tape to repair the vertical fold

##### 33.1.2

---

<sup>206</sup> Arndt and Eck, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, vol. 1, 509.

Wove paper; ink; watercolor

The Earnest Archives and Library, BS #1522

**Folds:** n/a

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Illuminated around the broadside border and the Four Springs of Grace borders in green and purple watercolors.



Geistlicher Irrgarten,  
Mit vier Gnaden-Brunnen,

Dadurch täglich an demte wachen: eillich, die vier Stämme des Paradieses, und  
 den glückseligen Zustand des Menschen: eillich, die vier Stämme des Paradieses, und  
 den Menschen angenehmer, die vielen und kleinen Kummer und Dingen  
 des Lebens. Atem, daß er aber an gleichem Kummer und Dingen  
 Mensch, so bald er aus dem Meer, und wieder anfangt zu enden, sei:  
 Erde eilet. Die Seele aber, mit seinem Leib wieder in die Welt: Also der  
 Gewichte alles das, was er geboren, mit seinem Leib wieder in die Welt:  
 und Gebot aufzupreien, die sie aus der Welt. Es täglich durch Bus, die  
 Genießung und Befriedigung gelangen. Atem, eillich wieder in die Welt:  
 Mensch durch den Satan zur Sünde geartet und zu Fall gebracht worden, dadurch

die ganze Natur des Menschen verbessert ist: deshalb, wie ein wanderndes Schaafe herum reizet, so der GOTT sein Gnaden-Netz über ihn ausstreckt, und durch diesen wandernden Geist aus dem göttlichen Geiste als einem göttlichen Spiegel überzeuge, ihm seine Augen öffnet, daß er sein tiefes Elend sehen und erkennen kann, sein Verlangen danach erlöset zu werden. Darauf er zu Gott ruft, der ihn rettet und durch sein heiliges Wort auf Christum weist, und durch den wahren Glauben an Jesum aus der rechten Strafe des Lebens befreit wird, und also glücklich heraus kommt, zur ewigen Seligkeit.

ODD leite alles zum Preis seines Heiligen Namens, und zum Guten seiner Gemeinde.

ewig Himmereich, verſet uns allgleich, zu dir ins Himmiſch Haus, ſo kommen wir heraus, A m e n. —

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

Als Adam in d

[illegible]

Blut der macht wieder gut, ne  
 12. Jesu von parrich in  
 13. also: ich bitte dich  
 14. um Abwendung der  
 15. Strafe, da mich  
 16. nicht

Ich bin wie ein  
verirret und  
verloren Schaaf,  
suche deinen

Knecht: dann  
ich vergesse dei-  
ner Gebote  
nicht. Psalm 119.

Wir giengen alle in  
der Irre wie Scha-  
fe, ein jeglicher sahe  
auf seinen Weg;

aber der Herr  
warf unser aller  
Sünde auf Ihn.  
E s. 63, 6. E 3 e d 34, 4.

5. *U*nd ich geliebet sehr, verlassen hab ich dich, doch nicht  
 6. *D*och ich hörst dieses Wort, fuhr ich mit Freuden fort: Und a-  
 7. *I*ch hab dich geliebet sehr, verlassen hab ich dich, doch nicht

'Ino jaei  
 ch t für  
 u 'p i l  
 lē ich hatt' vernon  
 aq 'y i a g x e q e l nē q

Ich werde, verhofft zu treffen an, die rechte  
 rath, daß der Erlöser kommen, ein Engel es verkündet, d

den Hirten auf dem Geld, meist in  
den Straßen und auf den Straßen



## ***Winding Way* Broadsides**

The Winding Way broadsides printed by Joseph Bauman of Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1819 and 1820 constitute an unusual form of imagetext. While featuring the same premise as the Four Springs of Grace—forcing the user to engage physically with the broadside to understand its teachings—the Winding Way broadsides utilize a more “image-like” imagetext as opposed to the primarily textual and less aesthetically-oriented Four Springs broadsides. As discussed within chapter two, however, evidence suggests that these broadsides maintained a strong connection with the books that they were often sold in—*Mystische Theologie*. Further discussion of these broadsides and their similarities with the contemporaneous and more popular “Broad and Narrow Way” prints can be seen in the introduction to this thesis and figure 3.

