

Eberhard Ludwig Gruber & Johann Adam Gruber: A Father & Son as Early Inspirationist Leaders

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ALTHOUGH OBSCURE FIGURES today in both the United States and the Germanies, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber (1665-1728) and his son Johann Adam Gruber (1693-1763) were well-known sectarian leaders in the eighteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic. They collectively gave shape to the Community of True Inspiration, which burst on the religious scene in 1714 with a flare of charismatic fervor, soon enlisting numbers of devout converts from both humble and professional socio-economic backgrounds. The Grubers were active writers and publicists, known also for poetic gifts. The father became the *Aufseher* (superintendent) of the new Inspired movement; the son was called the "crown prince of German separatism" and the "most important figure in Colonial Pennsylvania separatism" by a leading scholar. Despite this correct appraisal of the younger Gruber as a leading separatist, he is credited with the first ecumenical appeal and association in colonial Pennsylvania in 1736.

Behind their outward attainments lies a fascinating generational struggle, which caused both father and son intense emotional pain. Their close but convoluted relationship could profit from the kind of analysis Erik Erikson gave to Martin Luther and Mohandas Gandhi, but can only be sketched here. Their achievements and struggles, nonetheless, deserve renewed attention.

I. E. L. Gruber's Early Career

Eberhard Ludwig Gruber was born in Stuttgart in 1665 and studied theology at the University of Tuebingen.¹ While there, as an erudite

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1. "Von Br. Eberhard Ludwig Gruber was wenigens zu melden, als der den 11. Christmonat dieses jahrs 1728. seinen Kampf und Lauf und Lebens-Jahre seeliglich vollendet,"

and devout student, he enjoyed a fellowship from 1689 to 1692 at the *Stift* (theological foundation) where he was influenced by Johann Reinhard Hedinger (1648-1704), a well-known Pietist theologian and court chaplain. (One of Hedinger's successors was castigated by the Duke of Wuerttemberg for omitting the name of the ducal mistress in the public morning prayers. The chaplain demurred, saying that he regularly made reference to her when he prayed "deliver us from evil.")

Gruber intensified his reform leanings as a deacon in Groszbot-twar, Wuerttemberg, where he cultivated relationships with the radical Pietist leader, the spurmaker Johann Georg Rosenbach (1679-1749). The church administration punished this activity by transferring Gruber to Hofen, near Grosspappen, where he was defrocked in 1706 for preaching his separatist views from the pulpit and introducing strict church discipline. In 1707 Gruber took his wife and son Johann Adam, born in 1693, to find refuge in one of the few areas in Germany where a modicum of religious freedom obtained. This was the territory of Ysenburg-Buedingen—northeast of Frankfurt/Main in the so-called Wetteravian region (*Wetterau*)—along with the neighboring Ysenburg-Buedingen-Marienborn.²

In 1712 Count Ernst Casimir, seeking the attract settlers to rebuild his ravaged homeland, had issued an edict of freedom of religious belief, hoping—correctly, as it happened—that this would entice the religious disaffected from other parts of Germany. This was a noteworthy (and politically risky) step, because the Peace of West-phalia (1648) limited religious expression to three established faiths—Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed. The newly-arrived Gruber

J.J.J. XVIII. *Sammlung* . . . (n.p., 1780), pp. 104-114 (J.J.J. is an Inspirationist religious expression used in the title of this series); Gottlieb Scheuner, *Inspirations—Historie oder Historischer Bericht von der Gruendung der Gebeis-Versammlungen und Gemeinden* . . . von Eberhard Ludwig Gruberangefangen und eingeordnet worden ... (Amana: 1884); Friedrich Fritz, "Konventikel in Wuerttemberg," *Blaetter fuer Wuerttembergische Kirchengeschichte*, 3rd series, 51 (1951): 78-137; 52 (1952): 28-65; Heinrich Hermelink, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Wuerttemberg von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: 1949), pp. 165,175,177,184, 194, 201, 231. A recent notice is found in Mary Fulbrook, *Piety and Politics: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in England, Wuerttemberg and Prussia* (Cambridge: 1983), p. 134. For a listing of Gruber's major writings, see Gottfried Maelzer, *Die Werke der wuerttembergische Pietisten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: 1972), pp. 115-117.