### **34.1 Ein kleiner Abriß von denen Irr=und Abwegen**

Joseph Bauman, Ephrata, Pennsylvania, 1819

**Imprint:** “*Diese Figur wird auch bey dem Bogen verkauft / in der Baumans Druckerey, in Ephrata, / Lancaster County, Pensylv.*“ [This figure is also sold by the single sheet in Bauman’s Printshop, in Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pensylv.]

**Edition Notes:** This first edition of the Winding Way broadsides is virtually identical to Bauman’s second edition, though it does not include the later edition’s additional introductory panel in the upper-left portion.

#### **Surveyed Examples:**

##### **34.1.1**

Wove paper; ink

The Winterthur Library, Joseph Downs Collection, Col. 742

**Folds:** Five vertical folds and one horizontal fold

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing evident across the horizontal fold and several vertical folds

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Far right of broadside torn.

### 34.1.2

(Original not viewed by author)

Wove paper; ink

33 x 38.7 cm

Private Collection

**Folds:** Three vertical folds and two horizontal folds

**Foxing:** Heavy foxing evident across horizontal and vertical folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

**See:** Russell and Corinne Earnest, *Flying Leaves and One-Sheets*, 280.

### 34.1.3

Wove paper; ink

30.6 x 36.4 cm.

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Sang. Log 9283F

**Folds:** Four vertical folds and two horizontal folds

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing across several horizontal folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Written on the front in ink: "Printed in Ephrata" and "Printed in Ephrata / Rare H.S. Bauman."

### 34.1.4

Laid paper; ink

41 x 32 cm

The Franklin and Marshall College Library, M87

**Folds:** Folded vertically four times and horizontally twice.

**Foxing:** Light mirrored foxing along vertical folds

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Noted in Franklin and Marshall's records as having been pulled from an edition of Ezekiel Sangmeister's *Mystische Theologie*, reprinted by Joseph Bauman.

#### 34.1.5

Wove paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, B #240

**Folds:** Likely originally folded horizontally once and vertically thrice, though this is difficult to determine as most of the broadside is missing.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** One of the more extraordinary broadsides included within this survey. An example of Bauman's 1819 Winding Way broadsides bound as the endpapers of an 1848 religious text. Bound into this book with 34.1.6.

#### 34.1.6

Wove paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library, B#240

**Folds:** Likely originally folded horizontally once and vertically thrice, though this is difficult to determine as most of the broadside is missing.

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Second of two Winding Way broadsides sewn into an 1848 religious text as the endpapers. Heavy staining throughout remaining portions of the broadside. Bound into this book with 34.1.5.



34.1.4: Courtesy of the MS 31 Broadside of the German-American Imprint Collection, Franklin & Marshall College.

### 34.2 Ein kleiner Abriß von denen Irr=und Abwegen

Joseph Bauman, Ephrata, Pennsylvania, 1820

**Imprint:** “*Diese Figur wird auch beym Bogen verkauft / ins Baumans Druckerey, in Ephrata, / Lancaster Caunty, Pensylv.*“ [This figure is also sold by the single sheet in Bauman’s Printshop, in Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pensylv.]

“*Ephrata, gedruckt bey / Joseph Bauman, 1820.*“ [Ephrata, printed by Joseph Bauman, 1820.]

**Edition Notes:** This second edition printed by Joseph Bauman is nearly identical to the first edition, excluding the addition of an introductory panel on the broadside’s left portion. Includes the same imprint on the right side that is included in the 1819 edition, but there is a second imprint at the end of the newly-added introduction section.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 34.2.1

Wove paper; ink  
The Free Library of Philadelphia

**Folds:** Three vertical folds and one horizontal fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Tape present in upper sections.