2. On Rosenbach, see Friedrich Fritz, "Johann Friedrich Rosenbach," *Zeitschrift fuer bayerische Kirchengeschichte*, 18 (1948): 21-59. On Ysenburg-Buedingen and Ysenburg-Buedingen-Marienborn, see G. Simon, *Die Geschichte des reichstaendischen Hauses Ysenburg und Buedingen* (Frankfurt/Main: 1865); Christian Friedrich Meyer, *Geschichte der Stadt und Pfarrei Buedingen* (Buedingen: 1868); Hans Philippi, *Territorialgeschichte der Grafschaft Buedingen* (Marburg: 1954); *Ysenburg—Jsenburg: 900 Jahre reichstaendisches Haus Isenburg* (Buedingen: 1963).

became a farmer at Himbach, near Buedingen, and foreswore active public religious exercises, although he maintained a keen devotional life in his home amidst his small family. His best friend was the saddlemaker Johann Friedrich Rock (1678-1749), like him a religious refugee from Wuerttemberg.³

Gruber paid particular attention to the religious direction of his only son, young Johann Adam. The latter was considered by adults to be a quiet and well-mannered lad, but was later to describe the period as one of turmoil and rebellion: "Even though I was punished by my conscience from within, and by my dear parents, especially by my dear father, from without . . . there was still no serious awakening or progress within me."⁴

As a youth he was apprenticed for eighteen months to the Wuerttemberg court apothecary *An der groszen Linden* in Neuenstadt. His father called him back to Himbach, however, because he felt the environment at Neuenstadt was too secular. Johann Adam was then taught the weaver's trade at home, being kept in the father's words "under exact and usually severe discipline and supervision."

The stories of fellow weavers created an urge on the son's part to travel elsewhere as a journeyman. After a furious argument with his father in April, 1714, he left home without his parents' knowledge or permission but returned some days later as a penitent. His father accepted his appeal for forgiveness and resolved to be less strict in the future.⁵

It was at this point that the life stories of the Grubers, father and son, intersected with the Inspirationist movement.⁶ That movement had originated with the Camisards of the late seventeenth century (a

3. Scheuner, *Inspirations-Historie* (1884), pp. llff.

4. *A und O! . . . die . . . Erkenntnisz und Bekauntisiz . . . von der Goettlichkeit der wahren Inspiration, welche Br. Johann Adam Gruber, der Bruederlichen Gemeinschaft von eigener Hand hinterlassen . . .* (n.p., 1782), p. 6; the most recent study in English is Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Johann Adam Gruber: Pennsylvania-German Prophet and Poet," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1959): 382-408.

5. *Unterschiedliche Erjahrungs-volle Zeugnisse welche Einige in Gott verbundene Freunde von der so sehr verhassten und verschreyten Inspirations-Sache . . . abgefasst . . .* (n.p., 1715), p. 9.

6. The most satisfactory account in English is still Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, *Amana That Was and Amana That Is* (Iowa City: 1932; reprinted 1969). A recent study is Diane Barthel, *Amana: From Pietist Sect to American Community* (London: 1984). Early Inspired histories are by Paul Giesbert Nagel, "Kurze Historie der Inspirirten und Inspirations-Gemeinden; Auf Teutsch: Der Propheten-Kinder . . .," *J.J.J. XVI. Sammlung* (n.p.: 1772), pp. 238-251; and "Kurze Historie der so-geannten Inspirirten und Inspirations-Gemeinden; Auf Teutsch: Der Propheten-Kinder und Propheten-Schule," *J.J.J. XVII. Sammlung* (n.p.: 1776), pp. 233-268; see also Scheuner, *Inspirations-Historie* (1884). The best study is still Max Goebel, "Geschichte der wahren Inspirations-Gemeinden von 1688-1850," *Zeitschrift fuer die historische Theologie* (1854): 267-322, 377-438; (1855): 94-160, 327-425; (1857): 131-151. For a helpful summary, see Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphaelischen evangelischen Kirche* (Coblenz: 1860) 3: 126-165.

desperate reaction to the brutal Catholicizing of the Huguenots by the Bourbon crown). These charismatic French Prophets came under severe military pressure and some of them escaped to England. A later development from their visit was the emergence first in England (1760's) and then in the United States of the United Society of Believers, or Shakers.⁷ The ecstatic movement also spread to Germany, first to the Pietist center of Halle on the Saale River, after which some new adherents went to Berlin and then to the Ysenburg/Buedingen area.⁸

Eberhard Ludwig Gruber heard at once of the movement but set his face against the presumption of latter-day prophets, whose convulsive physical motions he found offensive.⁹ He prepared a critique of the Inspired entitled "Testing the Spirits," which he intended to publish to thwart their expansion. Gruber strictly forbade members of his household to have anything to do with the strangers. Johann Adam, however, again defied his father's authority and visited one of the meetings held in a neighboring village. No doubt the forbidden-fruit quality was as appealing as the stories of the miraculous powers of the newcomers.

Much to the elder Gruber's chagrin, the Inspirationist troop came to his home to visit him two days later, on November 15, 1714. Within a few hours not only had his resistance melted but he had become convinced that their messages were divinely derived. The very next day he called other religious dissidents living in the area to a meeting for united prayer, which is considered to be the foundational gathering of the Community of True Inspiration, as the movement was eventually named.

Many of the separatists of the neighborhood had been longing for a structured new beginning, as individualistic religious searching had proved sterile for many in their relative isolation. They were readily persuaded that the astounding phenomena accompanying the prophetic utterances were no more offensive than those of the prophets of the Old Testament, and, indeed, might be thought of as legitimating evidences.

7. The latest study, with extensive bibliography, is Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millennial Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: 1980). An important early source is John Lacy, *A Cry from the Desert* (London: 1707). A sociological study of the Shakers which describes the connections with the prophets is Henri Desroche, *The American Shakers*, trans. John K. Savacool (Amherst, Mass.: 1971).

8. Walter Delius, "Die Inspirierten-Gemeinde zu Berlin," in Ernst Wolf, ed., *Zwischenstation: Festschrift fuer Karl Kupisch* (Munich: 1963), pp. 19-26.

9. *Unterschiedliche Erfahrungs-volle Zeugnisse* (1715): 1-2; Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* (1860) 3: 136-137.

Young Gruber was so moved by the prophecies and his father's conversion that he wept for several days. When the next meeting was held, he experienced turbulent physical movements, and soon was granted the gift of prophecy. He thus became one of the "Instruments" (*Werkzeuge*). His father, although he played the leading role in organizing the movement, never attained this status. It was in fact the son who was given the prophecy of the "Twenty-Four Rules of True Godliness" on 4 July 1716, which became the charter and basis of faith for the Inspired. The elder Gruber presented in 1715 the "Twenty-One Rules for the Examination of Our Daily Lives," an ethical code.¹⁰

2. *Expulsion of the Inspirationists*

Before these testimonies occurred, however, many of the Inspired had been forced to leave the Ysenburg/Buedingen and Marienborn areas. Officials took the position that the 1712 edict of religious freedom was being abused by the group's members. Their striking prophecies and testimonies were disturbing the populace. On 3 March 1715 a local official reported to the count that despite an earlier warning the Inspired "more than ever practiced an alarming tumult and disturbance ... where they live ... to the great burden and liability of the owners, with shocking leaping, raging, crying, and shouting 'Woe! Woe!' and prophesying the most alarming judgment of God on town and country." The official once admonished E. L. Gruber to control his son, who was about to have "one of their usual paroxysms," but the father defended the son and said that all of the activity was of God. "He could not influence his son in these matters, much less contradict him." When E. L. Gruber dared to admonish the count himself, the group was told to leave.¹¹

Equally bothersome to the government as the religious unrest was the disruption it caused in the local economy. The reason for allowing the separatists to settle in the first place was to attract hardworking artisans. Those drawn to the Inspired meetings soon dropped many of their usual activities in order to attend these extended sessions. The teaching of the Inspired prophets that the endtime was near diverted attention from secular and economic affairs for the sake of preparation for the hereafter. This the government officials were by no means ready to tolerate.¹²

10. *Unterschiedliche Erfahrungs-volle Zeugnisse* (1715): 2-15; Shambaugh, *Amna* (1932), pp.232-244.

11. Quoted in Durnbaugh, "J. A. Gruber" (1959): 386-387.

12. This point is extensively discussed in Matthias Benad, "Ekstatische Religiositaet und gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit: Eine Untersuchung zu den Motiven der Inspirationserweckung unter den separatistischen Pietisten in der Wetterau 1714/15," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 8 (1982): 119-161.