**Flyspecking:** Light flyspecking

**Other:** n/a

##### 34.2.2

Wove paper; ink  
33 x 39.4 cm  
The Franklin and Marshall College Library, D100

**Folds:** Three horizontal and three vertical folds

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Puncture mark for nail in upper-center

**Flyspecking:** Heavy flyspecking across recto and verso

**Other:** n/a

### 34.2.3

Wove paper; ink

The Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library

**Folds:** Some crumpling but no deliberate folding

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** Mounted onto a likely-original (or at least with a long history of association) pasteboard.

**Flyspecking:** Heavy flyspecking across recto and verso

**Other:** Written on back in pencil: "Donated August 10, 1948 / by Mrs. Edna Coz (nee Hire) / of 613 Wagner St Fort Wayne, / Indiana / This broadside was preserved by Miss Bessie Weiser / R06 Fort Wayne Indiana." This provenance might suggest Anabaptist ownership as many Mennonite families traveled to Indiana in the mid-nineteenth century. This broadside was almost certainly displayed and engaged with as an aesthetic object throughout its life. It was evidently not sold within Bauman's book.

### 34.2.4

Wove paper; ink

The Earnest Archives and Library

**Folds:** Single vertical fold

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

### 34.2.5

Wove paper; ink

33 x 40 cm

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Sang Log 4451.D.2

**Folds:** Four horizontal folds and two vertical folds.

**Foxing:** Mirrored foxing evident across horizontal folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Noted in the records of the Library Company as having originally been inserted into a copy of Sangmeister's *Mystische Theologie*.





## **Manuscript Geistlicher Irrgarten**

The definition for Geistlicher Irrgarten presented at the beginning of this study described them as printed objects fusing image and text to provide the reader with edification. Thus, the following manuscript versions of printed Geistlicher Irrgarten do not fall within this definition and, like the European examples, they are not included within this study's formal analysis. Regardless, I include them within this final portion of the catalog to provide a reference for collectors and scholars. As I have not focused on identifying manuscript copies of the Geistlicher Irrgarten, this list is not intended to be comprehensive and must serve as a jumping-off point for future studies.

### **35.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen**

Anonymous scrivener, possibly Philadelphia, c. 1800

**Edition Notes:** While some elements of this manuscript Irrgarten such as the layout of the Four Springs, the border for the Springs, and the inclusion of "Kirche" at the end of the introduction suggest that this anonymous scrivener copied Henrich Miller's 1762 edition, other inclusions such as the printer's fist suggest that the scrivener has copied an unidentified Geistlicher Irrgarten.

The watermark—a crown in circle—has not yet been attributed to a papermill. Note that this manuscript's image was unavailable for reproduction.

#### **Surveyed Examples:**

##### **35.1.1**

Laid paper; ink; watercolor

41 x 32 cm

The Free Library of Philadelphia, frk00158

**Folds:** Three horizontal and single vertical folds

**Foxing:** Heavy mirrored staining across folded sections

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** n/a

### 36.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen

Hanna Yeakel Schultz, Hereford, Pennsylvania, 1833

**Manuscript ‘Imprint’:** “*Gedruckt und zu haben bei Gräter und Blumer, Allentaun, Penns. & Vortgsetzt von Hanna Y. E. Schultz. Herefort Township, Berks Caunty. 1833.*” [Printed at and available from Gräter and Blumer, Allentown Penns. & Laid out by Hanna Ye Schultz, Hereford Township, Berks County. 1833.”]

**Edition Notes:** Hanna Yeakel Schultz, likely a thirteen-year old girl living in Hereford at the time, copied out a manuscript version of a c. 1833 Gräter and Blumer Geistlicher Irrgarten printed in Allentown (cat. no. 31.1). This is evidenced by her having diligently copied the printers’ imprint as well.

It remains unknown how and why Hanna copied a version B broadside into version A manuscript form. It is possible that Hanna managed to ‘recompose’ the wording and twists herself, or that she was working from an unknown edition printed by Gräter and Blumer that has not survived.

#### Surveyed Examples:

##### 36.1.1

Wove paper; ink

The Schwenkfelder Heritage Center and Library

**Folds:** Some crumpling but no deliberate folding

**Foxing:** n/a

**Pinning/Framing:** n/a

**Flyspecking:** n/a

**Other:** Staining and light wear along the edges.





### **37.1 Geistlicher Irrgarten, Mit Vier Gnadenbrunnen**

S. Martha (Schwester Martha?), Snow Hill, Pennsylvania, 1850

**Manuscript ‘Imprint’:** “*Schneeberg den 4ten Julius 1850 S. Martha, Franklin County*“ [Snow Hill the 4th of July 1850 S. Martha, Franklin County]

**Edition Notes:** This manuscript, created by one of the Sisters of the Snow Hill Cloister, a branch of the Ephrata Cloister surviving into the nineteenth century, was copied from Ephrata’s 1788 version B Geistlicher Irrgarten.

#### **Surveyed Examples:**

##### **37.1.1**

(Original not viewed by author)

Wove paper; ink; possibly watercolors

Unknown Location (sold in August 11, 1997 Horst Auctioneers auction at Ephrata. Lot 367.)

**Folds:** Unknown from image

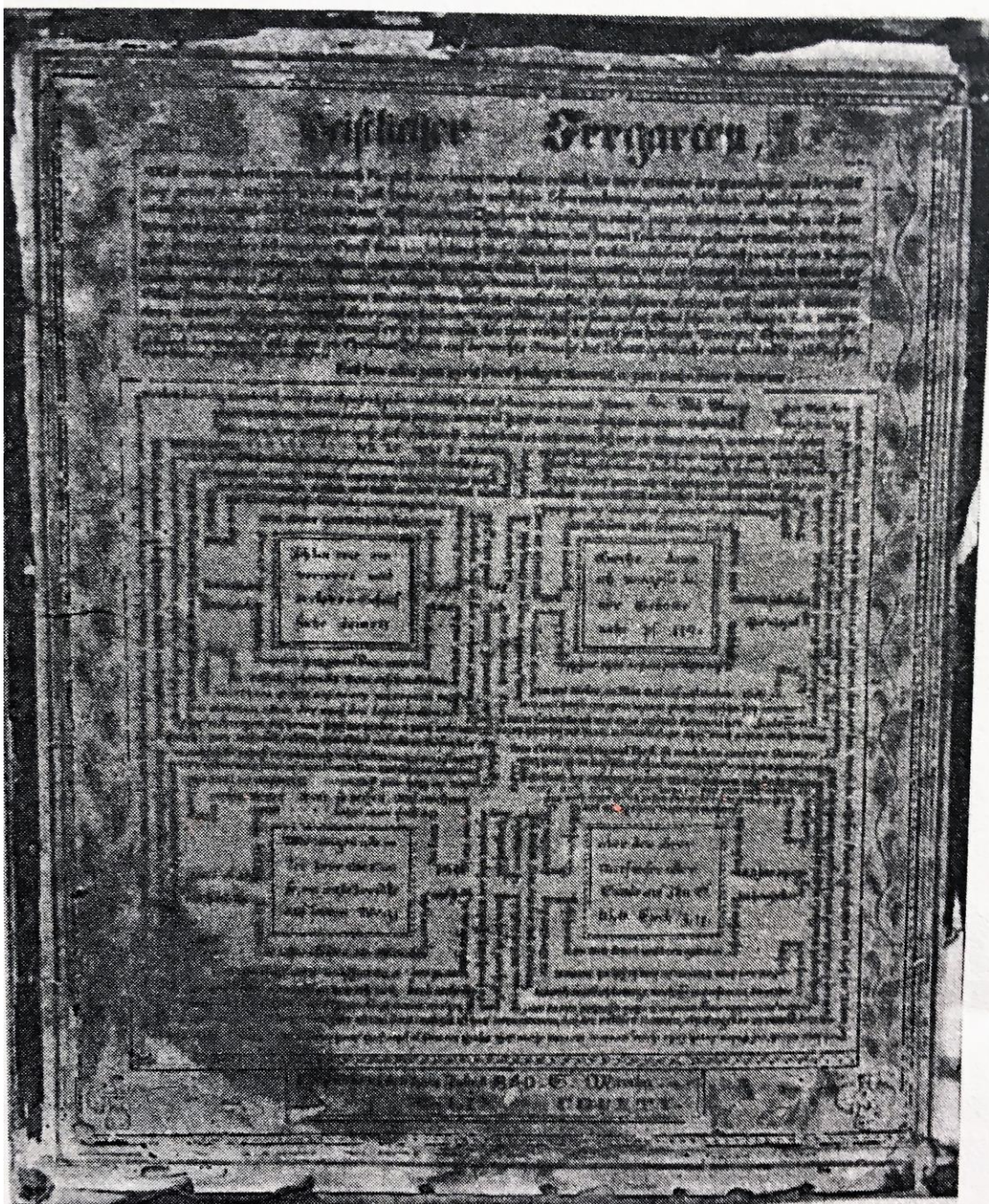
**Foxing:** Heavy staining

**Pinning/Framing:** Mounted onto a maple board with a brown fabric tape border tacked into place

**Flyspecking:** Likely, but not apparent in image

**Other:** Heavy staining and wear



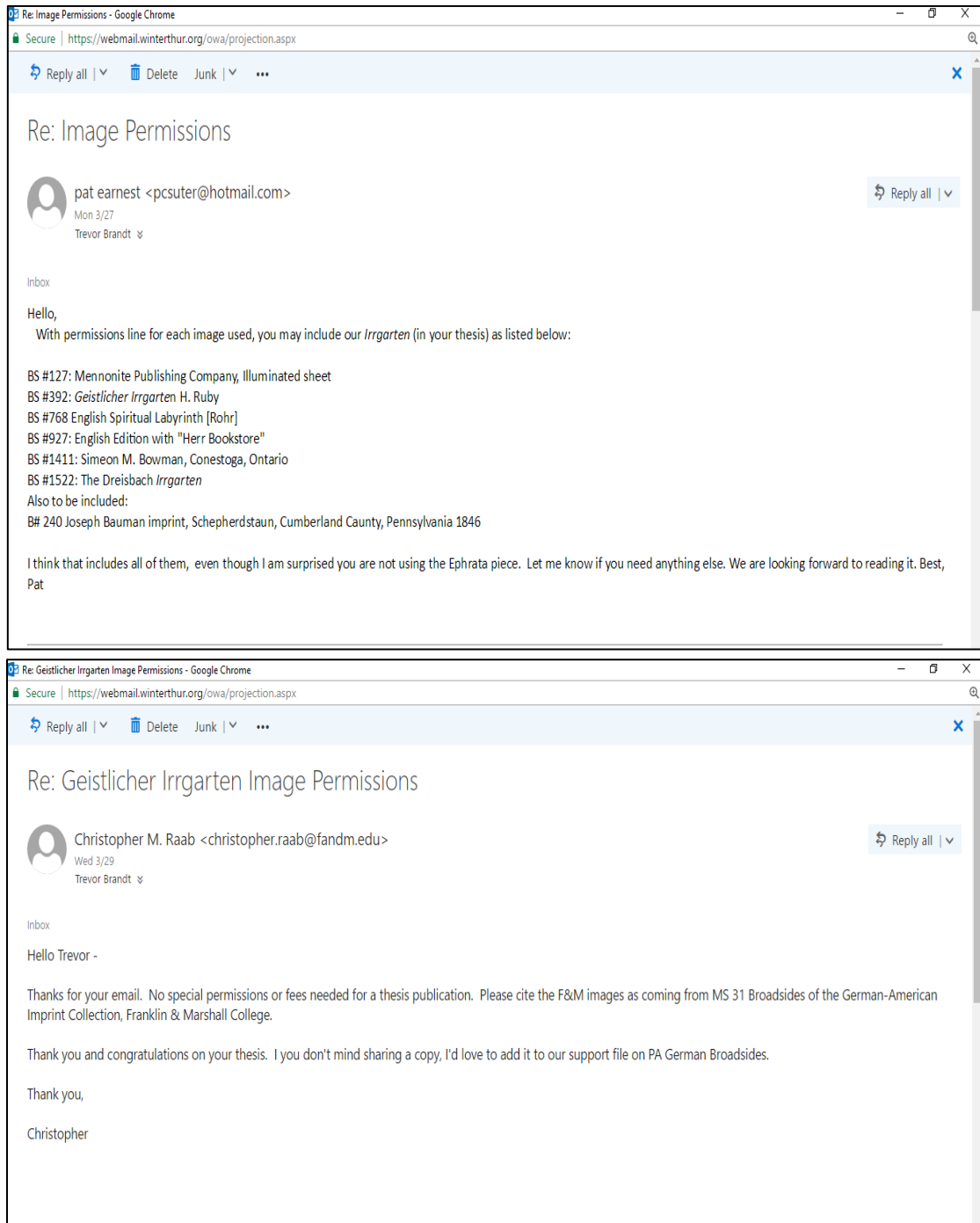


37.1.1: Reproduction courtesy of the Aylmer Heritage Historical Library



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Forrest Moyer

Archivist

Mennonite Heritage Center