The Marienborn Inspired found another place of refuge in Wittgenstein, northwest of Frankfurt/Main, where another and yet more tolerant count had previously invited religious dissenters to settle.¹³ They took up abodes at Schwarzenau/Eder, where an earlier separatist movement had been founded in 1708. This was the *Neue-Tauefer* or Brethren congregation. As both religious movements had tremendous evangelistic zeal and tended to proselytize in the same circles of separatists and Radical Pietists, it was not long before tensions developed. The viewpoint of the Inspired was that the Brethren were well-meaning and devout folk who had, however, run ahead of the spirit. The Brethren were skeptical of the divine nature of the prophecies of the Inspired, although they shared some beliefs and practices with them. Later, Inspired prophets invoked divine judgment on the Brethren, whose leaders, they pronounced, were marked for short lives.¹⁴

Curiously, not long before Eberhard Ludwig Gruber had been won to the Inspirationist cause, he had posed the newly-formed Brethren group a series of forty "ground-searching" questions, which called into question their authority for creating a new religious movement. Worthy Christians, claimed Gruber, remained as individuals and separatists, and did not form sectarian groups. "True separatists," he stated, "found no new sects—this would mean reconstructing what had been torn down; rather they retire to the inner sanctuary, to their hearts, and seek there to serve God in spirit and in truth through Jesus Christ."¹⁵

3. Reorganization and Travels

Under the leadership of the Grubers, soon joined by J. F. Rock, the Inspired movement burgeoned. From a period of testing of false prophets and a restructuring led by E. L. Gruber in 1716 emerged ten

13. Information on Wittgenstein and the Inspirationist activity there (as well as in Ysenburg-Buedingen) is found in Heinz Renkewitz, *Hochmann von Hochenau: Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Pietismus*, 2nd ed. (Written: 1969), pp. 263-294. See also Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *European Origins of the Brethren* (Elgin, Illinois: 1958). An early account is Friedrich Goebel, *Historische Fragmente aus dem Leben der regierenden Grafen und Fuersten zu Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein* (Siegen: 1858), pp. 35-43. The most recent information is found in Hans Schneider, "Hochmann von Hochenau and Inspirationism: A Newly Discovered Letter," *Brethren Life and Thought* 25 (1980): 199-222.

14. Durnbaugh, *European Origins*, pp. 148-150. See also Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Brethren Beginnings: The Origins of the Church of the Brethren in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (1960), pp. 99-101.

15. Durnbaugh, *European Origins*, pp. 321ff.; Goebel, *Geschichtedes christlichen Lebens* (1860) 3:131-132.

defined congregations.¹⁶ One vehicle for the rapid expansion was the prophetic journeying which the Instruments were impelled to take by divine call. Accompanied by a scribe or scribes who served as travel companions and whose task was to preserve in writing every word spoken in prophecy, the New Prophets set out. They often traveled to areas where they could expect some entree through sympathetic acquaintances but also took risky visits to towns where their testimonies were bound to meet with disapproval, even persecution. These experiences were well-recorded and permit a detailed documentation of the travels and trials of the early leaders. (Later in the century, the collected testimonies were published, although they remain very rare to this day. The Amana archives hold the most complete collection, although the University of Bonn, among others, has fairly complete holdings.)

Young Gruber took many of these trips, the most extensive of which lasted from October, 1716, through February, 1717. On it he journeyed into southern Germany, the Alsace, and Switzerland. Gruber's most grueling experience was in Zuerich, where he was not only imprisoned but also whipped out of town, receiving sixty-two lashes; he was banished forever. The town fathers had not been favorably impressed by Gruber's predictions of imminent divine judgment because of the manifold sins of the citizenry.¹⁷

On one of the trips Gruber was asked by a rabbi from Prague how the word of the Lord came to him. Gruber's description was corroborated by the witness of other New Prophets:

The *Werkzeug* [Instrument] or the Prophet feels at first in his innermost being a gentle and pleasant glow which gradually becomes more intense and also fills the external body. Thereupon results an inflation of the nose, a trembling of the whole body, often attended by kicking with hands or feet and shaking of the head. And in the centre of this internal fire the word of the Lord

16. Scheuner, *Inspirations-Historie* (1884), pp. 15-66; Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* (1860) 3:143-48. E. L. Gruber provided an *apologia* for the Inspired and an attack on rival groups in *Historische Umstaendezur Pruefung des Geistes der sogenannten Inspirirten und Inspiration* . . . (n.p., 1715).