565 Yoder Road

Harleysville, PA 19438-1020

Ph: 215.256.3020 ext 118

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Sent: Tuesday, February 21, 2017 10:37 PM

To: Forrest Moyer

Subject: Image Order Request

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| *Name  | Trevor Brandt  |
| Address  | 1306 N. Broom St.  |
| Address 2  | Apt 5  |
| City   | Wilmington   |
| State  | DE   |
| Zip/Postal Code  | 19806  |
| Country  | United States  |
| *Phone   | <a href="tel:2153706763">2153706763</a>  |
| Alternate Phone  | <a href="tel:2153706763">2153706763</a>  |
| *Email Address   | <a href="mailto:trevorb5134@gmail.com">trevorb5134@gmail.com</a>               |
| Format Required (Black&White/Color, Print/Digital)   | Color, Digital   |
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Hello Trevor,

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Best of luck with your thesis,

...



Forrest Moyer

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Trevor Brandt <[trevorb5134@gmail.com](mailto:trevorb5134@gmail.com)>

to Forrest

Feb 22



Thanks, Forrest, I appreciate you sending along the image.

Best,

Trevor

...



Forrest Moyer <moyerf@mhep.org>

to me

Feb 22




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 **Trevor Brandt** <trevorb5134@gmail.com> Apr 12 (5 days ago) ☆ ↶ ▾  
to dackermann


Hi Daniel-

This is Trevor Brandt, one of the MA students at the Winterthur Museum. You probably won't remember, but over the summer you sent me a wonderfully high-resolution image of a Henkel broadside in your collection- accession number 5550.2.