17. Gruber's own narrative of his experiences is found in J.J.J. Busz-Weck-und Warningstimme, *welche der Geist der wahren Inspiration . . . [hat] erschallen lassen im Jahr 1716. und 1717. durch Johann Adam Gruber...* (n.p., 1718). See, especially for Switzerland, Paul Wernle, *Die schweizerische Protestantismus im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Tuebingen: 1923) 1: 182-192, 197-198, 210-210, 449; W. Hadorn, *Geschichte des Pietismus in den Schweizerischen Reformierten Kirchen* (Konstanz: 1901), pp. 147-156, 185-219; W. Hadorn, "Die Inspirierten des XVIII. Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung ihrer Beziehungen zur Schweiz," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* 17 (1900): 184-223. Inspirationist activity in the Palatinate is described in Johann Jakob Hamm, *Die Gemeinschaftsbewegung in der Pfalz* (Eisenberg: n.d.), pp. 30-34.

is born; and the Prophet is enabled through the *Bewegungen* [movements] to pronounce the word of the Lord without fear or awe, as it was born in him, at times syllable by syllable, at times word by word, now slowly now rapidly, so that the *Werkzeug* had no chance of its own, but was used solely as a passive instrument in the hands of the lord.¹⁸

Gruber's companion, Blasius Daniel Mackinet (ca. 1700-1775),¹⁹ who recorded the above words, added some details of his own:

With regard to the *Bewegungen*, the *Werkzeuge* were not alike, although they were all moved by one Spirit; there was considerable difference in regard to their gifts and convulsions. When they had to announce punishments and judgments of God, they all did it with great force, majestic gestures, strong *Bewegungen*, and with a true voice of thunder, especially if this occurred on the public street or in churches. But when they had to speak of the love of God and the glory of the children of God, then their motions were gentle and their gestures pleasing; but all, and in all attitudes assumed by them, spoke with closed eyes. Often they had, previous to the movements, a feeling of its approach. Again they were seized suddenly, often at their meals, by day and by night. At times they were aroused from their slumber and had to testify, frequently on the public highways, in fields and forests.²⁰

Despite their occasional violence, the physical manifestations never caused harm to the Instruments themselves, according to Mackinet's account. On the contrary, manifestations were known to restore to health Instruments suffering from ailments or mistreatment.²¹

Late in 1717 Gruber came into conflict with his father, basically refusing to accept the parent's direction of the movement. Shortly thereafter, in January 1718, he lost the gift of prophecy. About 1720 he married, contrary to his father's wishes. Six years later the young couple, now with two small children, decided to emigrate to Pennsylvania, once again, defying the father's will. Other Inspired leaders disagreed with the decision and predicted dire consequences. These, in fact, came true, because the Grubers' two children died during the twenty-five week passage. Toward the last of the voyage passengers received per day but two ounces of bread, a few spoonfuls of barley, and one-half pint of water. The parents reached Pennsylvania looking like two skeletons.²²

18. Shambaugh, *Amana*, pp. 210-211.

19. Thomas A. Ebaugh, *Ancestors of George McNett and Susan Armenirout*. . . (New Orleans: 1961), pp. 14-16, 21-26.

20. Shambaugh, *Amana*, p. 208.

21. Shambaugh, *Amana*, p. 209.

22. Durnbaugh "J. A. Gruber," pp. 390-392.

Despite the rigors of the voyage, Johann Adam Gruber came back to Germany in 1727 to attempt reconciliation with his father. He returned to Pennsylvania early in 1728, although the elder Gruber urged him to stay, as he had premonitions of his impending death. Eberhard Ludwig Gruber died late in the year, on 11 December 1728. Throughout the rest of his life Johann Adam Gruber expressed remorse for his filial disobedience, often writing to Inspirationist friends of his sorrow that the reconciliation was not complete.²³

4. / . A. Gruher in America

Johann Adam Gruber never organized an Inspirationist congregation in Pennsylvania. This he regretted. In 1730 he wrote to friends in Berleburg (near Schwarzenau) that he had "often wished that one of the elder brethren from home were here; or that I could be amongst them, so that we could quicken our faith in the Lord among ourselves." His strong-willed wife opposed his suggestion of returning to Germany.²⁴

Instead, he accepted the role of a separatist, one who was deeply religious and was known for his religious concern but who stayed aloof from organized faiths. In this, he was of one mind with his neighbor the famous Germantown printer, Johann Christopher Sauer I (1695-1758).²⁵ Both Sauer and Gruber were alert to religious currents and reported on them faithfully and fully to correspondents in Europe. They did attend meetings of the Brethren (who had in the meantime moved to Pennsylvania) but were never willing to become members.²⁶

In 1736 Gruber took the initiative in calling together the religiously concerned in what came to be called the Associated Brethren of the Skippack. The appeal had an effect, as a group began to meet in the Skippack area.²⁷ It provided the basis for the efforts of Count Zinzendorf to gather the German churches and sects into one body in the

23. J. A. Gruber, *Erkenntnis*, pp. 27-37.

24. "Extract-Schreibenaus J. A. Gr[ubers] Brief aus Germantown/" *Geistliche Fama* 1, 3:4 (1731): 40-52; cf. Julius F. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: 1899-1900) 1: 203-207; Felix Reichmann and Eugene E. Doll, eds., *Ephrata As Seen by Contemporaries* (Allentown, Pa.: 1953), pp. 3-4; Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, Illinois: 1967), pp. 117-118.

25. For these connections see Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer, Pennsylvania-German Printer: His Youth in Germany and later Relationships with Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (1958): 316-340.

26. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America*, p. 275.

27. Donald H. Yoder, "Christian Unity in Nineteenth-Century America," in Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill, eds., *History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948* (London: 1954), p. 229; John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pie* (New York: 1973), pp. 52-55, 69-70.

historic 1742 Pennsylvania Synods. Gruber's appeal, *Gruendliche An- und Aufforderung an die Ehmahlig erweckte hier und dar zerstreute Seelen dieses Landes*, was later published by the Moravians, much to his annoyance. Gruber refused to take part in the synods, despite repeated efforts by the count to recruit him. Some scholars believe that Gruber's feelings were hurt because his initiative was taken over by the energetic Count Zinzendorf. Although it is impossible to be sure about the matter, it is more likely that Gruber reverted to his basic separatist position when he concluded that the count really wanted to proselytize for his Moravian enterprise.²⁸

Gruber had been alerted by his European correspondents of the sharp controversies which the Moravians had occasioned in Germany, The Netherlands, and England. Well-informed American sources reported that the count bent every effort to secure Gruber's support but had to admit defeat. Gruber wrote extensively about the controversy, and his reports were given wide publicity in Pennsylvania and abroad.²⁹

The piety of Johann Adam Gruber was noticeable in his religious writing. He had already composed poems for hymns in Germany, joining his prolific father in that exercise. He continued the practice in America, although few of his compositions were ever published. Upon his death, and following his direction, a 276-page manuscript collection of his poetry was sent to Europe. The manuscript, titled "Herzensklang durch Ruehrung der Gnade Gottes...", was given to the historian Max Goebel who deposited it in the library of the University of Bonn. Unfortunately it was destroyed by bombing during World War II. Six of Gruber's poems were published in a collection of anti-Moravian documents, one was published as a broadside in 1742, and another exists in manuscript in the Schwenkfelder library. Gruber used the penname "Ein Geringer"—"A Humble One"—a suitable self-description for a man who sought only obscurity, and largely attained it.³⁰

The father Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, therefore, and the son Johann Adam Gruber were two gifted men who played key roles in the early history of the foundation of the Community of True Inspiration, still

28. The Moravian attitude can be seen in the following: William N. Schwarze and Samuel H. Gapp, eds., *A History of the Beginnings of Moravian Work in America* (Bethlehem, Pa.: 1955), pp. 135-139; J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957* (Bethlehem, Pa.: 1967), pp. 88-93.

29. Full details are provided in Durnbaugh, "J. A. Gruber," pp. 393-402.

30. John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685-1830* (Allentown, Pa.: 1956) pp. lxiii, 30-35; Stoudt, *Sunbonnets*, pp. 69-70; Durnbaugh, "J. A. Gruber," pp. 402-407. On the Grubers and hymnody, see Lloyd W. Farlee, "A History of the Church Music of the Amana Society, Community of True Inspiration," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa (1966).

thriving in the Iowan colonies of Amana. Known principally in the outside world by scholars, the Grubers may not even be that well remembered among all present day Inspirationist believers. But they were men of accomplishment, talented writers, whose leadership was recognized by contemporaries. Their books were well received in their own time and are still worth consulting. Hymnologists study their poetic compositions. The elder and younger Gruber had their difficulties with each other but were bound by deep familial love. The modern world can appreciate more than did eighteenth-century contemporaries the tolerance of a Johann Adam Gruber who is credited with the statement: "In Pennsylvania we have many religious opinions, but only one religion—the 'Pennsylvania religion' of go a little, give a little, live and let live."³¹ They are worth remembering.

31. Stoudt, *Sunbonnets*, p. 49.