I was hoping that you could grant written permission to include that image in my thesis. I'd be happy to include a credit line to MESDA and pay the requested fees.

Thank you,  
Trevor

...

 **Daniel Ackermann** <dackermann@oldsalem.org> Apr 14 (3 days ago) ☆ ↶ ▾  
to Gary, me

Dear Trevor,

You have permission! No fees. But if you would send us a copy of your finished dissertation (PDF is fine, we can file it or bind it!) that would be great!

Gary Albert, our director of publications, who I have cc'd, can follow-up with any paperwork and the proper credit line.

Best of luck and happy Easter,  
Daniel

From: Trevor Brandt <trevorb5134@gmail.com>  
Date: Wednesday, April 12, 2017 at 3:34 PM

## RE: Image Permission



Allen Viehmeyer <[allen@schwenkfelder.com](mailto:allen@schwenkfelder.com)>

Wed 4/12

Trevor Brandt ▾

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Inbox

Trevor,

How nice to know that you are in the final stages of finishing your MA.

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Best wishes

Allen Viehmeyer

L. Allen Viehmeyer, Ph.D.  
Associate Director of Research  
Schwenkfelder Library & Heritage Center  
[105 Seminary Street](#)  
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Telephone: 215-370-6763 Fax: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: tbranst@winterthur.org

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